Joseph Zajda
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Editors

Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Education

Cross-Cultural Understandings

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Cross-Cultural Understandings

Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research
12-volume Book Series (Springer)

Series editor: Joseph Zajda (Australian Catholic University, Melbourne Campus)
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To Rea, Nikolai and Dorothy

Preface

Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Education: Cross-cultural, which is the sixth volume in the 12-volume book series *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research*, presents scholarly research on major discourses of race, ethnicity and gender in education. It provides an easily accessible, practical yet scholarly source of information about the international concern in the field of globalisation and comparative education. Above all, the book offers the latest findings to the critical issues concerning major discourses on race, ethnicity and gender in the global culture. It is a sourcebook of ideas for researchers, practitioners and policymakers in education, globalisation, social justice, equity and access in schooling around the world. It offers a timely overview of current issues affecting research in comparative education of race, ethnicity and gender. It provides directions in education and policy research relevant to progressive pedagogy, social change and transformational educational reforms in the twenty-first century.

The book critically examines the overall interplay between the state, ideology and current discourses of race, ethnicity and gender in the global culture. It draws upon recent studies in the areas of globalisation, equity, social justice and the role of the State (Zajda et al., 2006, 2008). It explores conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches applicable in the research covering the State, globalisation, race, ethnicity and gender. It demonstrates the neo-liberal ideological imperatives of education and policy reform, affecting race, ethnicity and gender, and illustrates the way the relationship between the State and education policy affects current trends in education policy and reforms targeting race, ethnicity and gender.

Various book chapters critique the dominant discourses and debates pertaining to comparative education discourses on race, ethnicity and gender and the newly constructed and reinvented models of neo-liberal ideology in education. Using a number of diverse paradigms in comparative education research, ranging from critical theory to globalisation, the authors, by focusing on globalisation, ideology and democracy, attempt to examine critically existing inequalities due to race, ethnicity and gender and resultant social stratification.

The volume provides a more informed critique on the Western-driven models of education, and existing dimensions of inequality, defined by race, ethnicity and gender. It draws upon recent studies in the areas of dominant ideologies, power, and stratification in education and society globally (Zajda, 2005; Zajda et al., 2008).

The general intention is to make *Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Education: Cross-cultural* available to a broad spectrum of users among policymakers, academics, graduate students, education policy researchers, administrators and practitioners in the education and related professions. The book is unique in that it:

- Examines central discourses surrounding the debate on race, ethnicity and gender in education and identity
- Explores conceptual frameworks and methodological approaches applicable in the research of race, ethnicity and gender in education, with reference to the State, globalisation and multicultural education
- Demonstrates ideological imperatives of globalisation, neo-liberal ideology and the State, affecting the formation of cultural identity
- Provides strategic education policy analysis on recent developments in race, ethnicity and gender in education
- Offers suggestions for directions in education and policy changes, relevant to democratic and empowering pedagogy in the twenty-first century

We hope that you will find *Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Education: Cross-cultural* useful in your teaching, future research and discourses concerning schooling, social justice and policy reforms in the global culture.

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Acknowledgements

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Part II   Case Studies

Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Education: Introduction

Race, ethnicity and gender in education continue to act as profound barriers to quality education for all, equity and access globally. They continue to represent major dimensions in social stratification and differential access to schooling in both developed and developing nations. Despite some advances that have been made during the last 2 decades to eliminate discrimination on the grounds of race and ethnicity, racial discrimination still persists in numerous countries. For one, the colour of one's skin is still a barrier to equality, and racial stratification affects the educational consequences of individuals divided along the dimensions of race.

1 Racial Stratification and Education

Race continues to be a significant dimension in academic achievement in the USA and elsewhere. Hence a better and more meaningful understanding of race and racialisations in education are needed in order to see the real experiences of minority groups in educational systems, as they negotiate inequitable and discriminatory social and cultural conditions in increasingly stratified societies (see Rezai-Rashti and Solomon, 2008). Travis Gosa and Karl Alexander (2007) demonstrate how the dimension of race still matters in schooling and success. They argue that racial discrimination affects both working-class and middle-class African Americans. Well-off African American children, in general, are not as successful in academic achievement as white American students:

> While the educational difficulties of poor black students are well-documented and have been discussed extensively, the academic performance of well-off African American children has received much less attention. However, despite economic and educational resources in the home, well-off African American youth are not succeeding in school at the levels of their white peers (Gosa and Alexander, 2007).

Kassie Freeman (2006) in attempting to explain under-achievement of black children argues that this is due to the process of cultural assimilation and the loss of social identity (Freeman, 2006, p. 51). By examining the socialisation process in schools, assimilation, prejudice and stereotypes, one could argue that the schools'

ethos and classroom environment contribute to black children's low self-esteem, low motivation and lack of desire and interest in maximising their educational and human potential. Furthermore, since African Americans lagged behind Whites in college attendance, they lacked 'access to many of the necessary skills that higher education provides' (Freeeman, 2006, p. 48).

Gosa and Alexander (2007) suggest that cultural capital, education, income, and other SES indicators are insufficient to explain these differences in academic achievement. Instead, it may well be that the perception of race itself in the society is the real issue. Both whites and non-whites have constructed and internalised their racial identities:

> [T]he race at issue is a social construction, imbued with meaning through its particular history and current place in the social fabric. The liabilities that prevent black parents from passing on advantages to their children are racial, in the sense that they follow from the contemporary and historic social ecology of race. Closing the black-white education gap, and keeping it closed, necessarily will involve strategies that acknowledge and address the continuing significance of race … differences in school quality, segregative patterns *within* schools, and teacher relationships intersect to hinder the academic development of better-off black youth. Consequently, the family background advantages that middle-class whites enjoy in positive schooling outcomes are not realized to the same extent by middle-class blacks. (Gosa and Alexander, 2007)

Deborah Court (Bar-Ilan University) in her recent study critically examines the school culture of an Israeli elementary school, which has a large cohort of the children of Ethiopian immigrants, and the associated socialisation processes in the building of Israeli cultural identity. She discusses various dimensions of identity – religious, cultural and national – and suggests that in the case of Ethiopian Israeli children, skin colour is an additional attribute. According to her, being a black Israeli would be a different experience to being a Russian Israeli child. Thus, the notion of race contributes to the formation of group identity in Israel and elsewhere (see also Freeeman, 2006; Zajda and Freeman, 2009). Similarly, Troyna (1987) and his co-authors discuss in the 1980s various strategies for combating racial inequality in education. They were able to depict the extent and manner in which racism and its associated practices have become embedded in the institutional, social and political structures of the UK. Ogbu (1994) continues the analysis of race and inequality of educational opportunities in the USA. He discusses the persistence of inequality between blacks and whites, noting why a gap persists in the school performances of the two groups. He considers social stratification and racial stratification – in the light of civil rights and social change.

Ng et al. (2007) also examine research highlighting Asian American students' voices, identities and choices. Their findings reveal complicated realities that involve a variety of factors beyond simply dimensions of ethnicity or race. However, they stress that racism does exist in the USA, and Asian Americans, as other minority groups, had to negotiate and challenge racially constraining representations:

> New educational research takes primarily an intersectional approach; introducing other sectors of identity. … These intersectional approaches assert the multiplicity and hybridity of the Asian American experience. … However, we cannot deny that racism exists and that Asian Americans must negotiate and challenge racially constraining representations. This

reality is evident by the fact that even high-achieving Asian American groups such as East Asians and South Asians, who may appear to be the model minority, remain either not fully integrated or seen as White. (Ng et al., 2007)

More recently, Rezai-Rashti and Solomon (2008) have examined racial identity models and the notion of racial identity in social settings. Their findings indicate that 'people of colour' have 'different orientations, understandings and experience of race, racism and race privilege' in institutional settings (p. 184).

2   Ethnicity and Academic Achievement

The relationship between ethnicity and academic achievement has been examined by numerous scholars during the last 4 decades, and more recently by Baker et. al. (2000), Rabiner et al. (2004), Juhong and Maloney (2006), Freeman (2006), and Zajda et al. (2008a). Baker et al. (2000) note that the 'heterogeneity of academic performance in reading and math' was demonstrated between Hispanic and Asian/ Pacific Island students, using the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988:

> In the case of both the Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Island aggregate groups there are substantial, though not always statistically significant, academic performance differences among ethnic subgroups. (Baker et al., 2000)

Furthemore, Rabiner et al. (2004) note that although children from different ethnic backgrounds make up a significant and increasing percentage of the American public school population, accounting for almost 40% of the national enrolment in the fall of 2000, for the past 30 years, significantly fewer minority students have been considered proficient in reading, and minority students score lower on standardised tests compared to Caucasian students.

Research dealing with minority students and academic performance, especially students from disadvantaged ethnic groups – black Americans in the USA – demonstrates that such students have poorer academic records in secondary and higher education sectors (see Freeman, 2006; Zajda et al., 2008a, 2008b). Juhong and Maloney (2006) report that similar results depicting the gap between ethnicity and academic achievement have been found in New Zealand, where poorer average educational achievements in secondary school were often reported for Maori and Pacific Islanders:

> Among students with the same gender, measured ability and socioeconomic levels, Maori students generally received lower School Certificate marks than European students in mathematics, science, and English exams. Average science and mathematics scores in the tests from the Third International Mathematics and Science Study for Maori students are lower than those of non-Maori students…The poorer academic achievements of Maori and Pacific Island students have been linked to their lower participation rates in tertiary education and lower lifetime income levels. (Juhong and Maloney, 2006)

Juhong and Maloney (2006) in their major study of the nexus between ethnicity and academic achievement in New Zealand used the transcripts of over 3,000 students to determine differences in academic performance at universities across several

ethnic groups. They found that ethnicity contributed to differences in academic achievement. They recorded substantial differences in average academic perform-ances across the ethnic groups, as well as substantial differences in dropout rates across the ethnic groups:

> More than two-fifths of our sample discontinued their study in the initial programmes in which they were enrolled without receiving a degree by the end of 2003. Dropout rates are highest for Pacific Islanders (61.8%) and Maori (57.1%). They are lowest for Europeans (40.3%) and Asians (37.7%). (Juhong and Maloney, 2006)

3   Gender Inequality

Gender inequality is another enduring dimension of social stratification and divi-sion of power. It reflects the existing patriarchy. Using population-adjusted cross-national data, as well as social indicators covering economic, political, educational and health domains, current research conducted in the USA documents persistent trends in global gender inequality. Dorius (2006) when evaluating global trends in gender inequality from 1970 to 2000, and using indicators covering economic, political, educational and health domains, argues that absolute gender inequality *increased* among paid adult workers, surviving adults, literate adults, as well as total years of school attainment and life expectancy.

Gender inequality is also tied to issues of ethnicity, race, power, status and class. Women are encouraged to develop skills that are useful in low-paying jobs, such as clerical work, which leads to lower income and status. The inability of many women to work fulltime and overtime due to heavy family responsibilities prevents them from keeping and advancing in their jobs (as most cannot find affordable childcare).

3.1   Forms of Gender Inequality

Many women around the world face issues of gender inequality. Women share experiences of "economic discrimination, cultural isolation and social segregation" (Zajda, 2005, p. 134). Many women are caught in a vicious cycle of poverty and are unable to improve their current status in the above areas:

> Of the 625 million children of grade-school age worldwide, 110 million are not attending school. Two thirds of these children are girls. Obstacles to girls' education include patriar-chy, poverty, gender biases, and cost of education, lack of female role models and cultural traditions and practices. (www.unicef.org)

Stromquist (2006), who specialises in politico-economic and policy issues related to social change, equity and gender, examines gender inequality and gender relations in Latin America from the perspective of critical theory. She argued already in 2000

that gender inequality was due to the 'two fundamental pillars of patriarchal ideology', namely the sexual division of labour and the control of women's sexuality (Stromquist, 2000, p. 132). In her latest work, using a human capital perspective, she offers a global overview of gender-related educational issues applicable to developing nations (Stromquist, 2007). Similarly, Stacki (2008) and Talbani (2008) offer compelling evidence on continuing gender inequalities in developing nations, especially India and Pakistan. For instance, Talbani observes that the state policies did not 'aggressively seek to change patriarchal values and attitudes' (p. 145).

Recent data indicate that the greatest progress was achieved in regions where the gap was the widest, namely North Africa and South Asia. In Northern Africa, the ratio of girls to 100 boys increased from 82 to 93, and in South Asia, the ratio increased from 76 to 85. Despite this improvement, the gender gap remains a serious concern in southern and western Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa:

> In countries where resources and school facilities are lacking, and total enrolments are low, a choice must often be made in families between sending a girl or a boy to school. More often, girls tend to lose out. In some of these countries, only 75 girls are in school for every 100 boys. (UNFPA State of World Population 2005: Gender Equality Fact Sheet)

Further indicators concerning gender inequality are found in the latest 2007/08 Human Development Report. For instance, combined primary, secondary and tertiary gross enrolment ratio in 2004 (female as % male) in the USA was 109.9%, compared with 55.3% in Afghanistan (Human Development Report, 2008).

3.2   Women and Literacy

Worldwide, one in three women are illiterate compared with one in five men. In developing countries, one in two women are illiterate compared to one in four men. Overall more than 60% of the world's illiterate people are women. In developing countries illiteracy is more common because often women's education is viewed as useless. Absenteeism and school drop-outs are common as girls face many cultural expectations.

3.3   Analysing Gender Inequality

Gender is one of the most important dimensions of inequality, although it was neglected in the study of social inequality for a long time. Although there are no societies in which women have more power than men, there are significant variations in how women's and men's roles are valued within a society. Biological differences between women (they give birth and care for children) and men do not necessarily lead to gender inequality. Why do gender inequalities exist? Some argue that differences in human biology (specifically, that women have children and can spend many years of their lives being pregnant) cause *gender stratification*

differences. Sociologists argue that environment itself, as well as cross-cultural and historical evidence show that gender inequalities are variable rather than constant. For instance, the functionalist perspective defines society as a system of interlinked parts and *roles* to be fulfilled in a particular social hierarchy. Talcott Parsons believed that stable, supportive families are the key to successful socialisation. In Parson's view, the family operates most efficiently with a clear-cut sexual division of labour in which females act in *expressive* roles and men act in *instrumental* roles. This perspective is still applicable to traditional and patriarchal societies that characterise many of the developing economies. However, continuing social change, and the impact of development, science and technology (and knowledge in general) are likely to alter gender differences – creating a more balanced gender pattern in the future.

4   Cross-cultural Perspective on Race, Ethnicity and Gender in Education

In my recent work I have argued that there is a need to reassert the relevance of intercultural dialogue in an increasingly interdependent world of globalisation and social change (Zajda, 2009). Discussions surrounding race, ethnicity and gender in education need to reflect a cross-cultural perspective. Discourses surrounding other cultures, nation-building and identity politics can often lead us to identify and question beliefs and assumptions that are taken for granted, by making the familiar strange and the strange familiar, and questioning the 'universality' of our beliefs and assumptions. It is not sufficient to depict cultural differences in intercultural research, and there is now a need to rediscover to what degree such cultural differences can be 'generalised' across cultures. In particular, the issues to be addressed in future research should include: What kinds of roles do our perceptions concerning identity (in this case perceptions of race, ethnicity and gender) and the nation state play in intercultural dialogue and conflict analysis, and the relationship between globalisation, social change and emerging cultural values.

Recent global events depicting violence, conflicts and war demonstrate the need for a more visible paradigm of intercultural dialogue in comparative education research. Such a paradigm needs to focus more on emerging significant issues in intercultural and cross-cultural understanding globally, affecting identity politics, liberty and democracy. The continuing existence of global stratification along the dimensions of race, ethnicity and gender demonstrates the need for action. Informed and balanced intercultural dialogue concerning unresolved dilemmas surrounding the politics of race and ethnicity discourses can help us to define, explain and critique what is achievable, especially within the current imperatives of globalisation, the politics of change and education reforms. Rosita Albert (2006) observes that in order to address interethnic conflict, intercultural research should focus more on interethnic relations, prejudice reduction and conflict resolution.

Some of the current issues debated recently cover a range of topics – from transnational feminism and gender equity, to living together in South Africa after apartheid, to bridging the educational gap between indigenous and non-indigenous beliefs and practices. In her chapter 'Globalisation, Transnational Feminism and Pedagogy', Jill Blackmore argues that globalisation has produced new discourses, created new sites of political action and requires a rethinking about feminist claims upon the state for gender equity in education. Her research focused on gender equity policy in different Anglo nation states, in particular the UK, the USA, Australia, New Zealand, with some reference to economically 'developing' nation states.

In 'Living Together after Apartheid: Assessments of South Africa's Progress, and Roles for Education Programs', Diane Napier focuses on questions of the degree to which South Africans are learning to live together under democratic rule in the years since the installation of a multiracial democratic government in 1994 and the initiation of the post-apartheid era.

Goli Rezai-Rashti and Susan James offer another perspective on education and gender in their study 'Women and Higher Education in Post-revolutionary Iran: Unsettling Policies and Unanticipated Outcomes'. They examine the status of women in Iran over the last 3 decades, particularly with reference to the higher education sector. While the authors note that women's improved access to higher education has paved the way for women's increased participation in the work force, in society and in government decision-making, these achievements have not been without constant struggle at many levels over the last 3 decades. This is continued by Macleans A. Geo-JaJa, Sara J. Payne, Pamela R. Hallam and Donald R. Baum, who discuss gender equity and women's empowerment in Africa (see Chapter 6).

Alberto Arenas, Iliana Reyes and Leisy Wyman, in 'When Indigenous and Modern Education Collide', offer a heuristic device that spells out the specific challenges faced by schools serving indigenous populations as they confront modern hegemonic educational practices. This debate is continued by Elizabeth Warren, Tom Cooper and Annette Baturo in their case study 'Bridging the Educational Gap: Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Beliefs, Attitudes and Practices in a Remote Australian School'. Amal Madibbo, on the other hand, focuses on power, language and race relations within francophone communities in Canada. The author also examines how antiracism and discourse affect the study of power relations within francophone communities of Ontario.

Anju Saigal provides a timely case study on poor women and community-based participation in literacy work in India. The author demonstrates how the women understand their participation by interpreting their work and emergent identities politically. The author argues that the women's participation is inherently political, as it intersects dimensions of power, poverty, emancipation and social justice. Deodrin Correa complements this research by analysing the construction of gender identity in India (see Chapter 10). The author explains that gender identity in India, as elsewhere, is a social construct of femininity, created in society via major agencies of socialization, and is represented and communicated at the symbolic level in the mass media, particularly through television and women's magazines. Femininity, just like masculinity, denotes an ideal type, in this case an ideal woman, a powerful

global cultural stereotype, which is used by those who have the power to define, control and disseminate cultural and gender stereotypes, to dominate, exploit and manipulate social and sexual identities of women globally.

Stilianos Meselidis shifts the debate by discussing a comparative case study of gender stereotypes, class prejudice and female warriors in the depiction of women in Greek primary school history textbooks. Marta I. Cruz-Janzen, on the other hand, discusses academic achievement of multiethnic and multiracial students and how they cope in US schools. She argues that in order to achieve equity, social justice and authentic multicultural and global education, schools must acknowledge and learn to work as democratic institutions within an evolving new, and culturally diverse population. Izhar Oplatka focuses on women teachers' emotional commitment and involvement and implications for pedagogy and policy. He examines, among other things, the subjective voices and interpretations of women teachers in respect of their work. His research has shown that in Israel, women teacher's construction of commitment and involvement is embedded with care, affection, love, concern, growth and moral education, all of which are elements that are absent from common definitions of these concepts.

The above-mentioned research and case studies indicate that we need to re-examine issues of race and ethnicity in the regional and global cultures. We also need to focus more on the unresolved tensions between religion, politics and values education, and the implications for equity, access and democracy. We also need to critique the overall interplay between intercultural dialogue, education and the state, and how it affects race and ethnicity debate and education policies. This can be accomplished by drawing upon recent major and significant studies in the areas of education, intercultural dialogue and transformational and global pedagogies, which specifically address multicultural education, race, ethnicity and gender. By referring to Bourdieu's call for critical policy analysts to engage in a 'critical sociology' of their own contexts of practice, and post-structuralist and post-modernist pedagogy, we need to understand how central discourses surrounding the debate concerning race, ethnicity and gender are formed and defined in the contexts of dominant ideology, power, and culturally and historically derived perceptions and practices defining the processes of preserving the status quo of stratified societies, tradition and cultural identity amidst rapid social change in the global culture.

5   Conclusion

By focusing on the competing discourses surrounding global dimensions of race, ethnicity and gender in education and their consequences for life chances for billions of individuals affected, we need to evaluate critically both the reasons and outcomes of dominant ideologies, the power of tradition and neo-feudal characteristics of certain nations. It is clear that some nations feel threatened by modernity and social change brought on by forces of globalisation. Such nations wish to preserve and maintain traditional culture and stratification along the dimensions of

race, ethnicity and gender – to exercise power, domination and control. A new understanding and a more effective use of intercultural dialogue could be seen as a means for delivering an authentic and empowering paradigm of peace, tolerance and harmony in the world. It is likely to offer a more informed and compelling critique of the place of the Other in the Western-driven models of intercultural dialogue, surrounding identity politics, liberty and democracy.

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Part I
Main Trends and Policy Issues

Globalisation, Transnational Feminism and Educational Justice*

Jill Blackmore

1   Globalisation and Gender Equity

This chapter considers how globalisation has produced new discourses, created new sites of political action and requires a rethinking about feminist claims upon the state for gender equity in education. Globalisation is generally associated with both universalising and particularist tendencies at the local level. The discussion draws from feminist and post-colonial theories analysing the transformation of the social relations of gender, in particular in terms of new familial patterns and arrangements, and the changed relations of the state to the individual in the context of a risk society and state, with particular regard to education. It utilises studies of gender equity policy in different Anglo nation states (UK, USA, Australia, NZ) with some reference to economically 'developing' nation states to consider how the move to a post-welfare state in most anglophone states has made new demands upon feminist political strategies, and in turn how post-colonial discourses and movements are requiring self-reflection as national and cultural, as well as gender identities are under reformation. The chapter concludes with consideration of new spaces for feminist activity in education based on discourses of human rights and capabilities as a basis for improving the equity for girls and women in education.

To do so, I consider recent feminist theoretical projects that provide alternative theoretical and practical approaches to how education feminists may make claims upon the nation state and emergent international polities within the context of globalised economies/societies. I suggest that feminists, if they are to develop a 'collective imagination' of democratic citizenship transnationally, need first to better theorise the changing nature of feminism in the context of post-colonial and post-communist global politics, and second to scrutinise their own localised

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practices. Any future claims upon national or global polities need to be based upon recognition of the interdependence of the economic and the social that have been disassociated by neo-liberalism. Second, the aim should be to utilise the emergence of new international policy fields and global polities and the various dimensions and flows of globalisation to develop ways of embedding the principles of equity into policy discourses.

2   Universalising and Differentiating Discourses: Issues for 'Transnational' Feminism

Feminism is a set of philosophies, political and social activities, organic and institutionalised, that take on culturally specific forms. Martha Nussbaum suggests that the main issue confronting feminism as a social movement in the twenty-first century is how to address the tension between universalisation and cultural relativism. Inderpal Grewal (1994) argues that:

> If 'woman' has been a part of the colonial and nationalist discourse of modernity, it is difficult but necessary to dismantle this construct without recuperating the also problematic discourse of 'role' within the patriarchal family (of wife, mother, sister) and consequently of 'tradition'. Thus, even while it is important to critique an ahistorical category of 'women', it is just as problematic to see authentic versions of women's locations within societies. (p. 5)

With globalisation, the nation state is in tension between unifying around national identity and fragmenting with the recognition of difference. The position of women, immigrants, refugees and the indigenous challenges highlights this tension. These groups are often only included if 'difference is left outside'; women's sense of difference is usually defined in the political domain as premised on public/private divide; indigenous/immigrants 'othering' is based on a cultural/political divide (Haggis and Scheck, 2000).

But feminism is also a shared desire to improve the lot of women regardless of place. Feminism is a *societal* movement, in the sense that it is a social action that challenges 'domination that is both particular and general' in any political contestation in which the status quo is criticised and alternatives envisioned. It is more than an interest group or a tool for pressure – 'it challenges the modality of the social use of resources and cultural models' (Touraine, 2000, pp. 90–91). Feminism is a network of 'collective imaginations' emerging when historical and political circumstances encourage public recognition that many of the norms, institutions and traditions that structure women's personal and social lives, as well as the impact of new developments and social change, are detrimental to women's well-being (Narayan, 1997). Feminism is a network from below competing with dominant networks from above (Smith, 2008). Feminism is not 'imported' intact, although feminist ideas flow, reconstituted, across national boundaries. Its very hybridity and fluidity means feminism experiences internal conflict, contestation and contradiction over defining 'the problem', the philosophical stance, and the practical politics, but always bearing some 'family resemblances' (Schott, 1999, p. 4).

But Touraine sees the notion of a 'societal' movement as a collective project disappearing. The lack of an image of a liberated subject, the tendency for struggles to reduce to the interests of an emerging new elite, and the ultra-liberal conception of society as a market and social actors as competitors has produced a fragmentation of collective action and a tendency towards a form of 'sub politics' and a new sense of 'a Subject'. Even in developed nation states and democracies, 'societal movements have now to take the form of collective actions that directly assert and defend both equality and the rights and freedoms of the Subject' (Touraine, 2000, p. 93). That is, contemporary *societal* movements are more ethical movements than religious, economic and political movements, with 'changes in the development, organisation, consciousness and mobilisation of civil society' that has led to 'shifts in norms and values and alignment of interests and the growth of formal and informal organisations independent from the state' (Lindberg and Sverisson, 1997, p. 5).

What does this mean for feminism as a transnational movement? Ong (1999) argues that theorising the global as macro-political and the local as situated, culturally creative and resistant does not capture the 'horizontal' and 'relational' nature of the contemporary economic, social and cultural processes that stream across spaces. 'Transnationality' she suggests is a better term:

> *Trans* denotes both moving through space or across lines as well as changing the nature of something. Besides suggesting new relations between nation states and capital, *trans*nationality also alludes to the *trans*versal, the *trans*actional, the *trans*lational and the *trans*gressive aspects of contemporary behaviour and imagination that are incited, enabled and regulated by the changing logics of states and capitalism … the condition of cultural interconnectedness and mobility across spaces … which has intensified under late capitalism. (Ong, 1999, p. 4)

Transnationalism is about the 'cultural specificities of global processes, tracing the multiplicity of the uses and conceptions of "culture" (Ong, 1999, p. 4). Particular cultural logics 'inform and structure borders crossings as well as state strategies'. For that reason, feminists need to consider both the economic rationalities of globalisation and cultural dynamics that shape human and political responses' within specific states (Ong, 1999, p. 5). She argues that the notion of transnationality requires us to understand the 'reciprocal construction of practice, gender, ethnicity, race, class and nation in processes of capital accumulation, the regulatory effects of particular cultural institutions, projects, regimes and markets that shape people's motivations, desires, struggles and make them particular kinds of subjects'. Transnationalism displays the tension between social/political movements and social/political orders and transnational strategies that relate to systems of governmentality.

Transnationalism also challenges how feminists and educators understand community as no longer 'bounded' and how education and democratic theory interlink. The democratic project of Dewey, for example, was central to the formation of the nation state. Public education systems were founded during the nineteenth century to develop national citizenship. Transnationalism raises educational questions about educating for global citizenship and what global, translational and transgressive educational narratives around citizenship and education might look like to

counter the educational instrumentalism of neo-liberalism. Braidotti argues that we need to understand the local before we can work cross-nationally.

> [But] no discussion of the feminist international perspective is complete unless it rests on a lucid analysis of one's own national roots. Of one's own inscription in the network of power and signification that makes up one's own culture—feminists cannot avoid confrontation with our own national types, our location within a specific national framework. Unless this kind of feminist analysis gets elaborated, women run the risk of waving the international flag as an empty rhetorical gesture, slipping in to a fantasy world, a no(wo) man's land. Proposing an international perspective without critical scrutiny of our roles in our cultural, national contexts would be only a form of supernationalism, that is, ultimately, a form of planetary exile. (Braidotti quoted in Narayan, 1997, p. 32)

In contrast, Walby cautions feminists about utilising the politics of location because its focus on difference can exaggerate and reify boundaries between social groupings, failing to recognise they are permeable and overlap. The 'politics of location respects the culture values of different social groups and is predicated upon a presumed lack of shared values, upon profound differences … differences that are irreconcilable. It is therefore difficult for people to understand each other' (Walby, 2000 p. 194). She suggests a 'politics of equality' assumes that we can compare the situation of different groups of women and men against some shared standard, and this standard of justice is the basis for the claims of equality can be understood by variously located social groups. Debates should focus on similarities and not just differences so feminists can determine agreed standards of justice. So can a collective imagination amongst feminists cross the 'defensive boundaries' of nations work? Can feminism work at all in the socio-political networks – local, national, transnational, and global? And what would be the basis of this alliance?

3   Transversing Defensive Boundaries

Uma Narayan (1997), an Indian post-colonial feminist, deconstructs the relationship between universalising discourses of feminism, often depicted in Third World nations as 'Westernisation', and a 'culturally authentic feminism' that is nationally bound. She argues that as a Third World feminist who grew up in India, then Uganda, and who now lives in the USA, her experiences of being an Indian girl and then a woman taught her about gender and what it was to be 'female' and 'Indian'. Her education and experience moved her beyond seeing what she experienced as a personal problem to being a matter of systematic and systemic treatment of women because of the political and social environment of her time and cultural context. That is, she experienced the paradox of most upper class Indian girls of being highly educated at the same time that she was expected to conform to particular cultural norms of womanhood. Her politicisation arose not from her 'Westernisation' but from various political movements that originated in India about specific Indian issues that were not Western agendas: for example, the anti-dowry movement arose because dowry deaths were increasing not decreasing. The issue therefore is not

between 'culturally authentic' and 'Westernised' feminism but a matter of differential experiences (education, life, travel) and generational differences arising from social change. 'Feminist analyses are results of political organising and political mobilisation, initiated and sustained by women within these Third World contexts' (Narayan, 1997, pp. 12–13). Certainly there are commonalities with Western feminists, she suggests, in that Western women

> are no strangers to battering and violence prevalent in their own various forms of marriage and family arrangements. They are no strangers either to the sense of shame that accompanies admitting victimisation, or to a multiplicity of material, social, and cultural structures that pose serious impediments to women seeking assistance. (Narayan, 1997, p. 14)

Furthermore, the perceived cultural colonisation of localised feminism by 'global feminism' (read Western feminism) is not peculiar to Third World countries. Oppositional discourses about Third World and Western feminism are echoed within Western feminism and within national boundaries between white feminism/ black or Chicana feminism in the USA and indigenous/non-indigenous feminism in the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Moreton-Robinson (2000), an Australian indigenous feminist, puts issues of recognition, land rights and self-determination based on collective rights of sovereignty as the priorities for Australian indigenous women who

> deploy a politics of embarrassment which draws on the ideal of equal and human rights for all citizens in our struggle for self determination, in order to expose the legacy of colonisation. In this struggle, Indigenous women are politically and culturally aligned with Indigenous men because, irrespective of gender, we are tied through obligations and reciprocity to our kin and country, and we share a common history of colonisation. (Moreton-Robinson, 2000, p. 163)

By contrast, rather than this sense of the collective, Moreton-Robinson sees 'individual accomplishment, ambition and rights are the essential values of the white feminist movement' (Moreton-Robinson, 2000, p. 163). That is, she positions white feminists as propagating the values that many white feminists would see as being highly 'masculinist'. For Indigenous women, family and kinship are privileged over rights. To privilege individual rights over community in order to be in solidarity with white feminists is 'an irrelevant luxury' for indigenous women (p. 163). Yet privilege is granted to white women merely through their 'whiteness' as the processes of colonisation were gendered as well as racialised and white feminists have been complicit in perpetuating colonialism and racism (Narayan, 1997; Moreton-Robinson, 2000; Blackmore, 1999a). Arguments for gender equality during the twentieth century were often premised upon white middle class women's positioning of themselves as 'responsible for the poor', for protecting indigenous women, and in colonial societies, as for 'saving' colonised women (Marx, 2006; McMahon, 2007) This does not mean that Narayan and Moreton-Robinson reject white feminist theory but rather confront it with its own limitations.

Colonisation produced discourses about the 'exotic women', but also changed the nature of the social relations of gender within colonised cultures (Mabokela and Marsden, 2000). Cultures as 'others' are historically constructed, with permeable

boundaries; more 'sources of control or of abandonment, of recollection and forgetting, of force or of dependence, of exclusiveness or of sharing', where the boundaries are more about 'defensive polities'(Said, 1998, p. 225). Hegemonic colonising masculinities 'feminised', 'infantalised' or rendered as 'primitive', local colonial masculinities through, for example, the use of 'boy' to 'other' local masculinities, similar to how dominant masculinist Western discourses 'othered' and infantalised women. Likewise, hegemonic local colonial discourses informed by particular 'traditional' religious and cultural beliefs were mobilised by men to position women as 'other' and 'lesser' (Connell, 1998, Battiste, 2005, Blackmore, 2007, Ladson Billings, 2004).

Equally, within Western feminism, despite the historical trans-Atlantic dynamic between English and American feminism, each has taken different cultural forms in terms of issues, political strategies and forms of organisation. Likewise, there are significant differences between Australian, UK and English feminism, with 'celebrity feminism' and legislative approaches more dominant in the USA, and the significant role of Australian 'femocrats' (feminist bureaucrats) more aligned with state feminism in Scandinavia (Blackmore, 1999). The US strategic imperative emphasised non-government and legal approaches as was trend in the USA on equity. The woman's movement in Australia worked through a temporary alliance with the state, a strategy not possible in the UK due to the absence of femocrats (Pringle and Watson, 1996). Differences exist between Scandinavian feminists and other European feminisms, for example the French, in terms of their theoretical and political trajectories (Schott, 1999). At the same time, Western 'export' feminism is, on the one hand, commodified, privatised and depoliticised within global capitalist discourses that market feminism such as Madonna 'pop feminism' and, on the other, feminisms' achievements are used to justify the rolling back of affirmative action policies.

Feminism is about social change, and changing the social/power relations of gender in particular (Smith, 2008). Discourses about the inevitability of change have travelled along with discourses of globalisation. On the one hand, Western feminism is itself on the defensive after decades of socially conservative and radical market-oriented reforms. Feminists promoting gender equity in the anglophone states realised that progress is not developmental – what is gained over time is often quickly lost. Battles continue in Australia as in the USA over the rights for abortion. Lingard and Douglas (1999) see the feminist backlash meant gains made through state policies have been eroded since the 1990s. A socially conservative federal government has reduced the role of the femocrats by restructuring government based on 'new public administration' principles, femocrats have been expected to deal with all equity policy issues, and gender equity units have been integrated into human resource management. Such moves put feminists on the defensive. Social policies have favoured middle-class families and victimised single parent families, weakening women's capacity to earn at the same time as the reduction of public expenditure in education, health and welfare and their privatisation has increased the burden on families (and therefore women) for care of aged, young and sick. Equity infrastructures built up by the 'baby boomer' generation of feminists, presumed as a right by the current generation, are fast depleting.

On the other hand, in Third World nation states, opponents to feminism and progressive social change often use notions of globalisation/Westernisation/Americanisation interchangeably. Feminism is seen to be just another aspect of Westernisation (Narayan, 1997). Opponents to national feminism in Third World countries have mobilised discourses against local feminists as being part of a wider trend of Westernisation, a 'two cultures' perspective, leading to a valorisation of indigenous culture and the denigrating of the values of the West and idealising local cultures. The two cultures (Western and non-Western) are treated as totalisations that often 'cast the values and practices of specific privileged groups within the community's values of the culture as a whole' (Narayan, 1997, p. 15). Western culture has also been simplistically characterised as progressive and non-Western cultures as traditional and resistant to change. Western values based on human rights are said by some to be antithetical to 'Asian values', and that Asian values are not averse to more authoritarian regimes that produce economic benefits, a link challenged by Sen, who suggests that neither the West nor Asia are monolithic socially, economically or politically. Current discourses about 'Asian values' are a way of working through market rationality as 'Asian tiger economies are liberal formations dedicated to the most efficient way of achieving maximal economic performance' (Ong, 1999, p. 195). Thus the 'Asian values discourses' are deployed by the state in order to normalise social structures that are conducive to global capitalism while utilising the traditional disciplinary discourses of Confucianism and Islam. This capitalist friendly Confucianism and Islamism is no different than the American's capitalist-friendly Judeo-Christian tradition, and each brings with it legacies that shape institutions and practices in highly gendered ways.

4   Translating Gender Formations: Neo-liberalism and Globalisation

Post-communism and globalisation has, Connell argues, produced a new gender order premised upon neo-liberal politics and economics that have largely informed the world polity:

> Neo liberal politics has little to say, explicitly, about gender. It speaks a gender-neutral language of 'markets', 'individuals', and 'choice'. New Right politicians and journalists denounce'political correctness' and 'feminazis', and new-right governments have abolished or downgraded equal opportunity programs and women's policy units. (Connell, 2000, p. 51)

Implicitly, neo-liberal economics and politics is highly gendered, racialised and classed, propagating the ideal as the entrepreneurial 'independent' male mobilised by choice, not association, affiliation or commitment to others or to nation. There is little sense of responsibility to others or of loyalty and commitment amongst the emerging global mobile workforce of largely white males. The 'patriarchal divi-

dend' these men receive is 'accumulated by impersonal institutional means' (Connell, 2000, p. 52), for example, the gross payouts to bad CEOs because of contractual arrangements.

Neo-liberalism has produced a deterministic sense of system convergence that has become embedded in global economic policy. Macro-economic restructuring in response to the various local manifestations of globalisation has had profound effects on most nation states (Zajda, 2005). But within international, national and local policy regimes there is little recognition of the gendering capacity of the processes and its gendered effects: the notion of institutional reformation has been treated as gender neutral and the means of restructuring as inevitable (Bakker, 1994). Structural policies are formulated on a gender-neutral individual who is mobile, flexible and has the individual freedom to choose and a failure to recognise that there are asymmetrical relations of power within institutions and nation states.

> Gender relations can be defined in terms of the interplay between historical practices that are distinguished according to masculine and feminine (theories and ideologies, including religious ideas), institutional practices (such as state and market), and material conditions (the nature and distribution of material capabilities along gender lines). Gender relations are social constructions (social forces and historical structures) that differentiate and circumscribe material outcomes for women and men. This definition of gender relations recognises that the interplay of race, class and sexuality underpins the form and structure of actual gender relations. (Bakker, 1994, p. 3)

Brodie (1994) argues that restructuring has not only transformed relations between state and market but also shifted boundaries between public and private spheres and this is a realignment that significantly impacts on gender relations within families and workplaces. In Anglo nation states this has led to an erosion of the public and a re-valorisation of the private with the dismantling of the welfare state. So on the one hand we have current structural adjustment policies and conservative politics seeking to 'roll back the state' but in practice the conservative state has been highly interventionist in areas of conservative family policy and cutting away at labour market and social protections for women.

International trade and global markets 'are arenas of gender formation and gender politics' (Connell, 2000, p. 41). Emerging international and regional polities and markets form recycled versions of the gender order that defines different masculinities in relation to a range of femininities that are socially constructed within specific cultural contexts but in which particular masculinities are the dominant norm. Postcolonial notions of gender take on new discursive forms in specific locations within global contexts at the same time that culture when equated to tradition becomes 'fixed'. Women are central to maintaining tradition as women are the carriers of culture. This requires a better understanding as to the nature of the state and how masculinities and femininities are constructed by and through the state within specific contexts. Implicit rather than explicit in this discussion is how the position of women is often central to these characterisations of Western and Asian values, with the image of the subjugated woman of Muslim countries (Shah, 2006).

These debates are highly gendered in their construction and the ways in which they are mobilised locally and internationally. Male-dominated Third World elites

construct particular practices that protect the dominance by arguing that they are traditional. Hegemonic masculinities in globalised post-colonial cultures therefore rest uneasily between local and global cultures (Connell, 2000). Similarly, what counts as progress in Western cultures is often that propagated by elite Anglo males in various multinational organisations who have little sense of loyalty to country or group. Yet their location is premised upon particular social relations of gender and power. The mobility of transnational elite Anglo masculinities exemplifying the autonomous self-maximising individual is reliant upon particular domestic arrangements that require partners and children's subjugation of rights to that of the father or the equally mobile, childless partner.

De-industrialisation in Western nation states has produced a crisis for working-class 'blue-collar' masculinities, no longer the primary breadwinners, at the same time as women are entering an increasingly casualised labour market, transforming familial gender relations. There has been an evacuation of the centralised approaches to gender equity and industrial relations together with deregulation of school provision and the educational labour markets that have impacted on a feminised profession (Acker and Dillabough, p. 2007). This emerging ambivalence and uncertainty about the 'masculine self' plays out in the current debates in many Anglo nation states about the underachievement of boys (and crisis in masculinity generally) foregrounded in education policy (Lingard and Douglas, 1999; Arnot et al., 1998; Lingard, 2003). This totalising discourse about the underachievement of boys has produced a form of 'recuperative masculinity', mobilised through policy, that has produced a redistribution of resources back to boys without recognising how class, location, ethnicity and indigeneity produce greater differences amongst boys than between boys and girls (Lingard, 2003; Collins et al., 2000; Arnot et al., 1998). Despite shifting social, political and economic relations of gender and gender identity that have produced more independent feminine selves, collectively, masculinity continues to be at the forefront of 'the culture remaking of gender meanings' and the 'reshaping of institutional contexts of practice' (Connell, 2000, p. 44).

Similarly, Ong (1999) sees gender permeating through notions of transnationalism, globalism and cosmopolitanism with all its connotations of statelessness and 'at home throughout the world'. Flexible citizenship, as conceptualised in cosmopolitanism, is only an option for particular classes and ignores the difference between 'the power of mobile and non-mobile subjects'(Ong, 1999, p. 11). Non-materialist analysis of cultural perspectives on globalisation produces 'an innocent concept of the essential diasporan subject, one that celebrates hybridity, 'cultural' border crossing and the production of difference (Ong, 1999, p. 13). She illustrates how Confucianism as a discourse is mobilised to normalise market restructuring as a positive, and how the economic capital of the overseas Chinese business elite cannot be so readily transferred into social capital in a racialised American culture: that is, wealthy Chinese immigrants are at the top of the economic ladder and not the bottom as is expected of recent immigrants. Yet embedded in the notion of the 'overseas Chinese' are core 'Chinese' values that control women and the poor: that is, a 'structure of limits and inequality for the many of flexibility and mobility for the few'(Ong,

1999, p. 117). The Chinese immigrant business family, as that of Anglo transnational masculinities, is premised upon a particular set of gender arrangements within the family and workplaces: the family remains located in one place, thus exerting a 'fraternal tribal capitalism, in which national boundaries and government rules are bypassed by 'doing business man to man'. Flexibility is thus a 'masculine property' (Ong, 1999, pp. 143–145). Local colonial capacities also disrupt Western cultural colonisations. Colonising masculinities work with/against colonial masculinities, leading to new gender formations as cultural hybrids of Western forms of bureaucracy and institutions mixed with local traditional forms and norms of bureaucratic life as in, for example, China and India. There are numerous accounts of how traditional patriarchies have linked to new institutional practices to recover ascendancy, such as Hollway's depiction of the Tanzanian state bureaucracy and Wolpe et al.'s (1997) analysis of the sidelining of feminists in the reformed South Africa. The conditions of globalisation, which involve the interaction of many local gender orders, multiply the forms of masculinity on the global gender order.

5 Transacting New Education Policies and Old Inequality Stories

Touraine (2000, p. 89) sees the central cultural conflict of the twenty-first century as being the struggle of 'the Subject against the triumph of market and technologies on the one hand and communitarian authoritarian powers on the other'. This struggle between the economic and the social is central for feminists and for educators given the dominance of neo-liberal policy frames. Neo-liberalism has promoted in both local and global policy communities particular notions of governance and the role of education. Education policy has embedded within it particular world views, understandings about change, development, context, responsibilities and rights. Policy in that sense is normative in seeking to change attitudes, behaviours and indeed values. Policy is indeed the authoritative allocation of values. Bacchi argues that therefore feminists need to understand policy as both a process and activity.

The 1990s saw the privileging of travelling policies across most anglophone nation states that promoted education systems on market principles (Whitty et al., 1998). Responses to globalisation in specific nation states was contingent upon both national policy responses and historically produced political, social, cultural and economic factors. Thus Australia's responses to globalisation arise from its Anglo-ness, its marginal position relative to new globalised regional economies of the European Union (EU), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and its proximity to Southeast Asia and Asia. Other Western nation states sought to create new regional political formations, such as the EU and the NAFTA. Some used strong state intervention and investment in education to promote economic growth and cultural identity (e.g. Asian tigers such as Singapore), while others sought to protect their social structures and values (e.g. The Nordic states). The real crisis lay not with the

state itself but rather in the interaction between the composite parts of contemporary welfare regimes: labour markets, the family and the welfare state. Anglo Saxon states have become more market biased; Southern European and Japanese regimes are more familialistic; Scandinavian states are more welfare oriented (Epsing-Andersen, 2000, p. 4).

Responses were also determined by local politics. Whereas conservatives were in government in the UK, USA and Canada during the late 1970s and early 1980s, conservatives were not in power federally in Australia until the Howard government of 1996. Australia and New Zealand also adopted more radical responses to globalisation due to their location as marginal nation states distant from their European origins and outside the new local and distant regionalised economies and polities but seeking to tap into emerging markets in Asia and the Pacific Rim. The UK and USA, at the core of global economies, were more protected from the exigencies of global market forces than weaker economies.

Debates during the 1990s were between neo-liberal marketers, neo-conservatives and social democrats, with neo-liberal market ideologies becoming dominant in many Anglo nation states and international bodies. Within the framework of neo-liberal market philosophy, the distribution of schooling became an expression of individual difference mobilised through neo-liberal discourses of individual/parental choice and education became a commodity through which to gain competitive advantage (Bosetti, 1999). This new instrumentalism towards education separated its economic value from its social value. These policy discourses of parental choice meant individual (largely middle class) families could mobilise class strategies that maximised self interest (Power et al., 2003). In the context of the 'hollowing out of the middle classes', the fear of exclusion from access to social mobility fuelled demand for more choice. This discourse of choice also provided legitimacy for individuals and social groups who had the capacities (monetary, political) to make claims for a 'particular form' of education and 'particular types' of schools based on ethnicity, 'race', class and gender. This global policy frame coincided with internal debates within anglophone nation states between a form of liberalism that privileges the rights-based, procedural, gender neutral individual and communitarian group-based notions embedded in multiculturalism, the former dominating public and national policy.

Neo-liberal discourses of individual choice premised upon gender, race and culturally neutral notions of market rationalism paradoxically provided a way to claim upon the state social groups claiming the need for recognition of difference. Thus the rise of Maori schools in New Zealand, black charter schools in the USA and Canada, Catholic and fundamental religious schools in Australia, single sex boys and girls schools, each appealing to their own 'niche' markets of 'difference'. This policy provided for some communities in some nation states a sense of ownership over their local school. In the USA, charter schools (still less than 2% of total school population) addressed the desire of black communities. Yet there has been, as yet, little evidence of improvement in student achievement while there is a strong local identification with the school (Freeman, 1999). Likewise, in Canada, 'the real promise of charter schools resides less in fostering excellence and efficiency in

public education and more in providing schools of choice for parents, and in addressing diverse values and goals of education' (Bosetti, 1999, p. 2).

This is because the policies underpinned by neo-liberal discourses of individual choice ignore the material conditions that provide some individuals and groups (e.g. middle class families able to afford high-fee elite schools in Australia) with more choices than others. At the same time, the principles of competitive individualism are exacerbating social and economic inequality through the institutionalisation of cultural differences within education systems (Brantlinger. The trend to privatise educational costs was in a period when the post-welfare state reduced funding to public education systems, while downloading the funding crisis to individual self-managing schools in devolved 'public' systems in which individual schools competed against each other and to families. At the same time, the post-welfare state was offloading its responsibility for care to families and individuals, largely women, for the aged, young and sick.

The radical restructuring of education in New Zealand towards self-governing schools, while promoted through discourses of empowering parents, led to intensified concentrations of poverty and wealth in rural and urban sectors (Thrupp, 2003). The effect there, as in Australia and the UK, has been to exacerbate existing educational inequalities between schools, systems, communities, families and individuals that has racial, ethnic as well as class effects, but that is hidden by discourses of 'failing schools' that blames local school councils, principals, communities and absolves government from more fundamental reforms (Blackmore, 2007). So while these schools provided recognition and indeed ownership of local schools, there has been little redistribution of the benefits of schooling because of locational disadvantage resulting from wider systemic structural and social inequalities based on the coincidence of poor schools in locations of significant poverty and ethnic/racial concentrations.

Funding culturally differentiated schools has other equity effects. First, it means that gender equity issues are foregrounded. The mobilisation of discourses of choice have also met the convergence of quite contradictory demands. On the one hand, there are demands of middle class 'Anglo' feminist mothers and fundamentalist religious parents seeking single sex girls schools. Yet research indicates that the issue of educational achievement is more about which boys and which girls are being impacted most by these discourses of rights, while keeping in mind that once girls enter the workplace, regardless of educational achievement, they receive lower rewards than their male counterparts (Collins et al., 2000). On the other hand, gender equity issues tend to disappear as particular cultural and religious norms dominate in local educational and community run settings. The lack of government intervention in terms of equity in how schools are governed has also mobilised and reproduced gender discourses that position women badly in terms of accessing leadership in schools on the one hand, and raised expectations that parents (read mothers) are more supportive of their children's learning and active in raising funds on the other. Indeed, the onus of care has moved onto families and voluntary labour and locally raised funds and therefore largely women as the state has withdrawn from its responsibilities for funding public education as a major provider.

Second, despite the discourses about empowering local communities, governments do not seek parental input at the level of policies that shape the possibilities of local schools or adequately resource them, as the community is now held responsible (Blackmore, 2003). Third, although, in New Zealand and Canadian schools, different socio-economic and cultural groups benefit from being in schools with a cultural mix (and therefore more likely to have a wider socio-economic mix) that includes high-achieving students, the ironic tension is that families actually prefer to be in schools that reflect the values of like-minded persons (Bosetti, 1999; Thrupp, 1999). Indeed some parents and ethnic groups who most actively seek to mobilise choice often see social mix as challenging their desire for cultural or religious homogeneity. But if the aim is for an equitable system that increases the life chances of all students and that undertakes seriously the notion of education as citizen formation, where diversity is valued, then promoting schools with greater social mix is desirable (Ahmed, 2007). A particular Canadian case highlights how culture, ethnicity and issues of recognition converged with neo-liberal discourses of individual choice and local school governance. Mitchell (2001) indicates how the influx of particular wealthy Hong Kong Chinese in Richmond community in British Columbia led to promotion of particular cultural tradition of education within British Columbia-one that emphases streaming based on achievement, stronger discipline and morality, firm standardised measures of outcomes, philosophies traditionally opposed by local progressive Richmond parents, teachers and policymakers but in line with conservative government policies that attacked public schools. Separateness was in this context advantageous for this particular cultural group who demanded traditional schools that in effect produced de facto ethnically Chinese schools. Thus you have an 'economically based global agenda' and a 'socially based national narrative' in contestation (Mitchell, 2001, p. 52). The discourse of individual choice in anglophone nations ignores both group advantage *and* disadvantage. Some individuals and groups can mobilise their cultural/economic advantage but most cannot. This discursive construction allows governments to increasingly absolve themselves of their responsibilities for equity.

These examples indicate a number of issues for education policy. First, that as feminists we cannot consider issues of gender and what happens to girls and women without taking into account issues of class, race, ethnicity, indigeneity and religion both locally as well as transnationally. The tendency amongst feminists has been to suggest that we 'should settle for a politics of recognition of existing social groups rather than the politics of redistribution or of transformation' (Walby, 2000, p. 189). We must get beyond 'storytelling' and 'political fictions' and address the nature of difference 'both as a social and political object of analysis and as a subject of knowledge. … Differences in social location, such as those of class, "race", ethnicity, nation, religion linguistic community, sexual orientation, age, generation and able-bodiness as well as those based on gender are important and need to be included in feminist theory'(and inform policy) (Walby, 2000, p. 190).

Second, neo-liberal policies privilege individual choice on the invalid assumption that all individuals have the economic, cultural and political capacities to

mobilise that choice, such as being able to travel, pay fees, etc. Freeman (1999, p. 40) argues that allowing schools to be selective based on religious, ethnic, racial, gender difference means that they are 'given free reign to occupy any of the moral territory stretching between a narcissitic brand of individualism on one extreme and a numbing social conformity on another'. Third, any theoretical framework underpinning policy must also address the separation of the social from the economic that has been exacerbated in education policies informed by neo-liberal theory. In so doing the contribution of women is ignored. This requires the development of a sense of what might constitute 'the public' given that education is no longer central to national interest and citizenship, allows the blurring of public/private, and produces an assimilationist agenda for marginalised groups such as Indigenous Australians (Hollinsowrth, 2006). These raise questions about the aims of education in a democratic society, schools' role in citizenship formation, and matters of balancing rights and responsibilities. The separation out of the economic and the social also continues to downgrade the activities of women as mothers and workers, their work largely being about the social.

Finally, the above examples indicate that recognition of difference is not adequate in terms of underpinning education policy to produce social justice for all (Unterhalter and Walker, 2005; Zajda, 2006). The feminist political scientist, Nancy Fraser, argues that social justice requires both recognition of difference and redistribution. Redistribution is primarily with a focus on equality and the same standard of justice; recognition focuses on different values. The focus on recognition of difference (between social groups and individuals) can lead to social fragmentation between the 'haves' (a choice) and the 'have nots' (have no choice) and therefore stabilise the status quo. Difference is therefore institutionalised, 'fixing' and 'naturalising' cultural (and quite often economic) difference through the structures of schooling. This is more likely to lead to greater not less social fragmentation, and also, because of the different historical and socio-economic capacities of religious and cultural groups to mobilise support within the state, greater educational and therefore later social and economic inequality that is culturally and religiously based. Focusing on difference in the context of neo-liberalism privileges the principle of recognition over that of principle of redistribution, the individual over the collective good.

Equivalent weight needs to be given to principles of redistribution based on group as well as individual difference: that is, a redistribution of resources has to accompany any recognition of difference, a redistribution that recognises both advantages and disadvantages of particular social groups. Fraser's notion of a politics of transformation means we do not choose between the politics of recognition of difference or a politics of redistribution but rather change the system that defines inequalities and differences: that is, we seek new standards that recognise 'the practical condition of difference within the project of equality. It involves argument over the standards which should be used to constitute equality and justice' (Walby, 1999, p. 203). Equality and difference are not mutually exclusive. This would require recognition also of oppressed groups' access to goods and services that they, as the more privileged, desire. Inequality comes from lack of access to a

desired standard of basic needs. With regard to schooling, this would require governments to provide basic resource provision that seeks to equalise the conditions of learning of all students. It would mean policies that do not rely on markets as the distributive force or based merely on individual choice. Rather, schools may promote themselves on their educational programs rather than cultural, class or gender difference, and be funded to a base level with additional resources for disadvantaged students and regions.

6   Socio-Political Networks, Emerging 'Transnational' Polities and Feminist Collective Imaginations?

Connell (2000) argues the need to theorise the 'globalisation of gender' at the socio-political level of the local, state, international and global networks. While local masculinities were being reformed through shifting neo-liberal and seemingly gender neutral policy frames arising from globalisation it has exacerbated the concentration of economic and cultural power on an unprecedented scale. Globalisation has changed the nature of the power of the state to mediate global economic, cultural and political relations. The state as not a thing, system or subject but a significantly unbounded terrain of powers and techniques, another site in which there is struggle over meaning. Ironically, the state's masculinism has become more potent as the state's processes have become more diffuse - 'the postmodern state and postmodern masculinism both operate through the disavowal of their potency, repudiation of and fragmentation of control' (synthesised in Pringle and Watson, 1996, p. 74).

Globalisation also sees the rise of grassroots non-governmental organisational formations - globalisation from below. Transnational masculinities have the capacity to become institutionalised and standardised through their dominance in international bodies, both governmental and non-governmental such as UNESCO, UNICEF, World Bank, IMF, WTO and international policy bodies such as the OECD based on a globalised labour market of academics and bureaucrats. These multinational bodies have encouraged during the 1990s particular policy orthodoxies. Structural adjustment policies pushed developing nation states (South Africa and Asia) and those developed nation states marginal to the new regionalised economic blocs of the EU, APEC and NAFTA, such as Australia and New Zealand, towards post-welfarism. Structural adjustment policies advocated, if not prescribed, by the World Bank, IMF and OECD reduced public expenditure (education, health and welfare), privileged export industries, privatised essential and public services, deregulated financial and labour markets, impacting harshly on local economies generally but particularly on women and children as women bore the brunt of care, and children lack of schooling (Stromquist and Monkman, 2000). Even in wealthy anglophone states, women increasingly assume the burden of care for young, aged and sick that the post-welfare state abrogates in a context of riskier casualised and feminised labour markets and challenges to the service professions. The dominant message of education policy discourses in the 1990s in nation states as disparate as

Australia, Sri Lanka, Mexico, Netherlands, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Norway and South Africa was that radical educational restructuring characterised by downsizing and centralised decentralisation (devolution, site-based management, self-governing schools) to make the nation state more productive and competitive in global markets. Girls were, in many developing nations states, the first to be withdrawn from school in times of economic hardship. Market forces swept away a range of supports and protections of women the post-Communist states, increasing economic and social inequality.

These networks form a transnational 'polity', a 'collective imagination', that is important for feminist strategic work. During the twentieth century, feminist's claims were made upon the national polity by local movements in which localised practices dominated. Now, with the emergence of more powerful international policy bodies linked to financial markets, the state mediates relations between local/global markets and transnational polities, often compromising local population's needs/rights for legitimation and access to markets, as in the case of the World Trade Organisation. This global network of international governmental and NGO organizations has a capacity, but not always the political will, to pressure individual states. Gender equity can symbolise 'modernisation' and for many Third World nations this can attract investment (Bradley and Ramirez, 1996). Regionally, the EU, while viewing equity and education/training in a utilitarian sense of promoting economic growth, has created an equal opportunity infrastructure monitoring effects based on notions of a social market, corporatism and human rights and thus modifying the excesses of new right policies (Pillinger, 1992; Brine, 1999).

At the same time transnational bodies such as NAFTA and WTO are seeking to reduce protections as they pressure the nation state to privilege mobile capital. Education, particularly higher education in anglophone states, is increasingly affected by NAFTA agreements because it allows commercialisation of services and reduces governmental capacities to protect public education. Professionalism is also being reconstituted with the standardisation of qualifications and skills transnationally. In education generally, there has been a simultaneous push to reduce collective action and human rights through the emphasis on competition, individualism and family responsibility. This has led to transnational resistances such as the Transnational Coalition (formed in 1995) to protect fundamental social rights to education. This Coalition had three goals: to defend and strengthen public education and human rights in North America, to develop an alternative educational project and to defend labour rights of educational workers and unions (i.e. globalisation) from below.

While there is growing recognition by the World Bank that the imposition of the orthodoxy of structural adjustment during the 1990s damaged rather than promoted the growth of developing nation states because of its impact on women and children (Stromquist and Monkman, 2000, Stromquist, 2008), this has not changed the dominant gender neutral discourses underpinning much policy. Women's education has largely been linked to their role as mothers, and issues of health and fertility, their reproductive rather than productive capacities. Only the Beijing Declaration of 1995 articulated the aspirations of women as autonomous individuals. Even

while neo-liberal policies dominate globally, women are largely excluded from their basic conceptualisation of the self-maximising individual. While there has been a gradual if inconsistent shift in World Bank polices, in that 'ugly' projects tend to be vetoed early, the gap between official discourse and practice continues. Institutions such as the World Bank can be held responsible only for minimal standards and equity, and even that requires sponsor countries using political leverage. Nation states, the World Bank and the transnational civil societies of the NGOs, each internally divided, produce alternative approaches (Unterhalter, 2001, Unterhalter and Walker, 2005).

In education, while the OECD found it difficult, once they went down the deregulatory path, to retain a discourse of equity that could be operationalised in terms of monitoring nation states, under pressure, the development of equity indicators was finally prioritised for 1997–2001 (Henry et al., 2001). While it is too simplistic to merely view the OECD as 'a group of hairy chested individuals [men one assumes] swinging from the trees, uttering cries of efficiency, competition and market discipline', there has been significant internal contestation between the IMF perspective as opposed to academic views, the former privileging the economic, the latter the social, within the OECD (Henry et al., 2001, p. 62). The shift from the social emphasis in the 1960s to the ascendance of market liberalism and 'new instrumentalism' of the 1990s was marked by tighter coupling between education and the economy and the questioning of 'public' and 'centralised' systems of education (Henry et al., 2001, p. 66). This 'break' occurred in the early 1970s with emergence of late capitalism and rise of structural youth unemployment. But there are also ideological divisions within Europe and other member nations between social democratic and neo-liberal policy stances, referred to as the 'European' versus the 'Anglo-Saxon' versions.

While the privileging of the economic in policy shifts was facilitated by a 'conceptual silence' about gender in restructuring (Bakker, 1994) in the early twenty-first century, increasingly, NGOs and social groups are appealing to universalist discourses about human rights. These are being mobilised in the transnational civil society, gaining legitimacy for claims made upon the nation state and international bodies for internal reform. Even the OECD has expressed a 'recent concern about the respect to human rights' (Henry et al., 2001, p. 62). There is recognition of the power of the emerging transnational governmental and non-governmental bodies as forming a world polity (Bradley and Ramirez, 1996). A case in point is Australian feminists mobilising complaints to the UNESCO Status of Women Committee about the destruction of equity policies and benefits by the conservative Howard government, as have Indigenous Australians and advocates for refugees through Amnesty International. Ironically, Australian femocrats had been central in creating or supporting the establishment of this Committee. So globalisation has raised issues about state sovereignity and the form it takes in a global economy, and not just about the rule of the people within the nation state. That is, there is both the uncoupling of the law and territorial state and the evaporation of the boundary between the domestic and international spheres. This interconnectedness will determine the fate of democratic communities.

7   Affirmative Post-modernists

How can progressive feminist and pro-feminist educators produce a non-nationalist framework of public education for democracy transnationally? Feminists need to take the position of being 'affirmative post modernists' rather than 'sceptical post modernist' (i.e. critical of modernity but open to new ways of change) without rejecting or affirming an ethic, making normative choices and striving to build issue specific policy coalitions' (Rosenau, 1992, pp. 15–16). Now there is a new global politics, a new 'field' of policy within a global politic. In this context, Anglo-feminist policy activists have argued, first, that the focus of policy needs to be redirected to become active in a range of policy fields, local and transnational, reducing reliance on the national field of policy, to use the notion of *trans* and play out the relational aspects and how nations relate to each other. Second, feminists need to shift from claims based on rights and not just needs. Third, women's movements as transnational movements must work strategically in alliance with other transnational movements (e.g. environmentalism) (Smith, 2008). There are already examples of how global movements can work from above and below such as the Education for All Movement (Brighouse and Unterhalter, 2002).

To do so requires us to understand and continue to work locally and nationally. How Anglo feminists have made claims upon the liberal nation state has been reliant upon specific historical cultural, economic and political formations. Barbara Hobson (2000) indicates how in the 1990s Western women's dependency on the male wage varied according the level of 'welfarism' of the state – the average contribution of husbands to family income ranging from 67% to 80% in order of Sweden, the USA, Australia, Canada, Germany and the UK – reflecting the level of traditional division of labour with husbands in the labour market and women providing child care and domestic work. Australian feminists focused on the power resources of the state and formal institutions such as the strong national unions to be mobilised in terms of a political constituency to produce change through policy. American feminists focused on legislative social rights to reduce the power of the markets and conservative social policy. Australian and American approaches were liberal-oriented and women depended more on the state for income, which had significant consequences with the structural adjustment policies reducing state welfare thus making women and children the 'new poor' in the 1990s. Australian women are more likely than American women to work part time or be more dependent on husband's income and therefore the state. Australia has stratified social welfare, with different indigenous and non-indigenous welfare systems. Historically, males' claim have been on the basis of being worker citizens and for compensation for failure in the labour market, while women's claims have been as members of families and for 'family failures'. Even in countries of greatest social provision of women, when claims are made on the basis of motherhood or marriage, women receive lower benefits than when claimed as a worker-citizen. The struggle over recognition that caring work demands equal political-citizenship rights and the economic right to paid work has yet to be won in many Anglo nation states (Orloff, 1996).

Bacchi, like others, has put a considerable case against the notion of equality as the aim, because then men are the norm against which women's equality is measured. Furthermore, they argue that feminists should move away from rights-based claims typical of anglophone national contexts. Fraser comments:

> In welfare states needs talk has been institutionalised as the major vocabulary of political discourse. It coexists uncomfortably, with talk about rights and interests at the very centre of political life. Indeed this peculiar juxtaposition of discourses of needs with discourses about rights and interests is one of the distinctive marks of late capitalist political culture. (Fraser, 1997, p. 162)

Pringle and Watson argue that feminists have made claims on the basis of needs and rights rather than interests. Discourses about needs are decidedly feminine, and discourses of interests masculine: they are associated with conservative American political theory. Rights and are still too closely tied to the universal humanistic Enlightenment project and its assumptions about the gender neutral (but implicitly male) autonomous individual. Indeed, New Right discourses have used the discourse of 'interests' against the claims of various groups as being particularistic, connoting selfishness, materialism and essentialism. Theoretically, many have argued that pluralist interest-group politics denies inequality in the distribution in power. Interests, needs and rights have both universalising/essentialising tendencies. Feminists struggle with a needs-based approach as it usually reduces to a sense of a universalised human (gender neutral) notion of basic needs or essentialist notion of particular needs of a group against some masculinist norm. Women's needs, Pringle and Watson argue, were based on private needs different from men's, and once these were met women could then be equal in the labour market. The question is what it means in terms of social practices. Needs discourses construct particular subject positions, e.g. single mother, youth at risk. The state or the transnational polity then sets up social practices which often reduce to surveillance, making these identities 'fixed' and therefore insolvable, and fail to ask, as Bacchi argues, 'what is the problem here?'.

Feminist strategies have to deal not only without relation to the categories man/woman but our relation to difference among women and our relation toward democratic politics. It is clear that feminism can no longer ground itself on an essentialist conception of woman or an understanding of 'gender identity; or "interest" shared by all women' (Pringle & Watson, 1996). The issue is which gives better political mileage in the current context of changing nature of the state and the emergent global policy field. Needs implies a form of marginalisation to be redressed by the state, rights suggests a form of possessive individualism and freedom from the state. Both require a common appeal to humanity. Feminists are arguing that, in recognition of the state, and the new regionalised states (e.g. the EU), and an emerging world polity, as not unitary things but as interlocking webs of political, economic and social relations (processes, structures and policies) a reconstructed notion of interests could be better. Such a reconstructed notion of interests would get beyond the masculinist notion of self-interested group politics where interests represents pre-existing groups and identities of the twentieth century, and where interests represents social agents constituted in a multiplicity of relations, whose identities are complex and precarious.

Interests is constantly redefined within a plurality of subject positions. Interests therefore take on a far more fluid and collective sense of difference (and therefore cultural difference) than that of rights and needs i.e. cultural relativist position. Drawing on Laclau and Mouffe, Pringle and Watson argue that if the symbolic order or network/web of the social is seen to be constructed, in which there is no 'fixed' identity, difference is produced more through the practices of the social relations that construct those identities inflected by race, class, ethnicity and gender. At any moment, identity can become fixed at a nodal point, a point of agreement that may privilege some aspect, e.g. gender, but only temporarily. There are no 'objective' interests, e.g. of women as a group, an individuals are themselves constituted through a range of often contradictory subject positions. The issue is therefore about how to see across this range of discourses how women are constituted as subordinates, balancing between universalist and cultural relativism in terms of framing policy.

8   Transgressive Feminist Strategies in the New 'Transnational' Polity: Possibilities and Problems

Walby raises significant questions for a transnational feminist practical politics: claims to citizenship arise from knowledge about, and political vocabulary of, other countries. In that sense, suffrage claims are hybrid – draw on local circumstances and knowledge of victories elsewhere. To reject this global or universal knowledge is to forget about the power of the local to hybridise. It is equally dangerous to reject the universal. We should not abandon rationality but should 'seek evidence and assess theories' (Walby, 2000). What might be the philosophical position upon which a feminist transnational politics might be constituted? How can such a project that works on a notion of feminism as a societal movement translate into a transnational politics? In this chapter I suggest that a feminist transnational politics needs to

 (i) Address the tension between universalism and cultural relativism evident in debates of the politics of difference
 (ii) Move beyond the dichotomy between redistribution, recognition and transformation that has emerged in the debates between Habermasian, Foucauldian and feminist standpoint theorisations of difference
(iii) Realise areas of contestation within the transnational policy field and develop a framework for the basis of different claims

There are a number of feminist political and theoretical projects underway that are seeking to take up these challenges. At an international level, feminists are working to fill the conceptual gap of gender and equity in policies that impact on nation states. Development policy has largely been informed by economic theories that too easily equate quality of life to GNP per capita and maximisation of wealth as a measure of satisfaction in public policy. Feminist economists and philosophers such as Martha Nussbaum have sought to point to the gendered nature of economic policy, to make gender visible and to develop more sophisticated approaches

to economic measures, e.g. 'quality of life' (Aslaksen, et al., 1999). The development of the gender development indicators in the UNESCO reports exemplify how feminists and pro-feminists have argued strategically for why gender is important for all nations. Since 1991, countries have been ranked on Human Development Indexes based on longevity, knowledge (education level) and income, adjusted for gender disparity and income distribution and supplemented by Gender Related Development Index and more recently the Gender Empowerment Measure (economic, political and professional participation). This step is of strategic importance as these are becoming measures of a nation states 'development' and 'modernisation', and the state's capacity for sustained economic growth that is often seen to attract national investors. This is more valued than the GNP that does not 'measure the distribution of wealth and income, far less about element of people's lives that are important but not perfectly correlated with GNP, e.g. infant mortality, life expectancy, educational opportunities, the quality of race and gender relations, the presence or absence of political or religious liberty' (Nussbaum, 1998, p. 770). That is, notions of quality of life are supplanting the narrow utilitarian traditions as 'utilitarianism as a normative framework for public choice' is inadequate (Nussbaum, 1998, p. 770).

Nussbaum is working to replace the bargaining models of the family and economist's fetish with choice, preference and desire with alternative measures of quality of life, that include, for example, human dignity and emotional capacities. Her aim is to develop a set of principles based on the notion of capabilities that can 'advance some universal cross-cultural norms that should guide public policy' (Nussbaum, 1998, p. 770). She adopts Sen's position that discourses of universal human rights are not just 'Western' and that notions of personal freedom, contestation, questioning of authority and the state can be found in the older traditions of Buddhism and Confucianism and Indian religious traditions of tolerance. All have clear notions of the role of the individual, the state and citizenship that are not localised rights – they are the entitlements of every human being. They do differ in terms of how they are nationally constituted. In that sense, anyone can promote civil rights with equal vigour. The capabilities approach is premised upon the notion of 'truly human functioning', but leaves room for plural specification of the major capabilities that are context specific. The goal is capability (sets of conditions) not actual functioning, thus leaving individuals free to choose which functions they actually perform. The central capabilities are 'a core of basic good about which citizens agree, although they differ about their more comprehensive conceptions of the good'. This form of universalism derives from 'a complex understanding of cultures as sites of resistance and internal critique' (Nussbaum, 1998, p. 770). Three kinds of capabilities need to be guaranteed in Nussbaum's approach:

'Basic capabilities: innate equipment of human beings that enables them with sufficient support and care to attain higher-level capabilities
Internal capabilities: state that is sufficient for the exercise of relevant functioning
Combined capabilities: internal state combined with suitable external circumstances prove sufficient to exercise that functioning' (Nussbaum, 1998, p. 775)

Thus a woman with education and training who is threatened if she seeks to leave house and go work elsewhere has internal but not external capabilities. This is the case of upper class women in countries with fundamentalist rule.

A feminist politics according to Nussbaum should aim at production of combined capabilities. A policy that aims at a single desired mode of functioning will be different from one that aims at providing opportunities for citizens to choose or not choose that function. For example, a policy aiming at urging all women to seek employment outside the home is different from the policy that gives women choice between working in home or outside or a policy that only provides financial support for women in the home. The first requires child care provision and focus on gender discriminatory practices in the workplace; the second, requires a wider range of funding to facilitate movement from work to home; and the last requires discussions about the social meaning of domestic labour, making traditional roles worthwhile. In Australia the conservative federal government has focused on supporting women staying at home, thus reducing their future access to the labour market and making them more dependent on their husbands and the state. By contrast, the welfare states in Scandivania have long recognised that women require economic independence first, and that this has meant they have moved back into work without loss of earning power in the workforce.

Similarly, you can have a policy that allows people to function well but this differs from a policy that actually shapes the material and social environment that allow choices to be made, i.e. requires redistribution. Thus the former would only mean training women to work in home, the latter requires work *conditions* that are women-friendly, e.g. free from sexual harassment. These principles would take on different connotations and meaning in different cultural contexts. The move towards a 'basic income' based on the 'decoupling of the foundation of individual entitlements from employment, making the foundations of individual livelihood independent of the vagaries of the market and insured against risk infected *means* of technology-led change' (Bauman, 2001, p. 56). Citizenship could therefore include the basic right to education.

Nancy Fraser and Martha Nussbaum argue that theories of justice have tended to ignore the difficult questions of redistribution of resources and opportunities, a point relevant to more equitable access to and participation in education for women and girls. Fraser argues that recognition of difference and diversity must go hand in hand with a redistribution of resources, as the former otherwise becomes more symbolic without changing the conditions under which people live. Mobilising education on the basis of parental choice, therefore, can exacerbate social and educational inequality if not matched by policies of redistribution of resources more fairly. The principles of recognition and redistribution which focus on group identity together with the more individualistic orientation of the capabilities approach together provide a sound policy framework for transnational feminism that addresses the universalism/cultural relativist tension. Thus:

> A more international focus will not require feminist philosophy to turn away from its traditional themes, such as employment discrimination, domestic violence, sexual harassment and the reform of rape law, which are all as central to women in developing countries as to Western women, But feminism will have to add new topics to its agenda is to approach the

developing world in a productive way. Among these topics are hunger and nutrition, literacy, land rights the right to seek employment outside the home, child marriage and child labour. (Nussbaum, 1998, pp. 788–9)

In turn, property and employment rights link to self-respect. Thus issues of self-sufficiency are critical as a norm so that one's survival is not dependent on another's good will. What is not mentioned is a sense of how these principles merge into the notion of transnational or global 'publics'.

Brighouse and Unterhalter (2002) argue that Nussbaum needs to develop the capabilities approach further, as a theory based on basic needs, right and capabilities without a theory of justice lacks a normative dimension, and therefore does not address the distributional questions raised by Rawls (and Fraser) (see Unterhalter and Walker, 2005). The UN Girls and Education Initiative policy indicates a shift to education as a foundational right. But these policies stress the institutional location of rights, e.g. political representation rather than quality of life. Also there have been a modification of simplistic human capital views that recognise the building of social capital, e.g. women's networks, NGOs and organizations (Gender and Development theorists) based on the notion of the empowered citizen as opposed to the right-oriented social capital theorists such as Putnam who see community as being about social control and responsibility. But human capital theories have tended to dominate the official policy organizations, e.g. World Bank and the NGOs. In both accounts, 'rights' slips to that of 'voice', thus allowing policymakers not to address issues of women's autonomy and issues of redistribution (Brighouse and Unterhalter, 2002).

Second, Brighouse and Unterhalter (2002, p. 11) believe that there are arguments for greater empowerment of women by recognition of process and arenas but not a normative dimension. A normative dimension would have an account both of the 'capacities for a sense of justice (as fairness) and for a conception of the good'. The Sen/Nussbaum capabilities and Rawl's capacities approaches agree that all measures should be judged on the basis of a moral good for the individual, and second that someone's productive capacities should be developed for their own sake.

> A just society is obliged to ensure that individuals can be productive, not so that the economy will grow and the society will be rich, but so that the individual herself has more command over her own circumstances. (Brighouse and Unterhalter, 2002, p. 11)

Third, they are all committed to personal autonomy – freedom of expression, religion and conscience – and do not wish to tell people what particular goods they need (functioning), but require that 'they be equipped to make judgements about what is good for them and act on those judgements' (Brighouse and Unterhalter, 2002, p. 11). Fourth, they must have the external conditions of freedom to mobilise their capabilities. The key problem of this approach is that, in indexing the capabilities, there can be considerable dispute over weightings of each, the capacity of individuals to equally mobilise each and also whether these are adequate.

Despite this, Brighouse and Unterhalter argue that this approach provides us with possibilities beyond current liberal notions of human and social capital within a more liberal framework of liberalism that recognises that the liberal individual cannot pursue her interests independent of her responsibilities to others while her interests are still legitimate as a basis of claims. While human capital theory sees education of all as an investment in economic and therefore social growth, it has no

distributive element: that is, it does not provide more resources to the disadvantaged. Thus one can encourage women to gain human capital by training and entrance into labour markets. But if the labour markets are casualised, insecure, lowly paid and women's domestic labour is not reduced, then there is little redistribution of the benefits. Indeed the family may benefit but not the woman. Human capital can be developed only to the extent that it meets the conditions of social justice. Social capital arguments that link social networks to human capital, also have difficulties, e.g. mobility or ethnic diversity actually reduce social capital. Such is the case of market-based schooling premised upon principles of individual choice. This works against community building as individuals are mobile choosers and encourages social fragmentation. Women's empowerment theorists similarly see voice and political representation, but also lack a theory of social justice. Brighouse and Unterhalter conclude that the problem is that there is a need for an individualistic theory of justice along the capacities or justice as fairness approach. Justice, they argue, is the 'first virtue of social institutions. Any proposal must take a theory of justice as its starting point' (Brighouse and Unterhalter, 2002, p. 15). Currently, when such a theory of justice is mentioned, it is generally between developed and developing countries. Here feminist activism on the ground has sought to make justice an issue internally, as exemplified in Beijing and Dakar:

> But we suspect the terminology that they have use-freedom, rights, entitlements and even capabilities-lends itself to misuses. By emphasising the *stuff* of justice rather than how it should be distributed the declarations have allowed politicians and policy makers to couch policies in terms of promoting a loose notion of rights, without forcing the to address how the policies will benefit the least advantaged, and how they will improve their condition relative to the more advantaged. (Brighouse and Unterhalter, 2002, p. 20)

There are emerging understandings, a collective imaginary, about what basic human rights are inalienable transnationally, and how theories of social justice may be mobilised in different policy networks, e.g. environmental science. This does not negate the notion that in any policy debate 'It is important to notice differences of social position, structures power and cultural affiliation in political discussions and decision making that aims to promote justice' (Young, 2000, p. 83). Politically, there is a network of meta-national institutions through which such a discourse can be mobilised. Rizvi (2003) argues that:

> Resources of hope are thus to be found in developing new perspectives on cultural and democratic change … democratic aspirations exists in all cultural traditions, even if they are expressed in radically different ways. The challenge is to create trans-national democratic institutions in which these aspirations can be explored and enacted in which dialogue, understanding and bridge building take place at all of the interpersonal, intercultural and international levels. (Rizvi, 2003, p. 27)

9   Conclusion

This chapter has examined the nexus between globalisation and new discourses on gender, and gender equity in education. The discussion in this chapter utilised studies of gender equity policy in different Anglo nation states, in particular UK, USA,

Australia, NZ, and with some reference to economically 'developing' nation states. As the above analysis demonstrates, there is a need for new spaces for theorising, based on discourses of democracy, human rights, and social justice, the praxis of feminist activity in education, in order to ensure equity for girls and women in education globally.

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Living Together After Apartheid: Assessments of South Africa's Progress, and Roles for Education Programs

Diane Napier

1 Democracy and Progress Made in SA Democratic Transformation since 1994

This chapter focuses on questions of the degree to which South Africans are learning to live together under democratic rule in what is referred to as the First and Second Decades of Freedom, the years since the installation of a multiracial democratic government in 1994 and the initiation of the post-apartheid era. Within the broader questions are the following considerations. To what degree are South Africans overcoming the apartheid legacy and the many inequities associated with it? (see also Zajda et al., 2008a). To what degree is there an emerging multiracial, multicultural, multilinguistic society? What is the record in terms of promoting multi-sector development? Overall, in the years of transformation, one can ask what has been achieved, and what challenges remain in the years to come, and what roles exist for education programs?

The primary frames of reference for these considerations are, first, the assessment conducted by the South African Government in 2004, *Ten Years of Democracy*, which reviewed the progress made in achieving the goals for post-apartheid transformation under the auspices of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was the blueprint for transformation in all sectors. This much-heralded review assessed the achievements in several broad areas, and identified the challenges awaiting the country in the so-called Second Decade of Freedom, from 2004 onwards. Secondly, the South African voluntary undertaking of the *African Peer Review Mechanism* (APRM) in 2005 provided a voluntary self-assessment along similar lines, by reviewing progress and challenges in all sectors, in this case under the auspices of the APRM and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), and the African Union

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(AU), which gave this assessment a continental comparative dimension. Thirdly, the *South African Mirror*, or State of the Nation annual address in 2007 by the South African Institute of Race Relations, provides a blunt assessment from within South Africa, drawing on a wide range of sources and is perhaps somewhat less politicized than the previous two assessments.

Following a summary of the assessments and their findings, the role of education programs is considered as one vehicle for promoting various forms of democratic participation, development, and transformation. Drawing on data and cases in my own research on educational transformation in South Africa, I offer five examples to demonstrate the importance of investigating meso-level (regional/provincial) and micro-level (local) programs and activities. Macro-level (national, continent-wide) assessments and comparisons offer broad insights into the principal questions here, but they need to be viewed with caution as they are found to be highly politicized, somewhat self-congratulatory, subject to misrepresentation or to misinterpretation by the media and interest groups, and they can mask local instances of real transformation such as in the illustrations offered in this paper in five different areas. I argue that South Africa clearly has an impressive beginning track record in effecting transformation in all sectors; that there are daunting challenges ahead in the form of persistent problems, some regressions, and new problems yet to be addressed; but that one can find many instances in which South Africans are indeed learning and striving to build a new nation with intercultural dialogue, multiracial participation and wider access, and a host of interventions by individuals and groups in all sectors offer opportunity and hope for the future.[1]

2   Ten-Year Review: RDP 1994–2004

In this national government review of the degree to which RDP goals had been addressed in the First Decade of Freedom, the following achievements were enumerated:

- *Creation of a "people-centered state"*: new constitution and laws, transformed public service, better service delivery, fighting corruption, public debate
- *Social programs and services* to alleviate poverty, increase access and basic services (health, education, housing, utilities, water supply, etc.)
- *Boosting ownership of assets and access to opportunities*: housing, land reform, communications, reducing exclusion, preserving environment
- *Economic performance*: growth, trade, labor legislation, restructuring, BEE, small businesses, skills development, affirmative action, etc.

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[1] Except where specifically indicated in the text, sources are shown in the Selected References list, with the examples drawn largely from the author's own research.

- *Justice, crime prevention, security*: operation crackdown, policing, justice system, causes of crime, prisons, high-priority crimes (sexual assault, organized crime, border control, weapons, taxi violence, terrorism)
- *International relations/growth/development*: trade, regional integration, leadership in Africa, global status, science and technology
- *Human rights, peace, security, stability, good governance* (internally, externally), deracialization, new social order and rainbow nation, peacekeeping in Africa
- *Multilateralism and cooperation*: regional, continental, global, South-South collaborations

The challenges and old and new problems arising from the first decade of democracy were enumerated (see also Perry, 2005). These need to be addressed as priorities in the "Second Decade of Freedom" from 2004 onwards, including the following:

- Influence of the State: improve many areas of service delivery and integration, deracialization, policy, crime prevention, resource use, poverty
- Social transition: housing, jobs, economy, migration, health, environment, race relations
- Global setting: assertion of interests, collaboration and development, role in AU
- Overcoming of the apartheid legacy and reconciliation

A summary statement in the official report captured the urgency of action, as follows:

> If we are to make continued progress towards the fundamental objective of our country and of state policy – *a united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society – then we need a major intervention to reinforce the consolidation of democracy* with measures aimed at integrating all of society (sic) into a growing economy from which they can benefit. This requires a framework defining a shared destiny, as a basis for social partnership, better performance by the State, addressing consequences of the social transition, and improving the Southern African environment and implementing NEPAD. (*www.SA10tab.doc*)

Housing is an example of an area in which massive inputs of resources have occurred, given that housing provision was one of the RDP priorities. Although ambitious targets of building several hundred thousand units of housing in the first few years of democracy were not met, vast new housing developments did offer affordable and desirable housing to millions of South Africans who were previously denied this. The thirst for housing and for a settled, "better life" is one of many manifestations of the apartheid legacy that denied it to millions, particularly to Africans. Given the high population growth rate and other factors, the supply of new affordable housing is constantly overwhelmed by new demand. In the 10-year review, such achievements, and ongoing needs, were highlighted.

The vast new housing developments, and the still extensive squatter camps of informal housing, are pervasive in the new South African landscape, reflecting the challenge to provide affordable housing for all, with appropriate infrastructure, services, and low-interest loans for would-be home-buyers.

3   African Peer Review Mechanism

In 2002, at the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) summit, which operates under the auspices of the African Union (AU), a Declaration on Democracy, Political, Economic, and Corporate Governance was drawn up for the establishment of a voluntary Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) to promote adherence to, and fulfillment of, these goals for participating countries in Africa. In 2003 a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was formulated, laying out objectives, standards, criteria, indicators, and the process for countries to participate. The process involved voluntary participation, a Country Self Assessment Report (CSAR), five review stages, a program of action thereafter to act on the recommendations in the assessment. By 2006 some 25 countries had signed on as participating members of the undertaking. Ghana, Kenya, Mauritius, and Rwanda were the first four countries to undergo review. South Africa volunteered for review in 2005; a CSAR was drafted in 2006/07 after a preliminary self-assessment, which is to be followed by other reporting, and then the larger APRM review.

The CSAR 2006 Findings for South Africa were formulated in four theme areas, a mix of positive achievements and negative needs or challenges (*the latter are shown in italics*), summarized as follows (extracted from Saloojee, 2006, www.aprm.org.za).

Theme 1: Democracy and Good Political Governance

- ○ Impressive human rights framework … envy of many in the world
- ○ Commitment to a multiparty democratic system and the rule of law
- ○ Discussion about "proportional representation"
- ○ Strength and ability of our judiciary is a national source of pride
- ○ Work to create a framework that protects vulnerable people … will produce long-term results that we can be pleased with

Theme 2: Economic Governance and Management

- ○ Extreme socioeconomic difficulties … but macroeconomic management is prudent and impressive
- ○ *Formulation of policy could be more transparent: Stakeholders seek further opportunities to contribute*
- ○ *Long-term improvements must benefit the poorest and most vulnerable members of our communities*

Theme 3: Corporate Governance

- ○ Ongoing, highly successful work to improve corporate governance is amongst the most dynamic and effective in the world.
- ○ Plans to revise company laws will help improve competitiveness and bridge the gap between our economic sectors.
- ○ *Stakeholder engagement needs deepening and extension.*
- ○ *Completion of the revision of the Companies Act is urgently needed.*
- ○ *Impacts of changes to auditing & accounting legislation are still not clear.*

○ *Stakeholders' arguments around the need to tighten and enhance anti-corruption processes and frameworks are noted.*

Theme 4: Socioeconomic Development

○ *Socioeconomic Development Goals: broad agreement on these goals but disagreement exists on how to achieve them*
○ *Reduce inequities*
○ *Reduce wealth-asset gaps between rich and poor*
○ *Halve poverty and unemployment by 2014*
○ *Meet the Millennium Development Goals (see RDP and 10 YearTab)*
○ Socio-economic development is a major challenge to all South Africans, especially those worst affected by poverty
○ We have made a magnificent start in combating poverty
○ *While we still have far to go*, the turnaround has started and will accelerate in years to come
○ The clarity of vision and independence of the national development approach is acknowledged
○ Progress and performance is widely agreed upon *but there is no agreement on the exact extent of the outstanding challenges*
○ *Development initiatives are constrained by a lack of skills and infrastructure*
○ *Conditions in the second economy are noted and the need to bridge the gap between it and the first economy is noted*
○ Existing frameworks to promote special groups are commended
○ *The need for a deeper, conclusive national debate on poverty is highlighted*

4 Country Self-assessment Report for South Africa

The following were presented as conclusions in the South African CSAR:

○ The APRM process of engagement, inclusion, and participation has reached into many corners of our country.
○ It has stimulated the minds and the passions of the people of South Africa.
○ The people of South Africa expect to be consulted about things that impact on their lives and they expect the results of consultation to be reflected in meaningful policies and programs.
○ The people of South Africa, individually, collectively, and through their organizations and representative institutions took to the APRM process because it resonated with their traditions and expectations and with their national culture of politics, consultations, and dialogue.
○ The APRM is about both process and outcomes. It resonates with South Africans because it affirms that which is intrinsically socially just, good, and worthwhile and because it is about creating better states of equality, transparency, accountability, and good governance.

○ Twelve years into democracy, South Africans from all walks of life seized the opportunity to engage in a meaningful dialogue about progress to date and the challenges ahead, free of any constraints, in an atmosphere of mutual respect.

However, the report and the assessments within it created some controversy, raising questions about the process being rather politicized as noted in *The Economist* (February 10, 2007) that President Mbeki objected to the political governance components of the review. Much of the reporting appeared to be self-congratulatory, the findings and recommendations were vague with no specific direction for action, and contrary to the statements in the CSAR this was not a widely debated process that was embraced and negotiated by South Africans. Currently the APRM reviews have been delayed and the ultimate verdict on South Africa's performance remains to be released by the APRM. Representations, and misrepresentations, in the media have emerged as another issue. For instance, Kenya objected to the portrayals in the media of Kenya's report card under the APRM (see www.aprm.org/Kenya). Comparability of findings across countries is another concern, given the issues inherent in the APRM with regard to reliability and validity of data, role of the national government in the review, and other questions of methodology. At issue is whether or not the review is a compromised process or an honest assessment. However, its general findings parallel those in the *Ten Years of Democracy* review discussed previously.

5   South Africa's Mirror: State of the Nation in 2007

A third frame of reference is provided by the indicators of the state of development and transformation in South Africa in the annual *South African Mirror* review presentation by the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), long known for being a watchdog on democracy, civil society, and development issues in South Africa. Selected indicators are offered in this paper; the full presentation spanned all sectors in a "statistical tour" of the economy, poverty, social security, investment, empowerment, education, demographics, HIV/AIDS, housing, land reform, crime, and politics (Kane-Berman, 2007). This was a hard-hitting examination of the track record, from reliable sources including government (Stats SA, SARB, government departments), non-government (academic, media, private sector, NGOs, International agencies), and SAIRR compilations of data (published in *SOUTH AFRICA SURVEY* and *FAST FACTS*). The overview and assessments in this case were perhaps more objective and less politicized than those in the preceding two national reviews discussed above, being drawn directly from the data rather than being part of a national or continental undertaking with possible conflicting agendas. For purposes of illustration in this paper, three examples from the following list are extracted and included here: *Attendance at Early Childhood Development Centers: Ages 5–6* (that has actually decreased since 2000); the number of *Engineers Needed* (an illustration of the critical skills gap and brain drain problems

in South Africa); the *Desired Level of Reading Mastery* (that shows South Africa to be a mediocre competitor in this area by African standards, despite being the economic powerhouse on the continent); *Labor Market Participation Rate, 1994–2006* (that underscores the persistent inequities in employment across racial groups in South Africa, and the persistence of the apartheid legacy); and *International Murder Rates, 1987–2000* (that show South Africa to be second only to Colombia in this indicator, reflective of the major problem of high crime rates that also have implications for factors such as public confidence, direct foreign investment, out-migration of skilled labor). The SAIRR review provided a blunt confirmation of many of the challenges and problems identified in the other two reviews, as well as the achievements to date. However, missing from any of these reviews are explicit strategies for addressing the challenges, and the macro-level nature of the information provides little insight into realities and exceptions at lower levels of focus such as in local communities or cases.

6 Summary of Reviews and Assessments

The reviews and assessments given overview here were generally consistent in noting unprecedented progress toward democratization and transformation in all sectors in South Africa, and in acknowledging that there are formidable *challenges in all sectors, including*:

– High crime rates, corruption
– Racial conflict, xenophobia, inequities
– Resistance to change, dissatisfaction, failed promises
– Poverty, inequality, exclusion, population/migrants
– Unemployment, underemployment, insufficient job creation, skills gap
– Education inequities, inertia, loss of some previous gains
– Gap between rich/poor, black elite, and African majority
– Housing, water, utilities, land, environment issues
– Cultural, linguistic, human rights issues
– Provincial disparities, uneven development/progress
– Role of the State, implementation and legislation issues

Another ingredient in the mix occurred in the crippling nationwide strike by all public workers (teachers, healthcare workers, immigration officials, etc.) in June–July 2007 when unionized workers demanded a 12% pay raise in contrast to the 6% offer by the government. The strike brought government schools to a standstill at a crucial time (shortly before the Matric examinations), in hospitals patients were left untreated until the military were brought in to assist, and other crucial services were disrupted. The strikes continued for over a month before a compromise pay-increase was accepted. Unfortunately, violence, reprisals against workers who refused to strike and the crippling effects of the strike action combined to create a national crisis that had far-reaching impacts. The question of exercise of rights is an interesting one in the

new South Africa, as people learn to exercise their prerogative in a new democracy, but the difficult juxtaposition of individual or group rights with the public interest remains a raw and new area for South Africans to negotiate and learn.

7   Roles for Education Programs for the Future

As South Africans proceed in the second decade of democracy, and given the achievements noted in the assessments as well as the challenges awaiting them, a key question to consider is how education and education programs can and do play a role in promoting transformation. Educational transformation has been unprecedented in South Africa and the reforms, their implementation issues, and outcomes have been substantially documented in the scholarly literature as well as roundly debated in terms of desirability and effectiveness of the reforms in all levels and sub-sectors of education (see Brook Napier sources, many of which summarize the research). While the larger reform and transformation agenda proceeds, in recent years a range of specific interventions and new programs has emerged as a second round of hope for the future. Direct interventions target needs that the initial rounds of reform failed to address. The areas of education in which these focused programs have a potential role to play include, but are not limited to:

○ Promoting intercultural dialogue
○ Reducing inequities and disparities
○ Overcoming apartheid era legacies
○ Promoting skills development and employment
○ Democratic development and participation
○ Environmental awareness, conservation

Since the vast majority of education programs designed to serve as focused interventions in a wide variety of contexts, targeting specific areas of need, might be local, community-based, or regional (but not uniformly national in scope), they can be missed in reviews of the larger national picture. Considerable research has been done on the mosaic of local realities in South Africa with regard to transformation in schools and the vast differences in degree of transformation that is discernible at the micro-level within local communities and in schools. Still more research is needed to document the full extent of this mosaic, and to expose success stories as well as cases of dire need and despair. Here, five examples of programs are offered as illustrations of specific interventions that target critical needs in South Africa. The examples come from my own research in micro-level settings in various locations, both remote rural and urban/suburban. These are examples of programs developed specifically to tackle issues of overcoming the apartheid legacy, educating youth for skills development and jobs, building capacity and slowing the brain drain, cultivating new sociocultural dialogue and environmental stewardship, and bringing together South Africans of all races and backgrounds in new ventures and pastimes.

7.1   Example #1: Environmental Education (WSNBG, Gauteng Province, Johannesburg Metropolitan Area)

The Walter Sisulu National Botanical Garden (WSNBG) is situated in the hills of the Witwatersrand northwest of Johannesburg, in an area being overcome by sprawling high-cost suburban development but also close to large tracts of low-income housing. The garden is currently managed under the principle of multiple use, administered by the South African National Botanical Institute (SANBI) for habitat conservation, watershed and wildlife protection and monitoring, stewardship, environmental education, and as a destination attraction for all races, groups for picnics, train rides for children, wedding photos, photography of flora, Sunday concerts, art shows, and restaurant/shop/indigenous nursery. In the last decade, the garden has attracted growing numbers of visitors, largely white and middle-class suburbanites and professionals, but increasing numbers of non-white visitors and international visitors are now discovering the garden. Among its recent target programs are the free environmental education programs for schoolchildren (particularly from disadvantaged areas/schools) that are designed to raise environmental awareness, afford access to green space, and encourage attitude changes toward flora and fauna on the part of children and their parents. Raising awareness of environmental issues, beginning to appreciate the value of flora and fauna and of conservation, and enjoying recreational pastimes such as picnicking in the garden or listening to outdoor concerts are things new to vast numbers of South Africans whose situation under apartheid, and whose cultural values, did not include these (currently only 20% of visitors are Africans). Schools for Africans in the vast townships, and the townships themselves, had little or no green-space, trees, or flora/fauna so there was no appreciation of the value of these.

Environmental education programs at WSNBG bring some 15,000 students annually of all ages, but mainly primary school students, for day visits to the garden. Assistant Education Officers (AEOs) volunteer their time to host lessons and walks around the garden to introduce students to the garden as an ecosystem with flora, fauna, hydrology and geology of interest, and recreational possibilities. The AEOs are mostly retired teachers and teachers who are paid R100 (approximately $15) per group. Students are bused in from their schools for a day in the garden, a rare treat. "Lotto" lottery funds are allocated to the garden for support of these programs whose goals are to develop environmental awareness, to market the garden to a wider population, to recruit Africans in particular as the unserved market, to change attitudes in students and their parents about environmental issues, and to "de-goat the culture" by educating people about harmful impacts of having animals like goats run free and consume all grass cover (a common practice among Africans whose traditional culture and lifestyle included having such livestock) (A. Hankey, May 17, 2007, personal communication). One major attraction is the black eagles that have nested in the cliffs of the garden since the 1940s and have come to be an icon for conservation in the area. Schoolchildren, previously not exposed to such wildlife, marvel at the eagles. A larger, long-term plan is in the proposal stage, a community-initiated grassroots

initiative for an urban wildlife preserve that will encompass the garden (285 ha) and extend the protected area to 2,000 ha, to preserve rare and threatened species of flora and fauna in an intact ecosystem, to provide the only green space in the sprawling urban landscape to serve all communities, races, and income levels. Unbridled development in the area has brought multiple threats to the garden and surrounding areas in the form of habitat loss, increased runoff and river channel erosion, and threats to many species (www.sanbi.org). The environmental education programs at WSNBG fall within this larger undertaking to benefit all South Africans in the largest metropolitan area of the country. The questions of transfer (of the education programs to students' school learning programs, as well as to parents) and of sustainability (over the long term) make this a compelling case to follow in future years.

7.2 Example #2: Skills Development, Social Responsibility, Capacity Building in Mapungubwe/Limpopo Province

Skills development is a major need in South Africa. Highly trained technical workers are in short supply, and the ongoing brain drain exacerbates this problem. Skills development has become a priority area of action in recent years, whether funded by the Skills Development Act and the so-called Skills Levy, or by companies whose training programs address social responsibility goals as well as provide qualified workers (for more detail, see Brook Napier, 2007a). As one case in point, wealthy platinum mines in Mapungubwe/Limpopo Province and in Northwest Province provide funds for focused training in special programs in mathematics, science, English, and leadership. In stiff competition, students from the surrounding areas are selected for these programs that run on weekends, targeting improved performance on the matriculation examinations by disadvantaged students (particularly Africans). The mining companies offer bursaries for engineering/science study at university and for successful graduates, a 4-year contract of employment. These particular training programs fall under the Social Responsibility programs of the mining companies, through which they build capacity, address their own skilled labor needs, and offer unprecedented opportunities to worthy students, thereby overcoming the apartheid legacy of educational and occupational disadvantage. In these programs too, the issues of transfer and sustainability are crucial, and the real long-term effectiveness of the programs is difficult to measure, but they represent hope and opportunity for South Africans as never before.

7.3 Example #3: Hotels and Catering General Education Course: Relevance and Jobs (Johannesburg-Area Suburban High School)

In another case in point, skills development and education targeting employability of students not bound for university can be found in an innovative program of study targeting relevance and job skills for the Hospitality and Tourism sector, in a Grades

10–12 Hotels and Catering course that falls within the General Education curriculum strand of the National Curriculum Statement implemented in all government schools. This program was initiated in a suburban Johannesburg former-white government school that now has majority black or other non-white enrollments and large numbers of students not bound for professional careers or university study. The school principal recruited a catering manager from a major multinational corporation, who is not a qualified teacher, to set up a skills-focused program to train students for jobs in this sector. The program has been highly successful, attracting students for its interest and relevance, and placing graduates in jobs in major hotels and lodges. The program stands as an example of capacity building and skills development that allow students improved opportunities for employment (for more detail, see Brook Napier, 2007b). This program too raises concerns about sustainability and long-term effectiveness, and it is heavily dependent on the retention of the energized, competent teacher who runs it as well as of the visionary principal who recruited her.

7.4 Example #4: Requiring Indigenous Languages in Schools (Nationwide)

Education programs and language rights have been closely entwined throughout the transformation years, but in the years since 1996 (when the SA Schools Act explicated language rights and the right to instruction in one's own language), the progress toward establishing indigenous languages in schools has been very slow. English and Afrikaans, the two European languages, have remained dominant, and the additional dominance of English has further frustrated the goal of establishing indigenous languages in the schools. In 2006,2003 Minister of Education Pandor announced a new imperative requiring the teaching of indigenous languages in schools to break this pattern of inertia. Currently, instructional medium issues in schools remain a thorny issue as desire for teaching in English outweighs demand for indigenous languages, the number of other languages creates problems for schools to offer own-language instruction, there is bitterness and strong resistance in the Afrikaner community against "cultural genocide and language loss" where some of the last Afrikaans-medium schools have been forced to become dual-medium schools offering instruction in both Afrikaans and English (see Brook Napier, 2003a, 2005b, 2006b). The challenge remains to afford recognition of ALL languages and language users and to establish the teaching of indigenous languages in schools as a regular part of the curriculum.

7.5 Example #5: Partnership for Development in Northeastern KwaZulu-Natal

In this last example, prospects for living together and for enjoying a better life can be seen in a partnership program that targets sustainable development, education, jobs, conservation, and ecotourism in a remote area of northeastern KwaZulu-

Natal province. This area is one of the most remote territories in the country, far from cities and resources, training programs, and opportunities. It falls within the pristine Maputaland Coastal Forest Reserve that was a conservation victory, protecting virgin coastline and coastal dunes/forests rich in wildlife. The local villages are impoverished, however, and their schools are among the most disadvantaged in the country. After more than a decade of transformation, there are few signs of change here. In an effort to stimulate community development in and around one village, improve conditions and provide resources in the local primary school, provide on-the-job training for locals, and derive benefit from the proceeds of one (of only two) upscale wildlife lodge on the coast, a partnership was formed. This partnership links the local tribal council and village leadership with the provincial conservation authority as well as with the wildlife lodge company (that has pledged a portion of its revenues to pay for school improvements and program support). Villagers train for jobs at the lodge, the community benefits from ecotourism via the lodge, the conservation authority oversees ecological protection and operations, and the quality of schooling for the pupils and teachers is a main component of the partnership (see Brook Napier, 2005c). In a disadvantaged and remote but beautiful area, educational programs and a multi-sector partnership are seen as key to future transformation, and to opportunities for more equitable, beneficial living together.

8 Conclusions

In this chapter, three macro-level national assessments of transformation, progress, and challenges were summarized and used as the frame of reference for considering the question of degree to which South Africans are learning to live together (more equitably and beneficially) in the years of freedom after 1994 (see Soudien, 2005; Wills, 2008). These national assessments do provide the big picture, documenting the broad trends over the decade and a half since 1994, and they show significant progress made in all sectors at the same time as daunting challenges for the years ahead. The national assessments do come with questions of bias, reliability, and validity. They need to be scrutinized for their being possibly self-congratulatory, politicized rhetoric. Details of data collection and methodology are not easily pinned down in these assessments either. Furthermore, they are subject to unpopular portrayals in the media or to misrepresentations. Consequently, they serve as a limited basis for comparisons with other countries and they obscure exceptions to the rule, local/regional cases to the contrary (positive/negative) in or on any given indicator.

This suggests the need to consider meso-level (regional/provincial) and micro-level (local, site-specific) examples or cases within South Africa and other countries who volunteer for assessments such as the APRM and for internal assessments of the state of affairs. Five sets of specific programs were offered here to illustrate how they were designed to foster participation, job creation, and skills for employment, economic development, environmental awareness, and conservation. They

represent instances of HOPE through focused interventions and efforts of individuals and groups to afford opportunities for South Africans to learn to live together at the micro-level, locally, in a variety of communities, neighborhoods, schools, workplaces, and parks. During the liberation struggle that culminated in the toppling of apartheid, the actions of ordinary people in corners and communities nationwide were instrumental to the larger cause, in what Kane-Berman (1991) called the "Silent Revolution." In this second decade of freedom, education programs and partnerships as targeted interventions might well become another "silent revolution," creating a better life for all (see also Zajda et al., 2008b).

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Women and Higher Education in Postrevolutionary Iran: Unsettling Policies and Unanticipated Outcomes

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1 Women in Higher Education in Iran

This chapter analyses the position of women in Iran[1] over the last 3 decades, particularly with reference to tertiary education. The objective is to explore (a) the commonly held view that the Islamic revolution and the Khomeini regime produced a serious and adverse setback in the status and condition of women in Iran and (b) the regime's relationship to women's increased participation, literacy, and access to higher education. The rationale for a focus on women's achievements in higher education is that education is considered a key social development indicator measuring women's status and condition in any country (see also Zajda, 2005). Furthermore, tertiary education is seen as providing greater opportunities for women in employment and social development (Zajda et al., 2008a, 2008b). According to Aghajanian, "education is one of the most objective dimensions of the status of women" influencing factors such as paid labour force participation and health status of women and female children (Aghajanian, 1994, p. 44).

In examining the range of policies adopted in the country over the past few decades, it appears that women's access, opportunities, and achievements in tertiary education have been mixed, and not as undermined as anticipated in the earlier years of the revolution. Social change has been seen (at least partially) as a consequence of policies, for example, where retrograde gender policies are implemented and negative outcomes result, such as lower educational status/achievement. Our contention is that the changes occurring for women's development have been considerably more nuanced from 1979 to the present. Changes in socioeconomic conditions and access to education

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[1]For purposes of this chapter, the Islamic Republic of Iran will be referred to as "Iran" or the "Republic" or the "Islamic Republic".

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are long-term, complex, and multidimensional historical processes (rather than unidirectional). The policies pursued by Khomeini and by his successors were at best contradictory, obviously not unidirectional, and some of these were clearly influenced by women (Mir-Hosseini, 1999; Paidar, 1996).

2   Conceptual Framework – Women and the Islamic Revolution

The status of women in Muslim societies and especially in Iran has undergone significant theorization and debate in recent years (Mir-Hosseini, 1999; Najmabadi, 1991, 1998; Megahed, 2008; Wiseman, 2008). Unlike the predominant/simplistic Western stereotype stressing the oppressive nature of Islamic religion, several writers have produced a greater understanding and analysis of the complex situation of women in Muslim societies (Ahmed, 1992; Kandioti, 1991; Mernissi, 1991; Stromquist, 2008; Williams, 2008). Until the early 1990s, most studies of women in postrevolutionary Iran, including those of secular feminists (e.g. Afshar, 1985), focused on the negative aspects of these changes with little attention directed to some of the contradictory and unexpected developments affecting the presence of women in almost all aspects of life. As Najmabadi argues, despite discriminatory legal changes in Iran after the Islamic revolution, women have an unmistakable presence:

> Almost two decades after the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, against the deepest fears of many secular feminist activists of the revolution, not only have women not disappeared from public life, but they have an unmistakable presence in practically every field of artistic activities. It will be tempting for a secular feminist to claim that Iranian women have achieved all this despite the Islamic Republic, against the Islamic Republic, and even against Islam as the dominant discourse in the country. (Najmabadi, 1998, p. 59)

There are several interpretations for this unexpected increase in women's participation. Najmabadi (1998) argues that the Islamic revolution brought women's issues to the forefront. This was especially significant for those women who supported and sympathized with Islam and the Islamic revolution. According to Paidar (1996), the Islamic Republic's policies on women's education, employment and political participation were designed to reinforce women's continuing support for the revolution, thereby creating an image of stability internally and internationally. However, the policies were based on the premise that women's participation outside the home would be countered with legal changes reinforcing the family (e.g. abolishment of the Family Protection Law).

Mir-Hosseini discusses the development of a set of complex circumstances after the revolution that made women's public participation more feasible. According to her, "paradoxically, the enforcement of *hejab* [head cover and loose clothes] became a catalyst here: by making public space morally correct in the eyes of traditionalist families, it legitimized women's public presence" (Mir-Hosseini, 1999, p. 7). In other words, imposing the *hejab* allowed more women to participate publicly and freely because public spaces became viewed as safe,

"sanitized" for all women, and no longer corrupt. In line with Najmabadi, Mir-Hosseini (1999) also discusses the important role of those who were sympathetic to the Islamic revolution yet helped create a feminist re-reading of Shari'a texts. Discussion in women's journals (such as *Zanan*), women's groups, and associations brought some of the patriarchal biases of Shari'a laws into focus and made the reinterpretation and re-reading of the text necessary. This helped form a new gender consciousness and made new discourses about women possible. The understanding of these complex dynamics is significant for the assessment of women's achievement in higher education in postrevolutionary Iran. Mehran (2003) believes that the interplay of tradition and modernity within a revolutionary context created a situation in which women were able to become active participants in educational terrain. She questions whether the Iranian educational system has been able to create its ideal female citizen:

> Could one conclude by saying that the Islamic Republic has failed to create its ideal female citizen – the New Muslim Women? A more accurate assessment, in my opinion, would be to say that Iranian women have used the paradox of tradition and modernity to serve their own purpose, which is none other than empowerment. (Mehran, 2003, p. 286)

Keddie (2000) argues that the reforms undertaken by Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, along with the contradictory policies of Khomeini's revolutionary regime, had a clear impact on the presence of women in Iranian society. Women were encouraged to participate in public life and have access to education but at the same time the enforcement of *hejab* and the annulment of the Family Protection Law meant returning to polygamy, reviving temporary marriage, free divorce for men, and child custody to fathers and their families. This created a situation strongly resisted by women's press and women parliamentarians. Since the late 1980s, Islamic feminists were able to advocate a range of women's rights more openly and successfully, managing to encourage policymakers to revise earlier restrictions on women's legal rights, though still within an Islamic framework. The areas of education and employment were the most successful issues on which Islamic feminists have campaigned. The most noted achievement was the lifting of restrictions placed on women to access engineering, agriculture, and several related fields in universities.

3 Prerevolutionary Iran

As in other societies, the situation of women in Iran has been connected to broader socioeconomic and political developments. In the early twentieth century (1906–1911), the Constitutional Revolution shifted power from an absolute traditional monarchy to parliament, at least in theory, and the rule of law. This facilitated the protection of Iran's national interests vis-à-vis Western economic and political pressures through Western-style modernization. This type of induced modernity included women's emancipation, created a link between national independence and progress and women's emancipation, shaping Iranian feminism and nationalism thereafter.

Reza Khan, the founder of the Pahlavi dynasty, came to power in 1926 and initiated further "modernizing" reforms including banning women from wearing the veil. He opened the education system to women at the primary, secondary, and university levels, and allowed women access to employment opportunities. In the mid-1940s, Reza Shah abdicated in favour of his son, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. One of the most important reforms and achievements of the new ruler was the Family Protection Act of 1967, subsequently modified in women's favour in 1975, which restricted polygamy and gave women the right to divorce, to have custody of children and also the right to vote (Keddie, 2000, p. 406).

3.1   Post-1979

With the Islamic revolution of 1979, which overthrew the pro-Western Pahlavi dynasty, the government instituted seemingly retrograde changes for Iranian women, such as compulsory veiling in public spaces and the abolishment of the Family Protection Act. To help understand these postrevolutionary developments, Farhi has distinguished four periods affecting women's condition: (a) immediately following the 1979 revolution; (b) the 8-year Iran/Iraq war; (c) the institutionalization of the Islamic state with economic and development plans; and (d) a contested period, involving further development politics, cultural/Islamic identity politics leading to the 1997 presidential election (Farhi, 1998). In the first period, the Khomeini policies towards women were essentially designed based on dismantling the symbols, institutions, and mores of the Pahlavi regime. In fact, most policies were actually formulated through a variety of ad hoc initiatives by a range of stakeholders in power, many with conflicting views (Paidar, 1996, p. 61). This first period (about 1979/80) focused on defining and regulating what was seen as proper representation of Muslim women (women's appearance, behaviour, and activities). In addition, coeducation was banned and female judges not recognized. During the 8-year war with Iraq (1980–1988), women became active in the public domain, serving in the war in maintenance and nursing. Because husbands and fathers were killed in the war, women gained the foster right, allowing women to receive governmental funds for their children even after they remarried.

Following the war and the death of Khomeini in 1989, the third stage entailed the development and institutionalization of the Islamic state, in which women's economic role became more significant. With the election of President Rafsanjani a new era began in which free education, free health care, low income and cooperative housing, and food subsidies started to erode (Bahramitash, 2003, p. 235). At this time, the Islamic Republic's first 5-year plan was launched in 1990. It promoted the neoliberal policies of privatization, deregulation, the modernization of Tehran Stock Exchange, and reintegration into the world economy:

> The clear message throughout the bureaucracy began to be: balanced economic growth and national development cannot take place in a situation of uncontrolled population growth and economic, social, and cultural marginalization of women. Shifts in gender policy also began

to occur in areas of women and law and women and agriculture. After a decade of discouraging women from entering the law profession, the Iranian state reversed itself and deemed it advantageous to draw upon their experience and education. (Farhi, 1998, pp. 5–6)

In 1996, the fourth stage of "contested terrain" included a mixed series of pragmatic steps, development policies, cultural/Islamic identity conflicts, which led to the May 1997 presidential election. The outcome of the election brought some modest gains for women, such as a woman's appointment as the vice president for environmental affairs and several other women as deputy ministers (Farhi, 1998).

4   Educational Policies

The state, through its policies and budget, controls the development of human resources in any country; government policies have "a major impact on who get educated and what is taught" (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari, 1994, p. 19). Again, the underlying assumption from Western and outside commentators has been that pre-1979 educational policies had evolved to promote women's education, and that the policy and practice following the revolution reversed progress, openness, and the trend towards gender equality. Nevertheless, Iranian educational policies have been considerably more nuanced and complex than this ethnocentric assumption. The underlying focus of education in the Islamic Republic particularly at the outset was its commitment and orientation to developing an Islamic person. The High Council of Education laid out religious and spiritual goals first, followed by scientific and cultural, social, political, and economic goals. The key role and responsibility for women were seen as motherhood and the care and upbringing of children, while for men, they were to provide economic support and represent the family in other institutions (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari, 1994, p. 20). Given these ascribed roles, men's and women's education would be different.

> While the Constitution of the Islamic Republic establishes the government's responsibility for providing free education for all citizens up to the secondary level (Article 30), in discussing the rights of women the constitution specifies that these rights will be assured "in conformity with Islamic criteria" (Article 21). (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari, 1994, p. 21)

Several interviews and speeches by Khomeini (1982) reveal his unequivocal acknowledgment of women for their participation in the revolution and at least lip service to their freedom, their critical role in family and society, and their achievement in higher education, as long as no one "wants to do something against chastity or harmful to the nation" (Khomeini, 1982, p. 98). In his words:

> [w]omen have more right than men over this [revolutionary] movement. … Women must involve in the fundamental aspects of the country. Just as you had a fundamental role in the movement you must also have a share in the victory. … The country belongs to you. God willing, you must reconstruct the country. … Woman must have a say in her fate.
>
> The era of suppression wanted to turn our fighting women into disgraced beings, but it was God's will. They wanted to treat women like an object, like a commodity. But Islam has

involved and involves women, like men, in every aspect of life. All people of Iran, whether men or women, must reconstruct this ruin which they have left us. (Khomeini, 1982, p. 99)

The essence of his criticism was that during the previous regime, women were actually oppressed and encouraged to be treated as objects (like beauty queens), rather than active subjects for themselves, their families, and society. "It is woman who, with her correct education, produces humanity, who, with her correct education, cultivates the country" (Khomeini, 1982, p. 101). Rhetoric aside, according to Paidar (1996), criticisms from Islamic feminists covered a range of Khomeini's Islamization measures (e.g. *hejab*, women's representation in the judiciary). However, the feminists appeared to be marginalized and ignored by the government, particularly from 1981–1987, during internal power struggles, repression, control, economic stagnation, and war. As Paidar has pointed out:

> Although strongly encouraged in official rhetoric, women's education and employment suffered from contradictory policies, imposition of gender quotas and support for male dominance, combined with lack of co-ordination between the multiple centres of decision-making and lack of financial resources. Nevertheless, although the opportunities available to women were reduced, Islamisation polices and mismanagement *did not stop women's participation in education and employment*. [emphasis ours] (Paidar, 1996, p. 61)

The Islamic revolution of 1979 closed universities from 1979 to 1984 as part of the organized Islamization effort. The closure was meant to allow the time to review and revise educational curricula and materials.[2] With the reopening of universities in 1984, in fact, special restrictions were placed on women in several areas of study, especially agriculture, where women could enter only one of five agricultural areas. In 1985, with the establishment of the nation planning board, more restrictions were placed on women to enter several specializations in arts, science, and engineering. Women academics in agricultural areas were the first to protest these forms of discrimination. In response, the committee responsible for the Islamic cultural revolution explained the reasons for its restrictions as follows (Boozari, 2001, p. 101):

1. Women's productivity is less because of their child-rearing and family responsibilities.
2. Many women engineers, pharmacists, and medical doctors remain at home (because of their own desires or forced by their husbands) – and in some cases choose professions other than those they studied.
3. Women do not accept jobs requiring travel outside of the city.
4. When capital is limited and there is an increasing need for national development, the country should not invest in those with lesser productivity.
5. In some fields of study such as engineering or geology where only one or two women are enrolled, for religious reasons, men are uncomfortable.
6. Education in these fields would hurt the family structure.

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[2] Coincidentally the educational structure and content have emerged as virtually the same for females and males, who use the same textbooks and curriculum at all educational levels.

According to Boozari, these were not religious or Shari'a reasons, but cultural ones, basically amounting to patriarchy. In 1987, the High Council of Cultural Revolution set up the Women's Social and Cultural Council, charged with studying the legal, social, and economic problems of women (Farhi, 1998, p. 6). In 1993, after numerous meetings and seminars with university presidents, cabinet ministers, and others, and in response to international pressures, all restrictions on women entering any fields in the universities were lifted (Boozari, 2001, p. 102).

This shift in enabling increased women's participation may be also partly a result of the Islamic Republic's 5-year plan of 1990, which called upon the government to adopt a policy of privatization, deregulation of economic activity, banking and financial services, and the reintegration in the world economy (Ehteshami, 1995). According to Moghadam (1995), there were major changes at the economic level with implications for both women and men. However, in this First Development Plan there was "no specific policy for the quantitative and qualitative advancement of young women in higher education." (Islamic Republic of Iran, p. 106). In contrast, the policies recommended in the 1999/Third Development Plan included:

1. Increasing women's participation in planning and setting education policy and increasing their presence at management levels
2. Improving the match between the subject studies by women at the tertiary level and the job market
3. Formulating a long-term, gender-oriented human resource development policy that will expand the presence of women specialists in the Iranian job market
4. Increasing the proportion of women in the faculty of universities and other institutes of higher education (Islamic Republic of Iran, 1999, p. 106).

If actually implemented, these measures would likely introduce a stronger women's voice in decision-making in the tertiary system. Restructuring the educational offerings in line with the job market might improve women's economic status and condition. However, these policies are still vague.

4.1   The Policy Record

Aside from formal policy and planning commitments in official documents, the government of Iran has increased expenditure on education by about 20% in the 1980s (particularly at the elementary level), as compared with the prerevolution phase of the 1970s.[3] In 1985, 3% of the country's gross domestic product was spent on education, in 1986 4%, and in 1997 5.3%. It is notable that expenditures on higher education increased from 12.8% to 22.5% from 1986 to 1997 (Islamic Republic of Iran, 1999, p. 73). Concurrently, Iran achieved significant progress in

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[3]Government expenditure decreased in absolute terms; the impact of the revolution and the Iran–Iraq war had decreased the GDP (Higgins and Shoar-Ghaffari, 1994).

several educational areas over the last 3 decades, including increased literacy for women (particularly in rural areas), increased participation of women in secondary education, especially in poorer regions, and increased women's access to tertiary education (Islamic Republic of Iran, 1999, p. 106).

4.2 Literacy

Since formal "modern" schooling began in the mid-1800s in Iran, male enrollment has predominantly been far ahead of female enrollment. The more recent trend is toward equalization at the elementary level. Thus, the gender gap in literacy has decreased over time, even during the postrevolutionary decade when Iran was contending with a war and suffering the impact of the fundamentalist anti-Western revolution. Figure 1 illustrates both the significant growth of literacy since 1968
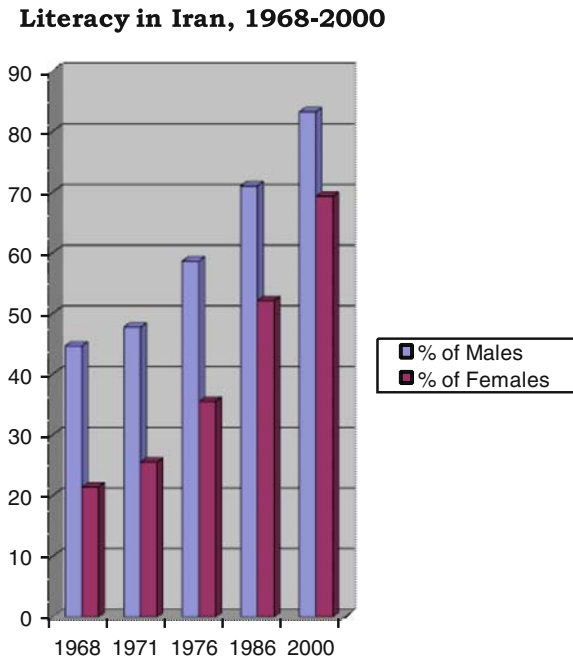
Fig. 1 Literacy in Iran (For 1968 and 1971: Literacy from over age six. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs Statistical Office (1980). *Compendium of Social Statistics: 1977* (p. 805). New York: United Nations. For 1976 as quoted in Akbar Aghajanian (1994), The Status of Women and Female Children in Iran: An Update from the 1986 Census in the Islamic Republic of Iran. In: M. Afkhami and E. Friedl (1994). *In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-revolutionary Iran*. London: I.B. Tauris. For 2000, defined as literacy from over age 15, United Nations Development Programme (2002). *Human Development Report 2002: Deepening Democracy in a Fragmented World*. New York: Oxford University Press)

and the recent reduction in the gender gap (in 1968, women were 23.2% lower than men; in 2000, the difference was 13.9%). In 2000, among those aged 15–24, over 90% of females were literate, reaching 95% of the male literacy rate, indicating substantial and rapid gains made among young women. The record suggests a commitment both by the government and by the population as a whole to literacy for both sexes.

5   Access to Tertiary Education

In 1969, about 25.2% of university students were women, who specialized in a range of fields varying from the humanities, to education, fine arts, law, social science, natural sciences, engineering, medical sciences, and agriculture. As mentioned earlier, universities were closed from 1979 to 1984 and in the first 10 years of the revolution, the government placed restrictions on women entering "male"-specific fields in agriculture, mining, and engineering. Likewise, there was very little focus on women's education in the early years following the revolution. In the 1979/80 period before universities were closed, women comprised 30.8% of the 175,675 student enrollment. During 1989/90, the percentage of women in institutions of higher education dropped to 28.6% (Boozari, 2001, p. 103). However, more recently, following the lifting of restrictions, the number of women in universities increased significantly. During the 1999/2000 academic year, 53% of accepted students were women (Mehran, 2003). In 2002 alone, 61.7% of those admitted to public universities through national examinations were female students. This record reflects the complexities and contradictions between the expectations of women in Iran, the various policies pursued by the government, and the actual educational achievements made by women.

Figure 2 illustrates the gradual rise of women's admission to university education, reflecting both a setback between 1973 and 1991, and a subsequent recovery and notable increase. Questions regarding the comparative quality of tertiary education (for men and women as well as boys and girls at other preparatory levels) and support systems for women students could be an area for future research. This could allow a more critical assessment of the impact of tertiary education on women's economic, social, and health opportunities and condition. The *Human Development Report of the Islamic Republic of Iran, 1999*, while recognizing significant quantitative progress over the last 20 years, acknowledges the issue of quality as key for sustainable development in the country. The report singles out tertiary education as most concerning, basically due to the negative impact on the country's economy:

A qualitative mismatch between the content of higher education and the requirements of the labour market will obviously result in increased unemployment among the educated and will amount to a waste of the resources allocated to higher education. (Islamic Republic of Iran, 1999, p. 65)

Women admitted to universities in Iran
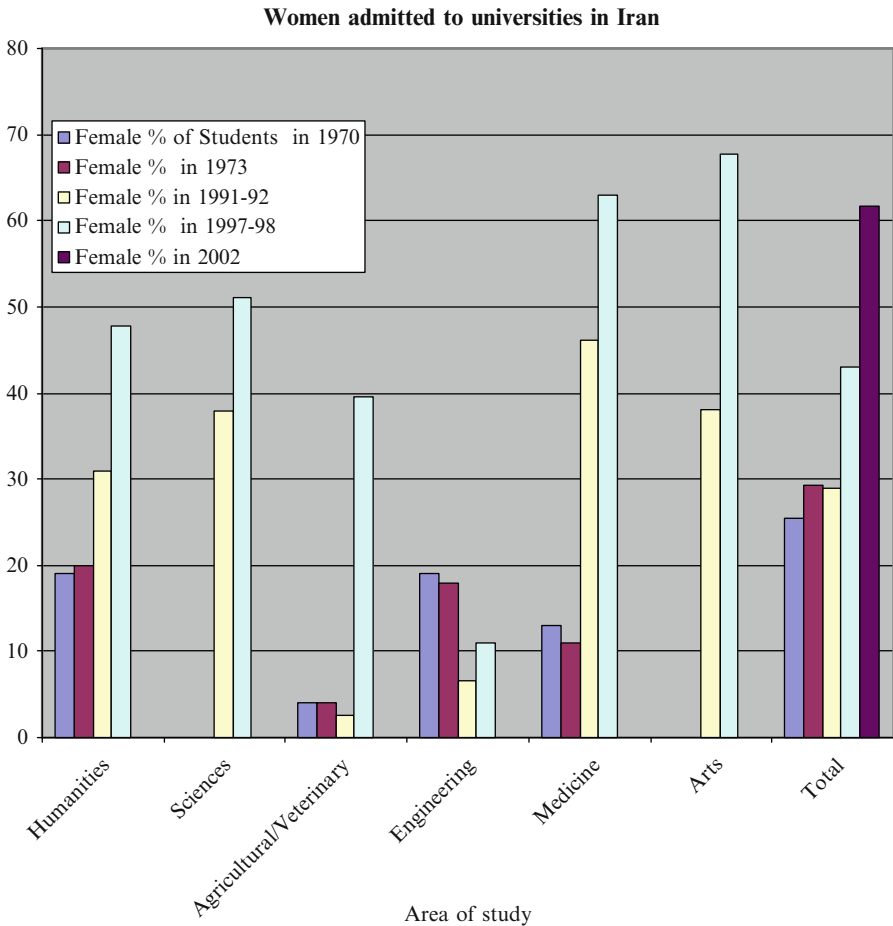
Fig. 2 Women's admission to universities in Iran (From Department of International Economic and Social Affairs Statistical Office (1980). *Compendium of Social Statistics: 1977* (p. 840) United Nations, New York (for 1970 and 1973; please note that not all areas of study were reported similarly for this source and for Kazemi pour Shahla. Ravande tahavolate jamaiat danesh amoozi va daneshjouee kashvar taye salhaye, pp. 1355–1377. ba tekyeh bar sahme zanan dar in gorouha. The changes of students' population with a focus on women's participation in 1996– 1998. Development of women's participation in higher education. *Cultural and Social Studies: Women Studies 2*, p. 85)

The report also mentions the negative impact of these factors on graduates' opportunities. Three elements contributing to the qualitative decline of tertiary education were identified: overemphasis on increasing numbers of students enrolled (in an effort to counter youth unemployment); lack of attention to such factors as qualified faculty and adequate facilities; and lack of competition, due to public control of universities.

6   Employment and Tertiary Education

An indicator of women's position in higher education is the representation of women as university faculty. The table below indicates considerable increases in female faculty, with a 55% proportionate increase over this 4-year period for professors and associate professors, and a 33% increase for assistant professors.[4] This does not resemble the female *student* percentages over this time, but at least signifies a trend of increased representation, and is in line with female faculty representation in many other countries.

Female faculty in Iran (From Gheyasi, M. (2000). Barreseye Ravande Vazayate Amoozeshi Zanon Dar Amozesh Aliye Iran (Bakhshe Doul-ti) AZ Sale 1369 Ta Sale 1378. *Vezarate Olum, Tahghighat va fanavari*, p. 31.)

	1996		1999/2000	
	Total faculty	*Percentage as female faculty*	*Total*	*Percentage as female faculty*
Full professor	259	3.4%	704	5.3%
Associate professor	654	5.6%	1,396	8.7%
Assistant professor	2,809	11.1%	9,520	14.8%

Government plans include the intention to "increase the proportion of women on the faculty of university and other institutes of higher education" (Islamic Republic of Iran, 1999, p. 106). If the government is able to implement this measure, this is likely to help promote equity. Figure 3 indicates a steady increase in employment for women with higher education working outside the home. These employment rates contrast with women 15–35 years old in general, whose employment decreased from 1976 to 1986, further underscoring the importance of higher education for women's status and condition. It will be helpful to compare these figures with more recent data, when available.

7   Conclusion

Given the trends in women's participation in tertiary education over the past 30 years, one would need to examine critically the realities and achievements vis-à-vis the policies of the Islamic Republic. Contrary to commonly held perceptions and in spite of many restrictions, women are actively and successfully resisting the dominant hegemonic discourses and claiming educational and economic opportunities.

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[4] Unfortunately, the comparative increase of teaching faculty (men and women) could have facilitated an even greater increase for women. The number of overall faculty increased by over 200% over the 3-year period.

**Females with higher education employed
outside the home in Iran**
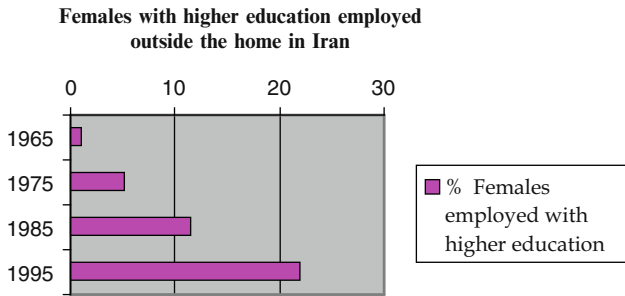
Fig. 3 Employment patterns for women with higher education (From Shadi Talab Zhaleh (1998). Modiriate zanan. Zan, daneshgah, fardaye behter: Majmoueh maghalat va gozareshat. *Motaleate farhangi ve ejtemai, motalate zanan* 39)

Despite retrograde changes in the legal situation of women (e.g. compulsory veiling and annulment of the Family Protection Law), they have had an extraordinary presence in the Iranian society, specifically in the educational and cultural fields. Moreover, the policies affecting women have underscored the importance attributed to women in society, beyond the roles of mothers and wives. As Farhi (1998) cautions and summarizes:

> All this does not mean that the path for women's progress has been paved and no obstacle stands in the way. … The Islamic state, throughout its post-revolutionary evolution, has incorporated developmentalist and culturalist postures vis-à-vis women. These two postures have by no means been in opposition to each other all the time. For instance, the strict application of the Islamic dress code has been used as a mechanism to break cultural barriers against women's presence in the public domain; a license, so to speak, women have so far used very effectively to enter the public space as wage earners or in any other capacity. At the same time, the requirements of a development-oriented liberalisation policy invariably come into conflict with interests that justifiably worry about cultural liberalisation as an intended consequence of economic liberalisation. (Farhi, 1998, p. 7)

It seems that contradictory developments since before the Iranian Revolution in 1979 have had a positive, though seemingly modest, impact on the presence of Iranian women in society and the economy. Enforcement of Islamic *hejab* for women, on the one hand, took away their personal choice of self-expression and, on the other hand, made their public presence more possible. Women's improved access to higher education has paved the way for their increased participation in the workforce, society, and government decision making. These achievements by women, however, have not been without constant struggle at many levels over the last 3 decades. Clearly both government policy and practice are underscoring the need to include women as a viable part of the nation's resources, but we expect the struggle to ensure women's position and presence will continue to maintain and build on the achievements made. Finally, this chapter suggests a need to move beyond simplistic assumptions and to better understand and recognize the active role taken by women and men in Iran to accomplish this task, against many odds.

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When Indigenous and Modern Education Collide

Alberto Arenas, Iliana Reyes, and Leisy Wyman

1 Indigenous Pedagogy and Western Education: Unresolved Tensions

There are an estimated 300 million indigenous people worldwide, roughly 5% of the world's population (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2004). Despite this significant presence, national schooling systems have ignored, minimized, or ridiculed their histories pre- and post-Western contact, as well as their cultural contributions toward social and environmental sustainability. Only since the 1960s have ministries of education around the world, regional entities, and community-based groups set up education programs that seek to rescue and protect the values, practices, languages, and knowledge systems of indigenous groups, including their relationship to local ecosystems; social relationships within each group; subsistence-based production, such as agricultural, pastoral, and hunting and gathering techniques; and language, art, games and other cultural aspects (e.g., Barnach-Calbó Martínez, 1997; Hernández, 2003; May, 1999; May and Aikman, 2003; Neil, 2000). These educational efforts have sought to recover indigenous peoples' own history and identity to help them resist the pressure to assimilate into the surrounding dominant societies.

Despite important advances, there are deeply entrenched tensions between the aspirations, goals, and practices of indigenous education and those of mainstream Western education. Often enough, the educational programs are initiated as indigenous peoples themselves and non-indigenous allies seek to reform educational efforts by infusing formal schooling efforts with the unique alternative indigenous knowledge systems, pedagogies, and languages. At the same time, these

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same educators must commonly negotiate numerous pressures over time, ranging from the inflexible national systems of education, the bureaucratic red tape, the institutional inertia, the lack of financial resources, the need to develop and create educational materials, and the necessity of training and socializing educators to creatively incorporate indigenous knowledge systems, pedagogies, languages, and community members into schooling efforts. These pressures present immense ongoing challenges for those who seek to indigenize schools and school systems. If educators bend too far towards Western models of education, they risk reproducing the same fossilized and insensitive systems they are trying to circumvent (Abu-Saad, 2006; Arratia, 1997; McCarty, 2002; Sarangapani, 2003; Zajda et al., 2008a; Zajda, 2008b). At the same time, through ongoing struggles to orient local efforts toward indigenous models of education, educators can ground students in their communities and geographical spaces while fostering academic achievement, providing preferable alternatives to homogenized Western schooling efforts.

In this article, we establish a parallelism between both forms of education, showing how for each of the main goals of indigenous education there is an opposite hegemonic counterpart in mainstream schooling. In doing so, we synthesize a large body of literature from various disciplines - namely, anthropology, sociology, education, linguistics, political science, and environmental studies - to make explicit how the ideals of indigenous education can clash head on against the goals and practical realities of systems of public instruction.

As the reader will see, we have created archetypes of indigenous and modern education, in effect setting up an artificial juxtaposition of these models. In reality, individual indigenous programs vary considerably, and seldom tend to encompass all the qualities detailed here, just as no single modern system of education exhibits all the defects outlined within. Nonetheless, setting up our arguments via archetypical models illuminates the most important challenges currently faced by programs serving indigenous children. Without a clear understanding of these points of conflict, it will continue to be extremely difficult for indigenous educational programs to flourish. More generally, and in light of the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, we hope that this article serves as a conceptual framework for guiding and inspiring supporters of indigenous education to renew their efforts as they struggle with some of the issues outlined here.

2 Goals and Practices of Indigenous Pedagogy

An increasing number of schools worldwide serving indigenous populations are involved in a restructuring of the purpose, content, and form of education (e.g., Abu-Saad and Champagne, 2006; Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005; Hornberger, 1997; May, 1999). Under ideal circumstances, indigenous education strives to teach indigenous children about their culture and history in an appreciative manner; offer

a significant part of their schooling outdoors and in authentic settings; support a well-balanced education that addresses children's intellectual, emotional, physical, social, and spiritual dimensions; bring together children and adults (including elders); teach competence in vernacular, non-hegemonic languages; and foster the importance of non-commodified practices that teach children how to live well in their bioregion. The following describe these characteristics in more detail.

2.1   Indigenous Education Exposes Children to Their Histories and the Traditions of Their Communities

Indigenous education can help to ensure the survival of the cultural wealth of indigenous communities. This wealth is essentially the social capital of the poor, their main asset to satisfy basic community needs (such as food, shelter, communal, and spiritual growth), and to have control over their own lives. Efforts to reclaim the cultural wealth of marginalized communities are found in Wigginton's "cultural journalism" (1985), Moll et al.'s "funds of knowledge" (1992), Kretzmann and McKnight's "community assets" (1993), Arenas's (2001) and Sobel's (2004) "pedagogy of place," and Barnhardt and Kawagley's "culturally responsive pedagogy" (2005). These scholars report on a small sample of the many schools worldwide that center learning on the life of the community, with an emphasis on oral traditions, face-to-face and intergenerational communication, and value systems that view the individual as a part of a larger human and nonhuman community. For instance, New Zealand schools promote *kapa haka* (Maori performance arts) as part of the Maori studies curriculum (Harrison and Papa, 2005, p. 67). Kapa haka is practiced by students of all ages, from preschool to the last year of secondary schooling, and is considered an integral part of the holistic conditioning of mind, body, and spirit. Through regional and national competitions, youth demonstrate their knowledge and artistic talent by performing their tribe's historical chants in public, and are judged by the most respected and knowledgeable leaders in Maori culture. Because kapa haka is an integral part of the school activities throughout the year (and not just a sporadic event), youth acquire a sense of confidence and pride in Maori culture that would not be achieved otherwise.

While the perpetuation of non-commodified knowledge is important for all indigenous children, those living in urban areas need special attention. In 2008, for the first time in history, more than 50% of the world's population lived in towns and cities (Dugger, 2007), and by 2025, an estimated two thirds of the world's population will be living in urban areas (World Resources Institute, 1998), with indigenous families found in increasing numbers in urban settlements (Rakodi, 1997; Sieder, 2002). In urban areas, children from indigenous backgrounds have much less exposure to the knowledge and practices of their ancestors related to ethnobotany, religion, manual skills, oral histories, performance arts, basic survival in nature, and their vernacular language. To prevent the very real possibility of cultural loss, urban

schools need to place much greater emphasis on reclaiming these material and immaterial assets. At the same time, there needs to be a strong recognition of the hybrid nature of many understandings and practices engaged by indigenous youth. An interesting example has come out of El Alto, Bolivia's indigenous capital and home to about 800,000 Aymaras. A whole new musical movement has emerged among Aymara youth that combines US-born hip-hop (including the trappings of baseball caps, baggy pants, and hand signs) with politically charged lyrics in Aymara and Spanish (Forero, 2005). Andean flutes and drums mesh with a hip-hop rhythm. This syncretism is part of the daily reality of indigenous youth of urban and rural areas around the world.

Recognizing the importance of these cultural manifestations and their rightful place in the curriculum is helpful for indigenous students in both urban and more remote and seemingly traditional communities. For example, in one charter school serving primarily Tohono O'odham students in an urban area of southwestern USA, in an annual event, dozens of student groups present skits or puppet plays that feature a modern twist on traditional Tohono O'odham stories alongside master storytellers from the community before a crowd of hundreds (Reeves, 2006, p. 199). As another example, in the rural Yup'ik Eskimo school district where Wyman conducts her research, Native Youth Olympics (NYO), a series of native sports events, is sponsored during the school year alongside the nonnative sports of basketball and track. As part of NYO, individuals compete in a series of native games such as one- and two-legged high kicks and jumps, and a seal hop where students lie flat, hold themselves up using only their knuckles and toes, and hop across a gym floor. Elders used versions of the events traditionally to maintain strength, balance, and flexibility during the long winter months. In the standardized school-sponsored versions of the events, students compete in tournaments for individual medals and team trophies and their cumulative scores are used to put together an all-star district team for state competition in Anchorage, and adults can compete for titles in the international World Eskimo Indian Olympics (WEIO) (Wyman, 2004). Events such as the Tohono O'odham storytelling nights from the first example and NYO in the second serve as catalysts for educators to build curriculum and avenues for performance around the syncretism found in indigenous students' lives, and allow opportunities for educators and students to embrace indigenous knowledge in its many manifestations.

2.2 Indigenous Education Stresses Holistic Learning, with an Emphasis on Children's Attachment to Nature

It has become imperative to address what Pyle (1993, p. 140) called "the extinction of experience." Schools should seek a balance between participating in indoor and outdoor settings, spending time in human-built and natural habitats, and fostering

intellectual talents alongside manual training, physical activities, and artistic endeavors. In opposition to the lopsided intellectual development of modern, Western education, indigenous education needs to strive for holistic forms of education more akin to those found in many premodern societies that fostered children's emotional, intellectual, artistic, physical, social, and spiritual development (Reagan, 2000). The original Santiniketan, a school founded by Indian poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore near Calcutta in 1901, harbored many of the characteristics described here. In terms of outdoor activities, Santiniketan:

> [f]acilitated learning about the divine and the natural. … The natural surroundings of Santiniketan were vast and remarkable: Open air, solemn rivers, expansive plains of prickly shrubs, red gravel and pebbles, date-palm and sal trees, amalaki and mango groves, the earth stretching its brown arms, the air enveloping everyone with its warmth. Children were free to move about this incredible scenery as they liked: To climb trees, swim in rivers, run, dance … they wore no shoes, socks, or slippers, for Tagore believed that they should neither be deprived of their freedom, nor should they be deprived of the learning contexts that nature provided them – to intimately know the earth by touch. (Jain, 2001, p. 31)

Children learned about science in the context of the natural world, practiced the arts almost daily (music, drawing, and drama), engaged in vigorous physical activity (sweeping, washing dishes, fetching water, cooking, weaving, and gardening), and participated in communal activities with local community members. Like Santiniketan, numerous indigenous schools worldwide to a greater or lesser extent have introduced a healthy balance of activities that promote vernacular knowledge and skills. At the same time, recent scholarship in indigenous education has deepened our understanding of how terms such as holistic learning and vernacular skills themselves belie how "[i]ndigenous epistemologies are complex philosophical instruments subject to analysis, interpretation, and metaphoric unpacking" (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, p. 24). While the details of indigenous knowledge systems vary from group to group, each system incorporates elements of formal and informal learning, providing a structured understanding of multileveled sets of relationships "requir[ing] a lifetime of study to master at their deepest levels" (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, p. 24). Currently, scholars are documenting how indigenous youth have been, and in some cases still are, socialized to understand their place in the world and their relationship to other humans and spaces through rich language practices ranging from stories, naming, chants, catechism, and lectures, as well as a range of activities from observation, imitation, practice, and the actual physical learning of skills in apprentice-style learning situations (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006; Ongtooguk, 2000). As these scholars have recognized, indigenous knowledge systems are dynamic, and have changed over time as indigenous peoples have experienced both local manifestations of environmental and social changes, and the extreme pressures and historical experiences of colonization. Recently scholars have begun to assert how studying the complex and interrelated strands of indigenous education, as well as the adaptation of indigenous knowledge systems over time, can provide key understandings for how to "reconnect education to a sense of place and its attendant cultural practices" (Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005, p. 10).

2.3   Indigenous Education Connects Children with Caring Adults, Including Elders

There is an increasing recognition of the importance of breaking down the barriers that separate school from community. One key aspect of this task is to reclaim the premodern practice of involving the entire community in the children's education. As Reagan (2000, p. 206) wrote of non-Western educational traditions:

> Not only have adults and older children in the community tended to play important educational roles, but with relatively few exceptions there has been little focus on identifying educational specialists in non-Western societies. Education and childrearing have commonly been seen as a social responsibility shared by all of the members of the community.

Reducing the barriers between school and community requires bringing the community to the school and taking the school to the community. In the first instance, community members can enhance school life through an active presence in curriculum enrichment, teacher assistance, extracurricular activities, school board membership, and so on. Hammond (2003) described how a group of parents and community members from the Mienh tribe (from Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam), who immigrated to California years earlier and had children in the public schools, constructed a house with teachers on school grounds. The house, built to hold cultural activities, included typical design and construction features from Asia and the USA, becoming a true Mienh-American hybrid. The construction crew contained Mienh elders who had building experience but could no longer do heavy physical work; younger Mienh parents; US teachers; a local US architect; and US, Mienh, and Hmong students who served as cultural brokers. The culturally hybrid house they built – neither completely Mienh nor completely from the USA but something new altogether – became a symbol of peace and harmony among the ethnic communities in the school.

The second direction of indigenous education is from the school to the community, with an emphasis on transgenerational communication. Schools must find ways of linking children to older community members who have retained knowledge of being connected to a place through sustainable practices. For example, in a school in Colombia, secondary students became cultural reporters, going into the community and interviewing mothers and grandmothers regarding their knowledge of medicinal ethnobotany (Arenas, 2001). After compiling extensive lists, which included the common (and eventually scientific) names of plants, physical descriptions, medicinal uses, and forms of preparation, students created an ethnobotanical garden on school grounds. Students and teachers began to use the ethnobotanical knowledge on a regular basis to alleviate common ailments, instead of relying on pharmaceutical products. In societies where a person's worth is measured in terms of economic productivity and where older people are displaced precisely because their capacity in this area is limited, ethnoeducation can greatly serve to offset this situation. In the studies focusing on the Mienh–American house or the Colombian ethnobotanical garden, community members in general, and elders in particular, were able to share their skill and wisdom, thanks to the ethnoeducation projects.

2.4 Indigenous Education Helps to Perpetuate and Revitalize Minority Languages

Vernacular, minority languages are passed from generation to generation through oral communication, something that schools have immense difficulty replicating. As Fishman (1996) wrote:

> Schools are normally programmed and not inter-generational, and mother-tongues are inter-generational and not programmed. They have almost completely opposite constellations of forces. Fishman 1996, p. 20)

The great paradox of modern schools is that the same instrument (education) used to eliminate minority languages must be used to perpetuate and rescue them. To guarantee the perpetuation of minority languages, a significant amount of instruction must occur in the minority tongue from pre-K through 12th grade. Successful models to accomplish this are found in well-developed bilingual and multilingual programs whose purpose is to develop both the minority and the majority languages to native or near-native proficiency (Hinton and Hale, 2001). Such is the case with Hawaiian, which has undergone in the last 3 decades arguably the most successful language revitalization effort of an indigenous language in the USA (McCarty, 2003). Community pressure in the late 1970s and 1980s led to the creation of Hawaiian immersion preschools, followed by Hawaiian immersion elementary and secondary schools as "schools-within-schools." Nowadays, a child can receive an entire education in Hawaiian from preschool to graduate levels.

Another interesting case of language revitalization is presented by East Timor. During the Indonesian occupation, Bahasa Indonesian was the main language of communication in schools, with Portuguese being banned, and Tétum, the most widely spoken indigenous language with between 60% and 80% of the population as native speakers, used only on a limited basis at the elementary school level towards the end of the occupation (Arenas, 1998). Once East Timor became independent in 2002, Portuguese and Tétum became official languages and have gradually been introduced in the schooling system, a move that will probably eventually phase out Bahasa Indonesia from schools. With a push for the full development of Tétum in society in general and in schools in particular, an effort that includes the standardization of its grammar and spelling; the widespread publication of texts in Tétum; and the use of Tétum (alongside Portuguese) as the main language at the primary level and over time including it at all educational levels (Borgerhoff, 2006; Hull, 2000), the chances are high that Tétum will be preserved and reinvigorated by future generations.

It must be stressed that schools by themselves cannot reverse language loss. As several scholars have emphasized, schools are but one of the key change agents in language revitalization (Fishman 1996, 2001; Hornberger, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). As Fishman (2001) wrote:

> If the threatened language is not first acquired as an ethnic mother tongue at home, before children arrive to school, and if it is not used out of school, after school and even after

schooling as a whole is over, then the school has a much more difficult task on its hands. (Fishman 2001, p. 14)

Particularly to reach Stage 6 of what Fishman has called "Reversing Language Shift" (2001) in which the threatened vernacular language is spoken informally between and within three generations of a family and spoken informally by children and adults in the neighborhood, a host of institutions need to be present to ensure the revitalization and perpetuation of the language. Some of these other institutions include: mass media at the local, regional, and national levels; governmental services; nonformal education for adults; youth groups; and cultural groups in general.

Indigenous language revitalization movements also require constant negotiation of tensions inherent in opposing underlying assumptions of indigenous and Western languages and language education, broadly conceived. Within these efforts, indigenous language educators and language planners must make ongoing decisions about details ranging from how to incorporate oral narratives into materials and curriculum, whether and how to use literacy to promote primarily oral languages, how to create new words to express modern concepts and material objects and how to use new technologies in ways that support face-to-face language learning and use (Hinton and Hale, 2001). Even when classroom materials and instruction are in an indigenous language, educators must resist the impulse to teach indigenous languages within familiar "frames" and patterns of language instruction of dominant languages, in order to move beyond piecemeal efforts at language revitalization (Wong, 1999; Meek and Messing, 2007). These decisions involve multiple levels of negotiation from the broad levels of language policy to the microlevels of how to represent single sounds in writing, as well as careful attendance to informal patterns of classroom interaction (Hinton, 2003; Holm et al., 2003). For these negotiations to be successful, the outcomes, products, and pedagogies must ultimately (1) be recognizable as linked to ancestral precedents; and (2) be supportive, rather than disruptive, of intergenerational and everyday uses of indigenous languages in community life.

2.5   Indigenous Education Exposes Mainstream Children to Indigenous Histories and Traditions

To be successful, indigenous education must be accompanied by formal education that exposes mainstream children to the histories and cultures of indigenous and minority groups. A peaceful coexistence and a just society cannot be accomplished if mainstream children do not learn about ethnic minority cultures and the importance of respecting and affirming them. While the main victims of an educational system that silences the cultures and voices of minority groups are minority children themselves, *all* students, minority and nonminority alike, become miseducated insofar as they only receive a partial and biased education (Santa Ana, 2004). Mainstream children who see only their own selves portrayed in the curriculum believe that they are the center and everyone else is peripheral and secondary (Banks et al., 2004;

Nieto, 1992). Intercultural forms of education are essential for ensuring that children learn from each other's communities and hold them in high esteem. In the Mienh-American example presented above, European American, Asian American, Latino, and African-American students all enriched their education through sharing intercultural knowledge and power and through learning to solve conflicts by creative and peaceful means (Hammond, 2003). When mainstream children are robbed of the opportunity to learn about indigenous knowledge systems, they are prevented from envisioning the human capability to adapt to unique ecosystems over time. They also miss the opportunity to learn from the resilience and perseverance of indigenous groups who have survived histories of colonization. This exposure to non-hegemonic histories and cultures dislodges the comfort of the privileged. It is much easier for mainstream children to assume that their ancestors found land that was abandoned, or that indigenous groups simply were conquered and no longer exist, for instance, than to wrestle with histories of oppression, both past and present, related to such issues as competing land claims of peoples with ancestral connections to the geographic spaces where their schools and mainstream communities are located. Educators can expect roadblocks to discussion as mainstream students come "face to face with their own assumptions about notions of cultural assimilation, individualism and capitalistic society" (Ongtooguk and Dybdahl, 2008). At the same time, awareness of these histories provides children important exposure to the facts, rather than false and stereotypical understanding of indigenous realities. Such awareness may motivate mainstream children, on reaching adulthood, to defend the right of other cultures to be respected and affirmed.

One effective strategy for indigenous education is to create language programs where mainstream children with a high-status mother tongue are instructed using the minority language. There are plenty of examples of this with European languages – as in the case of Spanish immersion for English speakers in the USA or French immersion for Anglophone speakers in Canada – but it is much less common with indigenous languages. One notable exception is Paraguay, where 95% of the population is to some degree bilingual in Spanish and Guaraní (Gordon, 2005). In 1992, when Guaraní and Spanish became dual official languages, legislation was passed mandating the use of Guaraní in schools with the goal of full bilingualism. In a 2000 survey of secondary students in Asunción, not only did the vast majority of students express pride and respect for Guaraní, but when asked, "With whom do you speak the most in Guaraní?" 28% answered with their parents, 20% with their grandparents, and 15% with their friends (Choi, 2003). These are significant positive findings. Hamel (2003, p. 125) in fact considers Guaraní a "former" indigenous language, given its massive presence in all strata and the privileged position it enjoys as part of national identity – in this sense, it occupies a similar position as Tétum in East Timor in terms of serving as a social marker of national unity. This is not to say that both languages have the same status; Paraguay is still a society where Spanish has more prestige than Guaraní. Even so, efforts by schools are significant enough to help all children, indigenous and non-indigenous alike, become proficient (or at least semi-proficient) in Guaraní culture and language, revalorizing the place of Guaraní in Paraguayan society.

3 Goals and Practices of Modern Education

The aforementioned goals and practices are in direct conflict with those of modern public schooling, which serves first and foremost as an instrument to integrate the population into the rationalistic and totalizing project of the nation-state (Berry, 1990; George and Jain, 2000; Prakash and Esteva 1998). Through the transmission of a national language, an intentional pedagogy that privileges fragmented and book-codified knowledge, and a continuity of practices involving discipline, obedience, and respect for impersonal authority, the school seeks to train the child to become an effective worker-citizen (Gellner, 1983; Spring, 1980). To the nineteenth-century aims of fostering nationalism, patriotism, and good citizenship, public schools in the twentieth century added the goal of providing equality of opportunity in a hierarchical occupational structure. In this context, practices that thank the forces of nature during the harvest follow the cycles of the sun, moon, and wind, honor the land for the food it provides, and use nonrational approaches to science belong to a much larger group of non-commodified knowledge that resists standardization, assessment, and credentialism, three key aspects of modern schools (Bowers and Apffel-Marglin, 2005; Sieder, 2002; Zajda, 2007).

Even when educators display the noblest of intentions, as evidenced by the examples of schools serving indigenous populations in the previous section, there is enormous pressure for these schools to lose momentum and strength over time. A setting that exemplifies the difficulties faced by indigenous education is the Rough Rock Navajo School, founded in 1966 in Arizona as the first Native American community-controlled school in the USA and one of the most influential Native American schools in the country (McCarty, 2002). Despite its many accomplishments - including serving as a catalyst for Indian American education leaders and inspiring the growth of the Native American bilingual education movement – a host of reasons have cropped up in recent years that have greatly mitigated its positive impact, specifically its language and cultural studies program. The problems have included chronic funding problems, governmental pressures to adhere to national curricular and accountability standards, change in personnel that have brought in administrators and teachers who de-emphasized Navajo cultural revitalization, and parental insistence on academic success but often at the expense of Navajo language and culture. Thus, there have been gradual but incessant attempts at institutional cooptation by state, market, and social forces. While Rough Rock still struggles to be faithful to its original vision, many other indigenous schools have faced varying degrees of success in the struggle to resist institutional cooptation over time. To understand why this happens, it is vital to explore the goals and practices of modern schooling and how these are at cross-purposes with those of indigenous education. The goals and practices of modern schooling can be summarized as follows.

3.1   Modern Schools Emphasize Cultural Homogenization

The concurrent rise of nationalism, representative governments, and industrialization necessitated the rise of mass schooling in the Western world in the nineteenth century (Gellner, 1983; Spring, 1980). Johann Fichte's 1808 *Addresses to the German People*, which advocated for a single German *Gemeinschaft*, helped popularize the concept of unified educational systems that would foster a national consciousness based on the culture of the centers of political, social, and economic power. This consciousness developed in part by the provision of a common history, literature, set of symbols (e.g., flag, map, anthem), and a national language (Anderson, 1983). The European concept of national systems of instruction was then exported and imposed around the world, often with the complacency and support of local elites. As a result, as Anderson pointed out (1983), individuals who received formal schooling became modern subjects who viewed themselves as belonging to an imaginary community called a "nation-state." Prakash and Esteva (1998, p. 16) argued that inevitably local and even regional cultures were systematically excluded from the halls of academia.

> The classroom, however celebratory and respectful of cultural diversity, can only be a deliberately Western site; transmitting only the culture/s of the West. … The pluriverse [as opposed to *uni*-verse] of cultural diversity cannot be nourished or regenerated through the project of education [because] education is of modern western origin.

When schools around the world display a high degree of isophormism, local and regional differences tend to be erased through these larger hegemonic practices (see Benavot et al., 1991 for worldwide curricular isophormism). As Gellner (1983, p. 27) wrote in *Nations and Nationalism*, the educational system of societies worldwide "is unquestionably the most universally standardized that has ever existed." The Huaorani people of the Ecuadorian Amazon offer an example. Rival (2002) wrote that the arrival of the modern school and of modernity in general created a whole new way of life for the Huaorani. Among the physical changes brought about by modernity were the deforestation of vast areas around the village school to mark its separation from the forest; the sedentarization and higher population density in the village as a result of the school's location and yearly schedule (the Huaorani are nomadic and live in sparsely populated areas); and the conversion of the temporary longhouse, the traditional housing unit comprising ten to 35 individuals, to new modern constructions that followed the example of the school with its concrete floors, plank walls, corrugated iron roofs, and sense of permanence. Ultimately, the school assisted in the gradual transformation from the Huaorani's unique social relations and spatiotemporal organizations to a homogenized modern village.

The problem of how schools tend to converge towards one single, global village was emphasized by Chief, a Blackfoot Indian from the USA, when he wrote:

> At the present time, our educational systems are almost identical to the mainstream, and therefore we are merely being taught to fit into the dominant society. We don't have a choice, we must deconstruct our colonized thinking. (2000, p. 27)

3.2 Modern Schools Foster Mostly Indoor, Decontextualized, and Intellectual Learning

On average, children spend about 1,000 h a year at school, surrounded by four walls for the vast majority of this time. They study the world second hand, through lectures, books, and electronic audiovisual materials, and their knowledge is divorced from the earth, plants, and animals that surround the school (Berry, 1990; Smith, 1992; Sobel, 2004). Children seldom go outdoors except for the uncommon fieldtrip and recess – and even recess is being severely curtailed or in the process of being phased out in countries like Germany, Japan, Russia, and the USA (Goodale, 1998). Children end up learning the insidious message that the actual experience of the phenomenon is unnecessary and intellectual discernment is the main respectable avenue for knowing.

Similarly, the knowledge transmitted in school is impersonal and abstract, with little or no relationship to the students' lives (Prakash and Esteva 1998; Sobel, 2004). Knowledge valued by the local community, associated with nonindustrial economic practices or based on nonrational approaches, receives little credence. In Rival's (2002) study, Huaorani children who attended modern schools had less knowledge of the rain forest than did nonschooled children. Schoolchildren spent considerably less time in the forest, fewer knew how to climb trees, none knew how to prepare curare poison, and none knew how to make a clay pot, all familiar activities to nonschooled Huaorani children and basic to their culture. Rival concluded that as Huaorani children learned the modern cognitive skills of reading, writing, and numeracy, they became alienated from the context of the forest and the long-house. Modern schools in fact de-skilled indigenous children from the knowledge and practices of their ancestors.

When traditional knowledge and skills are introduced into the school, they risk becoming disembedded from their original context. Once a time-honored belief and activity is packaged for transportation to, and consumption in, the classroom, it is severed from the land that gave it life and nurtured it. Grimaldo Rengifo Vasquez, one of the founders of the Andean Project for Peasant Technologies (PRATEC), explored how Quechuas and Aymaras understood the connections between deities, nature, and humans, and how this complex set of interactions often did not find a respectful place in schools (2005, pp. 38–39). During the festival honoring the first fruits of the land during Carnival season, Aymaras call the potato tubers *Ispallas*, "potato deities." Aymaras consider that under certain circumstances the fruits of nature have supernatural powers, so the tuber is a potato and an Ispalla, simultaneously. Furthermore, the women who participate in these festivities become deities of the potato, because the sacredness in each person comes to the surface as an Ispalla. If a group of educators, with the best of intentions, packages this extremely intricate cosmovision for an ethnoeducation course, it loses its richness and sacredness in the barrenness of the global classroom. Situations of this type have even some researchers to suggest that there is an inherent incompatibility between indigenous knowledge systems and the modern system of schooling (e.g., Sarangapani, 2003).

3.3 Modern Schools Separate Children from Caring Adults in the Community

A key claim made in Willard Waller's classic *The Sociology of Teaching* (1932) was that schools systematically limited the emotional and intellectual development of teachers. He found that in order to maintain a professional persona, teachers had to distance themselves from students and community members, which impeded their normal psychosocial development. This also damaged the healthy development of students and presented a major stumbling block to humanistic reform in schools. About 80 years after Waller published his educational text, the difficulties faced by teachers to share authentic expressions of the self have changed little (e.g., Cooper, 2004). An overemphasis on curricular standards, prescribed technique, student assessment, and legalistic definitions of education has contributed to teachers shutting off their true selves and their acceptance of the students' culture when in the classroom. Classrooms have become bland and emotionless settings where the main relationship between teachers and students is cordial but distant, and whose allegiance is stronger to the institution than to the child. This is not the fault of teachers, many of whom are extremely caring and committed, but of modern, bureaucratized practices that dampen the intimate relationship that should exist between teachers and students (Pajak and Blasé, 1984).

Even teacher preparation programs specifically created to assist indigenous and other marginalized communities have great difficulty in overcoming entrenched barriers. Hegemonic practices emanating from the state and from dominant social and economic spheres frustrate the open acceptance from the part of teachers of true interculturalism. As Arratia (1997) showed in her study on teacher preparation in Aymara communities of northern Chile, even after undergoing sensitivity and cultural awareness training, teachers (many of whom were Aymara themselves) assumed the role of civilizing agents and reproducers of the social hierarchies found in the larger society.

In their work on indigenous knowledge systems in Alaska (USA), Barnhardt and Kawagley, (2005) highlighted the importance of cross-generational communication by noting how elders help renew and carry forward knowledge on the basic interconnections between natural and human relationships. They emphasized how elders play a vital role in holding together a sense of cultural identity and spiritual centeredness that tends to be diluted and ignored by the more extreme forces of modernization.

Even when schools as a whole do not embrace indigenous knowledge, indigenous students can benefit from efforts to incorporate knowledge keepers into school settings. In one Yup'ik village in Alaska, Wyman found that adults working outside the school resisted the commodification of the relationship between youth and elders. Adults encouraged youth to work for elders "without pay" and emphasized how, in return, according to *Yuuyaraq* (the way to be a good human), a system of beliefs and practices specific to the Yup'ik way of life, elders would share their extensive knowledge of subsistence and the local ecosystem to assist youth in their

carrying out of local day-to-day practices. Older youth described their relationships to elders in general as a key component of their valuation of the local community, and as a factor in their decision as to stay in the community as young adults to raise their children. The local public school, on the other hand, proved to be one of the least stable village institutions within which to incorporate elders' knowledge, due to the rapid turnover of primarily nonnative outside educators and administrators who made up the majority of the local teaching force. Regardless, even as the school overall struggled with instability, when elders were brought into the school, consecutive groups of youth responded positively to their inclusion in formal schooling efforts. At one point in time, when an esteemed elder was employed as a counselor in the school, multiple youth commented how the regular incorporation of his presence and teachings positively impacted their overall learning. As one youth reported: "He talked to us about that [a school shooting that had taken place in the region], and before he started, everybody, most students were like, *anaruteq* or mischievous. [Then he] started talking to us and changed the whole school. He started talking to us and kids started acting better."

At the same time, individuals who can serve as a cultural bridge between teachers and students seldom find a space in schools. Teachers, especially at the primary level, do invite parents and other caregivers to assist as volunteers in the classroom, but often their main role is to help students acquire Western, modern knowledge. In the USA, adults must obtain a postsecondary degree or pass a proficiency exam in order to become teaching assistants in public schools; consequently, those whose knowledge of non-commodified traditions is the richest tend to be excluded. Tohono O'odham and Yaqui grandparents in Arizona (USA) are often rejected for lack of proper credentials, and schools end up relying on CD-ROMs and other technologies to teach native language and culture (Duarte, 2002). At the other end of the spectrum, indigenous education programs are sometimes able to resist the notion of outside certification and bring knowledgeable local elders and adults into school spaces based on the recognition of their talents as fluent speakers of an indigenous language. Yet even in these instances, community members without outside certification may be unfairly compensated for their efforts based on school pay scales, or may find that their coworkers and administrators assume that they have minimal need for professional development opportunities since they are fluent in the local languages and are from the community, as community members told researchers in one language planning effort involving representatives from 20 Athabaskan villages in Alaska (Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore, 1999).

In light of these challenges, indigenous educators and their non-indigenous allies have experimented with various models in order to teach teachers how to incorporate elders and elders' knowledge into schools by traversing the boundaries of indigenous ways of knowing and formal school processes. In the Athabaskan effort mentioned above, community members, indigenous educators, and university-based collaborators created spaces for overcoming the "taken for granted" attitudes and assumptions found in state-run school spaces through regular project meetings held in community, rather than school settings. In the process, they not only envisioned, but implemented multiple projects within which indigenous teachers

could gain certification while learning from knowledgeable elders. These efforts included a master–apprenticeship program that paired teachers with elders to learn advanced levels of their own languages, and a summer institute and a career ladder program designed to make teacher certification more accessible to Athabaskan community members in urban as well as rural schools (Dementi-Leonard and Gilmore, 1999). Within another promising approach in Alaska, longstanding teacher study groups provided sustained opportunities for indigenous and non-indigenous educators to work together to creatively integrate indigenous education and formal schooling while countering power asymmetries in specific school contexts found in rural Yup'ik villages (Lipka et al., 1998).

As evidenced from these examples, Athabaskan, Aymara, Tohono O'odham, Yaqui, and Yup'ik elders, as elders and other caring adults from indigenous groups worldwide, serve as vital holders of transgenerational renewal of knowledge that over time becomes something akin to wisdom. This wisdom, however, seldom fits into the narrow designation of professionalization as defined by the state. Building on the strengths and knowledge of indigenous elders and caring community members in formal school spaces takes ongoing negotiation of the assumptions about power, knowledge relations, teaching and teacher-training found in universities as well as local schools.

3.4   Modern Schools Undermine Linguistic Diversity

There are an estimated 6,900 extant oral languages (Gordon, 2005), the vast majority of which are indigenous and minority. Despite this linguistic plurality, more than half of the world's states are officially monolingual and fewer than 500 languages are used and taught in schooling systems worldwide. It has been precisely through the agents of the "consciousness industry" – namely, schools and the mass media – that hegemonic, nationalistic languages have been imposed on very dissimilar populations inhabiting the same nation-state, to the detriment of the less-prestigious vernacular languages. A clear example of linguistic subjugation occurred at the end of the Middle Ages when Antonio de Nebrija published the first Castilian grammar in 1492 – constituting the first standardization of a modern European tongue. A key reason for this grammatical homogenization was the intent of the Castilian crown to use language as a main tool for spreading a single, nationalist sentiment while suppressing competing vernaculars (Illich, 1981). Since Nebrija's time, the emergence of the consciousness industry and economic globalization have led to such a critical language loss that if present-day evolutions continue, over 90% of these languages will be dead or dying by the year 2100 (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000).

To achieve national homogenous linguistic identities, schools employ both overt and covert practices (McCarty, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Overt practices include using physical punishment and humiliation if the minority tongue is spoken (e.g., many Native American and Native Alaskan groups experienced direct punishment for speaking their indigenous languages in schools; Català and Euskada were

excluded from schools during the Franco dictatorship in Spain); dispersing minority children in special boarding schools far from their homes (e.g., numerous Native American and Native Alaskan groups; Kurds in Turkey; Sámi in Norway and Sweden); and using the vernacular tongue only during a transitional period to help students learn the hegemonic language. This latter strategy, the most common overt practice in contemporary schools, was called by Lambert (1975) "subtractive bilingual education." Covert practices occur through structural means, as when a sizable group of minority children do not speak the dominant language but no bilingual teachers are provided to assist them, and through ideological means, as when the minority language is viewed not as a resource but as a handicap (Ruiz, 1984).

As some scholars argue, "[t]he most significant challenges for … language revitalization efforts … involves transforming the long-term effects of policies and practices that continue to condition language attitudes and choices in favor of [dominant languages] at the expense of mother tongues" (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, p. 138). In some places, such subtractive ideologies have led to very restrictive language policies that severely constrain the options for bilingual educational programs in US states like Arizona with relatively large numbers of indigenous and immigrant students. In other states like Alaska, where bilingual education programs are still overtly supported, such subtractive ideologies are covertly undermining indigenous language educational efforts as school funding, personnel, and control over public schools serving indigenous students have become tied to the performance of students on dominant language tests in a new era of accountability. One telling example is a school district in Alaska, nationally recognized for 30 years of efforts to provide culturally and linguistically relevant programming for Native Alaskan students. Yet at the time of this writing, it appears that some communities, after historically maintaining their indigenous language through many of the forms of overt linguistic oppression listed above, are now wavering in their commitment to bilingual education and are choosing to speak English in the hopes of helping their children achieve on a high-stakes graduation exam conducted in English, threatening to undermine Alaskan linguistic vitality and diversity (Williams and Rearden, 2006).

As languages disappear, so does biological diversity. As Maffi argued in *On Biocultural Diversity* (2001), there is a close connection between literacy (in the hegemonic language), industrialization, and urbanization. As these increase, there is a concomitant reduction in cultural and biological diversity. Once a language dies out, not only is there a loss of a way of communication, it also signals the demise of a way of relating to the world. As Nabhan (2001) wrote, once a language is gone, the "traditional ecological knowledge about relationships between plants and animals is lost. Indigenous and minority communities are reservoirs of considerable knowledge about rare, threatened, and endemic species" that vanishes once the members of these groups cease to speak the language (Nabhan, 2001, p. 151). This lost knowledge represents a missed opportunity to promote the protection and sustainable use of endangered species and fragile ecosystems, as well as of cultural traditions that maintain communities united. In a report on African languages, it was found that in Mozambique oral histories and the making of traditional crafts

are fading away because the vernacular languages that give life to these traditions are not found in schools. Mozambique has 23 native languages, but the only official one is Portuguese. Paulo Chihale, director of a project that trains Mozambican youth in traditional crafts, said: "Our culture has a rich oral tradition, stories told from one generation to another. But it is an oral literature our kids will never learn. Our culture is dying [because] our sons no longer speak the language of their fathers" and schools do little to protect this linguistic wealth (see Leonard, 2005).

But even when indigenous languages do find a rightful place in schools, they may unwillingly displace less-prestigious indigenous languages. While Tétum appears to have a hospitable future in terms of its schooling presence, the same cannot be said of the 15 or so other indigenous languages in East Timor because at this point there are no plans to include them in any systematic basis in public schools. Clearly, no society has enough resources to ensure the introduction of all indigenous languages in the schools' curriculum, but the greater political clout of some indigenous languages over others – as measured by numbers of speakers and access to political and economic spheres of influence – ultimately determines their greater prominence in schools. The institutionalization of Tétum may in fact have the unwanted effect of destabilizing the presence of other indigenous languages (and even nonstandard variants of Tétum), as has been suggested occurred in Tanzania with the institutionalization of Swahili (Blommaert, 2005a, b). When Swahili was implemented in Tanzania in its primary schools since the 1960s as a liberatory and revolutionary strategy, it had the effect of relegating the other 100-plus indigenous languages to a subordinate position. One author even remarked that "Swahili, rather than a world language such as English, may be the main direct threat to the existence of minority languages" in Tanzania (Blommaert, 2005a, p. 499). The Tanzanian example underscores the point above that indigenous language education efforts are inherently situated. When schools serve children from multiple indigenous groups, clearly the goals and methods of indigenous language education must be considered in light of all students in the school.

3.5 Modern Schools Promote the Commodification of Education

As the number of years of compulsory schooling has increased over the decades, and as "successful" preparation for adulthood is partly determined by the amount and type of schooling one gets, students have become "consumers" of education (Illich, 1977). Pecuniary rewards and social status are largely determined by the academic degrees one possesses, thus transforming education and knowledge into commodities that are bought and sold in the market. This has led to a swelling of academic degrees for jobs that previously did not require them, something chastised at least since the 1960s when the concept of the *credential society* was coined (Collins, 1979). Authors from this line of thinking claimed that while a small proportion of new employment (an estimated 15%) did require specialized skills

that could be obtained through further schooling – and thus justify the acquisition of an advanced degree – the vast majority required the same skills that were needed decades ago (e.g., Dore, 1976; Zajda, 2007). Today, the amount of knowledge and skill required by secretaries, teachers, lawyers, assembly-line workers, sales people, bus drivers, and administrators have not changed much, and whatever new skills are required – especially related to operating computers – can be learned on the job during the first few months of employment (Oppenheimer, 2003).

Schooling has become such a powerful force in society that it currently partially defines people's personal and professional worth. As Gellner wrote: "The employability, dignity, security, and self-respect of individuals … now hinges on their *education*" (1983, p. 36, italics in the original). The overrating of formal paper qualifications has led to the disregard and disdain for the informal, intimate transmission of skills. Accredited centers of learning have virtually become the only spaces where transmission of knowledge is deemed legitimate in the eyes of employers. An understanding of the commodification of education allows us to acknowledge that as a society we could retain the same standard of living with much less-formal education. It also allows us to grasp why truth and justice have become secondary to crass commercialization and consumerism. As O'Farrell (1999, p. 14) said:

> The question asked by the state, by students, by schools and universities is no longer "is it true" but "is this knowledge useful?" In an environment where money is all, this question also becomes "how much money can be made out of this knowledge?" and further "will this knowledge make the process of making money more efficient?" In short, knowledge is no longer assessed in terms of its truth or falsity or its promotion of justice, but in terms of its efficiency at making money.

This attitude results in the devaluing of local knowledge that has little worth in terms of enhancing an employer's or a nation's economic productivity. As governments gear curriculum standards to meet the goals of national economies, oral traditions and knowledge that do not have a built-in value that can be measured in the economic market becomes irrelevant. As Illich (1977, p. 82) wrote of the prevailing attitude, most people have come to believe that "only through schooling can an individual prepare for adulthood in society, [and consequently] what is not taught in school is of little value, what is learned outside of school is not worth knowing."

4   Evaluation

In light of the previous discussion on the characteristics of modern, Western education, does this mean that the efforts by practitioners of indigenous education are futile? Does the juggernaut of Western schooling nullify the work of indigenous education? We do not believe so. Supporters and practitioners of indigenous education are correct in defending this pedagogy for three main reasons. First, indigenous education is important now more than ever because the prestige and pecuniary benefits associated with modernity are such that, without a minimal counteracting force, the virtual annihilation of native languages and customs worldwide will continue unabated.

In terms of language revitalization, while schools are not the only site for language reclamation, they nonetheless constitute a key place where this may occur.

Second, as a result of the migration of large segments of indigenous groups to urban areas in search of a higher standard of living, many of these new urbanite families are forced to live in squalor and destitution due to unfair economic conditions. In urban areas, children tend not to have the support networks they might have enjoyed in their ancestral homelands, nor do they receive fundamental ancestral knowledge that kept the community together. Schools have the potential to pick up where the community has left off.

Third, the reality in most urban areas is that poor families might realize a modicum of economic well-being only by accruing academic credentials that open doors to modern employment. While there is no guarantee that these diplomas will secure employment, without formal education they have even less hope of leaving the ranks of the underclass. The challenge is to guarantee that children learn the language and symbols of power while still retaining – and, many cases, recuperating – their vernacular cultural wealth. In sum, we do believe that indigenous educators and their non-indigenous allies can improve schooling for indigenous children through a renewed push for a more systemic centering around indigenous epistemologies as a way to counter homogenizing forces that undermine indigenous education efforts (McCarty et al., 2005).

At the same time, supporters and practitioners of indigenous education must address several issues in the process: First, they must go far beyond superficially adding isolated pieces of cultural praxis onto the existing structure of schools. If educators want students to progress beyond a tourist-level appreciation of cultural difference we need to reconceptualize the form and content of public schooling, including the introduction of indigenous languages as a main vehicle of communication. Such a rethinking offers important opportunities for improving the educational achievement of indigenous students (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006). As leading Maori educator Linda Smith pointed out, and as we have shown here, "[i]ndigenous frameworks for thinking about schooling [also] present new and different ways to think through the purpose, practices, and outcomes of schooling systems" (2005, p. 94). As increasing numbers of scholars are recognizing, these opportunities have the potential to benefit not only indigenous students, but all students and all those who seek to understand how education might foster a more just society (Barnhardt and Kawagley, 2005; Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006; Tharp, 2006).

Second, proponents of indigenous education need to be cautious to avoid essentializing indigenous cultures and believing they remain static over time. This is problematic because minority cultures (like all cultures) are fluid and experience change, both in urban, multicultural settings, as well as in rural, ethnically homogenous ones. New hybrid cultural forms tend to emerge that have even brought some observers to suggest that "indigenous" and "modern" need not be oppositional terms (McCarty, 2002, p. 191).

These syncretic manifestations need to be acknowledged by educators and found a legitimate space in the schools' curriculum. A related danger with essentializing indigenous groups is to focus on ethnicity as the only identification marker. This runs

the risk of masking a variety of realities (including other forms of oppression) that occur within all cultural groups. While ethnicity may be the primary identification marker for many of its members, for some oppressed social groups other markers may be just as salient - e.g., as in the case of gays and lesbians, people with physical disabilities, or women. When the Zapatistas went to the Mexican Congress in 2001, a short Maya woman dressed in white with embroidered flowers, and a ski mask covering her head, stood at the podium and told the crowd: "Here I am. I am a woman and I am an Indian, and through my voice speaks the National Liberation Zapatista Army" (Marcos, 2006, p. 69). *Comandanta* (sic) Esther, one of the Zapatistas' most important leaders, was letting the world know by placing *woman* before *Indian* that her reality was a complex one that should not be simplified through the prism of ethnicity alone. Her speech embodied the idea that indigenous cultures are neither monolithic nor static, and that they want the right to decide what to preserve and what to transform in their cultures, and when to preserve and when to transform it.

Leading scholars of indigenous education have shown how essentialized views of indigenous cultures commonly lead to assumptions about indigenous children as one-dimensional learners. Even when these assumptions are based on positive stereotypes of native learners as holistic, ecological, or visual, such assumptions can lead teachers to lower expectations in the classroom, leading to the further educational marginalization of indigenous students (Deyhle and Swisher, 1997; Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006; Ongtooguk, 2000). While we have presented common tenets of indigenous education, we have also demonstrated how indigenous knowledge is situated, and multilayered, and must be fostered within young people's relationships to specific histories, geographical spaces, and dynamic communities. Practitioners of indigenous education need to be mindful of the multiple and dynamic realities of indigenous students, the depth of indigenous knowledge systems, as well as tribal histories, the contemporary circumstances of students' communities, and institutional dynamics of power in order to integrate indigenous ways of knowing sensitively and powerfully into the schools' curriculum.

And third, in following the lessons from the deschooling movement, it must be recognized that indigenous education faces continuous struggles as it attempts to mitigate the commodity fetish that education has become. By synthesizing existing literature and our own experiences as researchers, here we have underscored the complexity of indigenous education by articulating contradictory assumptions that currently produce common tension points, pressures, and areas of struggle for indigenous education efforts. In a work examining over a century of Native American education, for instance, Lomawaima and McCarty documented how, throughout the history of indigenous education in the USA there have existed two very different yet coexistent realities.

> [First, the] reality of a revolution in Indigenous education, of opportunity seized by Native people in the name of self-determination [and second, the reality] of an entrenched federal bureaucracy that … has protected its own powers and stifled Native self-determination at every turn. When Indigenous realities have crossed the line between allowable, safe difference and radical, threatening difference, federal control has been reasserted in explicit, diffuse, and unmistakably constricting ways. (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, pp. 168–169)

In sum, governments tend to support the inclusion of indigenous knowledge in formal schooling efforts to the degree that they remain nonthreatening to assumptions upholding the governing body itself, and to a key goal of contemporary educational reform, namely, to support late industrial capitalism. In this context, the goal of education has been to a large degree the earning of a certificate in order to amass individual mobility, material wealth, and high status, along with grossly inflated levels of production and consumption (Holt, 1976; Illich, 1977). A realistic appraisal of the possibilities for change should include the acknowledgment that without concomitant changes in other sectors of society, particularly the economic one, the undervaluing of non-commodified knowledge and practices will persist, with profound cultural losses for us all.

Yet along with other leaders in the field of indigenous education we believe that these challenges call for a continuing effort to deepen, rather than abandon or back away from, engagement with indigenous epistemologies and ways of knowing in formal educational efforts. As shown by Lomawaima and McCarty, (2006), historically in the USA, even when efforts to incorporate indigenous ways of knowing into formal educational efforts have been severely constrained and controlled by the kinds of hegemonic forces described within, some of these efforts have been "remarkable harbingers of new possibilities, new visions for Indian education" for their time (Lomawaima and McCarty, 2006, p. 108). In the 1930–1950s in the USA, for instance, nonnative employees and academic experts often controlled the production of indigenous bilingual materials in ways that "blatantly intended to acculturate readers" by "gently guiding [indigenous students] away from the values of their own society and toward the Protestant work ethic" (2006, p. 92). Even within such constraints, as Lomawaima and McCarty showed, individual indigenous educators, such as the Hopi translators who worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the effort above, were sometimes able to find avenues for infusing materials with terms that provided windows into unique ways of knowing. While these efforts later rightly came to be seen as severely flawed from a perspective of indigenous education, within the history of indigenous education in the USA the same efforts "laid a foundation that later generations built on, directly or indirectly, as native people increasingly took hold" of the local processes and mechanisms of Indian education. As such, even such flawed steps represented "important steps in the journey toward increasing self-determination at the levels of educational policymaking and control" (McCarty, 2006, p. 108).

5   Conclusion

The main contribution of this chapter has been to serve as a heuristic device that spells out the specific challenges faced by schools serving indigenous populations as they confront modern hegemonic educational practices. Because national systems of education exist to consolidate the nation-state, construct the modern citizen, and strengthen capitalist labor formation, they end up colliding with an indigenous

education that seeks first and foremost to recuperate non-commodified vernacular knowledge critical for sustainable living. Even when the mandates from the central or regional government are flexible, allowing schools ample space to create their own programs, the pressures for resorting to the more conventional pedagogies and knowledge transmission are still too great.

At this point a caveat is in order. We do not believe that the experience of schooling for indigenous children will inevitably lead to the series of educational problems typically associated with subordinated minority children (e.g., low grades; low self-esteem; high levels of dropout). Children from indigenous communities can certainly succeed in school and eventually may even occupy positions of high status in society. As Nieto (1992), Ogbu (2003), Banks and McGee (2004) and others have shown, schooling affects different minority communities, and different individuals within each community, in varied ways.

The likelihood that a child will do well will depend on a host of factors related to the larger *context* of schooling, including the degree of the cultural mismatch between home life and school life, students' and families' oppositional relationships to schools, racism and discrimination, financial inequities suffered by poor schools, cultural capital, and particular interactions between teacher and child (Saha, 2005; Zajda et al., 2008b). Our argument, however, is not related to the possibility that children may accrue the necessary cultural capital to do well in school and eventually amass the alleged benefits of modern society, by means of upward social mobility, material wealth, and high status (Zajda, 2008a).

It is also not our intent to devalue the ongoing efforts of educators and indigenous community members. Rather, we have pointed out the need to maintain a broad perspective on the goals of education itself, and the value of questioning Western educational assumptions so that indigenous children might maintain connections to knowledge and traditions that historically have kept their communities together and attached to the land in harmonious ways. We have also shown how, when this broad perspective is lost, both indigenous and mainstream children lose important opportunities for deepening their connections and understanding of specific places, traditions, and communities. Schools can play a role in reversing cultural loss, but educators must be mindful of the imperative to continuously reinvent indigenous education to ensure that it honors the basic cultural tenets of the ethnic groups it serves, recognizes the hybrid nature of many indigenous practices, and uses learning as a springboard to foster social and environmental well-being.

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Power, Language, and Race Relations Within Francophone Communities in Canada

Amal Madibbo

1 Blacks in Francophone Ontario

Franco-Ontarians have been migrating to the province from Quebec, Acadia, and other parts of Canada since the second half of the nineteenth century (Boudreau, 1995; Martel, 1995; Welch, 1988). Many studies (Choquette, 1977; Labrie and Forlot, 1999) reveal that franco-Ontarians constitute a linguistic minority vis-à-vis dominance of anglophone state institutions. They have been struggling throughout history for the right to establish and control their own institutions in their own language. This process has had considerable success: the Official Languages Act was passed in 1969. It provides funding for official language minority communities. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was adopted in 1982. It gives the right for schooling in any of the two official languages in a minority context, and the establishment of political, social, financial, and educational institutions. Moreover, many associations were established to guide the struggle of francophones: *Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario* (ACFO) has been perceived for many decades as the official representative for the minority in the province.

Lately, large numbers of francophones started immigrating to Ontario from different parts of the world, mostly from Europe, Asia, the Caribbean, and Africa (see also Majhanovich, 2008). They usually come from countries where French is the official, co-official, or second language. These immigrants include significant numbers of blacks from many African countries and the Caribbean (mainly Haitians) who arrived in Canada at different points of time. The presence of the first wave of Haitians goes back to the 1960s (Pompilus, 1997; Roc, 1997) while the Africans have arrived since the 1980s. Significant numbers of Africans and Caribbeans have tended to settle in the province's largest urban centers like Toronto and Ottawa. Many preserve their francophone traditions, choose to live in French Ontario, send their children to French schools, and participate in francophone associations. Even before the arrival of these immigrants, the franco-Ontarian popula-

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tion was more diversified along, particularly, class, ethnicity, and gender dimensions (Heller, 1994). However, the arrival of these francophones contributes to change the image of the community into a more heterogeneous one in terms of culture, class, gender, and language, religion, and race social relations (Ibrahim, 1998). A very positive impact of their presence can be observed, especially in terms of their high numbers that are essential for the very existence of the entire francophone communities and their institutions. For example, in Toronto they have doubled the numbers of francophones who are faced with assimilation into the English-speaking majority and support claims for more francophone institutions and services.

As we observe, black francophones have started establishing their own institutions and associations among them or with other francophone minorities of color. Seemingly, a number of community associations, organizations, and centers were established: *Association multiculturelle franco-ontarienne* (AMFO), *Association Interculturelle franco-ontarienne* (AIFO), as well as groups of musicians and artists. All these are urban associations which play crucial roles in voicing social differences between black and ethnic minorities vis-à-vis white francophones. Having provided this sociohistorical overview, I will discuss how power relations among and within francophone collectivities can be conceptualized.

2   Dynamics of Power Within Francophone Communities

At stake in the Ontario francophone context is the question of power: How can it be obtained and how can it be distributed and shared? Power is vital in internal relations. It thereby allows going beyond the conflict between franco-Ontarians and anglophones to concentrate on the social dynamics within and across francophone communities in Ontario. The question is: If franco-Ontarians have been fighting to gain power, and if they have obtained it, how do they share it? To have a better understanding of power distribution, I will now discuss how the term power is conceptualized and how I will employ it in this work. Kramarae et al. (1984) state that power has been conceptualized in a multiplicity of ways. According to them, power refers to "all expressions of influence and control" (Kramarae et al., 1984, p. 11). It is also the intention of some people to deliberately dominate others. In their view, power varies from subtle manipulation to extreme force (physical or psychic). They also conceive of power as autonomous action based on one's own belief and abilities to exploit available resources to either exert or resist influence.

Foucault (1980) sees power as a practice that is internal to all relationships. He argues that power is not held or exercised by individuals; rather, it is developed through interaction in various relationships. He also notes that power is neither a limitation of freedom, nor a control that can be stored up. Rather, Foucault contends that power comes from below as well as above. Foucault's view indicates that power shifts; it circulates. He says that we all enact power relations according to our different locations and different periods of history. Ng (1995) also points out that power operates in different societal settings to maintain different forms of inequalities and that people

consolidate their power through acquisition of land and wealth and through connections to the state. She states that in the sociology discipline, power is usually understood in macro-terms, as a property of social structures and institutions. In this instance, some individuals or groups have control over major societal institutions and structures while others have limited access to these structures. Ng (1995) goes on to explain that the notion of power is also an unequal relationship that is enacted, established, and maintained in interactions. Ng's view indicates that power relations are manifested and maintained within both structures and interactional settings.

Moreau (1984) contends that power is a social fact established by individuals or groups who hold differential positions within the particular social structures. As he observes, power relations exist between groups when one, the dominated group, is submitted to a system of real economic and political constraints by the other, the dominant group. Moreau seems to argue that power is part of social reality, that it is exerted by a dominant group and supported by political and economic structures.

Keeping this discussion in mind, I will be using the term power to refer to the processes that produce hierarchical relationships that filter through limitations of opportunities. The latter includes social status, political resources, and material wealth (see also Heller, 1994; Saha, 2005; Zajda, 2007, 2008a; Zajda et al., 2008). This process is performed through relations that embody the intersection of variables such as race, gender, and language. Power is articulated and maintained in both the macro- and micro-contexts of society, i.e., within institutions and in everyday life. These dimensions are interconnected. In this chapter, power notably refers to the distribution of political, material, and social resources in different settings of franco-Ontarian communities: government agencies, political, social and educational institutions, and community associations. I also seek to examine how power translates and is produced in daily life. I argue that studying power distribution is useful in order to understand how to amend unequal relations and to develop strategies of resistance. To study the power distribution we need to take into account that franco-phones constitute vibrant communities that include different groups, institutions, and *le monde associatif/* associations and groups. These populations comprise white franco-Ontarians, Europeans, and ethnic and visible minorities. What is special about this linguistic minority is that it contains a racial minority – black francophones. The case of black francophones is unique in that they constitute a linguistic and a racial minority (they are part of the French-speaking minority and are also a visible minority). This entails that if in Ontario white francophones are subjugated because of their language, following the same principle, black francophones are also discriminated against because of their language and their skin color. Like other racial minorities they experience racial oppression within the broader Canadian context. However, they are not only a linguistic and a racial minority but a racial minority within the francophone linguistic minority (see Madibbo and Maury, 2001; Quell, 2000).

To talk about power in this context it is important to examine to what extent the distribution of resources is performed through race and gender relations. If there are institutions that are created and publicly funded to serve the whole community (francophone mainstream institutions), then why do black francophones and ethnic minorities create a separate one that concentrates on issues related strictly to them?

Similarly, if we have *ACFO* to represent all the community, then what leads these francophones to organize themselves in groups (*AIFO, AMFO*) that are separate from traditional francophones? Similarly, why do black women form groups and centers separate from the mainstream and other minorities? In regard to the mainstream institutions, Heller (1994) notes that the latter are acts of resistance but also sources of the reproduction of hierarchical relations of power. This indicates that the institutions reproduce unequal power relations among traditional francophones across lines of class, gender, and sexual orientation. It may also explain that the institutions translate domination between white and black francophones through race relations. It is the latter that I will explore more. This can be done by looking at the space black francophones occupy in these institutions but also at the way different bodies are represented in the hierarchy. The issue is to see who holds key positions and who does not, who are the clients and who offers services, and the relationship between the level of education and experience gained and the position occupied. In this context, some questions arise: Who controls key resources in the Ontario francophone context? Who is in the position of decision-making? Who gets benefits? How are different bodies represented in the hierarchy? How are these relations shaped by gender, race, and language? Where do they intersect? Answers to these questions, through empirical research, will hopefully illuminate our understanding of power dynamics within the francophone communities of Ontario. As I have offered an insight on the relations of power, I will, in the next section, raise the theory stance that will allow examining the power relations within francophone communities.

3   Theoretical Considerations: Antiracism and Discourse

I locate the study of the dynamics of power among francophones in Ontario within Antiracism and Discourse approaches. In what follows, I highlight salient points and discuss their relevance to the study of power in francophone Ontario. Antiracism is a theoretical and discursive framework. It is also a political project that aims for social change and calls for a critical examination of

> the study of how dynamics of social difference (race, class, gender,
> sexual orientation, physical ability, language and religion) are mediated
> in people's daily experiences. (Dei, 1996a, p. 55)

Rezai-Rashti (1995a) points out that antiracism theory has emerged from the struggles of racial minorities against imperial, colonial, and neocolonial experiences. In this regard, James (1995) maintains that the experiences of oppressed groups are crucial to understanding how social inequalities and racism are produced in, and maintained by, social institutions. As Ng (1991) observes, a salient feature of the approach is the recognition of unequal power between groups. In this regard, Young (1995) notes that the existence of unequal hierarchies in Euro/Canadian societies is located within exploitative white, predominantly male, power structures. The framework therefore acknowledges the privilege associated to whiteness. It recog-

nizes that society is stratified and that there is an unequal distribution of power and resources. James (1996a) makes the argument that white individuals from dominant racial groups are the ones who have historically benefited from social and economic power. In this regard, Young (1995) points out that the understanding of the discourse of power should be situated within a broader framework of the historical, social, and political processes that have institutionalized and continue to maintain such unequal power. These processes include enslavement, colonization, and imperialist economic and political practices by European powers that have and continue to construct inequalities in these societies (Bannerji, 1987). James (1996b) states that in Canada the politics of a white power base influences society structures and that, therefore, access to power and opportunities is influenced by race, ethnicity, and other related factors. As a consequence, James maintains that people from racial minorities are the ones who are deprived from power structures. As Rezai-Rashti (1995b) argues, understanding of inequalities and racism must be met with a comprehensive analysis, by questioning existing political structures and the norms and values that sustain them. Antiracism framework points out that racial minority should not be viewed as "victims" and "subordinated." Dei (1996b) notes that the latter's histories of resistance and struggle provide key sources for empowerment and social change (see also Dei, 1993). Therefore, this standpoint is also a call for the struggle to transform the existing power inequalities and structures in society.

3.1   The Politics of Power Relations

This approach highlights the saliency of race as a social and political factor and explicitly recognizes the reality of racism. Within the framework, racism is defined as a social construct and a discriminatory social, including discursive, practice that is institutionalized (Wodak and Reisigl, 1999). Racism may be viewed as an ideology or a negative attitude based on the belief that races are distinct and, thus, can be regarded as "superior" and/or "inferior." Grandy (1998) notes that what is racist is the interpretation of difference, in order to justify advantage, or the abuse of power, whether that advantage is economic, political, cultural, or psychological. One concept of racism refers to the individual expression of overt feelings or actions (Henry and Tator, 1994). However, racism extends to include all processes that sustain white domination through groups, organizations, and institutions up to the highest level of the state. The latter is interpreted as institutional racism (see also Bannerji, 1991). Institutional racism exists where established rules and policies reflect and produce differential treatment of various groups within institutions. James (1996b) contends that individual and institutional forms of racism are directly connected to each other, as the individuals are the ones who develop and implement the policies. Satzewich (1998, p. 39) notes that racism "is also about power and the unequal distribution of scarce resources." The argument is that institutional practices and structures exclude significant numbers of people of racial groups from accessing power structures. Therefore, racism operates to distribute material resources as well.

This framework applies to my work particularly, because it emphasizes the study of power relations and how to proceed to social change. This view will allow us to examine how individual and institutional racism, as they are reflected in the policies and practices of society, influence the distribution of resources. It will therefore be important to apply this framework in order to study francophone communities to see how these issues manifest in their structures and institutions. The framework will offer insight into how race relations are articulated within a linguistic minority that comprises a racial minority. Therefore, antiracism provides valuable insight in questioning power inequalities and racism. If power relations are about racism, they are also about language oppression, homophobia, and sexism. I therefore join those who maintain that the aim is not to prioritize any form of oppression over another, but rather to focus on developing strategies to overcome oppression (see Hooks, 1991; Rezai-Rashti, 1995b). These systems of oppression – sexism, homophobia, and classism – cannot be understood decontextualized from others. Each of them has multiple and interdependent effects on the others (see also Wane, 2000). Therefore, one cannot capture the full impact of any one system without understanding the interconnectedness between their various forms.

3.2   Discourses in Antiracist Pedagogy

In this chapter Antiracism will be linked to Discourse. Discourse is more than just talk. It is language in use, whether speech or writing. It is also a form of social practice (Fairclough, 1992). Discourse constitutes the social in its different dimensions: social relations and social identities. It is therefore seen as real action constituting reality. Discourse analysis is used in a multiplicity of ways (see Lemke, 1995). It is under the theme of *discourse as a form of social practice* that I employ it in this work. According to Titscher et al. (2000), considering discourse as social practice entails a dialectical relationship between "a discursive event and situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it" (Titscher et al., 2000, p. 26). This relationship indicates that situations and institutions shape the discursive event, but it also shapes them. In other words, discourse constitutes situations and relationships between people in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social and power relations, and in this sense it also contributes to challenging them.

Moreover, in studying language practice as social practice, Bautier (1995) notes that language illustrates a specific version of the interpretation that subjects construct of their practices. She shows that the importance of this construction lies in "what subjects think that their practices are, what is pertinent for them, and what they want their practices to be for others" (the author's translation). As Bautier notes, description of language practice for those who do not know it (and those who do) allows us to observe themes and categorizations constructed by subjects. In this instance, her view indicates that categories (language, sexuality, race, and gender) are constructed, invoked, and negotiated "either in discourse or by discourse"

(Mondada, 1998). In the same vein, analysis of these practices is particularly pertinent because it allows us to understand the way subjects construct the world.

In addition, Labrie et al. (2000) state that they analyze social practices and language practices particularly through discourse as language users make sense of their actions and their social realities by expressing positions and representations. They go on to provide definitions for concepts such as "language practices," "social practices," and "positions" in a manner that allows using them in various ways of analysis. According to them, language practices refer to our use of linguistic resources that are the different elements of a linguistic *repertoire*, in relation to norms in social contexts of interaction. Discourse shapes, and is shaped by, relations of power. Van Dijk (1992) notes that as discourse constitutes society and culture, power relations are (at least partially) discursively constituted. In this regard, Titscher et al. (2000) state that discursive practices may have major ideological effects as they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations through the ways in which they represent things and position people.

Fairclough (1989) explains that power-in-discourse translates through control over the content – what is said or done in discourse; control over the relations among individuals or groups; and control over "subjects": the social roles fulfilled by interlocutors in discourse. In this instance, racist beliefs and discriminatory practices are produced, prepared, and legitimated through discourse. Similarly, state-affiliated institutions exercise power through legitimization of specific kinds of language practices and ideologies. For example, official discourse (mainstream media) either ignores minorities totally or actually perpetuates stereotypes. Moreover, minorities are represented as "poor," "backward," or "primitive" but also as criminal and aggressive (Van Dijk, 1993). Such discourse serves to express, convey, legitimize, and even deny such attitudes, beliefs, and practices. Therefore, institutional activities help establish and maintain the kind of power exerted through discourse practice.

One could argue that discourse also relates to resistance. It is through and by discourse that exclusionary and dominant practices are challenged and contested. In this regard, discourse serves to criticize, illegitimize, and argue against racist opinions and practices. It can also be used to build and pursue anti-oppression, i.e., antisexist and antiracist strategies, and discursive counteractions. Discourse (situated talk, text, social practices) occurs in the macro- as well as the micro-contexts of society that correspond to individual and social kinds of discourse. Individual discourse is the informal type that is produced in daily conversations and interpersonal communication. Social discourse is like public discourse, for instance in politics, the media, education, organization, and other institutions such as the religious ones. I emphasize that individual and social dimensions of discourse are interconnected. Discourse is therefore embedded in social relations and social contexts.

My choice of employing Discourse Analysis also connects with the importance I apply to *Prise de parole comme prise d'action/*speaking-out as an action. This notion relates to the idea of language practice as social practice, but it emphasizes that speaking-out is also a form of resistance. Notably, black francophones represent a group that does not always obtain a space to speak out. They may not have

control over, or access to, mainstream media. In this instance, discourse analysis will become a means to make their voices heard and their experiences understood and will hopefully be a way of *giving voice to the marginalized*. In this respect, studying social practices through Discourse will allow revealing the different positions taken by black francophones in their daily interactions. It will also enable us to examine how subjects interpret their social realities, and what categories they establish in their discourse. The framework also offers opportunity to identify dominant practices: which discourses are dominant, whose discourse is excluded, and whose is included. For example, while analysis of Discourse in institutional sites is a study of dominant ideologies (Van Dijk, 1992), daily life Discourse incorporates subjective views and experiences with structures. Discourse also allows accessing gender, race, and language identities. It will enable an understanding of the way francophone institutions exert and sustain power relations, and thus dominance through discursive practices.

More particularly, for the purpose of this study I want to analyze Discourse in a way that can capture the interrelationship between macro-structures of social institutions – broad societal levels of discourses – and micro-structures of conversation as they relate to the distribution of power and mechanisms of resistance. To apply nomic, political, and institutional forces that affect communication and incorporate historical dimensions, and to translate participants' views and experiences. Therefore, Discourse Analysis allows examining the discursive practices and strategies produced by language users in different talks and texts (documents) produced at various levels: everyday conversations, community associations, institutions, and organizations.

Using the example of francophone communities, I have chosen a framework that brings together these two approaches – Antiracism and Discourse. I see the two of them as complementary as they both underlie theoretical, historical, and political aspects that deal with the reproduction of power relations and racism. Studying social practices through Discourse will allow demonstrating the different views and positions taken by black francophones as they relate to mechanisms of racism, access to resources, and institutional ideologies. Antiracism enables us to locate the power dimensions while analyzing how blacks are situated within francophone communities and how they position themselves vis-à-vis different institutions and organizations. Within the two approaches, I use race and language as social constructs and categories of analysis. This entails that these categories – race and language – have social and cultural meanings that we attach to them. In other words, they also become features that define social position and distribution of economic and social opportunities and influence our social practices. I also emphasize that they are interrelated. For the purpose of this work, the intertwining of race and language will shed light on the study of power relations. For example, like race and gender, language is also another way to categorize people and reinforce their dominant or subordinate status.

Language is important as it is a form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) that regulates people's access to different resources (material, political, social). It also has the strength to mobilize across cultures and countries. This, for example, refers

to the case of la *francophonie internationale*. Similarly, language brings together Ontario francophones from different cultures and constitutes the spirit of their communities. One needs to take into account the focal relationship between language and nationhood as well. In addition, language plays a major role in the constitution of nation-states as political units (Irvine and Gal, 2000). As Heller (1999) observes, in Canada, language is important because of its role in the process of nation-building. Quebec's claims of a distinct society are based on language. Language, however, does not function in isolation from other categories. To study power distribution within the linguistic minority, the analysis is to be intersected with race and other categories such as gender, sexuality, class, etc. Conversely, race is focal as francophone communities comprise a racial minority. We live in a society where ethnic and racial minorities are subject to racial prejudice that limits their access to the structures of power (Zajda et al., 2008). Using race as an analytical category enables us to analyze how, in the francophone communities, race relations affect power distribution among francophones. It will also allow capturing how blacks are situated as a racial minority within the linguistic minority. Analysis through race will help to further understand the experiences of immigrants with francophone communities and in the broader society at large. Therefore, the blend of the two approaches – Antiracism and Discourse – will offer complementary perspectives that allow examining power distribution within these racial and linguistic communities.

4 Conclusion

The main objective of this chapter is to examine how Antiracism and Discourse affect the study of power relations within francophone communities of Ontario. Each of the two frameworks offers valuable insight into the study of power relations. Both perspectives capture different aspects of this topic. These trends are useful as they offer us tools for analysis that allow us to understand how the dynamics of power distribution are conditioned by the dimensions of race, ethnicity, gender, and language (Zajdaet al., 2006; Zajda, 2008a) The blending of the two perspectives allows us to realize that the notion of power relations is a broad construct, especially in a case of a community that is as diverse as the francophones of Ontario. This topic extends to include francophone and language studies, and migration. The theme also enables us to note that institutions are bureaucratic structures where power relations are exerted and maintained. Taking into account the connection between Discourse, Antiracism, and social change, we realize that lived experiences of black francophones as racial and linguistic minorities enable us to identify effective strategies of resistance that promote principles of equity and social justice.

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Gender Equity and Women Empowerment in Africa: The Education and Economic Globalization Nexus

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1 Gender Equity and Women Empowerment in Africa: Introduction

The Millennium Declaration resolves to promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as a basic human right. The Declaration also maintains that giving women their fair share is the only way to effectively combat poverty, hunger, and disease and to simulate development that is truly sustainable. Progress towards this goal is assessed by measuring gender equality in three areas: education, employment and political decision-making. (United Nations, 2005, UNDP, 2004, UNESCO, 2006)

With globalization and trade term relationships, economic and education systems worldwide have undergone great restructuring and transformation. With globalization, the fortunes of political communities and peoples can no longer be simply understood in exclusively national or continental terms. We would argue that the globalization process, including structural adjustment programs, which aim to accelerate economic growth through improved macroeconomic performance, has increased opportunities in the world. However, it has also deepened preexisting inequalities and educational poverty in a country's population. Moreover, the extent to which economic growth is translated into improvements in human development and to national integration depends more upon individual countries than upon the process of global integration per se (UNDP, 1999). Trade liberalization tends to be insensitive to increasing income transfers to the disadvantaged by reducing the subsidies for education and health services and the provision of safety nets. As a result those at risk are the world's poor, the majority of which are found in Africa, whose special circumstances have largely been compounded without reasonable comprehensive pro-poor adjustment packages. It is clear that in today's globalized economy, no government in the world can manage their national economies, provide

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social protection, and protect the environment within its borders, unaffected by the remote forces of globalization. This vulnerability is more obvious and immediate in Africa, which maintains a marginal role in decision-making in the current global power structure. It is within this present state of affairs that we present the following perspectives on globalization and the need to reshape the global process of trade openness in Africa.

2 Why Are the Odds Stacked Against Africa?

Despite implementing far-reaching economic reforms, African countries have achieved compelling results in terms of any of the indicators that measure real, sustainable development, as adjustment has been achieved by curtailing investment in education, social services to the poor, and in the productive sectors of the economy. Growth in world trade has not yet led to substantial employment generation. Countries of the South are characterized by a greater degree of openness and greater exposure to global events over which they have little control. In this global system, they are faced with stiff challenges in terms of economic and social development. Therefore, the transition from a welfare state to a market economy has been so badly managed that, poverty and underdevelopment has soared as income has plummeted in Africa. In addition, trade openness has failed to stabilize Africa's economy. Therefore, globalization puts this region at risk for significant threats of greater marginalization from the mainstream of global economic activity. Paradoxically, both advocates of globalization and antiglobalization campaigners contend that their approach is the road that leads to effective poverty reduction, integration, and the convergence of international standards of living.

The cumulative impact of externally imposed "conditionality-driven" economic prescriptions in Africa has been the progressive erosion of policy space as African governments become more and more accountable to external creditors than to their own citizens. Africa's negative experience with globalization stands in stark contrast to the successful globalizers of East Asia who were able to engineer their development independently through careful investment in education, land reform, upgrading infrastructure, developing indigenous technological capacity under the guidance of a strong and capable "development" state.

Scholars of the Washington Consensus argue that globalization improves living standards and reduces poverty stimulated by increased trade and the sharing of ideas. They see macroeconomic stability as imperative for sustained economic growth and sustained development. What is evidenced is that globalization and trade liberalization have bypassed developing countries. In demanding the shrinkage of state involvement in national life the gap between developed and developing countries has tended to widen, inequality has risen, trade imbalance has worsened, and trade subsidies have disproportionately befitted developed countries. To antiglobalization scholars, the advent of trade liberalization signaled an end to state

interventionist traditions that benefit poor people, thus bringing new risks to the advancement of the disadvantaged, such as women who are already marginalized. To anti-Washington Consensus advocates, globalization has reversed the development gains built up over decades, resulting in the loss of cultural diversity and national heterogeneity that stems from globalization.

Indeed, this seemingly contradictory strategy might be best called "conservative modernism," an idea conceived by the IMF/World Bank and imposed on developing countries since the 1980s, and was pursued at an accelerated pace during the 1990s without putting in place the necessary institutional mechanisms needed to minimize its new challenges. Like in many other regions, the result has been the negative trappings of development of underdevelopment. As former World Bank Chief Economist Joseph Stiglitz notes, such market fundamentalism policies that promote privatization of public goods and suppression of cultures is a simplistic ideology, which most developed nations have themselves resisted. The potential of women as vast human resources for development, which might be constrained under globalization, now merits serious concern and attention. Global concern has been drummed up particularly with the World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal, in 2002. For us, globalization will need to be more carefully blended with social policies to ensure the place of women in society and development, and to ensure that global integration does not deny them their human right.

Stiglitz (2002), World Bank (1997, 2006), sounded cautionary notes on the setbacks of utilizing antistate (market) models in power relations concerning the ongoing globalization process that constantly shapes the terrain on which social inequities and human deprivation operate and of letting markets determine participation that contributes to progress. Joseph Stiglitz, in a Prebisch lecture at the United Nations conference, pointed out the failure of the Washington Consensus and the standard structural adjustment programs to mitigate increasing impoverishment and deprivation, which raised serious doubts about the efficacy of neoliberalism to promote quality growth. In answer, he called for an alternative paradigm (Stiglitz, 1998). This is an issue we shall discuss further in the paper as we affirm the State's responsibility in education for human development, a leading factor for ensuring the rights of social inclusion marked by freedom and enlarging entitlements. Stewart (1994) and Cornia (1990), when analyzing the impact of adjustment programs and trade liberalization on Africa and Latin America, reported that such programs have had negative effects on school attendance, infant mortality, as well as on gender imbalances. The significant imperative of education in the context of the empowerment of women is necessary at many levels – in the international community, among governments, and by parents. This article situates economic globalization and trade liberalization in the wider context of poverty, inequality, and economic development. It investigates the interface of economic globalization and the (dis) empowerment and poverty of women in Africa by examining the nexus between globalization and public spending on education. The differential impact of economic globalization and its link to women's access to education for human development is a new challenging area of study and is the primary focus of this article. In doing so, this article explores the implications of economic globalization

on education, and how this in turn affects the education gender gap in Africa that directly or indirectly has affected employability. Finally, we suggest coping mechanisms that can promote full economic integration and the empowerment of women for development in the face of globalization.

3   Instability Amidst International Openness Stabilization: An Overview

Many studies have documented factors affecting gender gaps in education, but none have tried to determine the connection between economic globalization and the (dis)empowerment of African women. This article examines economic globalization's effects on education through trade terms and its relationship to women's access to education. This is an important attempt to move further on this vexing issue. Education empowers people, to enrich human lives, and well-being through raising the human capital and human capabilities of people: i.e., education's contribution to raising women's economic productivity. Therefore, education's contribution to raising women's social and economic self-esteem in the global village is what informed this study. This section examines the links between globalization and education from an economist perspective.

3.1   Education and Employability of Women

Economic globalization is characterized by acute social and regional disparities as well as deepening budget cuts in education. Indeed, recent evidence from neo-liberal structural adjustment programs in developing countries suggest that adjustment programs have often been accompanied by an increase in economic destabilization, widening gaps between skilled and unskilled workers, and growing wage inequalities between men and women. Evidence suggests that the effects of globalization differ among gender, countries and regions, depending on the domestic and international power relations, under which it is "contracted or conducted." Education by no means was immune from this relationship, as a complexity of competing jurisdictions or overlapping jurisdictions and multiple levels of authority governing each area of education reform, particularly budget allocation and curricula, requiring permission from the bilateral or multilateral partners. This has made progress in bridging both social and economic gaps cumbersome and inconsistent with desired outcomes. A good illustration is that over time the ratio of the average GNP per capita in developing countries of the world to the average GNP per capita in developed countries rose from 1:60 in 1990 to 1:74 in 1997 to 1:80 in 2000 and 1:85 in 2003 (see UNDP, 1999; UNCTAD, 2002; World Bank, 2008).

3.2   The Failure of Economic Globalization

We seek to support the view that globalization, as an invitation to a world that is increasingly interconnected and borderless, has disadvantaged African nations. One such example is that of Nigeria. Mounting debt burden, capital flight, huge trade imbalances leading local industries to collapse, and overdependence on imported goods and services, serves as an excellent evidence of the negative consequences of economic globalization and trade liberalization for weak economies. For instance, between 1980 and 1998, gross domestic GDP per capita in Nigeria declined from $314 in 1980 down to $258 in 1990 and to $256 in 1998. The average annual rate of change in GDP during the period was a negative 0.7%. The life expectancy at birth in 1998 was 51.5 years for females and 48.7 years for males. That means that the life expectancy of the people of Nigeria at birth was only 50.1 years. Indeed, 70.2% of the Nigerian population earned less than $1 a day between 1987 and 1998, indicating that at least 43% of the population lived below the poverty line. In this case, while some people escaped poverty, others, particularly women have fallen into poverty, even though the overall poverty level has not moved significantly (Geo-JaJa and Payne, 2003).

Regressive economic growth or terms of trade in the region contributed to the poorest segments of society having less access to education and experiencing steeper declines on average per capita income. Indeed, many of the human rights goals remain unfulfilled, and an assessment of the United Nations convention goals indicate that structural reforms have not succeeded in bridging gender and poverty gaps or in bringing about improvement in the functioning of inputs in the education market. In some circumstances, where national internal efficiency figures on education look good, they hide pockets of extreme deprivation and discrimination against certain groups. These assertions show that the progenitors of economic globalization not only overlooked the wisdom echoed by the vicious cycle of poverty; they also failed to uphold gender-neutral policies that ensure education and economic opportunities as a human right. Undoubtedly, it is these divergent sets of opportunities for some and new risks for others and the unfulfilled expectations after many decades of international agreements, and conventions, particularly the imposed reforms of the World Bank/IMF that have informed this study. Within trade liberalization and globalization, developing countries have struggled to derive some gains from wealth created from globalization and membership in international organizations such as the World Trade Organization. They have found this extremely difficult to achieve since, as members, they are also bound by unfavorable commitments and conditions. This speaks largely as the overall economic impact of trade liberalization and of globalization have been positive – creating millions of jobs in developed industrial countries and opening the door to export-led industrialization in newly emerging economies of Asia. However, the same cannot be said about Africa, which has largely missed out on the benefits of economic globalization, despite implementing far-reaching market-oriented reform from the early 1980s under the watchful eye of the World Bank/IMF. How to ensure that Africa does not miss out

on the benefits of economic globalization is a crucial challenge, but it is also in the self-interest of developed countries to confront Africa's poverty aggressively. The more relevant subject of unfair trade agreements is the focus of the next section.

4 International Conventions and Women Rights: Inequity Persist

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, enacted in 1948, marked an important milestone in the formation of global consensus on the fundamental condition of preserving the basic needs of humanity. These needs include the right to education as an important element for economic and social development. Education has numerous "returns to individuals and society as illustrated in economics of education" studies, and also by more direct micro-examinations of productivity in agriculture and industry (UNDP, 1996; Psacharopoulos, 1994; Ram and Singh, 1988). We will devote more time to education as a key factor for the empowerment of women as well as for the self-actualization of women's full potential. The struggle to achieve equality of educational opportunity, since the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has had a mixed result. However progress is measured, experience to date sharply contradicts the optimistic prophecies and high expectations for gender equity. Therefore, it is no surprise that questions regarding equal education opportunity for all occupied a place in the debate at the Beijing Platform in 1990 and at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in South Africa in 2002. At the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, the United Nations acknowledged that "poverty has a woman's face," and that "70 percent of the world's poor are females." Millions of children have dropped out or have been left out of school due to the poor quality of education or as a result of cutting education budgets as suggested by the World Bank. These simple assertions hide a complex reality.

The preamble to Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) notes that in spite of declarations, conventions, resolutions and recommendations, "extensive discrimination against women continues to exist" (United Nations, 1996, p. 34). The UNDP Human Development Report 2002 concludes that progress in changing gender gaps has been achieved in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Nevertheless, in no society do women fare as well as men in political and economic opportunities. Even the World Bank has admitted that it continues to learn from its partner's joint efforts to meet the goal of ensuring women's full participation in development (World Bank, 1994, pp. 7–8). A recent EFA study stated that gender parity in education was missed in 2005, and only 18 out of the 113 countries that missed the gender parity goal level in 2005 stand a chance of achieving it in 2015 (EFA, 2008). In the context of social returns, globalization is seen as the biggest barrier to gender balance in education as it makes the direct costs of schooling too expensive for the female child. There is now considerable evidence suggesting that "reducing the direct costs of schooling is one of the best ways of increasing school enrolment, especially of girls and the poor. …

For example, following a fee-free primary-education policy in Malawi and Uganda, primary enrolments increased in the mid-1990s by 52 percent and 200 percent respectively" (UNESCO, 2004, pp. 135–136). Basically, these insidious and ambitious global schemes embarked on with only a foggy understanding of local environments has not properly addressed the challenges of gender parity and equality. It is surprising that with all these mechanisms gender disparities have widened and increased over time as has been demonstrated in this section. Nevertheless, reducing the gender gap in education does not automatically translate into equality as there are many other signs of the enduring gender inequalities such as lack of political representation. Mechanisms to analyze the specific roles and responsibilities, and the consequential problems, needs, and interests of women and men are ignored. How then can we expect their policies to be relevant and effective to all sectors of the population?

Throughout the article, it is argued that the gender equality and empowerment of women are issues of increasing importance with the advent of globalization. At the end of the day, the grim reality surrounding the women of the world, in particular African women, provides a fitting assessment of the overall impact of the abstract notion of the United Nations conventions on human rights. As HDI for girls and women is deteriorating at all levels, the need for less lip service and more action becomes increasingly apparent.

5 Globalization and Trade Terms: The Problem of Interpretation

Globalization and the relatively free movement of capital and technology offer great potential for economic stabilization and social integration. This optimistic scenario is a plausible description of the development path expected in a world system where the notion of comparative advantage or market mechanisms is not distorted by unfair terms of trade agreements or protections by the North. In the past and today the WTO has championed many trade and economic agreements that serve regimes in the global North at the expense of the global South. Today the world is experiencing high levels of information sharing without comparable human development, thanks to the unequal integration of nations into the world economy. Today we are often told that education must be made more efficient by forcing it into a market model. This neoliberal advocacy is not unique to debates over education. It dominates economics, and serves as a prevailing ideology in much of the world today.

In its broadest sense, economic globalization refers to the free flow of goods and services across and within borders, without corresponding access to or sharing of technology. In other words, economic globalization is related to the free market ideology of economic adjustments and structural reforms of the 1980s, including trade and financial liberalization, and privatization. These policies as part of the Washington Consensus shape the face of contemporary globalization. The question of significance is what is

the rational for public spending cuts in education? Or why is it considered necessary for education to tighten its belt given the inevitable probable adverse impact? Scholars who oppose such developments argue that the intensification of trade liberalization in the name of comparative advantage is a new form of recolonialization or imperialism promoted by international financial institutions (IFls) (Geo-JaJa and Payne, 2003; Takala, 1998; Freire, 1998). Against this backdrop, the plight of women in Africa is one that obviously cries out for immediate analysis as current trade agreements and policies have failed miserably in the mission of equitable distribution of wealth created by trade liberalization across economies in Africa.

Although conditions and prospects vary widely across individual countries within the region, the key influence on the outlook for much of Africa continues to be the interaction between export share, limited access to the exclusive markets of the developed countries, and the manner and form of conducting international trade agreements. These actions make rubbish the notion of comparative advantage that is to guide openness in world trade under the ideology of neoliberalism. That said, both strong and weak trade performances could be found in the African region, with the policies at the multilateral level providing the basis of integration into the world market and the foundations for growth under economic globalization. For instance, further trade liberalization by the advanced economies, particularly in agricultural goods and by reducing their own production subsidies in this sector, would provide a major boost to Africa's export trade and hence growth and expansion in education expenditure.

According to UNCTAD, the emphasis on trade liberalization has meant trade advantage for developed countries. On the other hand, the share of trade for Africa has declined from 4.6% in 1980, to 3% in 1997, and then declined to 1.6% in 1999. Similarly, the terms of trade at the end of the 1990s were 2.1% below those of the early 1970s. Income per capita has fallen at an annual average rate of one percent over the past 20 years. In the 1980s, the infant mortality rate was lower in Africa than in South Asia, but today it is substantially higher (Fig. 1). These deteriorating trends have in many respects worsened since the early 1990s (see Fig. 1). This is an important example of budget balancing at the expense of the recognized high rate of social returns to female education. As noted by UNESCO (1996a), UNCTAD (2002), and Geo-JaJa and Yang (2003), shifts towards an increasingly globalized world in an unfavorable environment do not only contradict long-established traditions of equitable distribution of resources, it also mitigates the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which includes the education of women.

5.1 Globalization, Economic Growth, and Education

Although international comparisons are open to objections because of the extent of variations within regions and differences between them in both economic and human development indicators, it is hard to quarrel with the general message emerging from most of our tables. In terms of the comparative levels and the pace
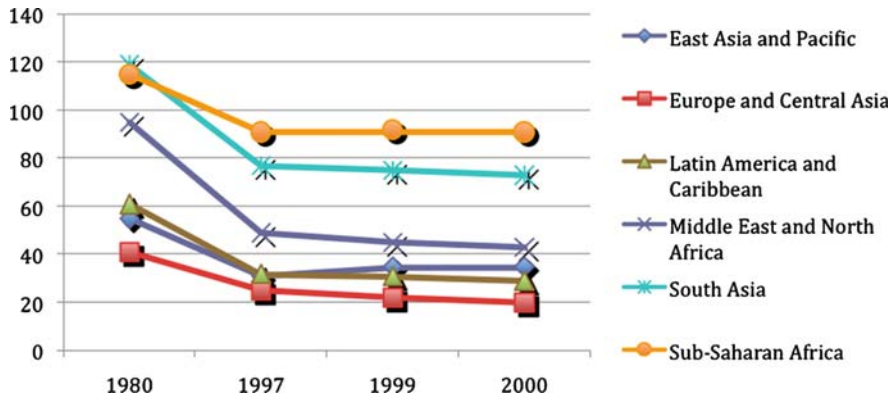
Fig. 1 Regional infant mortality – of 1,000 births
(World Development Indicators, 2002; African Poverty at the Millenium

of improvement or progress made during the 1980s and 1990s, Africa is lagging far behind South Asia and Latin America. Comparative data on export crops that are key foreign exchange earners tell a similar story. While progress was made in increasing infant mortality and primary enrollment rates in the 1980s (Figs. 1–4), real per capita income, despite being positive, was way below the world average. Furthermore, as public expenditure on education as a percent of GDP declined in 1997 so also did HDI and real GDP per capita. These results are important and disturbing, particularly when compared with other regions. They show that as real per capita GDP declined in 1997, HDI also suffered a downturn. Another such recession in HDI has been experienced by sub-Saharan Africa since 2000 (UNDP, 2004). It could also be inferred that structural weaknesses and trade terms adversely affect HDI, particularly enrollment and infant mortality that are linked by education. This means that controlling for other factors, GDP per capita as determined by export trade that invariably determines expenditure on education, could have a positive impact on education gender imbalance and the quality of education. The major policy implication that emanates is that trade openness and globalization, a variant of the Washington Consensus, and shared information has only led to the explosive growth of international financial capital and the dwarfing of local economies of African countries. Clearly, the adverse effect mitigates the region's ability to benefit or to take advantage of its comparative advantage in global trade more especially in the agricultural sector.

Even in a sector of comparative advantage, Geo-JaJa and Mangum (2002, 2003) claim that globalization, as associated with trade liberalization has failed to restore economic prosperity, failed to build human capabilities and institutional capacity, and failed to maintain or raise education quality for human productivity. Consequently, the negatives of globalization on African women and the low human development index led Luis Ignacio Silva to note that market liberalization and stabilization programs constitute the functional equivalent of
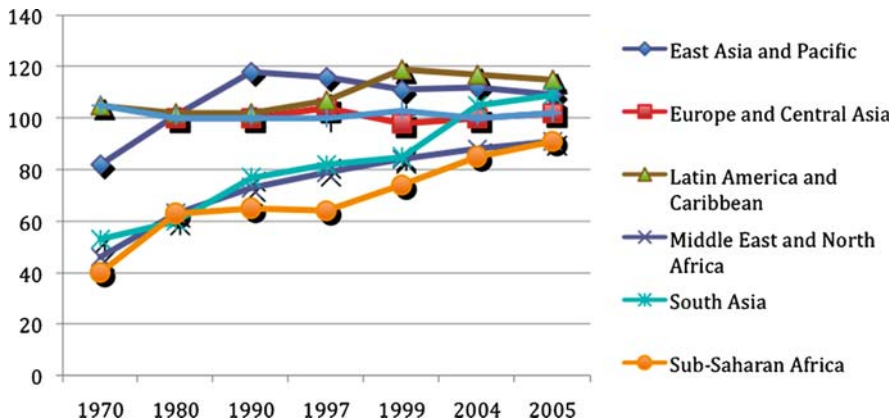
Fig. 2 Regional female gross primary enrollment rates (World Development Report 2000/2001; Global Education Digest, 2006, 2007)
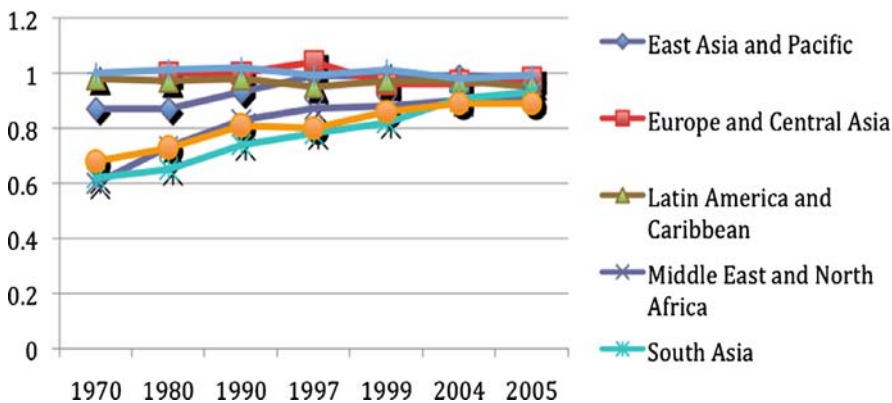
Fig. 3 Regional female gross primary enrollment rates – gender parity (World Development Report 2000/2001; Global Education Digest 2006, 2007)

low-intensity warfare, except that 'instead of soldiers dying there are children, instead of millions of wounded there are millions of unemployed, instead of destruction of bridges there is tearing down of factories, schools, hospitals and entire economies'. (West Africa 28 August, 1993, 1992p. 1344; also see Riddell, 1992, pp. 53–68, for an excellent concise analysis of SAP and its impact)

To be operational and empowering in Africa, economic globalization must treat the human and social sides of nations with the same importance assigned to economic and financial aspects. This is the mixed liberal economic model – a confidence of public sector and private market-driven development, which has consequences on the stage of economic development.
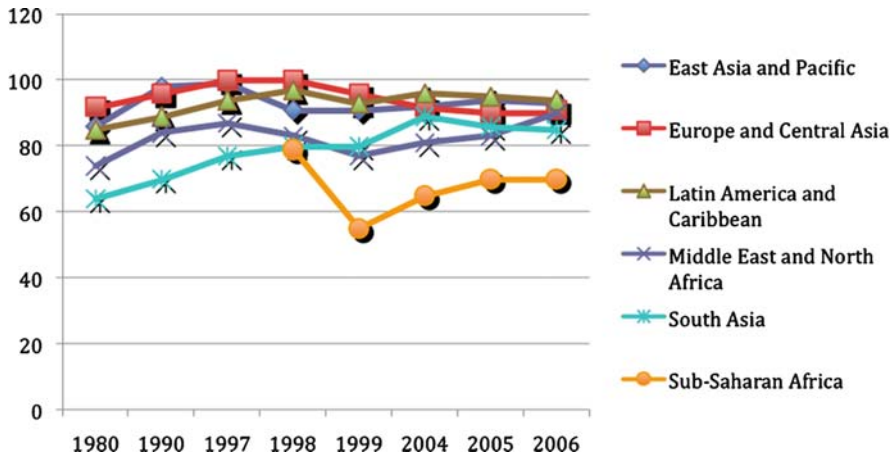
Fig. 4 Regional primary net enrollment rates (Global Education Digest 2006, 2007; World Development Indicators 2002)

5.2 Globalization and Nation-Building

In Africa, while women provide over 80% of the labor required for subsistence production and an increasingly significant proportion of the labor for export and cash crops, they are afforded little control over their lives. In denying them the opportunity to exercise their rights to education or employment or participation in decision-making processes they fail to contribute their human capabilities to nation building. In addition to their contribution to nation building, they make a big difference in conflict resolution and serve as care givers thus making a significant contribution to social and economic progress in their own way. But the continued design of gender-bias policies is no small oversight on the part of the globalization process, given that women produce upward of 70% of Africa's food, and account for 90% of all time spent processing food. African women, with the highest social rates of return in the world (24.3% for primary education) cannot be pushed out of agriculture, discriminated against in decision-making, or continue to be denied access to education. The flaw in such policy framework is that nations will not benefit from the contribution women make in terms of economic development, nation-building, and conflict resolution. A good example of this benefit is outlined in a recent World Bank study which indicated that women who form the backbone of the African economy lack access to education and opportunities for human development to a greater degree than men. The International Labour Organization reports that "[o]f the 550 million low-paid workers in the world, it is estimated that 330 million, or 60 percent are women." In addition, "in some countries the 2006 gender wage gap was as high as 30 percent to 40 percent. This means that women are paid 30 to 40 percent less then men" (Social Watch, 2007).

The new priorities of economic globalization value the development of global competitiveness over the contribution of women and their human rights. In education this has been translated by two elements: making the provision of education more cost-efficient by commodifying the product, and focusing on standardization of curriculum for marketable skills. These are indications that globalization does not address what women have noted as their primary constraints to social integration and equity in the economic sphere – that is, access to the labor market as a result of having access to education and vocational training. In fact, UNESCO (2008) reports:

> Gender disparities tend to increase at higher levels of education. Approximately 63 percent of countries with available data have achieved gender parity at the primary level of education, compared with 36 percent at secondary and less than 3 percent at the tertiary level. In many parts of the world, school environments remain physically unsafe for both boys and girls; teacher attitudes and practices, curricula and textbooks continue to be gender-biased; and fields of studies and occupational choices remain clustered by gender.

With these mounting inequities, how can women scale through globalization's wide-ranging new risks to contribute to household income and sustainable development?

6 Important Themes in Understanding Gender Education Equality

Under neoliberal ideology, the idea that all persons are created equal and that people should live lives consistent with equal human dignity for all, has been abandoned. The belief that basic education helps reduce poverty by increasing the productivity of women, by reducing fertility and improving well being, and by equipping women with skills to participate in the economy and society is not contestable. A cursory review of academic studies shows that women, at the behest of neoliberal programs and policies, have witnessed a complex and compelling scenario of rapid underdevelopment. These phenomena range from a steep rise in school dropout rates and declining enrollments, to declining incomes and the exclusion from major economic activities. The specific effects of economic globalization on women can be seen in terms of enrollment and retention rates by gender at the primary school level. The most glaring of all the challenges entertained by globalization on women are those in the domain of equal access to quality basic education as affirmed by world governments more than five decades ago.

One of the well-known reviews of the neglect of women in policy frameworks was done by the United Nations in 2008. More pointedly, the report claimed that "[w]omen still accounted for 64 percent of illiterate adults in 1995–2004, a share virtually unchanged from the 63 percent recoded during 1984–1994. Globally, there were 89 women who could read and write for every 100 literate men. The disparities in adult literacy rates are particularly marked in South and West Asia (67 women for 100 men), the Arab States (74) and sub-Saharan Africa (76)". This view is further supported by a recent DRS study that found that in 15 of the 22 countries studied in Africa, more than 20% of women with some or complete primary education could

not read. African countries continue to show the largest gap in primary enrollment between girls and boys, which averages more than 20% (Gardner, 1998). Surprisingly, women's illiteracy rate, which improved dramatically in the 1970s, experienced setbacks in the 1980s. On average, 9.6% of girls leave primary school before finishing, compared to 6.2% of boys. Even more alarming is the fact that as primary enrollment rates are increasing, the gap between girls and boys has also widened (UNESCO, 1996b, 2002). In Africa, 8.6% of all girls who start school dropout before completing primary education. In the world, the highest percentages of illiterate women are in Africa – over 40% of African women aged 16 or older still cannot read or write. These numbers are not expected to decrease significantly or get any better in the next 20 years (United Nations, 2000a).

In general, the vast majority of research on gender inequity found "gender disparities in favor of women have widened and increased over time. Women remain at a serious disadvantage in sub-Sahara Africa, with just 68 enrolled per 100 men since 1999" (UNESCO, 2008). Figure 3 illustrates that girls' education continues to lag behind that of boys in a number of developing countries. Figure 3 further shows that few African countries have achieved equal enrollment rates for girls. While overall, general enrollment rates have tended to increase in most countries, even in the developing world, the gains are relatively similar between males and females, leaving the gap unclosed. In sum, girls are more likely than boys to suffer from limited access to education; boys stay in school longer than girls; and girls have decreased access to education relative to boys (UNESCO, 1998, 2002; World Bank, 2002a). According to the UNDP Human Development Report for 2002, literacy rates are higher for men than for women in most countries worldwide (Fig. 6) (UNDP, 2002). Colclough and Lewin (1993) advanced the debate further by arguing that access to education is what will allow women the opportunity to gain an understanding of the world and of themselves; it bestows social privileges and resources, and will generally lead to a more effective investment in the next generation. Similarly, a World Bank study in 13 African countries shows that increases in female literacy resulted in a decline in mortality risk and increased political participation (World Bank, 1993b). Are African governments not getting the idea? Or are they constrained by the recommended or imposed Structural Adjustment programs and Trade liberalization policies of the World Bank/IMF and the WTO?

While women's literacy rates have increased to at least 90% in much of Latin America and Asia, high rates of illiteracy still persist in Africa (see Fig. 5). Deprivation is especially deep for rural girls and women and regional disparities in the world are acute. Figures 2 and 4 show that access to education in South East Asia is no longer a gender issue, as education policy in the region has translated into economic transformation and progress in HDI. One important difference, however, was in the area of initial human resources, and the attention Asian countries gave to education for human resource development over time. By the 1980s, most Asian countries had achieved universal primary education enrollment goals. In contrast, in Africa and Latin America the situation was distinctively below the Asian levels. Yet, despite the severe roadblocks faced by women in Africa to achieve education parity and entitlement, they still manage to play a significant productive role
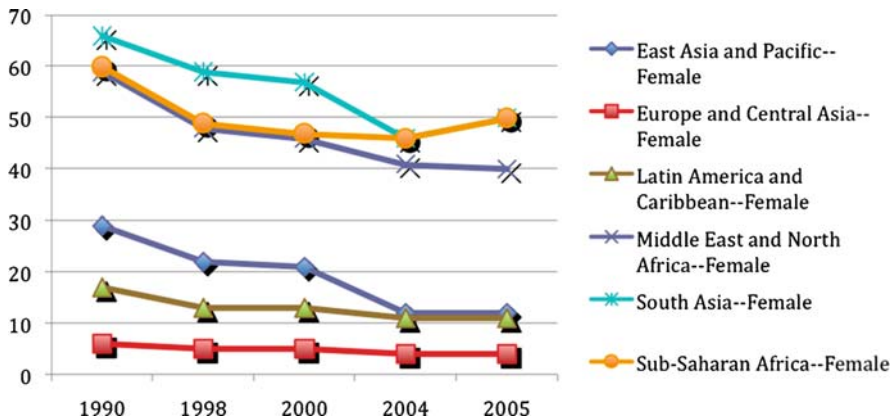
Fig. 5 Regional female illiteracy rates (Global Education Digest 2006, 2007; World Development Indicators 2002)
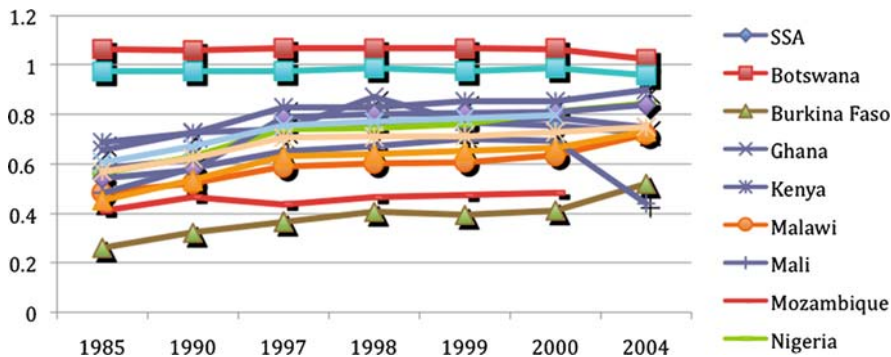
Fig. 6 African literacy rates – gender parity (African Development Indicators 1996, 2000, 2002; Global Education Digest 2006, 2007)

towards nation building and have continued to make substantial contributions to various sectors of the economy. Despite their contribution, the introduction of user fees and declines in public expenditure on education has been accomplished remarkably smoothly, but with reduced access for both men and women to basic education and worsened quality of education. Here too, girls and women are disproportionately affected by neoliberal's finance-driven reform.

But it is important to note that, while the gap between the educational levels of girls and boys continue to widen, girls are withdrawing from schools at a far higher rate than boys. For most families the opportunity cost of sending girls to school can be greater than for boys, particularly where girls are key contributors to household economic welfare. On this foundation, rising direct and opportunity costs of education associated with economic globalization will only reinforce the disadvantage girls already face in society. In respect to education policy priorities in Africa, the economic context of schooling and the educational agenda of globalization as associated with

market reforms have raised the salience of household resources as elements of educational inequality. Latin American countries have also reported that a high dropout rate for women exists, due to economic factors. Clearly in many countries that have implemented market reform polices with marked reduction in public spending on education, there was a clear tendency for a deterioration in the ratio of girls to boys school enrollment after the onset of recession, reflecting decisions by families to remove girls from schools at a faster rate than boys.

There is now a very large body of evidence, which shows that the growing politicization of education by market-opening ideologies and governments falling short of the 5% GNP target for education investment set by the International Commission on Education is responsible for a schizophrenic mix of advancing and stalemating progress toward gender equity in basic compulsory education. Needed progress will only be made when governments and international stakeholders are willing to put concerns about women's empowerment at the heart of their policy, and drive through changes necessary for real progress in equity of access and equality of educational opportunity. Unless these concerns are adequately addressed, education will continue to be the story of dropouts and gender gaps. This has strong implications for human rights and development strategies as "education is one of the most important means of empowering women with the knowledge, skills and self-confidence necessary to participate fully in the developmental process" (ICPD, 1994).

The above dangerous erosion of human rights that put a nation's human resources at risk demands immediate action to increase investment in the education of women. Furthermore, it also requires a social and political awaking to a realization of the worth and dignity of women as citizens and the recognition of their economic value and contribution when educated. Clearly, we find that female schooling matter in both urban and rural localities; both primary and post-primary schooling levels exert significant positive impact on women's labor market participation, and have an opposite effect on fertility. Although the gender gap in education has become narrower over the years, it is still imperative for government policy to ensure the sustainability of the female educational gains obtained. Arguably, this is the key mechanism for enhancing female human capital and productive employment with favorable impacts on nation building and for sustainable development. The "bottom line" is that gender disparity hides a complex reality of women's disempowerment. As will be shown in the next section, all this has led to dysfunctions, inefficiencies, and inertia in many sectors of society, including education.

7   How to Make Globalization Work for Africa

The presented facts so far claim that a proper understanding of globalization's influence on Africa must focus on the theoretical assumptions and institutional structures which underpin the changing nature of trade liberalization in developed and developing countries' relations and, in particular, the aid, debt, and trade regimes through which African development is regulated. Bad rules, illegitimate debts, unjust trade agreements, and bad policies imposed on African countries by

the World Bank, IMF, and WTO on behalf of rich nations have produced multiple "black holes" of social exclusion, intensification of poverty, and collapsed nation-states that have increasingly suffered tremendous human cost amidst global prosperity. Prominent African economists have come to similar conclusions. If globalization is to serve the interests of poor and that of developing countries in a sustainable way, these following critical areas must be comprehensively addressed: democratizing the global governance architecture, democratizing the current international trade regime, and streamlining "conditionality" in the Aid architecture.

8   Gender Employment Opportunities from Trade and Globalization

The conventional wisdom about Africa is that the continent is marginalized because it is not sufficiently integrated into the global economy. This is not the case as economic globalization has profound implications for gender equity in education as well as to a wide array of social and productive resources. In some African countries like Nigeria, evidence indicates that the feminization of the labor force has taken place via worsening income distribution and increased trade openness. Some have reasoned that women have been considered more suited than men to work under the new conditions created by economic globalization because they are seen as subsidiary wage earners. They are also seen as more suited to the flexible and informal new modes of production. Clearly, women in these circumstances also lose out in the work place by being stuck in secondary employment with fewer chances for upward mobility and worse working conditions than their male counterparts. Regardless of the method of employment calculation, women in the world are suffering needlessly and living lives of wretched deprivation. This is especially true for women and children in African and the Delta region of Nigeria. Women and children that are the most vulnerable members of any society are also the principal victims of globalization. They as a group, in developing countries, regardless of age, receive less education, less health care, and less food than men or male children. The female literacy rate in the developing world is three-quarters that of the male literacy rate. Women work, on average, twice as many hours, including the unpaid labor of subsistence farming, gathering, and caring for the young, the old, and the ill. But one thing that is known for sure is that women gain a feeling of empowerment and seem to enjoy greater self-esteem and social prestige with employment.

8.1   Changing Position of Women in the Work Force

One aspect of globalization is the changing position of women (Hutton and Giddens, 2000). The benefits and costs of globalization and trade liberalization are differenti-ated between men's and women's employment (Elson, 1996). Globalization policies

are often implemented in the social context and economic orientation that discriminates against women (Elson, 1996). The orientation assumes that women should subsidize the formal economy through the informal economy. Trade liberalization policies could contribute to raising women's employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, nevertheless in patriarchal cultures or in male-dominated decision-making processes, such policies could also increase gender inequalities. Controversy remains about the terms and conditions of women's employment in export-oriented industries and about the gender share of benefits within the family. However, trade agreements adopted between nations rarely take the gendered nature of globalization into account (Bell and Brambilla, 2002, p. 3). Further supporting evidence was provided in the UN Report on the Role of Women in Development, which included that "globalization has given rise to ambiguous and at times contradictory effects on gender equality." The report recommends that national governments make their macroeconomic policies gender-sensitive and improve their regulation and coordination of the international economy (United Nations, 1999, p. 100).

The growth of women's share of industrial employment and the increasing flexibility of employment often reflect more the decline of jobs previously done by men and the weakening of their position rather than significant improvement in the occupational opportunities for women (Elson, 1996, pp. 35–55). Newly created manufacturing industries and new export sectors dependent on cheap female labor as a comparative advantage had enormous impact on women's emancipation as well as on women's support of the family. Also, the belief that globalization leads to poverty feminization and that poverty is most present in households led by a woman is widespread.

8.2 Empirical Research Support of Gender Inequity in Employment

Turning to the empirical literature, the analysis of the impact of trade on employment has a long history particularly for developed countries. Many studies using developing country data have also come out much more recently. The effect of structural changes and economic reforms on women's employment, the effects of globalization on employment opportunities for women, changes in working conditions for women due to globalization, the effect of globalization on the gender wage gap, the regional variations in women's employment resulting from globalization, the effect of greater specialization in export commodities on women's employment in the region, as well as the effects of globalization and trade liberalization on women's work in the informal sector has continuously increased (see Geo-JaJa and Yang, 2003). However, their work conditions and wages continue to deteriorate. These effects are brought about by many interrelated factors. Females are generally less paid and less organized and thus, hiring them in newly created jobs will enable the firms to reduce wage costs and have more flexible employment. As men move into export-oriented industries, women are employed in low-end export created jobs and

also occupy the vacated positions opened by men in the service industries. The provided employment for workers in the service industries is usually characterized by the dominance of part time, casual, or temporary jobs as well as lower wage rates and high incidence of subcontracting.

Baud and Smyth (1997) have argued persuasively that economic globalization promotes marginalization and disempowerment of women through deskilling. They offer insights into the role played by globalization, as the mechanism for marginalization and exclusion of women in the labor market. Overall, they strongly claim that simultaneously more women than men become unemployed, seeking but not finding quality wage-paying jobs. When employed as they are presumed to be less endowed with work skills or capacity, they are first to be laid off when there is downsizing in the work force. Sparr (1994) and Elson (1992) present some of the most comprehensive accounts of the broad issues covered in this body of work. Both authors make significant contribution to the debate by drawing attention to the relationship between contemporary stabilization measures and women in developing countries. Sparr (1994) has stressed that while macroeconomic stabilization policies are presented in a language of gender neutrality, they are gender blind and thus embody an inherent bias against women. Put another way, if gender equity and women's empowerment are not to remain a distant target in much of the world, globalization needs to be humanely managed and regulated. The point is that lack of gender awareness by policy makers and public spending cuts in education that lead to educational poverty itself strengthens existing inequalities between men and women by reinforcing discriminatory tendencies leading to an undermining of women's' self-esteem. Diane Elson and others in discussing gender gaps in education and the high levels of absolute poverty, report that they are outcomes of stabilization policies of the 1980s. They state that while education is regarded as fundamental to human rights, it is not at the top of the political, social, or economic agenda of the governments of the South or the imposed mandate of the Washington Consensus (Elson, 1992; Stiglitz, 2002).

Previous and subsequent investigation show strong evidence of trade liberalization and macroeconomic stabilization constraints as major determinants of gender equity and inequality in Africa. It is our opinion that opportunity costs of educating girls, play a significant lesser role as a barrier than much of the literature has suggested. Women's poor access to education significantly pushes them into the margins of the informal market, making it impossible for them to contribute their full potential to nation building and developing the human capabilities necessary for social and economic progress. In economic terms, women's earning power and participation in the national economy are endangered since their choice and opportunities, which are crucial for achieving development goals are jeopardized by discriminatory practices in employment. For instance, occupational segregation, relating to type of work, as well as differences in wages, are evident in Africa, again as they are the first victims of financial-crisis-led downsizing. Nevertheless, evidence suggests that while liberalization has expanded women's access to employment, the long-term goal of transforming gender inequalities remains unmet and appears unattainable without the regulation of globalization, and the reorientation and expansion of the state's role in providing a social safety net.

9   Education and Training for Empowerment

Education is a human right and an essential tool for entitlement and capacity building. Education can shape national identity, modernize social, political, and economic institutions and reform traditional practices that should promote equity and social justice. Education in development, in poverty reduction, in human development, and economic growth is a necessary and sufficient means of promoting equal rights and opportunities for women. Therefore, the involvement and initiatives of the state in education are extremely important and crucial if the noble goals of education are to be achieved. In other words, a strong and sustainable education system is necessary to serve (a) as development, as freedom, as capability, as human rights, and as human development, all as key dimensions of sustainable development – as an end, and (b) as a means of sustainable development from economic, social, cultural, and political points of gender equity. Researchers even argue that if women are to occupy their rightful place as agents of change, their right to equal access to quality education, as stipulated in the United Nations human rights declaration, must be ensured. These are necessary conditions if communities are not to be threatened. This strong correlation of education on empowerment, coupled with the exceptional high social and economic returns to girl's education, led to the call for immediate action by all stakeholders to support and recognize the right of girls and women to education, and to develop appropriate education programs and curricula that provides for the participation of women. Clearly, the expansion of women's paid employment and knowledge, contributes to more equality in gender partnership and a reduction in gender inequalities because of the links between women's empowerment and their decision-making role in the household.

The facts presented above and the need to ensure access to education with the assistance of international organizations in the sector lead to the Universal Declaration of Education as Human Rights as discussed in, *Learning Opportunities For All* (UNDFID, 1999) and *Education For All* (UNESCO, 1999). Does this mean that education is the most significant good capable of shifting contemporary societies toward gender equality? Yes, since it has the capability of unlocking the full human potential for sustainable development. In addition, in facilitating the exercise of human rights and strengthening human capabilities and human capital, it enlarges people's entitlements. In this vein, denying women access to schooling is costly and may undermine all other efforts of societal transformation or economic development. Lawrence Summers, President of Harvard University and former US Treasury Secretary writes:

> Investing in the education of girls could be the one investment with the highest return in the developing world…improving females' access to education and the quality of education they receive has significant developmental benefits. (Summers, 1992, p. 132)

But, as Lawrence Summers also pointed out, not only does education empower women as caregivers and reproductive decision-makers, but the benefits of educating women also contribute to broader economic well-being, and to the regeneration of sustainability in development. Other scholars, in noting similar contributions, reported that the provision of education and training for girls and women has enormous

positive benefits not just for girls themselves, but also to families and generations unborn (King and Mason, 2001; Psacharopoulos, 1994; Banavot, 1989). For instance, the child of a Zambian mother with a basic education has a 25% greater chance of survival than a child of a mother without education. In the context of the family, women's earnings supplement household income, often raising not only the quantity of consumption, but also the quality because women spend more of their income on food (UNESCO, 2001).

10   Education Consequence for Female Productivity

One can think of many direct or indirect contributions of education on productivity, wage differentiation, employability, and overall economic productivity (Banavot, 1989; Psacharopoulos, 1994; Lloyd and Blanc, 1996). However, it is beyond the scope of this article to review this enormous literature. Instead, we will, in the next two subsections, focus on studies that discuss the effects of maternal education in society. According to the World Bank, "education liberates women from their traditional roles and contributes to the right to wage war against various aspects of male domination. Education also provides unexpected large productivity differentials between female and male labour inputs." The report shows that an hour of female labor is six times as productive as an hour of male labor (World Bank, 1992). Population Council (2001) and Blackden and Bhanu (1990) report that for each year of schooling, women raise their earning potential by 10–20% and that with at least 4 years of schooling, annual farm productivity increased by about 9%. These studies also show that a year of primary education would raise yields by 24%. In Thailand and Korea, women's productivity increased dramatically when they received the equivalent of male inputs. In sub-Saharan Africa with the same farm input (human capital, plots, etc.) as that of men, productivity increased by 22%. For example, in Kenya educated women farmers increased productivity by as much as 24% over illiterate women farmers. On the other hand, underinvestment in education could lead to lower probabilities of female farmers adopting new technologies.

10.1   Education and Social Consequences**

A number of studies, particularly that of UNICEF, have demonstrated that improving the educational attainment of women benefits children. This assertion supports the notion that females with education grow up to have fewer, healthier, and better-educated children. Educated women are more likely to practice better health behaviors in their homes and spend fewer resources on health care. In developing countries, child mortality declined by 5–10% for each year of maternal education. As little as 1–3 years of maternal education decreased infant mortality by about 15% compared to only 6% for paternal education (Population Council, 2001). Not only does maternal

education improve general mortality rates, it also mitigates the negative health effects of low income emanating from trade liberalization. A study conducted by the World Bank supports the above claims, by demonstrating that for just 1–4 years of maternal education, child malnutrition was reduced by 30% (World Bank, 1993b). At the family level, educated women have a major impact on health by increasing access to and use of information, and improving the use of health services when made available. As women are core to many aspects of development and certainly to that of improving social and human development, it is not preposterous to assume that sustainable transformational development is not attainable with the lack of participation and involvement of women who make up more than 70% of the agricultural work force. The lesson to be learned is that education is the moral and ethical imperative needed to combat and negate all forms of discrimination. With the central issue of quality and equity in the development of education as the forgotten dimensions of human development in the market economy model, the initiative for a new model of education is Africa's biggest challenge under globalization.

11 Discussion

The current international economic and governance architecture plays a key role in determining which countries are free to control their economic destiny, and which countries are not. Those countries that can resist "externally dictated solutions" and implement independent development strategies are in a much better position to achieve development than those who cannot. The key for African countries in today's world is to try to weave through the parameters set by the world-economy and maintain as much independence or "policy space" as possible. In the process, they would do well to support efforts aimed at steering the current unjust international system in a more just direction.

The "Washington Consensus" was simply wrong in its belief that dismantling trade barriers and removing government interference is a panacea for poor countries. To the contrary, effective strong state action is a prerequisite for a well functioning market. In this regard, the Nordic development experience is a testimony to the important role of the state in managing the market and in constructing a social consensus between the state, civil society, and the private sector. Central to the Nordic development model has been the embeddedness of "social policy" as part and parcel of the state-society-market relations. In its recent form, the experiences of China, India and Vietnam – along with Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan in earlier times – show that countries do not have to adopt indiscriminate liberal trade and capital market policies in order to benefit from enhanced trade, grow faster, and reduce poverty in a big way. These Asian countries first developed their domestic markets adequately enough before they opened themselves to external competition. They supported strategic industries, developed internal infrastructure, invested heavily in human capital, and instituted radical land reform as well as social policies to address structural inequalities. They were able to succeed for the simple

reason that the governments had the freedom to control basic economic policy. In short, globalization is a man-made process. There is no reason to believe that it cannot be altered for the benefit of broader section of humanity.

12 Conclusion

This research looks at the new challenges faced by African women and the economy under economic globalization. The authors argue that the policies of the Bretton Woods institutions, which have shaped contemporary economic globalization, have brought an untold economic burden on developing countries, thus constraining governmental interventions in the social sector. The authors make the point that to overcome unacceptable socioeconomic educational disparities and inequalities, and to evade the prospect of future widening inequalities in education, critical policy issues and options should be defined in terms of a multidimensional model of qualitative outcomes, rather than on the human capital model based on quantitative outcomes which have dominated policy-making and reforms since the 1980s. In trying to balance budgets and expand trade, resources have been reduced or redirected away from investment in education, which in turn might have led to the sacrifice of essential required human resources for nation building. This study makes explicit that the wealth of a nation is its citizens and that the amount of resources invested in people determines its competitiveness. This article also makes the point that investment in female's education is crucial for further economic growth and social development, as they will be more productive.

We have offered no empirical support of the proposition that globalization leads to a reduction in poverty or improved participation of the women, but a simple exercise is compelling. The result of the Asian countries that have actively participated in the global economy surely speaks for themselves if global integrated is on equitable manner. The authors conclude that Africa's low per capita GNP is directly correlated with the low percentage allocated to education, which has led to the widening gender inequity in education, as well as having a lower human development index than any other region. Trade openness cannot be trusted to guarantee the education reform and economic transformation needed for the empowerment of women, as well as to facilitate the diversification of risk. In this vein, equal integration will minimize the consequences of neoliberalism on poverty, health, education, income, and other social variables that negatively impact women in the region. For these and other reasons, we recommend that more drastic global economic restructuring, coupled with political will and economic resourcefulness, be combined in order to achieve the set goals of Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.

Given the above strong arguments, it is our strong belief that unless the focus shifts from market demands to the needs of people Africa will continue to experience difficulty in reaching its Millennium Development Goals. Once again, Social Watch (2007) provides a strong supports to our analysis as evidenced by the following statement:

It is extremely worrisome that at the current rate of progress, sub-Saharan Africa would reach the 'starting point' only in 2108. That is, 93 years after 2015, the deadline set by world leaders in 2000 to achieve basic social development goals. South Asia, whose rate of progress is significantly higher, would be reaching that point 47 years after the Millennium Summit. And, except for Europe and North America, not other region will be able to reach that basic minimum level before 20 years from now, if the current rate of progress does not improve.

If globalization and trade liberalization policies are not given a human face, millions of women will continue to be disempowered and fail to contribute to nation-building and world development.

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Part II
Case Studies

Poor Women and Community-Based Participation in Literacy Work in India

Anju Saigal

1 Introduction

Participation in civil society represents a key strategy for achieving Education for All in international policy discourses (The Dakar Framework for Action, 2000; World Declaration on EFA, 1990). While the concept of participation in development terminology is not new, its usage in the global context of neo-liberalization imbues it with new meaning. Within the neo-liberal paradigm, economic and political policies have advocated an increased role for markets, privatization, and reduced social sector spending, accompanied simultaneously by deregulation and democratization (Afshar and Barrientos, 1999; Zaidi, 1999). Restructuring of the political economy along these lines has set in motion a reorganization of the civil society–state relationship. Governments are beginning to perceive their role as that of facilitator rather than provider, thus "creat[ing] conditions where agents other than those of the state can become efficient and effective direct providers" (Zaidi, 1999, p. 7). Participation in civil society assumes importance in this context, because the notion of citizenship appears to be redefined as "the active exercise of responsibilities, including economic self-reliance and political participation" (Schild, 1998, p. 94).

In India, the education sector is experiencing the effects of this changing global ideology. Estimates suggest that 35 million school-age children are not attending school in India (Government of India, 2002). The government school system in India is the biggest, and sometimes the only, provider of educational services for the poor. With cutbacks and reduced social sector funding, parents, communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the private sector are increasingly being called on to share in the provision of educational services. Thus, since the 1990s, several large-scale NGOs have emerged as providers of direct (and indirect) educational services for the poor (Wazir, 2000). A common strategy employed by such NGOs is to engage community members as educators and activists in order to

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increase educational coverage in their own communities. Interestingly, the majority of these grassroots educators and activists are women. Thousands of low-income women across India are today engaged in educational work in their own communities.

The predominance of women in this sector may speak to critics' claims that in times of economic restructuring, poor women are drawn in to perform unpaid or underpaid labour in their communities (Elson, 1991; Moser, 1989). This chapter, however, seeks to examine the meaning of such participation from the women's own perspectives, focusing on the accounts of five poor Muslim women in Mumbai, India, who work as literacy educators in their own communities with an NGO called Pratham. It discusses how the five women understand their simultaneous positioning as teachers and low-paid labour in their communities, and illustrates that, for these women, participation in the education initiative is inherently political.

2   Globalization and Poor Women as Change Agents

Across several contexts, poor or working-class women have predominantly led and participated in community-based organizing to secure basic necessities. Feminist social scientists have analyzed such participation from different vantage points. For example, economic analyses of poor women's work maintain that due to the unequal division of labour by gender, poor women take on a disproportionate burden of work such as productive, reproductive, and community-managing work (Elson, 1991; Moser, 1989, 1993; Zajda, 2005; Zajda et al., 2008a). Economists claim that because of women's inferior position in the economy, poor women's productive work, which is mostly in the informal economy, is often underpaid; moreover, their reproductive work within their families and community-managing work is unpaid and unaccounted (Beneria, 1999). As a result, women's work is often invisible to policymakers. Through their analyses, feminist economists have significantly contributed to making visible women's unpaid and invisible work, and have explained how women's collective organizing in communities contributes to the maintenance and growth of the economy (Lind, 1992).

While acknowledging the importance of this work, sociologists and political scientists argue that such analyses provide only a limited understanding of poor and working-class women's activism in their communities; they fail to explain why and how poor women participate in their community programs (Lind, 1992; Naples, 1992, 1998a). Further, they contend that this literature assumes artificial separations among women's productive labour, their reproductive work in their families, and their community-based work, ignoring "how political positions form and are reconstituted through an intricate mix of personal, ideological and material forces" (Naples, 1998a, p. 3). A significant contribution of these scholars has thus been to reconceptualize poor and working-class women's community-based labour as political activity.

In documenting women's accounts of their community organizing, these scholars maintain as central the intersection of race and class with gender as constitutive of women's political participation. Moreover, they critique dominant oppositional notions: public and private, work and family, personal and political. They contend that working-class women's activism is integrally informed by and through reverberations among the spheres of family, workplace, and community networks (Morgen and Bookman, 1988, p. 13). In this sense, these researchers have redefined "the sociological categories – especially 'politics', 'work' and 'family' – typically used to analyze social life" (Naples, 1998b, p. 3).

Within this body of literature, some researchers suggest that the nature of this work be understood as an extension of women's familial role as mothers (Gilkes, 1980; McCourt, 1977). Their studies purport that working-class women's political involvement in community work is primarily shaped by their concerns as mothers. Morgen (1988), however, contends that this framing is perhaps limiting and essentialist. She suggests instead that working-class women's grassroots collective action be understood in all its complexity as "a conscious and collective way of expressing and acting on their interests as women, as wives and mothers, as members of neighbourhoods and communities, and as members of particular race, ethnic and class groups" (Morgen, 1988, p. 111).

Naples (1992) similarly frames the work of the women community activists she studied, who participated in the US War on Poverty initiative, as "activist mothering." She describes their community work as "involv[ing] not only nurturing work for those outside one's kinship group but also encompass[ing] a broad definition of actual mothering practices" (p. 448). Such activist mothering, she suggests, includes "self-conscious struggles against racism, sexism, and poverty" (1998a, p. 114). This claim highlights how working-class women's experiences, their political action and consciousness, are shaped by the intersecting constructs of race, class, and gender. Given this context, several researchers contend that the shaping of working-class and poor women's political consciousness is often complex and contradictory (Luttrell, 1988; Naples, 1998a; Sharma, 2001). "There is no single relationship between the dominant social structure and its ideology and working-class consciousness. Instead the women's perceptions are layered with both compliant and antagonistic responses and adaptations to the dominant culture" (Luttrell, 1998, p. 136).

In the current liberalization context in India, such relationships of poor women with the dominant culture(s) are being reframed and redefined. Poor women who themselves had little access to education are today being mobilized through civic organizations as literacy educators, or "teachers," in their communities. What sense do they make of this repositioning shaped through current political-economic processes (Schild, 1998, p. 110), that legitimizes them as actors in the knowledge domain? Such participation also simultaneously repositions these women as paid labour; however, their wages are often low and not commensurate with the amount of work they do. As low-paid teachers, therefore, the women are at once positioned with social power and with a lack of it. How do they understand their work and what political identity does such participation engender?

This chapter addresses this question, arguing that, positioned as they are, these women understand their participation through a gendered lens and simultaneously interpret this participation as enabling for themselves and/or their communities (Mankekar, 1993; Sharma, 2001). They read the enabling space created, however, only in strategic terms, which is divorced from the economic. This chapter first examines the women's interpretations of their identities as teachers in their communities and then it analyzes their understanding of their identities as low-paid labour engaged in work of high social value and legitimacy. Finally, it brings together the analyses from the preceding sections and discusses women's participation in community-based literacy work.

3   Context and Methodology

This chapter is based on the accounts of five community-based literacy educators who worked with Pratham, a grassroots NGO engaged in a large-scale Education for All initiative in India[1,2]. Pratham was selected for this study because it is a leading advocate for universal access to primary education in India and has a large grassroots network of women educators. It thus provided an excellent organizational context for this study. Moreover, several years of work with Pratham facilitated my access to the research site and participants. Pratham bases its activities in local communities and works in partnership with government education departments in several cities across India. At the community level, it identifies and trains local women to prepare children for formal schooling. The women's work entails surveying their communities to identify children who are not attending school or are lagging behind academically, motivating parents to send their children to their classes, teaching the children, and eventually enrolling them in formal schools. The teachers conduct classes either in their own homes, in a community centre, or in the local school. At the time of the study, Pratham conducted three programs in which the women could participate as teachers: the *balwadi* program, a community-based pre-school program for children in the 3–5 age group; the *bridge course* program, a community-based program to prepare out-of-school children in the 6–12 age group for formal schooling; the *balsakhi* program, a school-based program in which paraprofessional teachers, or balsakhis, provide academic support to children lagging behind academically. Pratham organizes regular training sessions for the teachers and provides field-based pedagogical support. It pays the teachers a small honorarium, and teachers in the community-based programs, such as the balwadi teachers and the bridge course teachers, can also collect a fee from the children's parents.

The data collection for this research took place in July and August 2001. The participants were selected through convenience sampling. The objective was not to obtain a representative sample, but to focus on the narratives of five women participants living and working on literacy issues in one of the poorest slums in Mumbai. In-depth interviews were conducted over several sessions with each participant.

A group discussion was conducted at the end of the interview process. Grounded theory methods were used to analyze the collected data.

4   The Participants

Participants for this study were drawn from two large adjacent slum communities in Mumbai, Shivaji Nagar, and Bainganwadi. The communities are poor, predominantly Muslim, and are located on the borders of a huge solid-waste dumping ground in Mumbai. At the time of the interviews, the participants were aged between 25 and 32. Four of the teachers were married and one was divorced. Their education levels ranged from a ninth grade education to a graduate degree. Their monthly household incomes ranged from US$33–133. A brief profile of each woman (assumed names) is presented below.

Shakila had a college degree while her husband was unschooled. She had taught in the balwadi program for 4 years and the bridge course program for 1 year. She taught in her own home.

Zara was married at the age of 15. She lived with her husband's extended family, which abused her because she did not bring a large dowry. Her parents took her in after 6 years and secured a legal divorce for her. She and her daughter were now living with her parents. Zara had taught in the balwadi program for 6 years and bridge course program for 2 years. Her classes were held in a local school building.

Sana was continuing her undergraduate studies. Her husband faced a monetary crisis soon after they were married, and the couple eventually moved to a house owned by Sana's parents. She began work as a balwadi teacher, but soon opted to work with the school-based balsakhi program. She had been teaching with Pratham for 3 years.

Tara was the main breadwinner of her family as her husband was irregularly employed. She had taught in the balwadi program for 3 years, in her own home.

Reena had tutored children in her home. She had taught in the balwadi program for 5 years and the bridge course for 2 years, holding classes in her own home.

5   Community Women Doing Literacy Work

Pratham frames the women's work in their communities as teaching work. The nature of this teaching work in terms of content and pedagogy is similar to that of school teachers. The women's classrooms are, in most cases, their own homes; they might also teach in a community centre or in space provided by the local school. These women play a significant role beyond their classrooms: They conduct surveys and make home visits in their communities, establish rapport with local school teachers and principals, and help children enroll in local schools at the end of their program. Their work thus traverses different spaces, blurring the boundaries among workplace, community, and home.

For the women in this study, engagement in this work provides them with a new social identity, that of teacher. In their roles as teachers, they are expected to seamlessly operate within the intersecting spaces of home, community, and workplace. Their teacher identity also helps them gain legitimacy as actors in the domain of knowledge production and dissemination, which provides them with social power in the knowledge domain. This is in sharp contrast to their lives in the traditional social context, where they are expected to live in seclusion. "Good" womanhood, in other words, is defined through seclusion to the domestic space and excludes an identity in the knowledge domain. This results in a contradiction: their legitimacy and power as teachers in the knowledge domain versus their lack of power and legitimacy as poor women. The women's negotiation of this contradiction illustrates that in their lives, the notion of participation lies not in the binary domains of the public or private, but in the complex interactions and interconnections among the spaces within which they operate.

5.1 Household Negotiations: Contesting Spatial Boundaries

Although these women's work as teachers extends into the community space, they are traditionally expected to lead their lives confined to domestic spaces. This expectation can be understood through the patriarchal discourse in the South Asian context, where women's exclusion from the public space serves to protect their sexual purity and the associated family honor (Standing, 1991). In the interest of safeguarding family honor, ideologies of "good" womanhood are linked to women's seclusion in the domestic space. In order to fulfil their responsibilities as teachers, the women in this study must contest the boundaries of their expected segregation, which poses a threat to their sexual purity and the family honor. The home therefore becomes a site of tension and conflict, where the women must negotiate with family authority figures in order to obtain and sustain their mobility. For the women and their families, this negotiation involves a reframing of the meaning of "good" womanhood in order to enable the women to participate in the public space.

All the women except Tara spoke of restrictions on their mobility in doing their community-based work. Three of the women, Shakila, Zara, and Sana, seek mobility by negotiating with authority figures in their families. Framing themselves as *responsible* women, they seek to replace the mechanism of domestic segregation by taking on the responsibility of preserving their own morality in the public space. For instance, Zara recalls her father's initial resistance to her taking up this work on account of the mobility it required. Since reaching puberty, Zara had led her life in complete domestic seclusion. Her mother now encouraged her to work, however, since she thought that being with children would help Zara heal the scars of her divorce. She persuaded Zara's father to give permission for her to go out. She cautioned her daughter, as Zara recounts:

> She said – "You are responsible for your own honor and that of your parents. … We are letting you free today but that does not mean that you should take advantage of your independence."

In her mother's opinion, Zara's freedom was clearly a risk for both herself and her family. For this she was warned and advised of her responsibility to preserve her "honor" and that of her family. Zara says she responded that she would never do anything to shame her parents, thus framing herself as responsible for maintaining her morality in the public space. Zara understands her mobility as rooted in her parents' authority, and therefore vulnerable to change. Thus, in order to maintain her mobility, she keeps her mother informed of all that occurs during her work day. She explains: "It can happen that somebody meets my mother and tells her they've seen me with so-and-so. Hence if she knows whom I'm with or what I'm doing, she is assured that I'm not doing anything that I shouldn't."

In contrast, rather than negotiate, Reena confronts her husband over his resistance to her mobility. She describes the conflict:

> [H]e says – "Why do you run around so much? You shouldn't go." But I say – "Why shouldn't I go? I will go." He says – "If you go I will break your legs." I say – "Go ahead." He wouldn't give me money even for clothes. So I would work, earn, and use it as I pleased. I stopped asking him for money. Earlier I used to work stitching sequins. Now I have joined Pratham. I manage my expenses within this.

Reena challenges her husband to go ahead with his physical threats, as she is unwilling to compromise her community-based work, and its associated mobility. She reacts to her husband's withdrawal of material support by finding other ways to meet her economic needs. In her response, she expresses defiance to the practice of segregation itself. In their negotiations around spatial boundaries, three women's accounts illustrate a reframing of the notion of "good" womanhood in their context. Shakila, Zara, and Sana negotiate with family members who control their mobility, framing themselves as responsible women who do not necessarily require domestic segregation to ensure their sexual purity. Reena, in contrast, expresses her defiance of domestic segregation, confronts her husband's authority, and seeks other avenues to sustain her material needs.

5.2   Framing Teacher Identity and Practice

The women receive social recognition in their communities because of their identities as teachers. This recognition importantly complements their casting as teachers by the organizational discourse and further legitimizes them as actors in the knowledge domain. The women construct the meaning of their identity and practice as teachers through the lens of this positioning and the gender and class constructs within which they operate. All the women speak about how community members began treating them differentially when they were recruited as teachers. Community recognition provided them higher status in their community and a sense of personal achievement.

They interpret this status through gendered lenses, and in doing so reframe their gender identities in ways they consider more enabling for themselves. For example, Shakila explains why they receive a higher status:

> The women in the neighbourhood are not doing anything – they are just sitting at home. And since we are teaching, they think we are higher than them [in status]. [The women in the neighbourhood think] "These women [Shakila and other teachers] are doing something, so they have more importance. Because they are giving children education, and that they are more intelligent than us [women in the neighbourhood] … that they are educated." So this is why we receive much more respect.

Shakila interprets her community women's "respect" for her and other teachers as stemming from the perception that, being teachers, they are "doing something." She casts this in opposition to other women in the community who "are not doing anything – they are just sitting at home." In this framing, Shakila appears to suggest a differentiation of women's work between domestic work and public work. She interprets her teaching work as the latter and speaks of community women according social status to women's participation in the public domain. Further, in explaining what she means by community women's perception of women like her "doing something," she speaks of their associating her teacher identity with intellectual work. She distinguishes this work from a domestic identity as well, in that community women think they (teachers) are doing something worthwhile by giving children education. The public nature of the work thus appears conjoined with its association with intellectual labour, and this accords it (and therefore Shakila) higher status in the community. Shakila's understanding of her status in her community may be interpreted as gendered: She seems to redefine the dominant gender construct – which values women's role in the domestic sphere (also considered non-intellectual) and is resistant to women's engagement in the public space – by framing instead women's work in the public domain as more important.

Sana, Reena, and Zara explicitly speak of public recognition of their professional identity as teachers providing them a sense of self-worth. For example, Sana says she likes it when children publicly call out "teacher" to her. Explaining why she likes this, she says: "When we go home, we are addressed in relation to our relationship. But when we step out, we feel we also have value." Sana suggests that being addressed as teacher, an identity that carries high social status, makes her feel she has "value"; she does not appear to feel this value when addressed in relational terms at home. Further, her recognition is associated with her "step[ping] out," and being addressed by her professional identity in public is important to her sense of self-worth. This construction is gendered because she reads her work identity against the backdrop of lives of women, whose identities are primarily defined through domestic roles, as well as through seclusion. She interprets self-worth not in terms of the dominant gender constructs, but in terms of stepping out of their seclusion and having a high-status identity that is recognized in public.

The women's teacher identity accords them higher status in their communities. They read this status through the lens of gender constructs operating in their context. The nature of this identity and its associated status allows the women space to interpret their gender identities in ways they understand as being more enabling

for themselves. The social recognition also complements their positioning as teachers and adds legitimacy as actors in the knowledge domain. The women understand this legitimacy within the context of their lives as poor women and operationalize it in the context of their community-based teaching work.

Zara and Sana interpret their engagement in their teaching work as enabling, albeit in a personal sense. Both frame their work as providing them independence as women. For instance, Sana recounts that it was primarily a need for self-reliance that prompted her to take up this work:

> At the time my monetary condition was really bad. But I said if one has to change one's circumstances then one has to do something about it. I thought, I have to do something about it. After all, till how long will I stay dependent on my parents or husband?

Here, Sana demonstrates a gendered understanding of her circumstances. Her interpretation here is illustrative of how she has understood her other life situations, such as her mother's discriminatory attitude toward her because of her gender or her struggle for an education, which, being female, was not considered necessary. In this context, she perceives the achievement of her childhood ambition of becoming a teacher as something that will bring a sense of emancipation. As she says: "From my childhood … I wanted to become a teacher. I want to be known as a teacher, that this is a teacher." Sana, however, recognizes that in her current work she is a paraprofessional teacher. Since her ultimate goal is to become a professionally qualified teacher, she views her engagement in community-based education work as transitory, something she engages in out of financial need. Nevertheless, she speaks of this work as having reignited her ambitions. She has therefore restarted her education after a break of some years.

As discussed, Sana rejects dominant gender ideologies of dependency and instead frames her participation through notions of independence. In doing so, she creates for herself enabling spaces to achieve self-actualization. Her understanding of her participation, however, is at an individual, personal level. In contrast, Tara, Shakila, and Reena frame themselves as *knowledge actors*. They are conscious of their legitimacy within the knowledge domain and use this legitimacy and power to create enabling spaces for themselves, as well as for the marginalized, non-literate members of their communities.

Shakila's and Tara's engagement in literacy work is a question of "gaining knowledge" through the teaching process. Tara interprets the meaning of knowledge in the context of her work in two senses. She refers to her satisfaction from the creative process of her teaching work per se, of being motivated to teach children in "better ways" and "thinking of newer ways to teach the children." She also refers to the conception of who can be a *knower*, when speaking to the reason for her involvement in literacy work. As she illustrates below, in comparing her positions as housewife and teacher, she implies that the latter social identity legitimizes her pursuit of knowledge:

> I feel I have achieved a lot. In the beginning, after leaving my studies, I was only a housewife. I used to only manage the household. But, since I became a teacher, I have got to learn new things every week, or every month. So with my work, there was an increase in my responsi-

bilities. And I began to grow attached to my work. … And better than sitting around trying
to pass time, rather than gossiping, I have begun to enjoy studying.

Here, Tara frames her identities of housewife and teacher as distinct from each other.
She describes her role as housewife as "manag[ing] the household," "sitting around
trying to pass time," and "gossiping," indicating no avenues for an intellectual life.
On the other hand, her social identity as a teacher allows her to "learn new things
every week or every month" and the space and legitimacy to "enjoy studying." In other
words, her identity as a woman in her context would not allow her to pursue intel-
lectual interests; however, through her identity as a teacher, she can frame herself as
a knowledge actor and pursue the same.

In addition, Tara construes her role as a knowledge actor in her classroom and
community space. She constructs her role within her classroom as having the
responsibility of "shaping" the child's mind. She speaks of the child's mind as
"raw," claiming a critical role in shaping the child's future through what she
teaches. Tara also sees her role as teacher extending to the larger community. In this
context, she talks of having taught the non-literate mothers of the children who
attend her balwadi how to sign their names. Here, she describes how women in her
neighbourhood approach her for help:

> Sometimes, of course, if they are in a situation, like a government officer comes with some
> work, so everyone will crowd around my place. They ask me, "Teacher bhabhi, should I
> give this, should I show that?"

Tara perceives her role as that of an interpreter between non-literate women in her
community and governmental systems. In this way, she is using her skills not only as
a literate person but also as an authority functioning in such a role. This authority
stems from her positioning as a teacher, as a legitimate and authoritative actor in
the knowledge domain.

Reena and Shakila also frame their participation as knowledge actors. However,
unlike Tara, they actively seek to enhance the strategic gender interests of women
through their work. Both Shakila and Reena on several occasions speak of using
their legitimacy as teachers to act as advocates for marginalized people, particularly
women. In one such instance, Shakila talks of wanting to initiate a literacy project
for poor widows in the neighbouring slum area, Nirankari Nagar:

> There, government officials came to collect information about photo passes [government-
> issued cards for right of residence on government land]. … [M]any women gave their
> names, but someone else's names were written instead. … There are many widows who own
> nothing, and now they have had to give away their house as well. They have innocent children
> as well. And someone cheated them only because they did not know how to read and write.

Shakila speaks of being moved by what she saw, an injustice perpetrated by corrupt
government officials on apparently defenceless members of her community – non-
literate widows and their children. She speaks of her desire to teach the women
as a means of empowering them. She frames her role as a knowledge actor, who
perceives her role not only as an educational advocate for the widows, but also as
one who wants to explore concretely community-based action to promote the
women's strategic gender interests.

In sum, the women interpret their participation as teachers through gendered lenses. Positioned as teachers, they acquire legitimacy in the public space and the knowledge domain, access to which is denied to them as poor women. They therefore use this legitimacy to reframe their identities as women through emancipatory frameworks. Zara and Sana primarily appear to value their identities in the public domain. They do not frame their identities through dominant ideologies of dependency; they choose instead to describe themselves through notions of independence in the public space. In doing so, they create enabling spaces for themselves as women. Tara, Shakila, and Reena interpret their roles primarily in the knowledge domain as knowledge actors. Framing themselves as such, Shakila and Tara have the legitimacy to pursue academic interests, which they would not have had in their domestic roles. Further, these three women use their legitimacy in the knowledge domain to act as a resource and advocate for the marginalized in their communities. Shakila and Reena additionally perceive their roles as furthering strategic gender interests for other women. Framing themselves as knowledge actors, Shakila, Reena, and Tara are able to create enabling spaces for themselves as women, as well as for other members of their communities, particularly women.

6   Framing Economic Compensation for Literacy Work

The economic structure of these women's work is divided into two components. The first consists of a small honorarium from Pratham, and the second is the user fees paid by parents of the children they teach. In theory, the rationale for this structure is that communities should share the fiscal burden for the services they use, but the teachers often find it difficult to recover their dues from community members. In this section, the five women, whose lives are circumscribed by a struggle for basic necessities, explain how they understand their position as low-paid labour in teaching work. Their accounts here are analyzed not in an isolated economic sense (Naples, 1998a), but in the context of their community-based teaching work. This frame throws into relief the contradictions embedded in a political identity, which emerges from engaging in work of high social influence and value but one that provides little scope for material empowerment.

While all the women express economic need, they downplay the importance of monetary compensation for their work and provide their reasons for doing so. Zara and Sana primarily perceive that their strategic gender interests are being met through their work. For instance, despite taking up teaching work out of economic necessity and feeling that the compensation is inadequate, Sana continues with this work, explaining:

> What if the pay here is low, … I am known as a teacher here before being called a balsakhi. So I like this very much. Wherever children see me, they call out – "teacher, teacher."

Sana justifies her participation on the grounds that being recognized as a teacher is worth more to her than the economic compensation for her work. She appears to be juggling the tensions between the practical economic imperatives of everyday life and meeting what she perceives as her own strategic gender interests through engagement in this work, however. As she puts it:

> I wanted to [quit this work] but many people advised me against it. Many people tell me that women are now coming forward because they want to do something. Even I want to become someone one day. So I think maybe there is a future in this. In any case I'm still very undecided.

Sana sees herself as part of the larger (imagined) group of women who are "coming forward because they want to do something." Inherent in her perception is the understanding that working in a professional space (in her case, as a teacher) is valued as an emancipatory goal or ideal for women. Interestingly, her emancipatory framework is in terms of a professional identity, which appears distinct from economic compensation.

Tara and Shakila perceive their earnings as only supplemental. Tara, like Sana, talks of her dire financial need; however, while she feels she is not being adequately compensated for her work, she portrays herself as having low bargaining power vis-à-vis the organization. As she puts it: "We did ask about increasing the pay per month. But since there was no response, we did not pursue it." Tara talks of attempting to recover what is due from parents of children she teaches, but she is conflicted about whether asking parents to pay their share of her monthly wage is as easy as that. She goes on to say:

> But even the parents have so many problems and compulsions in their lives – someone is ill, or they don't have much work. Therefore I don't like asking for money.

It appears that for Tara, asking for money is not just a question of economics, but is rooted in the material circumstances of members of her community. Thus, her statement – "I don't like asking for money" – represents her conflict between empathy toward their economic condition and her own practical needs.

Between her conflicted situation vis-à-vis her community members and her low bargaining position vis-à-vis the organization, Tara seeks to make sense of her participation within a gendered construct that is contradictory: She downplays the economic significance of her work, casting herself as a supplemental wage earner because she is a woman, and simultaneously frames the opportunity to participate in teaching as something that is emancipatory for her as a woman. She explains her view in the group discussion.

> Women are working, so women also get a chance to move ahead. And for men, 250 rupees [$1 equals approximately 43 rupees] is not enough for them. And for women, since they are sitting at home, at least they can contribute something. Even if it is 250 rupees, at least it goes some distance. If they just sit at home, then there will be nothing [no income]. So you gain influence in the community and you make some pocket money. I feel this is the advantage.

While Tara frames the fact that women are working as something emancipatory that provides social mobility for women, she casts women's economic role as primarily domestic and therefore as secondary or supplementary wage earners. In her account, Tara does not see this as a contradiction to the notion of women "moving

ahead." In this sense, her response seems to parallel Sana's interpretation of participation in education work as being in the political interests of women, yet seeing this identity as divorced from economic empowerment.

Reena disengages her teaching work from the issue of monetary compensation entirely, and frames such compensation as inconsequential for her. She speaks of engaging in this work regardless of any pay, and is also unwilling to ask parents to pay fees.

> I say to them, "It's up to you; if you want to give me [money] you can do so." I don't force parents to pay me. Parents of ten children have paid me. But of the others, some are very poor. So I don't care much.

Reena, like Tara, is conscious of her community members' poverty and their inability to pay. She does not display any of Tara's conflict regarding this issue, however. When asked why she does not engage in work that pays her more than what she earns with this work, Reena says:

> Like I told you, I am very fond of young children. I am attached much more to younger children. Even if the children see me walking down a street they point out and say, "Look that's my teacher." No child comes to my class crying. They all come happily.

Reena talks of being motivated by her attachment to young children and the response and their public recognition of her as *teacher*. She thus frames her reasons for participation in caring-relational terms, disengaged from monetary compensation.

This section has illustrated the contradictory ways in which the women understand the economic aspect of their work within the overall context of their community-based participation as teachers. The women are positioned as low-paid labour, and they make sense of this positioning through a gendered lens intersected by class. The women's interpretations are characterized, on the one hand, by their own material imperatives and that of their community members, and their lack of bargaining power with the organization with respect to their pay. On the other hand, they are aware of ways in which their identities as teachers have helped them create enabling spaces for themselves as women, and for their communities. All the women therefore justify their participation through the strategic benefits they gain through their work. They downplay the importance of monetary compensation, and at times appear to use the same gender constructs they are attempting to counter in order to explain their participation: Sana and Zara downplay monetary compensation in the interest of meeting different strategic interests through their work; Tara and Shakila use ideologies of domesticity, framing themselves as supplemental workers; and Reena talks of monetary compensation as being inconsequential, framing her work instead in caring-relational terms.

7   Discussion

This chapter has examined the meaning of participation in civil society for five women literacy educators through their positioning as teachers and as low-paid labour, and their interpretations of the same. The women read their positioning through the lens of their community-based literacy work and experiences, as well

as against the backdrop of class and gender constructs within which they operate. The analysis reveals an arena of struggle in which the women contest and comply with the dominant meanings attached to their work and identities. Thus, the women in this study understand their participation through a gendered lens and simultaneously interpret this participation as enabling for themselves and/or their communities (Mankekar, 1993; Sharma, 2001). They interpret this enabling space, however, in a strategic sense, divorced from the economic.

As teachers, the women's understanding of their identity intersects the spaces of community, classroom, and home. The intersections between home and community/ workplace are evidenced in the tensions created by the mobility required of them beyond the domestic space. They contest the mechanisms of domestic segregation, and by reframing the meaning of "good" womanhood in their own context they enable their mobility in the public space. Their accounts of such negotiations suggest that in their lives as poor women, the notion of political participation is not simply restricted to the community or work place, but is intricately connected with the domestic space as well.

For these women, being a teacher in their community is associated with recognition and higher status. They construct the meaning of such recognition and status through gendered lenses. Their identity as teacher is associated with the public space, which in their understanding connotes an arena of influence. The recognition the women receive as teachers also legitimizes their roles as actors in the knowledge domain. In interpreting their participation through notions of independence or through framing themselves as knowledge actors, the women reframe dominant gender constructs to create enabling spaces for themselves and their communities.

Positioned as low-paid labour, the women downplay the importance of monetary compensation for their work. They express economic need but also claim to have low bargaining power vis-à-vis the organization, and sometimes empathy with community members. They make sense of this positioning in contradictory ways, and justify their participation in terms of the enabling nature of their work and, sometimes, through ideologies of domesticity and caring-relational discourses.

This chapter, in sum, illustrates that the women understand their participation by interpreting their work and emergent identities politically. How they are positioned within discourses and how they make meaning of these positions determines the terms and nature of their participation. In the context of larger political-economic changes, the women find themselves repositioned with social power in the knowledge domain. The material and ideological support they receive from Pratham primarily accords them this legitimacy. They are also simultaneously positioned as low-paid workers; the NGO defines the boundaries of negotiation in terms of providing little material or ideological support for their labour in economic terms. Against the backdrop of their gender and class constructs in their context, the women thus construe their understanding of their participation as gendered, and the enabling space then as solely strategic and as divorced from the economy.

8   Conclusion

What are the implications of this study for education policy in the global economy? The dominant neo-liberal discourse of civic participation describes the role of civic organizations as that of "catalysts" working toward social transformation. Such framing depoliticizes the conceptualization of participation and avoids problematizing its nature. This chapter has illustrated that the women's participation is inherently political: It is about power and about their identities as poor women. It is about their working toward spaces for their own emancipation through their work, and it is about their own interconnected struggle for social justice. Civic organizations need to recognize this interconnectedness and the gendered nature of their work at the grass roots. These organizations need to reflect and act on how the interpretations of the grassroots women workers sustain the structure of their work, ideologically and materially. It is through such praxis that democratic structures and institutions in society can truly be strengthened.

Notes

1. I employ the label "poor" here for analytic purposes. While the women participants in this study live in conditions of relative poverty in the context of urban India, and do not all share the same economic level, they may or may not describe themselves as poor.
2. I use the term "gendered" to refer to the women's use of gender constructs to interpret their participation. These gender constructs are intersected by the women's class, ethnicity, religious background, and so on. Further, I do not wish to suggest that the use of gender constructs is exclusive to women; men could also interpret their lives in gendered ways.

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Against the Odds: Multiethnic and Multiracial Students Surviving in US Schools

Marta I. Cruz-Janzen

1 Multiracial and/or Multiethnic Students and Academic Achievement

> More so by my mom, telling us of her encounters, her and my father, racial harassment, with her family also. She prepared us. It has to start inside the family to prepare the children for what they are going to encounter outside the home.

This statement was made by a multiracial and/or multiethnic person reflecting on his/her experiences in Pre/Kindergarten–12th (P/K–12) schools in the USA (Cruz-Janzen, 1997). Multiethnic and/or multiracial persons, considered persons of color in the USA, agreed that their parents held high expectations for their educational achievement but often expressed their parents' distrust of the educational system's ability and willingness to provide equitable treatment and opportunities for them (see Zajda et al., 2006; Zajda, 2008a). They articulated their parents' hopes for a better life for them and the conscious steps their parents took to facilitate their entrance into mainstream society and schools. The preparation started at home either throughout early childhood, or in anticipation of formal schooling, and continued across their educational experiences.

This chapter presents reflections of multiethnic and multiracial persons who attended US P/K–12th grade schools as well as their recommendations for curricular and instructional reform. Additionally, the chapter aims to: (1) raise awareness of this fast increasing yet greatly ignored, misrepresented, and misunderstood student population, (2) explore ways schools can begin meeting the needs of these students and their families, and (3) reinforce the urgent need for good research on multiethnic and multiracial children and families. Most of the research has focused on single-race children and the disadvantages of being multiethnic and/or multiracial. The limited research has presented a distorted image suggesting that multieth-

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nic and multiracial persons have more difficulty in developing a healthy self-identity and coping socially than single-race persons (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). Research is needed that reflects not only the educational and social needs of multiethnic and/or multiracial persons but also demonstrates their assets and achievements. Lastly, the author presents general recommendations for teachers, teacher educators, and educational leaders. Mainstream US culture and institutions are those that reflect and promote Eurocentric beliefs, norms, and values established by White/Caucasian Americans. These are defined as the mainstream because they control economic, educational, social, and political power (Banks, 2001). Persons of color are everyone who cannot be classified as White/Caucasian, which in the USA includes anyone with any amount of non-White/Caucasian ancestry, in any ethnic and/or racial combination, and even if they are part White/Caucasian (Davis, 1998).

2 Who Is Multicultural and/or Multiethnic?

The multiethnic and multiracial population of the USA, and many other parts of the world, is increasing at skyrocketing rates. For example, in the USA, since the early 1970s, the number of single-race persons has grown by only 15% compared with more than 260% for multiracial persons (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). The Census 2000 indicates that nearly 7 million persons identify as multiracial. Since many multiracial persons still self-identify with only one racial group, 7 million is probably a low figure. In addition, Hispanics/Latinos, most of whom are racially mixed, are now the largest minority group in the nation. Collectively, they have historically resisted self-identification along traditional racial categories. While the Census 2000 required respondents to first select the ethnic identity – Hispanic/Latino or non-Hispanic/Latino – followed by the racial classification, the results indicate that nearly half of all Hispanics/Latinos still selected "Some Other Race" rather than the official race categories (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004).

The history of the USA is a history filled with immigration of people from all corners of the world. To the discontent of those who would like to believe the contrary, the USA really represents a diaspora of cultures, languages, races, ethnicities, religions, etc. As such, multiethnic and multiracial persons in the nation come in "all sorts of racial, ethnic, tribal, and national combinations" (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). Yet, the major concern about racial mixing in the USA has focused on persons of Black/African-American and mainstream White/Caucasian parentage because this combination is embedded in a deep-seated system of racial and social polarization and ranking designed to maintain racial groups apart, and particularly to maintain White racial purity, superiority, and dominance (Sollors, 2000; Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). Within this system, a person must be considered Black or African-American even if he or she has mainstream White progeny and cannot be mainstream White/Caucasian with any amount of

Black ancestry (Davis, 1998; Knepper, 1995). The nation's obsession with Whiteness and White racial purity and superiority has been intense and enduring. The first anti-miscegenation laws were enacted in 1661, primarily to target groups not allowed to marry the dominant Whites. It is hard to believe that the last anti-miscegenation law was not abolished until 2000 by the state of Alabama, 33 years after the Supreme Court declared such laws unconstitutional with 1967 *Loving vs. Virginia*. Equally amazing is that as the election results revealed, many people still see the necessity for laws prohibiting Blacks and Whites from mixing blood, with 40% of Alabamans voting to keep the ban (Sollors, 2000). Additionally, White Spaniards, also classified as Hispanics or Latinos, are perceived as racially impure even before sailing out of Spain in the 1400s and not accepted as members of the mainstream White/Caucasian dominant and superior group (Cruz-Janzen, 2001).

In this article, the terms multiethnic and multiracial represent persons whose acknowledged identity includes two or more of the US official Census categories. The US system of racial and ethnic classification, unique in the modern world, recognizes only two ethnic categories: Hispanic or Latino and non-Hispanic or Latino. It recognizes five major "racial" categories: "White," "Black or African-American," "American Indian or Alaska Native," "Asian," and "Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander." A sixth racial category listed in the US Census 2000 is "Some Other Race." This system creates the possibility for persons to be multiracial within each – Hispanic/Latino or non-Hispanic/Latino – group as well as multiethnic between them: A person of mainstream White/Caucasian and Black/African-American parentage – both non-Hispanic/Latino groups – would be considered multiracial. Persons of, for example, mainstream White/Caucasian and White Hispanic/Latino or of Black African-American and Black Hispanic Latino would be multiethnic; same race but different ethnicities. To further detail the complexity of this system, a person of mainstream White/Caucasian and Black Hispanic/Latino parents would be both multiracial and multiethnic.

Further, this system is highly flawed in that it mixes – and confuses – race with ethnicity and national origin (Allen, 2000). Although the biological notion of race has been discredited worldwide and it is well accepted that both race and ethnicity are social constructs (Allen, 2000; Banks, 2001; Zajda, 2008a, b), the USA continues to use them, while simultaneously failing to educate the public on its determination of census categories and leaving understandings at the hands of public ignorance, misinformation, and a long history of hatreds and distrusts. Significantly, it negates the reality that most "racial" categories are rather ethnic in nature, as well as multiethnic and/or multiracial, "based on a history and movements of people across the world" (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). The Hispanic/Latino and Asian classifications, as examples, contain people from widely diverse phenotypic and cultural attributes. Hispanic/Latinos could be White, Black, Asian, Indigenous, or of numerous combinations in between. Asians could be Arabic, Austronesian, Chinese, Burmese, Hindu, Hmong, Indonesian, Japanese, Malaysian, Siberian, Thai, Turkish, Pakistani,

Vietnamese, etc. The "White" "racial" category conceals the historical fact that European Whites are mixed with a variety of other groups, before and after colonization of the Western Hemisphere (Sollors, 2004). The history of slavery in the USA is mired with extensive mixing between Black and Indian slaves and their masters. Many believe that there are no pure White Americans today. Millions of White/Caucasians in the USA have African and Indian ancestors. Most Black/African-Americans have White/Caucasian ancestry. Thousands of White-looking Blacks have "passed" untraced into the White/Caucasian world over the generations (Daniel, 1992; Haizlip, 1994; Williams, 1995).

3 Parents' and Students' Survival Strategies

Although the US Census 2000 "allowed" for self-selection of more than one racial and/or ethnic category, the general population is for the most part ignorant that the federal government collapsed the data back into the original categories of the previous census, with total disregard for their wishes and years-long struggles to reform the demographic classifications (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). Furthermore, schools are still not required to follow the criteria and/or procedures established for the Census 2000, leaving the selection up to unsuspecting parents, and teachers and administrators. Usually, parents of young children fill in the required demographic forms, without which children are not permitted to attend school. It is well known that teachers and principals are regularly required to complete these forms or alter parents' selections. Also, administrators and teachers are often required to "sight" categorize children, even going against parental classifications, and parents are rarely informed of either their right to provide racial and/or ethnic information voluntarily or of the schools' obligation to respect those choices. As children mature in age they are requested to complete the forms themselves. Usually this begins at adolescence, a critical time in adolescent psychological/emotional development, unleashing serious identity crises with lasting negative repercussions, including self-alienation and self-condemnation (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). This is extremely confusing, painful, and disparaging to multiethnic and multiracial students, particularly those who have been taught at home to affirm and value both of their heritages, because it forces them to compromise both who they are and their loyalty to one parent.

Faced with this seemingly insurmountable scenario, parents prepare to protect and empower their children from the odds against them. Parents want their children to overcome the odds, fit in and function effectively within the mainstream society, and significantly, obtain the benefits and privileges available to White/Caucasians. They want their children to succeed in a "White world." The preparation starts at home either throughout early childhood or in anticipation of formal schooling, and continues across their educational experiences (Cruz-Janzen, 1997). Parents prepare their children through several strategies presented below.

3.1   Affirming and Valuing Own Diversity

Parents of children with salient physical attributes that distinguish them as persons of color, and especially parents of color, actively encourage them to acknowledge and value their own heritages.

> *In the home, just from my parents, I think that each of them did give me some good background and a good foundation in their respective ethnic heritages. And they supported each other, so it was very positive.*

3.2   Affirming Own Ethnic and Racial Self-Concept

The ethnic self-concept represents individuals' attitudes toward an ethnic or racial group and their perceptions of themselves as members of that group (Phinney and Chavira, 1992; Phinney et al., 1992). Parents of children with salient attributes often want their children to feel pride for their ethnic and racial self-identity, the group or groups they identify with, as well as their membership within those groups.

> *She [mother] almost said that it was better for me to conform and function on that level of not thinking that I'm White but kind of assimilating into that but still keeping a self-identity of who I am.*
>
> *I remember the time my sister said that she was White and I went back and told my mom and she really got upset at my little sister. I remember my mom saying, the Navajo way, and telling us Navajo stories and Navajo things.*

3.3   Affirming Other People's Diversity

Most parents nurture respect and validation for persons of other backgrounds and discourage prejudicial or inequitable treatment of others based on their diverse backgrounds.

> *My parents have always raised me that everyone is equal whatever colour, ethnic background, whatever.*
>
> *I was in the fourth grade, and he [father] said: You should never treat anybody different because of the colour of their skin or how they look.*

3.4   Denouncing and Devaluing Own Diversity

Even while encouraging their children to value other people's diversity, some parents try to devalue their own heritage; seemingly, to help their children develop an alternate identity they consider more favorable and feel will provide them with greater opportunities for success.

Our family is a mixture. On the Latino side, Spanish and Mexican. But if you asked them, they'll say Spanish from Spain, because it's bad to be Mexican. I was pressured to say I was Spanish, on both sides, because nothing could be worse than being Native-American. I've always known the differences, always. She's really kinda taught us to celebrate them, but we wouldn't really discuss our own [culture] because everybody else's was always cooler. We would never really talk about ourselves. I think she basically taught me that other cultures were very rich in customs, and it was good. But when we would talk about our own customs, it just didn't compare.

3.5   Denouncing and Devaluing Others' Diversity

Some families hold openly prejudiced views against people of other backgrounds, seemingly as a way to create distance between themselves and other people of color.

I come from a kind of crazy family. My mother doesn't really like Hispanics. She doesn't really like any ethnic group that's not White or [White] European. Both my parents are racially prejudiced. My father thinks that Apartheid was a good thing. It even extends to my Cuban grandparents who think that Black people are close to monkeys. They are prejudiced against African Americans and Indians and our neighbors who were from India.

3.6   Anticipating and Diffusing Racism

Parents, especially of individuals with salient physical attributes, seem very concerned about their children's safety within mainstream society and schools. They take steps to help their children cope with racism, warn them of the dangers, and prepare them in advance for dealing with it. They want to let them know what obstacles they are going to encounter later in life. They also attempt to lessen the effects of racism.

Just when you are feeling comfortable they [White/Caucasian Americans] will knock you there again and it's just a rude awakening. She [mother] just wanted me to be aware of that, they're out there, they're going to happen.

*   That I would be looked down, she made me think why the way I looked, that I was looked down, or just show me that most of White society looks down on me and expects me not to do much of anything.*

3.7   Identifying with Mainstream Society

Persons who are able to physically assimilate into the mainstream group are sometimes raised as White/Caucasians and encouraged to identify as such.

I was pressured by my mother to be [White]. I remember very distinctively her telling me that. I think I was a sophomore in college. She said that I was much luckier than my brother because when I got married I could lose this name.

She wanted me to be a White child because she had worked so hard to help me identify with the White culture.

She [mother] almost wants to identify with the White culture more than the Hispanic culture because it's a more positive image, and growing up it was always viewed more positive if you married into the White culture versus marrying someone who was not White.

Some families cannot physically assimilate as White/Caucasians but still express similar sentiments.

So, they're always wanting to identify with just being Latino, and actually, I think they would like to identify more with just being White.

3.8   Approximating Mainstream Society

If they cannot physically assimilate into the mainstream society some parents still take steps to provide their children with as many ways to approximate it as possible.

My first name is Edward. My middle name is Bryan. She [mother] didn't want me identified with being Native American. Nor did she want me being identified with being Mexican. She gave me a name, she always used to say, that would help me succeed in life. She gave me a name that identified me with the White society.

3.9   Denying and Withholding

Some parents choose not to share their backgrounds and heritage as a way of protecting their children by closing that identity option for them. Parents who had been victimized by bigotry and racism want to spare their children from similar suffering.

My mom doesn't identify at all. She won't say the Indian word. I think my identity has been withheld from me by both parents. I think there's a lot of lying that goes on. You tell your kids what they're gonna tell other people. You don't want your kids to say, "Oh, I'm Latino, African-American, or I am whatever." You tell your kids what you want them to repeat and if you don't want them to repeat that they're Native American, you're not going to say it. I don't know about outright lying, but it certainly is withholding. At either grandma's house you were never really identifying. If I were to ever say anything it would be the leather strap.

If you look at the history and even the coloration of my family, there are a few who are dark. It's like I don't deny there's Indian, but there's nobody in my family who can say where it came from. They can say where the Spanish, all this other stuff [came from].

For some, being able to speak English without an accent is a cherished accomplishment because it no longer identifies them as different. They can finally be "American" and, likewise, White/Caucasian Americans. To complete the image of full assimilation, their children have to become White/Caucasian Americans too.

I feel like that side of the family was kind of left in Cuba. He [father] doesn't really want to acknowledge any of that. It's like he doesn't want to remember that. He didn't want me to go through all the things he did when he was in school. He was learning English. He was teased and really ridiculed because he couldn't speak English. He was kind of an

outcast. I think he didn't want me to be the same, be raised the same way he was. He wanted me to be White.

3.10   Neutralizing Racism

Although it was very safe where I was, it didn't prepare me for the real world. If my parents hadn't been the ministers that they were, it kind of neutralized the whole issue, neutralized racism, I think if they hadn't neutralized the issue I could have been better equipped. As ministers, even though they talked about our history, my history, they focused on God not being prejudiced and creating all men equal.

3.11   Isolating and Withdrawing from Own Group

My mom remarried for nine years to a Black man who didn't want us to associate with Black people. He pushed more toward the Mexican because he didn't want us associated with Black.

3.12   Developing Coping and Survival Mechanisms

A few parents regularly talk to their children about strategies for dealing with racial bias and harassment in order to keep them out of trouble and enable them to survive such ordeals. This is especially the case for persons who are socially identified as African-American.

She also said watch out, because when you are places, people are watching you. When you are in stores, people are watching you. They're assuming things. Be careful around where we are. She was like you're a natural suspect for anything.

3.13   Obtaining Benefits of Mainstream Society

Along with the higher social status of White/Caucasian Americans, parents want their children to obtain the economic advantages.

If I were to marry a White man, then I'd be moving up. I'd be doing better for myself. If I married a Mexican man, I'd be doing well, not as much as marrying a White man. And if I'm marrying a Black man, that's just taking a step backwards.

Some parents choose to live within predominantly mainstream White/Caucasian American communities in order for their children to obtain a quality education.

Well, to live in a White world, my education and my schooling have helped. I was raised around White people

Sometimes, these parents want their children to learn how to live as persons of color within a "White world."

> *She was just wanting me to take whatever it was that was going to make me advance. I grew up in an all White area.*
>
> *She saw the opportunity for me to go to better schools. She's like, "I would like to think that they weren't. I'd like to think that they're equal, but they are not. Those schools [in communities of colour] aren't as good."*

3.14 Overachievement

The differential expectations of teachers towards students of color, as well as the differential treatments and rewards send the clear message that persons who are not White/Caucasian are often not expected to achieve. Students raised as White/Caucasians often live in fear of being "labeled" and becoming "minorities." They cannot acknowledge their ethnic minority background for fear of being segregated and treated differently "somehow." They fear that peers will humiliate and reject them. Children of color are taught and consequently believe that they have to do much better work than their mainstream peers in order to receive equal grades and recognition.

> *Two of them were White and the other one was Hispanic and myself. She gave me a B and she gave my other friend a B. The White girls got A's. She was always accusing me of doing something wrong, and she was always accusing the other [Latino] girl of doing something wrong. The two White girls never got in any trouble.*
>
> *I think it was the way my mom approached it. It was that's what you are. She would say things like you have to be twice as good to be as good. And you kinda understood what it meant. And she said that, I remember her saying that at seven or eight, you know, early school.*
>
> *She [mother] pushed me real hard when I was growing up because she always told me that I had to be better just to be as good as other people.*
>
> *My mom was saying, "You're Black and you have to read better, do better, challenge yourself more than they expect of you because they expect you to fall behind."*
>
> *So I needed to be better. It was just her driving. She [mother] drove me mainly as a Black person. And I think that's more of what she identified me with because of those people. So she pushed that. She pushed me into achieving and letting people know what I was.*

3.15 Developing Pride and Resiliency

To have a high and positive self-concept is considered imperative by many of the parents. Parents of children with salient African-American attributes focus on the harsh and negative treatment their children may receive as perceived African-American persons, as well as on pride in having African-American heritage.

> *She said hold your head up high. Have a good attitude about everything. Achieve, basically as a Black person, because they'll never forget that you're Black, so you can't.*
>
> *Being proud of being Black, or the accomplishments of Blacks. There was, again, a lot of emphasis on the Black aspects of who I was. They did help me define a lot of my heritage, a lot of background.*

Other parents emphasize the belief that they are as good and as equal as every-body else. Particularly, parents of multiethnic and/or multiracial children want them to have a sense of belonging.

That you're a part, you're just, and I'm not saying this is how I feel; you're just as good. You're just like everybody else. And you fit.

3.16   Developing Distrust and Self-Reliance

Well, it was mostly my mom and me. When it came time to go to school and trusting people, she would say, "Trust your family." Because you couldn't trust other people. No matter who's your really good friend, they'll never forget it [that one is Black], so you can't. She's like wherever you live this country will never let you forget it. Just when you are feeling comfortable they will knock you there again.

3.17   Focusing on Salient Attributes

If the mainstream society is going to notice and focus on an individual's salient differences, then some parents feel it necessary to also focus on those differences.

It was like more accepted to be Black than it was to be Chicano. So, my mom saw that and she pushed me on to Black, getting in touch with that, making Black friends. I think she actually pushed that.

Parents of children with salient African-American traits often discuss issues of discrimination and racism at home. They talk about civil rights and cultural diversity. This is done consciously to counteract, first the Eurocentric bias and cultural deficiency of the schools' curricula, second the schools' inability and unwillingness to teach their children positive aspects of their own backgrounds, and third the harsh realities of social racism and prejudice in US society and institutions. These parents' teachings focus on cultural diversity, respect, and tolerance, and the achievements and contributions of members of their own and other cultural groups. Overall, it appears that these parents feel that it is important for their children to affirm and value themselves as achieving and contributing members of society, to identify with positive role models that provide encouragement and motivation to succeed both academically and socially, and to develop positive ethnic self-identities as well as high and positive ethnic self-concepts.

4   School Socialization

I had to concentrate more on being different, and I remember I would just go and cry at recess. I would go off by myself in a corner and I mean we had a big yard. We didn't have any grass; it was all dirt, in the corner and just cry. And I couldn't tell you why. Oh, I didn't

have any friends. I didn't know how to make friends. I had nobody to play with and I'm thinking maybe it was part of this process of realizing whom I am. That I am different and there are no people like me. How come I'm not like everybody else? In elementary school they didn't know how to handle or diagnose what I was going through.

In addition to failing to teach children of color about themselves and the contributions persons of color have made to the USA and all humanity, schools particularly ignore persons of multiple racial and ethnic heritages (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). US society and its institutions, particularly the schools, are designed to promote mainstream ideals and values as defined through the concepts of America, American, and Americanism, and significantly, through single-group racial categorization and membership. The USA is portrayed, within the nation and throughout the world, as a White country and to be American equated with being White/Caucasian European.

> *It has been the norm in this country that "Americans" are Caucasian and of White European descent.*

Part of the concept of Americanism also appears to mean defining one's membership unequivocally within one designated "standard" US ethnic or racial group. White Europeans, with the exception of Spaniards and their descendants, cluster together as White/Caucasian Americans. In addition to their inevitable failure to approximate the ideal mainstream White/Caucasian American model, multiethnic and multiracial persons find themselves isolated and unable to fit in or belong anywhere. Multiethnic and multiracial students feel that their self-concept is inhibited because they cannot fit acceptably within any one group. They become haunted by uncertainty about who or what they are. Multiethnic and multiracial person encounter the following general types of pressures.

4.1   To Be White/Caucasian

Those who physically approximate the "White model" are pressured to be "normal," part of the "norm," or Caucasian, "Euro."

> *I couldn't be different because I would be segregated in some way.*

4.2   To Belong to Only One Ethnic or Racial Category

> *But I had to be White. I couldn't be the other part too.*

4.3   To Only Select the "Minority" Identity

Those who physically approximate the "White model" are pressured to be members of the minority group.

They tend to push you to one side and always being the minority side.
I wasn't given a choice. Instead I was labeled a minority and I wanted to find out why.

4.4   To Prove How Much They Are One or the Other

You have to prove how Latino you are, or how White you are. And if some days you don't feel like dealing with it and you run across the wrong person, you're a sellout or you're White.

> *Yes, I'm half, but I feel more a part of you [Latino], but them making that differentiation: No, you're not Mexican, you're not enough. And the other side saying, you're not enough.*

The greatest pressure is being "faceless."

Being faceless. Not faceless but in a sense you feel faceless. I didn't know who I was. My whole life, it was my quest as I got older to understand, trying to understand, being isolated as a child, being a child to have that burden.

Often, multiethnic and multiracial persons found that they were not "enough" of anything, or enough to be accepted by any group (Cruz-Janzen, 1999). As persons of color, they are rejected by the mainstream culture and as multiethnic and multiracial persons, by everyone, including their own groups.

It was like I can't get along with this side, I can't get along with that side, what is going on? Why? Where do I go? No matter what I did somebody was always mad at me.

Many multiethnic and/or multiracial persons in the USA, particularly those with salient attributes that distinguish them as persons of color, feel that they manage to complete their P/K–12 schooling and are successful today in spite of the schools, not because of them. Many did not become conscious of how the educational system had undermined them until becoming labeled "minority" in high school. Persons raised as White/Caucasian Americans agree that as White persons attending White schools, the educational system supported them. After getting labeled, they felt very much encumbered by the school system and realized how they had been hurt all along.

I still have some negative feelings about things that were said to me, comments made. I think it hindered me in junior high school and elementary school. I think it hindered how I saw myself.

Following are the ways some students of color react to the schools and their Eurocentric knowledge:

– The idea of being thought of as less capable may serve as a motivator.

Oh, he's Latino. He is not going to be in this programme or whatever. It helped me because it was motivating. I knew I was as good as any other kid. My mom always told me so.

– Some persons want to be able to change the way things are.

I aspired to be a lawyer. I wanted to change things. I didn't know how or what needed to be changed, but I knew something had to change.

– Recognizing the deficiency of their P/K–12 schooling prompts others to get help.

   It made me work harder. It made me hungrier when I got to college because I was so far behind that I needed remediation.

– Most decide to learn the truth.

   When I started taking history lessons I was enraged. I was like how dare you teach me this crap for twelve years! How dare you do this to me! This isn't true. You lied. So much history is false.

– Finding out what is "enough" to belong to any group or groups and what is enough to be American sometimes becomes a quest.

   Learning what is the truth. What is really enough? If you tell me I'm not enough, then I'm going to find out, what is enough?

– Being constantly questioned and having to question themselves often makes the difference for some persons. The pursuit for answers gives them a better understanding of themselves and what it takes to succeed in the schools and society.

– Building up some internal anger can become a catalyst and encouragement.

   I actually think that they made me succeed. Maybe not wanting to, but their behaviour, their attitude, being negative, it kinda builds some anger inside. At the same time, if you use that anger or that energy that you're building up inside, it can go one way or the other. I think I chose to make the best of it and prove that, sure I could be different, but I could be better than you.

– Anger and frustration may lead to the development of isolating shields, "blinders," against the constant rejection.

   I think the school system didn't offer me anything. They didn't really help. I think this in a way is the reason why the educational system, not through their help but through their design, helped me to get where I got. Because I came to the point where I'm not like everybody else. It doesn't apply to me.

– Learning how to think and talk like Whites helps some persons get through.

   I got very good grades and I accelerated a lot, as long as I thought like them. As long as I thought like them, I could do well in my studies.

It is agreed that being forced to choose only one ethnic or racial self-identity from their backgrounds hinders self-concept. As a result, some multiethnic and/multiracial persons *always want to be White*, and not persons of color or even multiethnic or multiracial. Although it is agreed that "a lot of racial things" go on in schools, it is also agreed that these tend to be ignored. Schools are described as acting to deny and/or conceal diversity conflicts even though it is known that racist experiences are very demeaning and traumatic for young children. It is also known that children of all ages can be, and often are, cruel and mean to each other, particularly when they are not taught to value and respect human diversity at home or the schools. For example, the differential expectations and treatment of students of color by school personnel are well noted by students:

   I'd get in and they wouldn't expect much from me. I could have slept in classes. They wouldn't have cared.

He was really smart, but because they had such low expectations of him, they never expected him to turn in his homework. Whereas they would have expected that of the David Smiths.

I was expected not to be as good. You had a sense that somehow you didn't have to achieve.

Everyone is so surprised when there is a minority valedictorian. No one says anything when there's a White valedictorian. It's like expected.

When a minority child accomplishes something great in academics, it's just really surprising.

I could get my work done and get good grades. Classes were easy for me. It would get me by. It was not expected by my teachers for me to do better than I was doing.

It's so easy [to get by]. It's okay if they [students of colour] don't [achieve]. It's rare, and it's very special if you made it.

I had different expectations than other people and I've just been relaxed. Just achieve what is expected and just get by.

It was kind of painfully obvious watching other students who are doing sub-par work, but they were White, and they were getting great grades. I would do better work, and my grades weren't the same.

Of significance is that students of color, particularly African-Americans, seem to be steered toward athletics even when they are achieving academically. Regardless of their interest in other endeavors, such as drama, too often they find themselves channeled in the direction of athletics. Capable students of color, particularly African-Americans and Hispanics/Latinos, go into sports as their only way to be recognized as part of the schools. Once in athletics it seems that they are steered even further away from academic achievement through "privileges" such as not doing class work while getting passing grades to keep them in sports, and being excused from academic courses such as algebra that are needed for higher education. Students of color, particularly African-Americans, tend to disappear unless they become athletes.

I know there were other Black students, but other Black students kind of blended into the background. He was the only one that stood out as being African-American.

Five types of comments are consistently made about African-American students or multiethnic and/or multiracial children perceived as African-American:

1. They are either in trouble or expected to be/get in trouble.

   I always remember he was an outcast. He was always getting kicked out of class.

2. They are severely mistreated.

   Dan was very dark. He was Latino but he was biracial. I remember they used to call him very mean names. Really, really bad. He was like in second grade.

3. Schools have the lowest expectations of them.

   I had a friend, a Black friend, he was like one of three in the school. They would have extremely low expectations of him.

4. They are "jocks" and "athletes."

   My brother and I, we were put on pedestals. We were great athletes.

5. They are not important and, if not in trouble, tend to be invisible.

Most teachers are White/Caucasian; yet, are often unprepared to work with diverse student populations. They either ignore their students' diversity or expect students of color to be the "authority" about their ethnic groups. Students recognized:

> *White teachers often know nothing [or little] about anyone else except White people.*

They focus class attention on students of color individually whenever class discussions are about people of color. It is also noted that too many teachers do not notice or bring up the potential of students of color.

> *Besides that one teacher that pulled me aside and put me on the right track, to me no one noticed the potential. Just one teacher happened to notice. A teacher that nobody liked. She was White, but she saw me.*

Achieving students of color get "pigeonholed" or "sidetracked" by teachers and other school personnel. Some are tracked into early enlistment into the US military to pursue vocational career, such as car mechanics and welding, even though they are high-achieving students who should be advised about college opportunities instead.

> *And he asked me, "What do you want to go to college for?"*

In addition to self-denial, withholding, and overachievement, students of color, particularly those of multiethnic and/or multiracial heritage, adopt measures to facilitate their success and survival within the schools.

4.5 Finding Identity Within Acceptable Groups

They find the "jocks" and "athletes." They find the "bad kids" and "weird kids." For the most part these groups represent persons who look like them, are like them, or represent "social outcasts" like them.

4.6 Distrusting and Challenging Authority

> *Authority figures, I was always on the defensive with them. They were just never going to tell me anything.*
> *I felt that half the time I didn't have to pay attention to them [teachers]. I would just take bits and pieces from them.*

4.7 Attracting Attention and Overcompensating

Some persons discover that they have other talents such as being able to laugh at themselves or make others laugh, often at them, or find ways to attract attention toward themselves. It is also relevant to note that another popular stereotype of the

US media is that people of color, especially African-Americans, are athletes, comedians, or even both.

> *I was always in gifted programmes because I was loud. I was loud. I was, I'm going to sound like a sociopath. I was not gonna be ignored. I was a class clown. I was. I was loud.*
>
> *I was a clown. I was the class clown. That was another talent I had, making people laugh, at me. I had learned to laugh at myself. I was very defiant.*

4.8 Accepting the Stereotypes

> *I was not expected to succeed in academics anyway, so I played into the stereotypes – you're a good athlete. The stereotype is you can't do school work, go play basketball.*

Accepting the stereotypes is often a way of finding acceptable replacements for the inability to be acknowledged academically. Sports provide capable students of color with an avenue for being accepted and perceived as part of the school culture. Equally important is that eventually most students of color succumb to the lower expectations. Students of color, even those who are academic achievers eventually begin to accept the stereotypes and "slack off" in school.

4.9 Becoming Docile and Invisible

> *I dedicated myself to just sitting there throughout the class. I went to class but I wasn't doing the work. Yes, that was my image of the proper student; just go to class and sit there.*

4.10 Isolating Themselves

This isolation could be physical. Often, though, it is emotional and psychological.

> *I came to the point where I'm not like everybody else. It doesn't apply to me. I'm not marching to the wrong drum. Everybody else is off. You're not talking to me. That doesn't apply to me. I went on and trudged forth.*
>
> *I was always in competition with myself because in my mind, I was the only one. I didn't see anybody else out there that was like me. It drove me to be the best in the world.*

School experiences, even very early ones starting in P/K and first grade, when children come into contact with schools and other children, impact the ethnic and racial self-identity and self-concept. Although youngsters notice differences, schools regularly ignore that those differences assume extremely significant social status implications, when it is so important to have friends.

> *How come I'm not like everybody else. I wanted to be like them. I just wanted to be like everybody else, and I was lucky because I could pass really well.*

Persons with salient attributes express feeling more at ease at schools with predominant populations of color because predominantly mainstream White/Caucasian schools reinforce for them that they are different and do not belong with their peers. They notice the following.

4.11 Bias Against Them by Children As Well As Adults

In elementary school, some persons begin suppressing their heritage because of ridicule by other children and adults.

4.12 Teachers' Lower Expectations for Students of Color

I did better work. I worked to be better than everybody. I could have slept in classes. They wouldn't have cared.

4.13 Children's Differential Treatment of Each Other

As early as first grade, students begin noticing the differential treatment and expectations, along with the physical and psychological segregation. Consequently, they begin to segregate themselves by ethnicity or race and go their separate ways.

4.14 Teachers' Pretended Blindness Toward Children's Diversity

Children often have questions about other children's physical differences but teachers do not explain and pretend that there are no differences.

4.15 Children Noticing Differences

Again, it is important to note that students as well as teachers make it obviously clear that they do notice physical human differences, including race. Both teachers and children in early elementary school react surprised and point out that parents of multiethnic and/or multiracial children look different from them. Many multiethnic and/or multiracial children recall the pain such actions and statements brought them, even at such young ages.

That's your mother? That woman is White!

4.16   Not Relating to the Curriculum

Regular surveys of first- and second-year college students verify that most who completed their education at typical P/K–12th grade US schools, including students of color, have little recollection about learning "Black history, Hispanic history, any of that" in elementary schools (Cruz-Janzen, 2000). They hold memories of looking at pictures in books of traditional White/Eurocentric experiences trying to understand them. Unfortunately, most of the time they could not find any clues, as the images did not relate to experiences familiar to them (Cruz-Janzen, 1997).

4.17   Not Receiving Adequate Assistance

The incredible overrepresentation of students of color in remedial/compensatory program, particularly special education, indicates that schools are excessively concerned about testing children of color away from mainstream classrooms and academic programs. In spite of all their emotional and psychological tests, the schools overlook a major factor impacting the school's achievement of numerous multiracial and/or multiethnic students: their inability to fit in anywhere.

4.18   Noticing Socioeconomic Differences

Children also notice socioeconomic differences and whether they fit in.

> I never had to worry about how I dressed. I never had to worry about whether I was wearing an Izod shirt.

All the themes presented above continue throughout middle school, with the issues of fitting in and belonging becoming accentuated during this period. This is a period when student groups or "cliques" start becoming more formalized and structured. It becomes extremely important to belong to a group by then. Multiethnic and multiracial students find themselves without clear directions, rejected by all. High school continues to be defined as "cliquish" by most persons. Cliques become more noticeable and socially forceful. It is at this time that the issue of ethnic and racial self-identity moves to the forefront as an ongoing concern for multiethnic and multiracial individuals. Worrying about their ethnic self-identity becomes constant, stressful, tiring, and time-consuming. This constant worrying hinders academic achievement because multiethnic and multiracial students cannot concentrate on schoolwork. There begins much peer pressure to belong to a certain group. Not only do they have to "choose" one group to identify with, they have to do so officially through forms required for college applications. They discover that being minority requires being a full minority and identification with the group with the lowest status. For most persons junior and senior years become crucial.

I think it happened when I was maybe my senior year in high school that I made that decision.
I didn't really identify or realize that until that senior year when I started getting labeled.
What do I call myself? When I was applying for college it became an issue.
High school was that point when I had to pick who I was.

5   Peer Socialization

I probably felt more expectations from my Mexican, Hispanic friends because there's more of a struggle there. You really had to work hard to prove who you are, and I think I had to live up to their expectations as far as my own ethnic background, whereas my White friends, they weren't really ethnically aware of anything. I didn't have to prove myself to them.

Throughout this discussion, we have seen the significant role of peers in the process of ethnic and racial self-identity and self-concept in persons of color, particularly multiethnic and multiracial persons. Whether as friends or acquaintances, in all settings, peers exert a powerful influence. Sometimes this influence is indirect.

By actions, the things we did, programmes we watched on TV, the lingo, and so on.

At other times, the influence is very direct.

My friends in high school always pushed me. They were the ones that were trying to talk me out of joining the [military], were trying to talk me into going to [college]. We are talking about most of my friends who didn't graduate. These were the guys that were really pushing me. As far as right now, a lot of them are still my motivation.

Clearly, peers can exert significant pressure toward school achievement and involvement. Whether subtle or direct, peer messages are undeniably very impactful.

They didn't expect me to do better than I was doing either.

Peers exert pressure toward ethnic and racial self-identity and hold their group memberships like a carrot on a stick. Group membership can be denied, with deep emotional consequences for those rejected. Peer group membership often requires unique rituals of acceptance, including "proving" one's undivided and unequivocal ethnic or racial self-identity and loyalty to the group. Multiethnic and/or multiracial children are often forced to prove how much they are of one group or the other. The rituals of acceptance include pressure to debase, undercut, or relinquish part of oneself. Often, they are expected to make jokes and use words against White/Caucasians or the group in their own background perceived as the enemy. This is termed, "proving oneself," "showing one's true colors," or "showing one's face." In having "more of a struggle" to prove "who you really are" to friends of color they are expected to engage in telling "White jokes" and use words that debase and reject one part of themselves. This becomes a painful struggle.

For a time it did affect my self-concept, because I thought one part of me was something bad. A part of me was bad people, they do bad things, dark-skinned and conniving.

It is human nature to want and often feel the need for friends. Peer acceptance and belonging become important when children enter schools and continue to be significant throughout their lives and well into adulthood. Yet, upon leaving the safety home nest, many students of color become subjected to racial abuse at the hands of peers.

> *A young person, who I'll never forget, to this day, if I were to see him, I would probably injure him really bad. He was our neighbor, very racist family.*
>
> *That's your sister? She's Indian. You're a half-breed!*
>
> *They'd make fun of my hair, the thickness of my hair. My skin is too dark. They would call me nigger, something derogatory, Black. The boys especially, they'd let me know they didn't think I was attractive.*
>
> *Learning geography, the map of the African continent, it says Niger. Everybody said it was nigger. Everybody was making a joke, of course not loud enough for the teacher but so that I can hear it. "It must be okay if they have a country, a place called nigger in Africa. It must be acceptable because they wouldn't have named themselves that." I felt so low because I knew they were teasing me.*

Peer group acceptance and belonging become recurring themes, with apparently increasing prominence, as persons move up the school levels. Additionally, it seems that acceptance into some group is preferred to no membership at all. Some multiethnic and multiracial individuals cannot find acceptance anywhere and create their own groups.

> *It's important to have someone who is just like you.*

6   Education Policy Recommendations

Multiethnic and/or multiracial persons make several recommendations for curricular reform (Cruz-Janzen, 1997).

1. Schools must work in collaborative partnership with the communities they claim to represent and serve. They must value, respect, and affirm such communities.
2. Teachers, and everyone involved in the education, must examine the "baggage" they bring to the teaching/learning environment.
3. Curricula must stop presenting a White male Eurocentric view of the world.
4. American history must stop focusing on the negative aspects of non-European history and heritage.
5. American history must become accurate and truthful: *Tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.*
6. Curricula must be inclusive of people of color and stop making persons of color feel un-American.
7. Curricula must stop portraying the USA as the "Great White Country" and the "Best [and most civilized] nation on Earth," while portraying other countries and peoples as inferior.

8. Curricula must become relevant to, and representative of, children of color, including multiethnic and multiracial children.
9. Curricula must support and enhance the positive self-identity and self-concept of all students of color, including multiethnic and multiracial children.
10. Curricula must provide numerous and a variety of persons of color as positive role models.
11. Curricula must stop undermining the academic achievement of students of color.
12. Curricula must increase focus on tolerance and respect for human diversity.
13. Curricula must provide opportunities for students of color to demonstrate their many talents through validity for other forms of knowledge.
14. Schools must remove negative educators and those resistant to change.
15. Schools must not allow biased attitudes, behaviors, and language.
16. Schools must teach about ethnicity and races as well the government's demographic categories.
17. Schools must provide lots of opportunities to explore race and racism in the USA and other parts of the world, both current and historical.
18. Curricula must be inclusive of other perspectives and present history from other points of views.
19. Curricula must provide more human options and culturally authentic materials in schools.
20. Inclusive curricula must be made mandatory across all grade levels.

The first step in curricular evaluation and reform is reflective self-exploration. Teachers, and all educators, must genuinely and realistically know who they are by turning the mirror on themselves and engaging in honest should-searching and instrospection. They must examine their own beliefs and attitudes and ask (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004):

1. How did I become who I am? How did I learn what is expected and appropriate for me as the person I am – based on gender, race, ethnicity, language, religion, socioeconomic status, physical appearance, abilities and disabilities, and other forms of human diversity?
2. How do I define or identify people I consider similar to me? People who are not like me? Which human diversity attributes about those persons do I consider similar or different from my own?
3. What values and beliefs do I hold that are aligned with those of the mainstream dominant culture, and which are different?
4. How do I feel about single races, single-race unions and families, and single-race children? How do I feel about my own race? If I had a choice, which race or ethnicity would I choose for myself?
5. Knowing that there are no pure races, how do I feel about my own interracial family history? Am I willing to publicly proclaim my own racially mixed heritage?
6. How do I feel about interracial and interethnic persons, unions and families, and children? Would I be involved in such unions? Why or why not?

7. Why did I choose to be an educator? How do I feel about working with children from racial, ethnic, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds different than my own?

Following are additional curriculum and policy recommendations for teachers, education professors, and educational leaders (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004):

 1. Admit that racism still exists throughout the world and is reemerging in some places. Develop skills for combating racism in society and the schools.
 2. Understand the historical development of racial classifications around the world and how they continue perpetuating conquest and exploitation.
 3. Understand the historical development of racial classification in the USA and how they are connected to the nation's history of slavery.
 4. Become globally competent and understand how we are all interconnected and interdependent.
 5. Understand that there is no racial purity anywhere on Earth as all humans have mixed racially and ethnically throughout the history of humankind – even White Europeans have a long history of racial mixing prior to coming to the Western Hemisphere (Zack, 2002).
 6. Recognize that each person is foremost an individual unlike any other.
 7. Recognize that we each live within overlapping spheres of diversity that cannot be separated from each other. As such, we are each privileged and marginalized in some aspect of our diversity intersections.
 8. Understand various theories of racial and ethnic identity development and how they apply to all persons, including those of multiethnic and/or multiracial heritage.
 9. Understand your own socialization, including gender, race, ethnicity, culture, age, physical appearance, abilities and disabilities, language, religion, and social class. Analyze how you perceive members of your own groups and those you consider different.
10. Understand your own ethnic and racial identity development. Learn about your own diverse racial and ethnic heritage.
11. Accept that the only way to deal with prejudice is to admit it exists, that we all experience it, and are confronting it.
12. Understand how racial classifications are sociopolitical, rather than biological, and how they shift across places and time. Understand how they are structured to maintain social inequities and power structures that benefit a few at the expense of many.
13. Develop skills to confront racism and discrimination as well as prepare children to confront it themselves. Never tell children to "ignore" them, particularly to ignore their tormentors.
14. Recognize that we are all racially mixed, that multiethnic and multiracial persons are normal and are entitled to legitimate membership in society as members of multiple heritages rather than as members of only one group in their background.
15. Believe that children of color, including multiethnic and multiracial children, have equal capacity to succeed as mainstream White/Caucasian students.
16. Find all the ways you can support multiethnic and multiracial children and families.

17. Pressure schools and publishers to develop curricula that make all children, including multiethnic and multiracial, equitably represented and affirmed.
18. Ensure that conferences and training for all educators focus on multicultural and diversity issues and address the needs of multiethnic and multiracial children and their families.
19. Learn about multiethnic and multiracial persons from history, literature, the arts, mathematics, medicine, government, and all curricular areas.
20. Ensure that you never present lessons or activities that require multiethnic and multiracial children to reject, hide, or devalue any part of their heritage.
21. Learn how to provide many opportunities for all children, including multiethnic and multiracial, to explore their complex and rich backgrounds.
22. Never, ever, expect multiethnic and multiracial children to select only one category on school forms; never try to convince them that selecting one of the many options is somehow more politically correct or responsible.
23. Continually deconstruct any curricular goal, objective, or content that implies one group of people is somehow better than another in activities, abilities, proficiencies, or intelligence.
24. Critically examine all curricular materials and programs for bias, stereotypes, and misinformation. Actively research ways to actively include multiethnic and multiracial people and their accomplishments in the curriculum.
25. Include real and symbolic multiethnic and multiracial persons in all areas of the curriculum.

7 Conclusion

As the above discussion demonstrates, the first goal of P/K–12th education must be to prepare each child to develop his/her potentials with freedom to choose their own destiny – based on interests, abilities, likes, and passions, rather than gender, race, ethnicity, mixed race or ethnicity, or ability/disability (Zajda, 2008a). No child should ever be taught that they cannot develop their potential and reach their goals because "I'm a girl," "I'm White," "I'm Black," "I'm mixed race," etc. (Wardle and Cruz-Janzen, 2004). In the spirit of equity, social justice, and true multicultural and global education, schools and all social institutions must acknowledge and learn to work effectively with this new and emerging population (Zajda et al., 2006; Zajda, 2008b).

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Gender Stereotypes, Class Prejudice and Female Warriors in the Depiction of Women in Year 6 Greek Primary School History Textbooks (1970–1983 and 1997–2006)

Stilianos Meselidis

1 Gender Stereotypes in Historical Narratives in Greek History School Textbooks

Plutarch (*c.*50–120 C.E.) in recording the sayings of Ancient Spartan women (700–371 B.C.E.) described one woman as saying, when handing her son his shield for war, *i tan i epi tas* which means, 'return either alive and victorious carrying the shield, or lying dead upon it after a fight to the finish' (Plutarch, 1988, pp. 157–163). Plutarch's depiction of ancient Spartan women, has found popularity in year 6 government primary school history textbooks, in Greece, between 1970–1983 and 1997–2006. It is a theme which involves the depiction of some modern Greek women, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as brave warriors prepared to sacrifice their children and themselves in the struggle against Greece's modern enemies. It is during such occasions that women, in the textbooks, are depicted as acquiring equal social status to men and even, on occasion, surpassing men in leadership and bravery against foreign invaders (Pettifer, 1993). However, except for such occasions, the textbooks generally make a clear dichotomy between roles that belong to men and those that belong to women, which are exclusive of each other especially in the 1970–1983 texts. By doing so, they purposely stereotype or make assumptions regarding their status in relation to men or give precedence to middle class women over other women of lower socio-economic status background (Asimomitis et al., 2004, Boatswain Nicolson, 1989, Connell, 2002, De Castell, 1991, Moshona, 2006, Epihiriseon, 2005).

The Greek government, since 2000, has been under pressure, after signing the Lisbon Agreement, to make policies which increase female participation in the

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workforce and government by 2010. As a result, there are now three female ministers in the current government of Kostas Karamanlis (elected in 2004), which include Dora Bakoyiannis (the first female minister of foreign affairs), Marietta Yiannakou (minister for education and religious affairs) and Fani Palli-Petralia (the minister for tourism). However, the government still needs to do more, at the policy level, for women. Greek women are still under-represented in the workplace with 46.1% participation whereas in the EU25 the average percentage of women working is 56.3% (Eurostat, 2006a, pp. 1–7). Greek women are generally paid about 10% less than Greek men in the average wage (Eurostat, 2006a, p. 4). They also tend to experience higher unemployment rates than men, as on January 2006, with 15.3% out of work compared to 6.4% for men (Eurostat, 2006a, p. 4), which implies, perhaps, employer discrimination against them (Lisbon process, 2005, Nanouris, 2005, Richardson 2006).

This chapter proposes to examine the biases in the representations of women in the textbooks, with strong discussion of the political and social tensions of Greek society which influence these depictions. It will also suggest ways in which future textbooks, scheduled to be printed for September 2006, could be improved to provide better role models for all women, regardless of socio-economic status background, which will 'equalize' their status in relation to men (constantinidis 2006, Constitution of Greece 2006, Mercouri 1986, Papoulias, 2006).

2 Conceptual Framework

School textbooks, as curricula, are never neutral. They often legitimate certain 'existing social patterns and relationships of dominance and subordination' (Apple, 1993, 1995 a, b, pp. 91–106, Apple 1998 and 2004; Callawaert, 1999; Carr Kemmis, 1986; Freeden, 2003; Gramsci, 1971; Marx Engels, 1965; Trew 1979). School history textbooks, in particular, are not exempted from such processes and concerns (Zajda, 2002, pp. 199–222; Crawford, 2002, pp. 1–21; Zajda, 2007, 2008). From a Greek context, there is evidence that respective Greek governments have tried to legitimate a certain hegemony of men over women through the **ideology** of school textbooks for political and social reasons. This involves their 'explanations or interpretations of social reality which, although presented as objective, is demonstrably partial' (Anyon, 1977, p. 363). The interpretation and omission of historical events and personalities for ideological agendas, is a common concern of all historical writing (Saha, 2006, p. 9; Zajda and Zajda, 2003, p. 368; Zajda 2005b; Zajda 2006; Zajda et al 2008b; Zajda and Whitehouse, 2008) and one which I hope to examine in the textbooks under consideration.

Globalisation has been defined narrowly or widely in the past (De Botton, 2001, p. 46; Ellwood, 2001; Ruthven, 2005, pp. 40–46; Zajda, 2005a; Zajda et al., 2008a). However, here, it is defined as the influence of supranational organisations, such as the European Union, on Greek society, culture, economy and politics. It includes an examination of the attempts made by the church and nation state to maintain what

they regard as key values and ideals of Greek identity in reaction to changing social realities, such as individuality, demographic change and consumer culture spurred on by Greece's integration into the European Union since 1981.

Gender is defined, in this chapter, as 'the cultural definitions of behaviour defined as appropriate to the sexes in a given society at a given time' (Green and Troup, 1999, p. 253). In analysing gender stereotypes, it is important to recall that all cultures are different, and that the depiction of female gender role models, cannot always be culturally judged by 'North American approaches (which are) mainly based on the premise that all women are essentially the same' (Bill Hookes, quoted in Green and Troup, 1999, p. 255). However, western-centred cultural understandings of gender equality in the status of men and women, do and should apply, to some extent, to Greece. Greece has been part of 'the Western World' since its independence in 1828. As an established member of the European Union (1981) and Eurozone (2001), it is expected to share the same approximate social concerns about female social inequality as other major European nations.

3   Methodology

This chapter will use **historical-comparative methodology** (hereinafter referred to as 'H-C research'). It is interdisciplinary in its methodology, and includes external and internal criticism of primary and secondary documents (Neuman, 2000, p. 382, Fairclough 1992; Mills 1997; Foucault 1978 and 1979; Wiersma, 2006). I have critically examined the school textbooks as products of their time, place and function in accordance with H-C research principles (see also Hebermas, 1979; Mannheim, 1936; Morrison 2001). My specific concentration was on the school history textbooks used between 1970–1983 and 1997–2006, which coincided with accelerated social, economic, cultural and political change, in the lead-up and aftermath to Greece's admission to the then European Economic Community in 1981, and the Eurozone in 2001, respectively. Since 1974, Greece has enjoyed stable democratic government (Vougiouka, 1974, Woodhouse 1998; Zambeta 2002; Zoulas 2005).

A critical content analysis was made of three year 6 primary school government history textbooks.

(a) The first of these was published in 1971 (hereafter referred to as 'the 1971 edition') by 'the Colonels', an autocratic military regime (1967–1974) and has 182 pages. It is written by Kostas Sakkadakis and was used between 1968 until the late 1970s.

(b) The second text, *Elliniki Istoria ton Neoteron Hronon* (Greek History of Modern Times), was written by N. Diamantopoulou and A. Kyriazopoulou, and was used between 1979 and 1983. The text I critically examined was the 1983 edition and has 195 pages (hereafter referred to as 'the 1983 edition').

(c) The third textbook is the 2001 edition of the same history textbook with 288 pages, and was used in its latest amended form between 1997 until 2006. It

is written by D. Aktypis, A. Velalidis, M. Kaila, T. Katsoulakos, J. Papagrigoriou, and K. Horeanthis (hereafter referred to as 'the 2001 edition') (Aktypis et al., 2004 and 2005; Karamanlis 2005; Kleida 1972; Koulouri and Venturas, 1994).

The content areas of the school history textbooks in question, deal with the period from 1453 until the present, with specific emphasis on the Greek revolution of 1821–1828 against the Ottoman Empire. The history textbooks under examination were written by a variety of historians who were responsible to the Greek government under a centralized system of public education similar to that of the Russian Federation (European Information Network (Eurydice, 2000, p. 39 Simitis, 2005). The government funds, produces and publishes all primary and secondary school textbooks, which must be used for their specified subjects and has complete control over their curriculum content (Sigalas, 2005). All quotations from the school textbooks themselves are translations from the Greek made by myself.

4   Wives, Mothers and Homemakers in a Global Culture

If there is one common continuity in Greek history primary school textbooks between 1970 and 1983, it is the predominant image of women as wives, mothers, homemakers, sisters and carers. The 1971 edition, almost without any exception, whenever it makes reference to women, is explicitly or implicitly referring to married women or mothers. The women of the semi-independent highland clans of the Souliots in Epirus, north-western Greece, who resisted Ottoman occupation between 1790 and 1803,1971 are married with children (Sakkadaki, pp. 41, 44 and 46). The wealthy female shipping tycoon, Bouboulina, who sacrifices her fortune for the Greek revolution (1821–1828), is 'widowed' with sons whom she also offers to the Greek cause (Sakkadaki, 1971, p. 61). The women of the island of Psara, in the Aegean sea, are depicted, in a pictorial, clutching their babies as they are slaughtered by the Ottomans in reprisal for their island's audacity to rebel against the Ottoman Empire in 1824. In the 1983 edition, Diamantopoulou and Kyriazopoulou reinforce the married status of women. There is an illustration of one woman sobbing inconsolably, as the Ottomans take her children away for admission to the Janissary core, *the paidomazoma*. This was an obligation that persisted until the end of the seventeenth century, which required Christian families to surrender a young son or sons to the Ottoman state, who would in turn raise them as Muslim elite soldiers or bureaucrats (Clogg, 1992, p. 14). The 1983 edition avoids discussing the single status of any of its female heroines, or even hinting at it, even though Manto Mavrogenous (1796–1840), a great heroine of the Greek war of Independence, who is given prominence in the text (Diamantopoulou and Kyriazopoulou , 1983, p. 67), never married. However, recent editions of the same text (1997–2006) also promote the same theme, although not as vigorously as the 1971 and 1983 editions. In the

2001 edition, women are depicted in pictorials with babies, weaving wool while children play at their feet, eating with men and children around the family table (Aktypis et al., 2001, pp. 48–49) and serving food to the family, albeit during Ottoman times.

Obviously, there is a set of assumptions regarding female and male gender roles which the 1971 and 1983 texts assent to without question. Females are essentially 'destined' for a life within the family, as wives and mothers. Their business is to occupy themselves with the domestic activities of the household such as raising babies, kneading bread or weaving. Their life is essentially a private and docile one. Men, on the other hand, are mainly depicted in the 1971 and 1983 editions, as leading lives in 'the public domain', such as being involved in politics and government, going to work in order to support their families, exploring, getting into adventures and showing leadership and intellect. Thus in both the 1971 and 1983 editions, all the Greek intellectuals referred to are men, such as Rigas Pheraios (1757–1798) and Adamantios Korais (1743–1833) (Sakkadaki, 1971, pp. 28–32; Diamantopoulou et al., 1981, pp. 28–31, 182–185); all the Greek politicians are men (Sakkadaki, 1971, pp. 140–175; Diamantopoulou, et al., 1981, pp. 144–181); all the shepherds, farmers, policemen and brigands are men (Sakkadaki, 1971, pp. 22–27, 41–47; Diamantopoulou et al., 1981, pp. 19–23). This clear dichotomy in gender roles, I submit, undermined the status of women in relation to men, between 1970 and 1983. It probably gave female students of the time the impression that their gender had not done anything considerable towards promoting Greece and its culture, other than bear babies. It, perhaps, gave them the impression that the 'social relations appearing (in the texts) were natural and inevitable' (Jordan and Weedon cited in Green and Troup, 1999, p. 253), thus any woman deviating from the textbooks' gender role ideology could be subject to ridicule and scorn. It is not surprising, therefore, that the dictatorship of military men, who ruled Greece between 1967 and 1974, (the Colonels), and who commissioned and funded Sakkadakis' 1971 edition, had no women in their cabinet (General Secretariat of the Greek government, 2005). Also, they ridiculed and persecuted, much more vehemently, women political activists who opposed them, compared to men. Thus, in 1967, the late Melina Mercouri (actress and later minister for Culture (1920–1994)) was stripped of her citizenship and in 1968, a failed assassination attempt was made against her in Genoa (Anastasi, 1994, p. 10).

Yet, there have always been women in Greek society who have defied the traditional norm of life within marriage. A good example is Teresa Damala – a pseudonym designed to protect her prominent family's good name, even today – who was a Greek socialite. In the early 1920s, she lobbied the ruling classes of Europe to promote the Greek cause in the Greco-Turkish war of the early 1920s. She had prominent lovers, one of whom was the 20-year-old, World War 1 ambulance driver, Ernest Hemingway (Alexakis, 1997, pp. 54–56). As 'a beautiful, spirited redhead with a keen mind and acerbic tongue' (Alexakis, p. 54), she stands out as a female role model who defies all the female stereotypes of school textbook characters discussed previously. I can

see no reason why women like her cannot also be included as heroines in future year 6 primary school history textbooks, especially as she embodies qualities such as initiative, drive, patriotism and intelligence which are much valued human resource qualities for a country's success in globalisation. Another example, like her, is Marika Kotopouli (1886–1954), who is mentioned, only by name, in the 2001 edition at page 270. However, that textbook avoids giving any details about her life or personality. Kotopouli was closely associated with the leading politician of her day, Ion Dragoumis (1878–1920), and persistently shied away from marriage proposals (Nikolouli, 1988, pp. 30–31). She nevertheless was the leading stage actress of her generation (1902–1952), and an entrepreneurial woman who set up her own stage theatre in 1937. However, none of this is mentioned in the 2001 edition, even though successful entrepreneurial women, who happen to be highly cultured also, is what Greece needs to succeed in globalisation.

In the textbooks from 1970 until 1974, women are not encouraged to acquire an education either. Except for Manto Mavrogenous, 'a rich girl who studied the ancient classics', all other women referred to in the 1971 edition, appear to be without education as it is never mentioned *or* implied in their biographical details (Sakkadaki, 1971, p. 62). This is of course in contrast to the male characters, where the 1970–1974 texts go to great lengths, at every occasion, to mention any university credentials they might have had. Thus, in giving an account of the three founders of the Philiki Etaireia ('the Friendly Society'), the secret society that prepared the way for the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire in 1821, they describe Nikolaos Skoufas as a 'no nonsense, practical man' (no educational qualifications mentioned because he didn't have any), Athanasios Tsakalof as 'having studied in Moscow and Paris' and Emmanuel Xanthos as having 'studied at the Academy at Patmos' (Sakkadaki, 1971, p. 49).

5   Clever Politically Ambitious Women or Femmes Fatales?

Also women with political influence over powerful men in the 1970–1974 textbooks are presented as evil. Ali Pasha's brutality and ruthlessness towards 'a multitude of powerful Greeks and Turks', as Ottoman governor of Epirus in 1778, is attributed to his mother. The following sentence for example, taken from the 1971 edition, demonises her by implying that her depravity influenced Ali Pasha's upbringing: 'Hamko, his mother, had raised him, and she was well known for her brutality' (Sakkadaki, 1971, p. 42). Although some historians have suggested that Ali Pasha was indeed brutal in personality, there is no evidence in the secondary sources that I have examined that necessarily attributes this trait to his mother's upbringing (Bougiouklis et al., 1985, pp. 70 and 83; Woodhouse, 1991, p. 126). The 1971 edition omits to mention that much of Ali's 'evil' nature had been acquired by his association with vicious brigands during much of his early and adult life. Moreover, Hamko's 'upbringing' could not have been half as bad, given that Ali also had a cultured and progressive outlook as governor. Under his rule (1780–1820) the then Ottoman province of Epirus flourished in building construction, fashion, trade,

handicrafts and education from which the local Greek population benefited enormously (Woodhouse, 1991, p. 126). Hamko receives no credit for instilling this positive side to Ali's personality, in terms of his excellent administrative skills and promotion of culture.

The 1983 edition, in comparison, avoids to refer to any politically influential women. Such women receive no mention at all in the text. Hamko is not mentioned at all in the text (Diamantopoulou and Kyriazopoulou, 1983, p. 46). Queen Amalia who was influential at her husband's (King Otto) court between 1832 and 1862 when he ruled Greece is not mentioned at all either (Diamantopoulou and Kyriazopoulou, 1983, pp. 149–151). Both the 1971 and 1983 editions by either criticising politically powerful women *or* by their complete silence in raising the issue, respectively, are legitimating the social denial of female influence in political life. They do this by making such women an object of scorn, as in Hamko's case in the 1971 edition. By denying to discuss such role models, the 1981 edition implies that they regard such women as an embarrassment or poor role-model examples, because they deviate from the docility and domesticity that is normally socially expected of females in traditional Greek society. The Greek media, for instance, has often treated independently willed, ambitious women, who had power over their powerful husbands with a combination of fascination and suspicion. They have been represented as being dangerous seductresses ruinous to their husbands' careers. One recent example has been the negative media coverage, in the early 1990s, surrounding the 35-year-old wife (Dimitra Liani) of the then ailing Prime Minister, Andreas Papandreou (1981–1989; 1993–1996), who was 35 years her senior. She was depicted as a sensual mindless, blonde woman with no intelligence mingling in political affairs, and taking advantage of the political vacuum left behind by her regularly hospitalised husband, who was suffering from cancer (Miller, 1996, p. 3). Politically ambitious women characters posed a threat to social assumptions about the gender qualities of masculinity. Effective and powerful women, such as Hamko or Queen Amalia, make their sons *or* husbands look stupid, uncertain, insecure and indecisive. These are not qualities that the 1971 and 1983 editions wanted student readers to associate with powerful men or rulers. It challenged male hegemony over their wives, sisters and mothers.

6 The Social and Cultural Reasons Underlying the Images of Female Domesticity

There are two main reasons why all the textbooks (1970–1983; 1997–2006) feature motherhood as a role worthy of aspiration for Greek women. The first is the continuing and overwhelming power of the Church. In Greece, there is no division of Church and State, and although all Greek citizens have freedom of worship, the Greek Orthodox Church is protected by Articles 3 and 13 of the Constitution which make it the official Church of the country. Religious Instruction is mandatory in government primary schools in Greece from years 3 to 6 for 2 h per week at each

level. Reinforcing this instruction is the Church's views on family and motherhood, which is seen as sacred and which the Church has tried to enforce via its influence on the government. Thus, the Colonels, between 1967 and 1974, used this theme of the family as a propaganda tool for legitimacy, in order to acquire the support of the Church towards their regime in their 'self proclaimed mission of defending the traditional values of "Helleno-Christian civilisation"' (Clogg, 1992, p. 163). In more recent times, the current leader of the Church of Greece, Archbishop Hristodoulos, on 2 April 2006, during his sermon at the Church of Zodohos Pygis, said that 'while other nations were trying to return to past traditional values, Greeks, who had done a good job in preserving theirs, now wanted to get rid of them' (*Eleutherotypia*, 2006). Hristodoulos was not specific as to what he meant by 'past traditional values' on this occasion. However, his past views on the importance of motherhood have been strong (Hristodoulos, 2004, pp. 46–47).

The Church, in the past 10 years, has been anxious about losing control over the hearts and minds of young Greek people, especially with the influence of globalisation. Consumer culture, and the increasing tendency of young Greeks to avoid marriage, and stay single, has been a worry to the Church. Statistics released by Eurostat on 15 May 2006, on the occasion of the United Nation's International Day of Families, showed that Greece had the third lowest marriage rate in 2004 (4.2 marriages per 1,000 inhabitants), followed by Belgium (4.1) and Slovenia (3.3), in the European Union of 25 member states (Eurostat, 2006b, p. 1). Increasing affluence, especially since 1981, has resulted in accelerated consumer spending. In Greater Athens, for instance, where almost half of the country's 11 million population resides, foreign designer label stores are very well represented. The present author, in a recent visit to Kifissia, a middle class suburb of Athens, at first hand noted the chic buildings and shining window displays of Gucci, Guy Laroche, Intimissimi, Marks & Spencer, Boss, Dutroit, Max Mara and many others. Many young Greeks are being enticed by the advertising images of such brands, which involve handsomely dressed, self-assured young male and female models who seemingly have the option to choose a single lifestyle outside the social norm of marriage. Young Greeks are increasingly attracted to this advertising 'individualism' through its material expression. As a result, the values of the church regarding marriage and commitment to the collective are being seen as 'old-fashioned' and 'uncool'. Indeed, according to Eurostat, in 2004, Greeks spent more money on clothes and shoes than any other country in the EU25, namely 10.1% of their total income followed by the Italians at 8.9% (Eurostat, 2006b, pp. 3, 4). In view of these aspects of globalisation, perhaps Archbishop Hristodoulos' reference to disappearing 'past traditional values' included the decline of the institution of marriage and family in favour of personal fulfilment in the accumulation of consumer goods.

The second reason for the emphasis on 'motherhood' has to do with declining birth rates in Greece, which are having a major long-term effect on Greek society and the economy. The national statistical service of Greece has released recent figures showing that in 1980 there were 148,000 births, whereas in 2004 this had declined to around 100,000 per year (Drettakis, 2006). This in essence means that the population is ageing, which follows a trend which is generally being experi-

enced in Europe and other parts of the developed world. Inevitably, in the future, this will mean that there will be a smaller workforce supporting greater numbers in the third age, unless migration increases. However, it is a compelling reason as to why Greek governments since 1970 wish to protect the family, via reinforcing the role model of motherhood in the textbooks. After all, they have enshrined this requirement in Article 21(1) of the Constitution which says 'the family, being the foundation for preserving and promoting the nation, as well as marriage, mother-hood and children are protected by the government' (translated from the Greek).

7   The Long Shadow of Plutarch's Female Spartan Warrior in Modern Greek Culture and Narratives

There is one representation of women in all the textbooks which has remained unchanged since 1970, the image of Greek women as warriors. It is ironic that this is one representation where women are sometimes shown to be proactive leaders successfully capable of making decisions, even to the point of sometimes ordering men. In the 1971–1983 and 1997–2006 texts, women rise beyond any inferior social status, when they are fighting an enemy. They are depicted as tough, physi-cally dominant and aggressive, which are elements reserved for masculinity in the textbooks. Some cultures have always given women a role to play in war, in their cultural depictions, such as in Soviet Russia where women were shown to be mothers to sons, sending them forth to liberate the world (Novikova, 2000, pp. 117–129). However, in the Greek textbooks, women not only send their sons to war, as did Plutarch's Spartan woman, but are represented as fighting in the front line them-selves. They are partners to men in battle, and the texts use language for them normally reserved for their dominant male characters. The theme that emerges, as a result, is one with clear implication for male and female students alike. Women, at times of war, have equal social status in relation to men. Traditional male hegemony over them no longer applies. They are to be respected, as warriors, on an equal footing with male warriors. Women, indeed, are expected to fight alongside their male brothers, even to the point of death. I mention just a few examples of these depictions, amongst so many, in all the texts under consideration.

   During Ali Pasha's second campaign, in 1790, to subjugate the semi-independent highland clans of the Souliots, Mosho, the wife of Lambros, a leading clansman, is presented as 'fighting with unimaginable bravery … while in charge of both men and women' (Sakkadaki, 1971, p. 44). Bouboulina is described as '*leontothymos*' (an angry lion or having the nature of a lion) as she orders her men to attack the Turkish strongholds at Nauplion, in southern Greece, in 1822 (Sakkadaki, pp. 61–62). Even when women are defeated by their enemy, they take decisions that defy any sense of traditional motherhood. Thus in the 1971, 1983 and 2001 editions, when the Souliots are finally subdued by Ali Pasha during his third campaign against them in 1800, the Souliot women are described as 'casting' their children over the cliff, 'while following suit themselves, in order to avoid humiliating capture'

(Sakkadaki, p. 46; Aktypis et al., 2005, p. 73). Further, in the 2001 edition, a young Souliot girl is depicted as fighting to death, in order to give her brother respite from the battle (Aktypis et al., 2001, p. 75). She is mortally wounded and badly bleeding but does not tell her brother in order not to upset his rest and nourishment from the chaos of battle. Throughout all textbooks, comparisons are made, expressly or implicitly, to ancient Spartan female matiality (Sakkadaki, 1971, p. 43, 62, 84; Aktypis, 2004, p. 50). There are reasons for this depiction, beyond common nationalistic or militaristic concerns, which relate to culture.

The first involves a deep sense of the uniqueness of Hellenism and a strong desire to preserve it diachronically across the millennia. This translates into an awareness of the strategic geographic position of Greece, between East and West, and a shared responsibility for men and women to fiercely defend that land, dating back to the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.E.). The myth of Plutarch's Spartan warrior woman is a theme that has stayed in the modern-national psyche, and therefore Greek women have always been expected to respond with strength to crises. Greeks have celebrated women warriors in their folk songs. The songs were the preservers of national identity and historic memory during the Ottoman occupation. In one very famous folk song called *Despo's Song* (1803), the singer celebrates Despo, a woman who, along with her daughter-in-laws, daughters and grandchildren, fought to death against Ali Pasha's army on 23 December 1803 at the village of Riniasa, when they were besieged at the village tower belonging to Dimoula. They eventually 'set fire to the powder kegs and all became fire' (*Song of Despo* in Peranthis, 1983, p. 74). In another song, called the *Song of Leno Botsaris* (1804), Leno, a 15-year-old girl, is described as taking to the mountains with 'a rifle, English pistols and shot, with a precious sword around her waste'. She fights the Turks, near the river Acheloos, in central Greece, but when defeated she jumps in the water and drowns in order to avoid capture (the *Song of Leno Botsaris*, in Peranthis, 1987, pp. 74–75).

The second is very pragmatic. Greece has a smaller population in comparison to some of its larger, and often hostile, neighbours, and a declining birth rate, so women must be mobilised to fulfil the void in numbers when necessary. In 1978, with much difficulty, barely 230 Greek women volunteered for the army. Ten years later, 1,360 women had been admitted (Hrysostali, 1988, pp. 22–23). In 2004, the number of women serving in all branches of the armed forces was 8,280 out of a total of 170,000 (Greek Department of Defence, 2004). Their increasing presence in traditional male domains is as much a testimony of the dramatic social change of Greek society in accepting such role models and of successive government efforts, since the Colonels, to make the school textbook images of women warriors into everyday social reality.

8   New Positive Images of Greek Women in Recent Textbooks

Since Greece's admission to the European Union in 1981, the country has been under pressure both from within and without to promote equal opportunities between men and women. Since 2000, with the launch of the Lisbon strategy (an

agreement made between EU leaders to reform their countries' economy and education for the purposes of making Europe the most competitive knowledge-based economy in the world by 2010), Greece has been under pressure to make better use of its human capital. Jeffrey Sachs (2005), a leading international economist, has said that one of Greece's economic disadvantages is that it has 'a very low percentage of female participation in politics and the economy' and therefore 'Greece is passing by a huge unexploited demographic group for development' (Papageorgiou, 2005). Sachs is right in saying this, as recent figures released by Eurostat on 6 March 2006, showed that there were more women than men at tertiary level, but upon graduation they are less likely to find work than men. After graduation, 15.5% of females were unemployed compared to 6.4% of male graduates. Greece had the third highest percentage, in the 25 EU countries, after Poland (19.1%) and Slovakia (16.6%) in female graduate unemployment (Eurostat, 2006b, pp. 1–7). Acutely aware of this problem, the government in the current textbooks (1997–2006) tries to redress it.

The new textbooks (1997–2006), try to challenge long-held assumptions and stereotypes of female gender roles. They do this by attributing qualities to some females, which are normally reserved for men. They also try to redefine the traditional female heroin role model, by promoting the new image of the female as intellectual, international lobbyist and educator of the young.

The following passage, for example, gives Euanthia Kairi qualities such as intellect, motivation, initiative and success, which are not normally reserved for women in the 1970–1983 textbooks:

> In the years of slavery, [Ottoman Occupation], few women had the opportunity of an education. However, there were some very bright exceptions…. Euanthia. Her erudition and liberal ideas, her passion for the awakening of the enslaved Greeks brought her admiration from her contemporaries. … This great teacher devoted her life to the education of young Greek girls. … During the Revolution, in 1825 (she) sent a letter of appeal to all women around the world, with which she informed them of the justice of the Greek struggle. … Foreign women responded to her call in a moving way. (Aktypis et al., 2001, p. 59)

This statement defies, to some extent, the stereotype of the female as wife and mother.

Euanthia is not an emotional female. She is not docile either who is dependent on the initiatives of her male partner or brother to take action for Greece. She is an independent, dynamic and charismatic woman who can be persuasive, even to foreigners. The word 'passion' (*pathos*) implies dynamism. She is not 'devoted' (*Afierosis*) to a husband, but to overcoming inequalities for her own gender, via education.

The selective use of vocabulary and imagery implies newfound ideological support and appreciation of the effectiveness of dynamic and educated women in the promotion of Greece, which has parallels to recent real life personalities. Melina Mercouri, was an actress and politician who was locally and internationally known for her dynamism. As minister for culture (1981–1989 and October 1993–March 6, 1994) in the government of Andreas Papandreou, she was a shining effective role model for Greek women. Her proposal to have European 'Culture Capitals', starting with Athens in 1985, is an established reality today. Her dream of creating a vast archaeological park uniting all ancient sites, in the centre of Athens, is becoming a reality since 2000.

Her proposal to build a new state of the art Acropolis museum, which would house the return of the Parthenon marbles from the British Museum, is currently underway. Her efforts to reignite international debate for the return of the Parthenon marbles, which she described as the 'pride (and) noblest symbol of excellence' for the Greek people (Melina, 1986), inspired worldwide sympathy. The textbooks through the example of Euanthia Kairi, are trying to evoke popular support for a more politically active female role model, which, during Melina's political life, was still relatively unpopular as 'her constituents could not always follow her: some thought politics no job for a woman' (Anastasi, 1994, p. 10).

9   Class Prejudice and Other Omissions in the Current History Textbooks

However, all these new additions in the 2001 edition admirable as they may be (in comparison to the textbooks of 1970–1983) contain important omissions which could reinforce new bias against women. There is no representation of women as successful scientists, lawyers, doctors or being involved in any of the technological disciplines, such as engineering. There needs to be more diverse career role model characters in future textbooks, instead of the current concentration of intellectual female heroines in the arts and humanities disciplines. Also future texts need to make reference to successful women politicians such as Melina Mercouri. There are no female politicians depicted in the 2001 edition except for a passing reference to Mavrogenous whose presence, at the parliamentary gathering at Troizina in the 1820s 'harkened for the day when women would be elected to official public positions' (p. 127). Furthermore, only wealthy women are singled out for mention as role models in the professions or business. Euanthia Kairi is the sister of the wealthy philosopher Theophilos Kairis (Aktypis, et al., 2004, p. 59 and 174). Manto Mavrogenous and Bouboulina are tycoons. Queen Amalia belongs to the European aristocracy (Aktypis et al., p. 174). These are serious shortcomings in the text in that they prejudice against women of lower socio-economic status background. They need addressing by including, in the text, representations of women who began anonymously and rose to become successful in the arts, education, business and government. One such example could be Sotiria Bellou (1921–1997). She became one of Greece's leading voices in the 1940s and 1950s. Her music and dozens of albums in Greek blues music, the Rebetica, which speak of personal, social and political themes dating from the 1940s (when Bellou fled poverty and a disastrous marriage in her native Halkis), are truly Greek and international cultural treasures. (Holst-Warhaft, 1997, p. 59). However, Bellou may be threatening to the church ideology and government attempts to increase female fertility levels. She was gay (Holst-Warhaft, p.59). In the mid-1950s, in a highly conservative, largely agrarian and patriarchal Greek society, she openly adopted a masculine dress and demeanour, with cigarette in hand, at a time when smoking was seen as an exclusive activity for men and prostitutes.

10   Evaluation

The exclusive depiction of women as wives and mothers in year 6 government primary school history textbooks, in Greece, between 1971 and 1983 undermined women's social status in relation to men and promoted male hegemony over females at that time. It denied women a career and participation in cultural and political life. However, the textbooks used between 1997 and 2006, show awareness of this prejudice. They, therefore, depict women in roles that in the 1971–1983 texts were normally reserved for their male characters. Women, in the 1997–2006 texts, are also artists, writers, educators and teachers. These newfound representations are a reflection of the new position of women in Greek society in 2006 as a result of globalisation. Women are also in the Greek armed forces, making the powerful notion of the Greek woman warrior an everyday reality for some women.

These changes are not enough to overcome some inherent omissions in the 1997–2006 textbooks. There are no successful career women of lower socio-economic status background depicted in these, which is a serious class prejudice in itself. Future textbooks will need to give more content space to women because the 1997–2006 textbooks have only 24 pages out of a total of 288 devoted to them. Textbooks also need to have more recent female heroine role models than they currently do. One such person could be Gianna Angelopoulou-Daskalaki, under whose dynamic corporate leadership the Athens 2004 Olympic games were an astounding success.

Such changes, however, need to be accompanied by new government policies which increase female participation generally in public life and senior management positions. For instance, it is not acceptable that females constitute only just 2% of all elected mayors and municipal officials in Greece (Pavlopoulos, 2005). This means that women are denied a public role in local and regional policy formation, which undermines the quality of Greek democracy. Perhaps one reform could include passing laws which make it mandatory to include a 50% female candidature for all electoral contests, along the French model. Currently, a 2001 law requires only 33% female candidate representation for council and county elections only (Petralia, 2005, p. 5). The Greek government could also pass laws criminalising sexual harassment against women in the workplace by appointing an Ombudsman to supervise the application of these regulations. Such a law was not considered until June 2006, when a government survey 'discovered' that one in ten women surveyed had complained that they had been victims of such treatment in the past. However, the Church, itself, can act as an important catalyst for more positive social perceptions of women. One such positive move was made in April 2006 by Bishop Nectarios of Crete. He appointed the first woman cantor, the 28-year-old Argyro Reppa, at the church of St. John the Theologian in Irakleion, Crete (Roubos, 2006; Tsatsis, 2005). This position is a very public one as the cantor takes centre stage, along with the priest, in delivering the Byzantine chant during the liturgies of the Greek Orthodox Church. This is an encouraging first step which signals that the church values women equally to men, although, at this stage, it relies on the liberalism of certain individual senior church

officials and is not a uniform practice. Excepting for Argyro Reppa, no woman has any public position of importance in the church at the present moment.

11   Conclusion

The above analysis of the depiction of women in government year 6 core primary school history textbooks, in Greece, between 1970–1983 and 1997–2006, demonstrates that for modern Greek women, the time has come to say 'i tan i epi tas', to achieve equal opportunity with men now or to at least continue fighting. At present, the spirit of Plutarch's Spartan woman warrior is nodding for both.

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The Construction of Gender Identity: A Semiotic Analysis

Deodrin Correa

1 The Construction of Gender Identity

Gender is considered an axis of social order. Its categorisation into masculinity and femininity is socially constructed and maintained in everyday life through major social institutions (Clark and Page, 2005; Mackie, 1994). Advertising, as an aspect of the mass media, is a major social and economic institution through which notions of masculinity and femininity are promoted at a symbolic level (Gilbert and Taylor, 1991; Goldman, 1992). It is suggested that the role of advertising is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world (Goldman, 1992). It has been remarked that students may be learning more social science from television advertisements than from any other formal or informal educational setting (Langrehr, 2003).

Gender represents a functional dimension of stratified societies, where ideology, power, domination and control play a significant role in maintaining gender inequality in predominantly patriarchal societies. The versions of masculinity and femininity promoted serve to provide the basis for women's subordination (Gilbert and Taylor, 1991) – this view is reflected in the opportunities for education offered to boys and girls (Oakley, 1972). It is suggested that the best way to assess the status of women is to analyse the roles that women are being called upon to play (Ghosh and Roy, 1997).

2 Ideology

The theory of ideology as a practice was fundamentally developed by Louis Althusser (1971), who was a second-generation Marxist but who was also influenced by the ideas of Saussure and Freud, and had thus included theories of structure and

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of the unconscious in addition to Marx's more economic theories. For Marx, ideology functioned to make the ideas of the ruling class to be accepted as natural and normal. It kept the worker, or proletariat, in a state of false consciousness. Marx believed that people's consciousness of who they are, the sense they make of their social experience, and of how they relate to the rest of society is produced by society, and not by nature or biology (Fiske, 1990b).

There are no ideologically neutral sign systems – signs function to persuade as well as to refer. Sign systems help to naturalise and reinforce notions of the way things are. Consequently, semiotic analysis always involves ideological analysis. In advertising, various codes serve to reproduce bourgeois ideology, making it seem natural and inevitable (Chandler, 2001). There is no escape from signs. As Bill Nichols (1981) suggests that as long as signs are produced we will be required to understand them. According to Raymond Williams (1977), ideology can be defined in three ways: firstly, as a system of beliefs that are characteristic of a particular class or group; secondly, as a system of illusory beliefs, that is, false ideas or false consciousness which can be contrasted with true or scientific knowledge; and thirdly, as the general process of the production of meanings and ideas. Marxists discuss ideology in relation to social relations. They assert that ideology is socially determined and is not individualistic. And, the social fact that determines ideology is class and the division of labour (Fiske, 1990b).

Ideology produces meaning through the use of signs. Signs work to reinforce the second-order meanings in the culture as well as in the user, and maintain the myths and connoted values of the culture. The relationship between the sign, its myths and connotations, with the user, is an ideological one (Fiske, 1990b). Signs work to give myths and values a concrete form, thereby endorsing and making them public. When myths and values are made public they enable cultural identification to take place, that is, they enable the members of a culture to recognise membership of that culture through the acceptance of common, shared myths and values (Fiske, 1990b).

Ideology has also been referred to as a social practice – in that, it helps us to make sense of the way things are, and it possesses a social and political dimension (Fiske, 1990b). Ideology can essentially work to make the existing distribution of power in society seem natural and normal. For instance, there are more men than women scientists in our society. This has been attributed more to the social and ideological differences between masculinity and femininity rather than innate or natural differences between men and women. Science has been used as a means for exercising power over the physical world. Thus, in a society where men exert power in the social world, it seems natural that this power be extended to the physical as well. Thus, unless women scientists are concentrated in areas of caring or nurturing sciences, such as medicine, they are frowned upon and considered as unfeminine or unusual (Fiske, 1990b).

Capitalism is a system that for all intents and purposes produces commodities, and making commodities seem natural is at the heart of ideological practice. We come to understand our desires in terms of the commodities that are produced to meet them, and we come to think of our problems in terms of the commodities that are produced to solve them. For instance, the problems associated with maturing

from a girl to a woman can be framed and solved through commodities like: cookbooks, clothes and make-up (Fisk, 1990b). The commodities that are produced by the system of patriarchal capitalism serve to ensure the subordination of women. As women accept what these products claim to offer and experience them as real – they promote an ideology that is against their interests – thereby participating in hegemony. By recognising herself as the addressee – the reader is in essence practising patriarchal ideology. And by accepting the common sense of the representations of herself – she helps to win the consent of herself to a system that subordinates women (Fisk, 1990b).

2.1   Marx, Althusser and Gramsci

Marx's theory of ideology as false consciousness had seemed to explain why the majority in capitalist societies accept a social system that disadvantages them. Marx assumed that economic reality was more influential in the long run than ideology, and that eventually the workers would overthrow the bourgeoisie and produce a society that was fair and equal – where one class would not dominate, eliminating the need to keep anyone in a state of false consciousness. He believed that, in a fair and equal society there would be no need for ideology, as everyone would have a true consciousness of themselves, and of their social relations (Fiske, 1990b).

However, as the twentieth century progressed, capitalism continued to disadvantage and exploit the majority in favour of the minority, and it appeared that the socialist revolution in Russia was not going to spread to the rest of Europe and the Western world. To account for this, Marxist thinkers refined Marx's theory of ideology by announcing that all classes participate instead of just one class imposing their ideas upon another class. While it still served to promote the interests of the minority, it was now believed to work from within rather than without – whereby it is said to be entrenched in the ways of thinking and living of all classes (Fiske, 1990b). For instance, high-heeled shoes do not impose upon women the ideas of the ruling gender (men), but in wearing it women are said to participate in the ideological practice of patriarchy – by appearing as an attractive object and putting herself under the male power of granting or withholding approval. Also, as high heels limit a woman's physical activity and strength it is said to represent them as practising the subordination of women in patriarchy. Therefore, a woman wearing high heels, as in the above example, reproduces and recirculates the patriarchal meanings of gender that suggest masculinity as being stronger and more active and femininity as being weaker and more passive (Fiske, 1990b).

According to Althusser (1971), communication is a social process and is therefore ideological, and interpellation or hailing is a key feature of its ideological practice that is ever-present in every act of communication. All communication is said to address us and place us in a social relationship. And whenever we recognise ourselves as the addressee and respond to the communication, we thus participate

in our own social, and therefore ideological, construction. All communication interpellates or hails us in some way. For example, a woman wearing a pair of high-heeled shoes is said to have recognised herself as the addressee and has thus positioned herself submissively within gender relations, and the man who likes to see the woman wearing high-heeled shoes is positioned differently – he is hailed as the one with power (Fiske, 1990b).

Antonio Gramsci, also a European second-generation Marxist, introduced the term hegemony – which perceives ideology as struggle. He emphasised two elements, namely, resistance and instability. Hegemony basically involves the continuous winning and re-winning of the obedience of the majority to the system which subordinates them (Fiske, 1990b). Hegemony has to work so hard, as the social experiences of subordinated groups continuously contradict the picture that the dominant ideology paints for them. While resistances may be overcome sometimes, they are never eliminated. A key hegemony strategy is the construction of common sense, that is, if the ideas of the ruling class are made to appear as common sense, then it would become accepted – and their ideological purpose would be achieved and their ideological task disguised (Fiske, 1990b).

Ideological theories assert that all communication and meanings have a sociopolitical dimension, and that they cannot be understood outside their social contexts. This ideological work always favours the status quo as the classes with power dominate the production and distribution of not only goods, but also of ideas and meaning. The economic system is said to be organised in their interest, and the ideological system derives from it and works to promote, naturalise and disguise it. All ideological theories tend to agree that ideology works to preserve class domination; however, their differences lie in the ways in which this domination is implemented, the extent of the resistances it encounters, and the extent of its success (Fiske, 1990b).

3   The Role of Advertising in Gender Construction

Cultural texts consist of both representational forms, such as a video clip or a magazine for instance, as well as lived social relations, such as the experiences of a group of Greek girls in a high school. While these two forms of cultural texts can be analysed separately, they are very much interrelated in everyday social practices (Gilbert and Taylor, 1991). Institutional settings play a part in the gender regime, these include: schools, families and the work place – where social practices are gender structured. Cultural texts (both representational and lived) are a part of the gender regime in the various institutional settings (Gilbert and Taylor, 1991). Notions of femininity and masculinity are constructed in everyday social practices within institutions, and it is represented at the symbolic level in the mass media as the cultural ideals. The versions promoted serve to provide the basis for women's subordination. Connell (1987) suggests that the forms of femininity and masculinity that are constructed at the ideological level rest on the premise of the global dominance of men over women.

Gender ideologies work to sustain the patriarchal gender order and cultural texts play a crucial role in promoting the dominant forms of femininity and masculinity at a symbolic level (Gilbert and Taylor, 1991). Television advertisements can be considered as a part of representational cultural texts which play a crucial role in the struggle over meanings in the popular cultural field. Advertising is an ever-present cultural form that both reflects and moulds our lives (Roy, 1998). Advertisements do not just transmit product information but also social symbolic information that facilitates the shaping of cultural tendencies within society. Advertisements are not created in a cultural void – they are affixed within a culture and all its subcultures (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Everyday we are flooded with advertising messages which are loaded with images of gender, types of people, social classes and other groups that help to shape our social learning process. Advertising has the potential to mould opinions, attitudes and behaviour, and is therefore regarded as a major agent of social reinforcement (Roy, 1998). According to Davidson (1992), the role of advertising is not just limited to selling us products and services, but also imparts ways for us to understand the world. Goldman (1992) also argues that advertising is a major social and economic institution whose role is to maintain cultural hegemony through providing us with socially constructed ways of viewing and making sense of our world.

Advertising is a major cultural form, and as such, is concerned with the promotion of the dominant value system of the culture. It promotes the dominant ideological structures that maintain and reinforce the existing power structures while denying the right of existence to alternative and oppositional ideologies. Advertising perpetuates the dominant ideology by constructing a consensual ideology for all the people in its society. The perpetuation of the dominant patriarchal ideology is a reflection of the interrelatedness between advertising and the broader sociocultural, political and economic systems of a given society (Roy, 1998).

Michel Foucault (1926–1984) a French philosopher was influenced by the ideas of Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes and Karl Marx (Foucault, 1980). He suggested that by deciphering metaphors we could come to understand the symbiotic relationship between power, knowledge and stake-holders (1980). Jacques Derrida (1930–2004) is known as the founder of deconstruction and was influenced by the ideas of Saussure. He also recommended the study of metaphors and suggested that they have a role to play in shaping our judgements (Sarup, 1993).

In capitalists' societies, advertising creates the need for products and services that propose to enhance our lifestyle. However, the main function of advertisements is to persuade the consumer to do or to think something. Thus, it could be argued that advertisements generate huge economic and cultural power, and impact in dictating norms, values, lifestyles and consumer trends. While the main aim of advertisements is to manipulate the consumer/receiver into taking a certain action, it also reflects the social relationships common within that culture, and forms values that promote the dominant ideology (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology by reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. Thus, the ideology–

semiotic relationship is established as ideology makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998). Leiss et al. (1990, p. 5) considers advertising as a phenomenon that 'appropriates and transforms symbols and ideas'. Culture is thought to be recycled and directed back to the audience, who make use of it to construct their own identities (Leiss et al., 1990).

Advertisements have not only become a mirror of consumer needs and aspirations, but also a creator of ideals and wants (Bezuidenhout, 1998). Consumption is one way of completing the ideal feminine identity. For women, that identity is claimed to be centred around the domestic sphere and on being the perfect wife and mother. These ideals require that women become consumers and acquire particular products that will make them appear desirable as a wife (Berger, 1972).

The USA is leading the way in the promotion of a new culture based on the American Dream. This influence is evident in the advertisements for various products, ranging from clothing (*Nike*) to food (*MacDonald's*) to entertainment (films and music videos), which endorse American attitudes and lifestyles. Their values and morals are being spread to the rest of the world and to the detriment of the cultural identities of many smaller cultures. It exploits receivers by fostering in them a desire to own and to have. Signs or symbols of wealth, power, social mobility or status are used in advertising to establish morals and values. They serve to ensure the possessor's place in the social hierarchy. For example, designer clothing, whether fake or real, distinguishes people from others; it gives social status which would have otherwise been denied (Bezuidenhout, 1998 Mankekar, 1999).

4   Theoretical Foundation for Media Literacy Education

As most of the media literacy teaching materials rest on trial and error – there is a call for media literacy teaching to be based on a theoretical foundation in social learning and mass communication theories. Two of such theories are social learning theory and cultivation theory (Vallocheril and Thorn, 1998). According to the social learning theory, much social learning takes place from books, film, television and other mass media (Bandura, 1994). According to the cultivation theory, the repetitive lessons that people learn from television may serve as a basis for a broader world view, therefore making television a considerable source of values, ideologies, beliefs and images. Television has become the most widely shared image and message-making medium for people and new methods of transmission provide for even deeper penetration and integration of dominant patterns of images and messages into our everyday lives (Gerbner, 1990). These two theories suggest that if children are given the opportunity to develop skills and concepts that could enable them to understand and decode the way in which media assists in the construction of their own version of realities, that they would be less dependent on and more critical of the cultural environment created by the media (Vallocheril and Thorn, 1998; Mankekar, 1999).

4.1 The Value of Media Literacy Education

Since the visual media plays a role in forming our identities (Curry, 1999), an argument could be made that if texts affect identity then education can have a role in deconstruction. Outlined below is a series of inferences suggested by Vallocheril and Thorn (1998) about the value of media literacy education which can be built into the curriculum and testing of media literacy units:

1. Students will be able to recognise manipulative production techniques and selling techniques in advertisements.
2. Students will be able to discern and discover overt and covert themes in advertisements.
3. Students will be able to recognise images of women who are presented as desirable and worthy of emulation in advertisements.
4. Students will be able to recognise stereotypes in the portrayal of female characters in advertisements.

It appears that there is a need to teach our students, wherever they are, to become critical consumers of this powerful technology (Notar, 1993). Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) have also advocated for schooling to take on a proactive role in order to contribute to a more gender-just society. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998, p. 222) assert that 'if boys are to be shown how dominant masculinity constrains as much as it advantages them, they need to see how these images and practices are sustained, and at what cost to their opportunities to live lives which are open to diverse experiences and positive relationships with others'. In teaching media literacy, it has been suggested that semiotics is useful in media literacy on many levels including analyses of content, production methods and techniques, narrative structure and visual images, and competing ideologies (Brookfield, 1986).

4.2 Studies on Gender Identity in Advertising

Academic research on advertising in Western societies, and the relationship of advertising content to social relations have been conducted in a number of studies over the past 2 decades (Berger, 1972; Ewen, 1976; Goffman, 1976; Williamson, 1978; Dyer, 1982; Pope, 1983; Fox and Lears, 1983; Marchand, 1985; Leiss et al., 1990; Jhally, 1990; Wernick, 1991; Schudson, 1993; Goldman, 1992; Macdonald, 1995; Twitchell, 1996).

5 Semiology

Semiotics provides us with a conceptual framework and a set of methods and terms for use across the full range of signifying practices, which include gesture, posture, dress, writing, speech, photography, film, television and radio. Semiotics can help

to make us aware of what we take for granted in representing the world, reminding us that we are always dealing with signs, not with an unmediated objective reality, and that sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning (Chandler, 2001). In advertising, verbal and non-verbal signs are used to produce meaning, which leads to the creation of social relationships, systems of knowledge and cultural identity (Bezuidenhout, 1998).

Semiotics is a structural model which does not assume that a message passes through a series of steps or stages, but rather it sets out to analyse how a structured set of relationships allow a message to signify something, in other words, what makes marks on a paper or sounds in the air into a message. Here, focus shifts from communication as a process to communication as the generation of meaning. So for communication to take place one would need to create a message out of signs – the more we share the same codes, the more we use the same sign systems, the closer our meanings would be of the message (Fiske, 1990a). Semiotics is the study of signs and it can be applied to various human endeavours – as we use a variety of signs in our everyday life to convey messages to the people around us, for example, rubbing our thumb and forefinger together to signify money (Seiler, 2005).

Philosophers such as Aristotle, Hippocrates and Locke are early contributors to the field of semiotics. Modern semiotics emerged through the work of two linguistic theorists, namely, Swiss Linguist Ferdinand de Saussure and American philosopher Charles Saunders Peirce. These two philosophers inspired the work of Roland Barthes, Roman Jakobson, Claude Levi-Strauss, [Charles Morris], Thomas Sebeok, Julia Kristeva and Umberto Eco (Seiler, 2005). Also, semiology was said to be one of the chief modes of the intellectual movement – structuralism, which flourished during the 1950s and 1960s. Structuralism challenges common sense – which purports that things have one meaning and it is very obvious. Common sense tells us that the world is as we perceive it; however, structuralism tells us that meaning is constructed – as a result of shared systems of signification (Seiler, 2005).

Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857–1913), considered as the father of modern linguistics, developed and applied the principles of semiotics to language. Roland Barthes (1915–1980) then extended these ideas to messages – word and image relations (Seiler, 2005). Julia Kristeva, a well-known poststructuralist feminine theorist whose work has an important place in poststructuralist thought, referred to Barthes as the precursor and founder of modern literary studies (Kristeva, 1981).

5.1 Saussure and Barthes

For Saussure, the sign is a physical object with meaning. A sign consists of two parts, namely, the signifier and the signified. The signifier is the image as we perceive it – marks on a paper or the sounds in the air; and the signified is mental concept to which it refers. This mental concept is said to be common to all members of the same culture who share the same language. Saussure claimed that the relationship between the signifier and signified is arbitrary (Fisk, 1990a).

Barthes, a follower of Saussure, introduced the concept of myth into semiotics. He was interested in the role of myth in popular culture as a representational system addressing subjects. Myth functions by taking the signs of messages and using them as signifiers. According to Barthes, the role of myth is to naturalise history. In capitalist societies, myths promote the interests of the dominant classes by making the meanings that serve these interests appear natural and universal (Barthes, 1973). The terms that are often used in semiological analysis are: signs, denotation, connotation, paradigms, syntagms, metaphor, metonymy and orders of signification (Seiler, 2005).

6 Semiotics: As a Method of Analysis of Gender Identity in Advertising

Williamson (1978), Dyer (1982) and Leiss, Kline, and Jhally (1990) all recommend the application of semiotics as an appropriate tool in the examination of meaning making to the critical analysis of advertising (Barthes, 1977).

Advertisements become a vehicle for ideology by reflecting ideas, beliefs and opinions that are a reflection of the society within a culture. The ideology is generated by the signs that are contained in the advertisement and its message. In advertising, various codes serve to reproduce bourgeois ideology, making it seem natural and inevitable. Thus, the ideology–semiotic relationship is established as ideology makes use of signs to convey its message (Bezuidenhout, 1998; Chandler, 2001).

Television advertising is a complex rhetorical medium, which employs strategies to persuade viewers through for example, the rhetoric of the camera, and text, which includes aspects of lighting, sound effects, voice-overs and editing (Roy, 1998). Graham (1989, p. 158) has suggested that pedagogically we could benefit from the fact that 'there are many alternative frameworks or positions from which it is possible to interpret a text, and that different interpretations exist for the same set of images'. Furthermore, as any critical analysis involving television will extend itself to divergent views and interpretations, this would therefore make it almost impossible to say everything about a critical piece (Roy, 1998; Ram, 2002).

6.1 Critical Media Literacy Education

Critical literacy education can assist in teaching children critical awareness of the mass media. Teaching critical literacy in an image-driven culture requires teaching children how to read images critically and how to unpack the relations between the images, text, social trends and products in a commercial culture. Therefore, literacy classes must include the teaching of visual symbols systems – a language which transcends the verbal and written. These are important global skills (Notar, 1993). The successful stories of media education indicate that media literacy is a creative

and effective approach for preparing children to face the role and power of media in their lives. So, an important task of education today must be to suggest a broader framework that would integrate media literacy education with the school curricula and to design programmes for the same (Vallocheril and Thorn, 1998). It is suggested that without their own critical distance, teachers might find it difficult to explain the dominant definitions of society and deploy these strategies of media analysis; therefore, it is recommended that teaching media literacy could begin in teacher preparation programmes (Curry, 1999).

In understanding the representations of gender identity in advertising, the focus is on: the symbols used to represent women; how the dominant and cultural myths are produced and regenerated in television advertisements in the construction of gender identity; and how the ways in which a woman is depicted in television advertisements might be linked to a woman's status in society. One needs to critique the role of the media with reference to television advertising in the construction of gender identity.

7   Conclusion

The construction of gender identity is a socially constructed construct which demonstrates that femininity is created in society via major agencies of socialization, and is represented and communicated at the symbolic level in the mass media, particularly television and women's magazines. Femininity, just like masculinity, denotes an ideal type, in this case an ideal woman, a powerful global cultural stereotype, which is used by those who have the power to define, control and disseminate cultural and gender stereotypes, to dominate, exploit and manipulate social and sexual identities of women globally.

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Women Teachers' Emotional Commitment and Involvement: A Universal Professional Feature and Educational Policy

Izhar Oplatka*

1 Teaching and Gender

Teaching has long been conceived of as a low-commitment occupation (Lortie, 1975), partially due to the feminization of its human resources. Women employees, it is assumed in many societies, are traditionally responsible for their families and children, and therefore are likely to invest less effort and time in their work as compared to men (Becker, 1985). When it comes to women teachers' career choices, favorable working conditions, flexible and low-stress working hours, and the possibility of family life in parallel were indicated as widespread motives for teaching among women (Lortie, 1975; Huberman, 1993). Consequently, women teachers in general could be perceived as less involved in, and less committed to, their work in terms of long working hours and the centrality of work life (Johnson, 1990).

Feminist researchers, however, have called for reexploring and challenging the epistemology and methodology of existing social science theories and concepts which have been based upon studies of men, with women being expected to interpret the world and respond according to versions of male behavior (Blackmore, 1999a; Shakeshaft, 1989). Hence, recreating innovative knowledge in which women are the focus of the study instead of being merely another variable for consideration is one of the purposes of a feminist study (Harding, 1987; Oplatka, 2002; Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002; Tong, 1994). The distinct world of women, it has been assumed, engenders a diverse reality which, rather than existing by comparison with men's reality, has its own independent and equally valid existence.

Given the feminist point of view, the purpose of the current study was twofold: firstly, to unearth the subjective voices and interpretations of women teachers in respect of their work commitment and involvement; and secondly, to examine

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whether their voices and interpretations do in fact differ from common, "androgynous" constructions of job involvement and work commitment, which were developed outside the field of education (e.g., Blau and Boal, 1987; Kanungo, 1982; Mowday et al., 1982), but have been used in research on teachers (e.g., Fireston and Pennell, 1993; Raju and Srivastava, 1994).

Furthermore, following Dimmock and Walker (1998) who asserted that the identification of similarities and differences between educational systems is important in that it can clarify problems and issues in a certain system by generating informed cross-cultural fertilization of ideas and experiences, the chapter further aims at comparing the Israeli women's subjective interpretations of commitment and involvement with those of women teachers in other Western countries reported in previous research.

The women teachers' voices and constructions of work commitment and involvement may provide insights into these concepts in terms different from those that have been used in the past or, in other words, may challenge "masculine" ideas and construction of work commitment and involvement. Furthermore, a critical discussion of these work-related concepts based on authentic voices of women teachers may shed light on some unique and idiosyncratic features of women teachers, as well as on the relevance to their world of androgynous psychological concepts originating outside the field of education. However, the author is aware of the difficulty of determining whether the women teachers' alternative interpretations of work commitment and involvement are related to the androgynous nature of these concepts only, or also to the incompatibility between concepts developed outside education and the context of teaching. This issue is left to the reader and to further research.

The chapter begins with a review of some of the literature on the concepts of work commitment, job involvement, and work centrality. It then goes on to display a comparison of the interpretations that the women teachers gave to their experiences in working life with the widespread construction of work commitment and involvement. In the final section, the findings are analyzed in the light of feminist concepts, and theoretical implications are suggested (see also Zajda, 2008a).

2   Job Involvement, Gender, and Work Commitment

Job involvement and organizational commitment are related but distinct types of work attitudes because of their referents; highly involved employees feel their job to be important to their self-image (Kanungo, 1982) and both identify with, and care for, their jobs. In contrast, highly committed employees feel positively about the organizations they work for, and identify with a particular organization and wish to maintain membership in it (Blau and Boal, 1987). The common theme in definitions of work commitment is a psychological bond or identification of the individual with an object that takes on a special meaning and importance. As a result, the committed person believes strongly in the object's goals and values, voluntarily complies with orders and expectations, exerts considerable effort beyond minimal expectations for the good of the object and strongly desires to remain affiliated with the object (Mowday et al., 1982).

When it comes to organizational commitment, the committed employee identifies himself or herself with the organization and its goals, values organizational membership, and intends to work hard to attain the overall organizational mission (Blau and Boal, 1987; Mowday et al., 1982). Two different approaches have been taken in defining organizational commitment (Greenberg and Baron, 1993). In the behavioral approach, the individual is viewed as being committed to an organization if she or he is bound by past actions. In contrast, in the attitudinal approach, organizational commitment is viewed as a more positive individual orientation toward the organization. Here an individual who identifies with a particular organization and its goals is considered to be highly committed. The latter type of commitment was found to be associated with high levels of willingness to share and make sacrifices, and with positive personal consequences (e.g., successful career development, positive well-being) (Greenberg and Baron, 1993).

Likewise, as indicated above, if one is committed to the organization, one is likely to be involved in a job. Job involvement is defined as the degree to which one identifies with one's present job (Kanungo, 1982), and frequently includes identifying with the job, actively participating in the job, and perceiving job performance to be important to self-worth (Blau, 1985). It is generally agreed that intrinsic or expressive variables that include work aspects such as an interesting job, variety, autonomy, and challenging work are important for the development of strong job involvement among employees (Kanungo, 1982; Pinder, 1998). Teacher commitment has been examined from different theoretical perspectives and defined in different ways (Reyes, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989), but in recent years it has been considered to be multidimensional (Fireston and Pennell, 1993; Louis, 1991). That is, teachers may feel committed to the profession of teaching, the school and/or the pupils or students. Their levels of commitment may be affected by at least six primary factors in the workplace: teacher autonomy and efficacy, participation, feedback, collaboration, learning opportunities, and resources (Fireston and Pennell, 1993).

In addition, teachers with high levels of commitment were found to work harder, demonstrate stronger affiliation to their schools as well as more desire to accomplish the goals of teaching than teachers with low levels of commitment. More importantly, students of highly committed teachers are more likely to learn material and develop a positive attitude toward school than those of teachers with low levels of commitment (Fireston and Pennell, 1993; Reyes, 1990). A commitment to students may contribute to a warm, supportive climate that is likely to reduce the dropout rate but may not contribute much to academic achievement, while a commitment to teaching may have the opposite effect (Fireston and Pennell, 1993).

To sum up, the literature on job involvement and commitment seems to reflect a rationalist paradigm which, as Hargreaves puts it, has presented a view of work-related attitudes "that is overwhelmingly cognitive, calculative and stereotypically masculine in nature" (Hargreaves, 1998, p. 292). More specifically, as rationalized concepts job involvement and commitment seem to be conceptualized in terms of order, obedience to rules and goals, attendance, accuracy, loyalty, and conformity, all of which were elements emphasized by early researchers of organizations in the era of "sacred rationality" (e.g., Weber, Taylor).

The rationalization of these concepts is hardly surprising given the denial of emotions in research on organizations over many years (Fineman, 2001). It is premised upon the gendered divide between emotion and rationality in organizational theory, which was likely to ignore emotions as being irrational and subjective (Blackmore, 1999). However, there is now a widely held view of the need to incorporate emotional voices in the research on teachers (Day and Leitch, 2001; Hargreaves, 1998). Interestingly, the call for an understanding of the emotional aspects of teachers is consistent with a number of feminist views (e.g., Blackmore, 1999; Tong, 1994), which emphasize the significance of emotions in women's world. Thus, women teachers' voices of emotional job involvement and commitment could be related, in part, to the centrality of emotions in their lives. Light will be shed on this issue in the final section of this chapter.

In the light of the feminist perspective which calls for a critical challenge to the current male-based, sometimes androgynous, constructions in social sciences, the conceptualizations of job involvement and work commitment may be considered as the platform on which this study seeks to set out the different voices of women teachers. Their universal, emotionally based interpretations of various components of these concepts are the focus of this chapter.

3 Method

The study described in this chapter represents one part of a wider study of the process of self-renewal among successful mid-career women teachers during their career cycle, a process that has been explored among other employees (Bejian and Salomone, 1995; Oplatka, 2001). Based on a "theoretical sampling," principals and teachers were asked to provide the researchers with mid-career women teachers who meet the following criteria: having the reputation of a good teacher whose students are very satisfied, being considered a highly motivated teacher in the school and have no manifestation of burnout (e.g., fatigue, low performance). In addition, teachers who had experienced career transitions were also chosen.

3.1 Participants

The study inductively identified three patterns of self-renewal among 20 women teachers in mid-career who participated in the study. Here I discuss a group of nine women teachers, who constructed their life story as embedded with emotional commitment to their students, colleagues, and the school as part of their constant renewal throughout their career cycle. As with the other participants in the study, these nine women, between the ages of 45 and 55, had held teaching positions for between 15 and 35 years. The participants, who represent both the primary and the secondary systems, came from three different educational districts in Israel. They

represent a highly homogeneous group, not only in terms of age and seniority, but also in terms of religion and education.

3.2 Procedure

The methodological strategy of the study is the life story which is defined as a means to describe one's life span or, more accurately, to depict those parts of one's life which one interprets as meaningful to one's life. Therefore, the life story is a personal narrative told by the person in question (Sarbin, 1986). Because of its retrospective holistic nature, the life-story strategy enabled us to identify constant versus changing work-related attitudes during the teachers' career cycles, as well as to establish a link between their interpretations of their work commitment and its determinants as exhibited within the women's own life stories. In addition, this strategy permitted us to uncover the meanings attached to job involvement and commitment by the subjects themselves.

The school teachers' life stories were revealed through open interviews, which enabled the interviewees' personal perspectives to be exposed (Paton, 1990). The interviews were conducted person-to-person, mostly in the teacher's homes, and their contents and evolution were not defined a priori. However, despite the interviews' dynamic aspects, each teacher was by and large asked the same questions. Each teacher was asked to divide her professional life into subjectively defined periods. Each period was explored in depth, and the interviewee explained the transition to the next period. The interview then included a reflection on the female teachers' professional life, as well as the place and meaning they attach to their work. The data collected by the life-story interview were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed by inductive methods directed toward the development of a grounded theory, leading to the evolution of a conceptual model grounded in the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

In order to increase validity, the analysis was conducted by one person and was reinforced by structured analysis and peer review comments, two common indicators used by qualitative researchers in order to establish confidence in their analytic procedures (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). However, consistent with most qualitative researchers who assume that those they study interpret reality from multiple perspectives for varying purposes (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993), the researcher was interested in revealing participants' subjective ideas about reality, rather than finding some objective reality.

3.3 Findings

The voices which will be presented below are those of the women teachers, organized under a number of headings including emotional commitment, a feeling of educational mission, unconditional giving above and beyond what is expected,

innovative and nonroutine behavior, and the teachers' individual characteristics. However, a few words to start with about how these teachers started working in teaching. It is interesting that most of them report not having a burning sense of mission from childhood onwards to be teachers and involved in educating children. They came to the area of teaching without any prior career planning, generally after getting embroiled in financial difficulties which forced them to look for a job, and substitute teaching was viewed by them as a good way of earning a living for a while. However, they reported feeling a strong emotional charge on entering the classroom and beginning to teach. Encountering pupils made them realize that this profession was simply in tune with their personal identities, and that they basically love teaching and being with children. Their chance entrance to the teaching profession is particularly surprising when we hear their voices today – voices of profound emotional commitment, love for their pupils, and a matching quest for how to help them grow and develop on an academic level. The language of these teachers contains words like "devotion," "involvement," "emotion," "commitment," "mission," "vocation," "education," and so on – words which belong to exceptional teachers worldwide, despite their limited numbers in each country (Nias, 1989). Furthermore, the women teachers in the present study showed that such commitment leads them to an unconditional giving to the school and to imaginative and innovative teaching, as Hargreaves (1994) observed among North American teachers.

3.3.1 Emotional Commitment to Pupils

The emotional commitment that the teachers express in their life stories is a commitment which goes beyond commitment to a job and an organization, being defined as the extent to which employees identify with the organization's goals and their position, and are willing to devote a great deal of time and major effort to achieve these goals (Mowday et al., 1979). The women teachers do identify with the goals of education and the school, and are willing to invest major effort in their pupils' success, as I shall show below; but in addition to this they express a commitment which includes emotions such as feelings of affection, love, compassion, and concern for pupils. They see themselves as caring about their pupils' welfare, wanting to improve pupils' lives – an emotional commitment which is to be found among women teachers in the UK and the USA (Golby, 1996; Nias, 1989; Zehm and Kottler, 1993). Commitment of this kind is related to the concept of "care," which relates to a situation in which social relations are based on the care that a provider gives to a recipient. The provider listens to the needs which are expressed by the recipient and reacts in a way that satisfies these needs, or in a way that convincingly explains why these needs do not have to be met (Noddings, 2001). Such care takes on the significance of an interpersonal experience of enabling people to grow, interpersonal bonds, warmth, love, and giving, as testified by one of the teachers who says unequivocally: "[E]ven though I've been a teacher for 23 years, I still want to give and I genuinely mean this wholeheartedly."

The interpretation that these teachers give to the notions of commitment and involvement in work is broader, containing emotional as well as rational components. According to their interpretation, a teacher who is committed and involved in her work does not just believe in the goals of teaching and identify with the goals of the schooling process as reflected in the androgynous definitions based on the world of men which were defined above. Accordingly, a woman who is a committed and involved teacher has positive emotions toward her pupils, which bind her strongly to the school and what goes on there – emotions shared also by women teachers worldwide (Delamont and Coffey, 1997).

Like the American women teachers who were strongly committed to the work of teaching whom Firestone (1991) identified, the women teachers in this study are also not deterred by their pupils' low levels of commitment to learning; nor do they tend to label them as "unsuccessful" pupils from problematic family backgrounds. Moreover, they report having feelings of compassion for the weak child who needs their help – a feeling which has been identified as an important component in giving and accepting between people, creating a sense of interpersonal humanity (Frost et al., 2001). A teacher from a small town in the south of Israel clearly expressed the feeling of compassion which she has for children from what she defines as "destroyed" families:

> At the moment I'm guiding children to success, I'm guiding the child who's using drugs and gradually I get him to feel that he will believe in himself and give them up, and I succeed. … I get a girl who got married today, she comes to visit me, a girl in 10th grade, she gets pregnant and she didn't tell us, until the hospital called me and said this and that. It was already too late to get rid of the baby. And there was a wedding in 11th grade and there was a baby born in 11th grade and I won't give up on the girl. I get a tutor to go round to her to drill her at home, I arrange a special programme just for her. This girl, she has a little girl of her own … she passed all her matriculation exams. … It seems to me – what did they say when we cried when we said goodbye, one of the girls said to me, I love people the way you loved us, I'll believe in people the way you believed in us.

It would appear that the feeling of compassion, reflecting these teachers' job commitment and involvement, is expressed in the ability to establish a closer tie between children with family difficulties and themselves, as shown by another teacher from a primary school in a coastal city in Central Israel:

> I feel it, it gives me a lot of satisfaction, because I really do care, and if last year I had one child from a very difficult home … and he had to repeat a class. He was the school terror. They didn't believe what happened to him when he was with me. … Suddenly he'd sit and learn, sit and read and I bought him books, I bought him exercise books, he had everything. As soon as he finished one booklet, I went and bought him a new one.

Emotional commitment is portrayed as a desire to provide help and assistance to every single pupil for the very reason that they are the teacher's pupils – a desire that was observed also among American women teachers (Casey and Apple, 1989). A special education teacher who works both at a primary school and a middle school sees herself "as an angel helping special children, who are fortunate that I've come to their schools, as if God sent me despite the difficulties. … I fight for these children, I don't give up, whether I'm feeling strong or not, I don't give up." This would seem to be the emotional challenge that expresses her enormous commitment to her

job as a teacher. These teachers' emotional commitment to their pupils is portrayed as very strong, in particular in the light of what one woman from Central Israel said, reflecting how she felt personally hurt and deeply offended as a result of negative remarks that one of the teachers at her school made to one of her pupils:

> Let's say this child is nothing, that's not a sentence that I told him to say, it's something that he heard somewhere, a sentence that he heard. … I don't know whether it's possible to say about a child that he's "nothing," at that moment I – I don't know, I took this very much to heart and I said, why that child is nothing.

As part of their emotional commitment to the pupils, the teachers listen to what the child is saying, and as one of the teachers put it, they understand that "he's got such a lot of baggage, (so) when he comes to school he wants a stroke, he wants somebody to say something nice." Their attitude is that each child contains the whole wide world in herself or himself, and they will do everything in their power to see that she or he succeeds on the individual level, again, a major characteristic of women teachers in Western countries (e.g., Acker, 1989; Golby, 1996). A striking emotion which characterizes these teachers' stories is their affection and love for their pupils. This feeling of concern and love for their pupils, as Hargreaves (1994) argues, is a source of intrinsic satisfaction for women teachers worldwide. They relate their concern for pupils to their great love for their charges and their world, as reflected in the following passages:

> I also explain to them the whole time, Mum's angry with you at home? Why is she angry? Because she cares. I care too. At school, I'm your mother. If you have a pain and if people hit you and you feel bad, you come to me, then Mum does everything, and first of all she loves. She does everything because she loves you, because she wants you to feel good.
>
>   I always loved going to school, I loved the kids. I still love to give. I gave up lots of things, instead of going out and having a good time.

Their love for the children, along the lines described by Hargreaves (1994), is an emotional expression of their commitment to work. The emotional expressions which occur throughout the teachers' accounts of how they relate to the children point to the involvement and commitment which go far beyond their constant presence at school, identification with the educational goals, and a desire to continue working in teaching, elements which make up the male-based definitions of the concepts of involvement and commitment. The women's emotional involvement is not limited to their working hours; it is expressed in the feelings of compassion combined with love, affection, and concern for their pupils, all of which are features of women teachers observed in a variety of Western countries (e.g., Bascia and Young, 2001; Casey and Apple, 1989; Delamont and Coffey, 1997). This involvement includes their perception of the teaching profession as a vocation, and the countless efforts that they make in order to ensure that their pupils will succeed at school.

3.3.2   Feeling of Vocation

Like a religious person who feels a calling or a vocation to serve God (Hansen, 1995), these teachers feel that they have been called upon to help and contribute to their students' growth and development, to rescue them and to educate them. As

they see it, they did not choose teaching merely in order to have an easy job: they feel that teaching for them is a mission, as expressed in what two of them indicated in the following passage:

> Interviewer: What would you compare the teacher's role with?
>
> Teacher: First of all there's a lot of vocation, which is why it's important to be terribly responsible, it's not the sort of thing you do because nothing better was available, you mustn't do it as a kind of "default." That's the worst possible sin. Unless you really love what you do, you mustn't do it, it's a perversion of our calling.
>
> I also acquired experience in feeling what power was about when I ran an office with nearly 30 employees. … But apparently when it comes to children it's a different kind of thing, you feel that you're shaping a personality, you feel … you really are shaping a generation. It has the most enormous significance. OK, when you work in an office you're working with paper, fine, so if you make a mistake, if worst comes to worst you have to correct the minutes or the record, but when you use an inappropriate word to a child … the way that this affects the child – it's an entirely different feeling.

Consistent with Canadian women teachers' conceptions of teaching indicated by Bascia and Young (2001), teaching is perceived by the Israeli teachers as a unique profession that differs from other professions on the levels of importance and significance, insofar as the teacher plays an important role in the proper development of young people. In addition, the sense of vocation is expressed in the area between public duty and personal fulfillment. It is expressed in their profound involvement in work and grounded in socially meaningful values. One of the teachers gave the following account:

> Really and truly, today I think when I look at my 18 year-old daughter, who's in the army, I see myself in her. She throws herself into it and she really cares. And I see myself at the same time in my life. Every holiday she turns up with marker pens and I tell her, Jane, have a rest. And what does she say? No, everything's got to be there, so I'm really sure. … It was important to me to educate a generation. I really mean it – it's not just some fancy expression.

Educating the future generation is perceived as their professional vocation and an expression of profound emotional identification with education's goals. As part of this vocation they want to do something crucial in the world, actively attaching the children's education to values which they perceive as being of vital importance for society. Thus, the same teacher meticulously describes the meaning of her educational mission and notes that "my mission is to educate Israel's children. To educate doesn't just mean teaching them to behave properly, to talk nicely, to respect each other, to care that their surroundings are aesthetic, that if there's a bit of paper on the ground they'll pick it up." Her mission (commitment?) is to educate the child to behave properly on an interpersonal level. This is a mission to which she devotes a great deal of time, and for which she feels both a moral and a social responsibility – a responsibility which Hargreaves (1994) sees as part of her commitment to caring for a pupil.

It is important to note that these women teachers' feeling that they are society's emissaries can, and very often does, create dilemmas and difficulties in how they function. For some of them, their determination to instill values in the children constitutes "a problem of conflicts between the values which I wanted to display and the values which the children brought with from home," as it was put by one of the inter-

viewees, who was not prepared to compromise when it came to her values and her role as an emissary of society. For these women teachers, as well as for English women teachers in Nias' (1989) study, job commitment and involvement basically means teaching well, educating the child to behave morally on an interpersonal level and accepting the need to have to constantly deal with their pupils' self-improvement. Their emotional commitment and their intense sense of professional vocation encourage giving above and beyond what is required in regulations defining the teacher's professional commitment, according to Israel's Ministry of Education.

3.3.3 Giving Unconditionally to the School Beyond What Is Required

Another component in these teachers' involvement in, and commitment to, the school is giving unconditionally to the school, to the teachers, to the parents, and of course to the students. They adopt what is called "organizational citizenship behavior," i.e., those things that an employee does even though they are not defined in their job description as part of their official duties, but are actions which the organization's management perceive as being desirable (Organ, 1988). As good citizens of the school, they feel a high level of commitment to the proper functioning of the school system, and involvement in helping other teachers in their work above and beyond the written requirements laid down in the formal definition of the teacher's role. It would appear possible to view this as an expression of their involvement and emotional commitment to their colleagues and pupils, involvement which goes beyond believing in a need to implement the goals of the school and to obey the rules that apply at school. The teachers' emotional commitment on behalf of their students is endowed by them with broader significance. They expand it into a moral commitment to all of the school's pupils, as shown by the following example, which is provided by a primary school teacher:

> This week … the teacher on duty didn't turn up, the children were on the rampage, I couldn't go out for my break, I could just see something awful happening, I just wasn't capable of going out and so I gave up my break and stood in the corridor. There are lots of children, arguing here and going wild there, you've got to. … A girl climbed up onto the balustrade. … The duty teacher turns up one minute before the bell to go back in, with a cup of coffee. And I tell her, excuse me, you're on duty, she tells me, yes, but I made a cup of coffee. And if something awful had happened here? I just can't. It's part of me. I care even if it's not really mine.

The voice that we can hear in this passage is the emotional voice of the care and concern for the children as individuals. This teacher is just not capable of leaving the children unsupervised in case something bad happens to them and then she will feel responsible. Similarly, but from a different point of view, a teacher who is also a head of department in an affluent community in the south of Israel outlines her unlimited commitment to the proper functioning of the school system:

> What I see in the case of younger teachers, let's say, not infrequently I have to call a young teacher into my room to call her to order, and she says, well, the children are ill and this. … They find it so easy not to come to work, so easy … this year too when my daughter was in a bad way at home, there was no question of taking time off, it just wasn't an option.

> Where's their responsibility to the system? I think that if that trait isn't present, responsibility to work, to the system, to the children, then it's impossible to do it.

This teacher does not have to come to school when she is ill, but her decision to do so clearly reflects a sense of being highly committed to the organization, which results from the strong emotional bond that she has with the members of the school. These feelings motivate these teachers in their decision to help new teachers even though they are not required to do so as regular teachers. They simply want the system to function properly outside their classes as well. One of the teachers commented:

> To this day, even though it's not my job any more, it's somebody else's job, a teacher who's having trouble making up her mind comes to me as if it's the most natural thing in the world, and they even laugh at me – I come in on my day off, and when I have some spare periods between classes, I do it with pleasure but without …. I don't keep track of every single little thing. … I did it because I loved it and this giving that I do, it's very characteristic of me.

Because of this emotional bond that they have developed with the teaching profession, their unlimited giving also takes place toward the pupils in their class. They feel personal responsibility toward many areas in the child's world and not just toward the area of teaching. One of the teachers indicates that she "didn't feel that (she) was a teacher so much as feeling (she) was more a mother, a psychologist, a counselor, sometimes a doctor" and another one tells how "they used to laugh at me at school being a social worker, not just a teacher." Their commitment to work is reflected in their major involvement in different aspects of the child's life.

This infinite giving which knows no bounds tires them out, but they do not stop their organizational citizenship behavior toward the school. In addition to the emotional commitment and the responsibility toward the pupils in that capacity, a further component in their commitment and involvement in work is their tendency to introduce innovations to the curriculum and teaching methods based on a belief that in this way they are helping their pupils and preventing them from failing. A description of their story in this field appears below.

3.3.4   Innovation and Variety in Teaching Work

Along the same lines as Nias (1989) found among exceptional teachers in England, one of the expressions of these Israeli women teachers' commitment and involvement in their work is novice ways of teaching, as well as an attempt to vary the ways in which they teach in order to adapt them to the children's needs. One of the teachers made the point as follows:

> But I always have something creative in my head, let's do this and let's do that, and here we'll organize a party and we'll organize all kinds.
> Interviewer: What's this "something creative"?
> Interviewee: Putting things over in the form of a game, in a different form, something that makes the pupils' eyes sparkle. … You can see it, there's a difference.

This sparkle in the children's eyes is the motto which drives the women to vary the ways in which they teach and to seek tirelessly for teaching techniques that will

make learning a real experience, based on their belief that in this way they will contribute to improving their teaching achievements in their class. Similar beliefs were found to prevail among Australian and American women teachers (Blackmore, 1999b; Hubbard and Datnow, 2000). Accordingly, reforms were perceived by women teachers to provide them with an opportunity to extend their role as nurturers and caretakers and for student's social and emotional needs to be met.

Thus, a secondary school teacher who felt compassion for weak pupils in her class provided a very striking description of the relationship between her enormous emotional commitment to her pupils and her own need to find new ways of working and introduce variety into her teaching techniques:

> Today too in the psychology lesson, I never start with the same material that I started with. On one occasion I begin with Freud, and another … I teach it differently. Something else – today I set up websites, today, you know what, I do Internet searches, I want to see how to shake up some of the pupils who are bored and don't want to write anything, and to show this to them, maybe by using the computer I can lead them to this stage.

Unlike other teachers who might ignore the weak pupils, for these women any such turning of their backs is simply out of the question. A teacher who feels that she is committed to the growth of her students is encouraged to look for varied teaching methods to suit every single child and their particular needs. Another teacher represents a different aspect of the great importance that these teachers attach to unconventional and varied ways of teaching, comparing and contrasting frontal teaching with the type of teaching that she does with her own pupils:

> I don't sit there and dictate to them, or give them a speech. I get the pupils to do things, I get all the way to the boy sitting in the corner, the girl who says this is all dialogue. Language sounds like rules, laws, but there are no such things as rules. If we dictate rules, they become dirty words, and it's a real waste of time, but instead you get to the rules, explain the phenomenon, what's behind it and so on, and that comes from the children. The children create this, how they see it when it's written down.

There is no question that it would be easier for this teacher and her colleagues to teach using the traditional method and to refrain from innovation and creativity, but their emotional commitment to the process of school education, seemingly, leads them to seek pedagogical innovations throughout all the years that they have worked in teaching. Their openness to innovations and their quest for new working methods are an expression of their profound emotional identification with the goals of school education and the major importance that they attach to the teacher's work in the classroom. As in the case of innovative women principals (Oplatka, 2003), these innovations strengthen the women teachers themselves, acting as a kind of incentive and encouragement that feeds the process of their work, as reflected in the following excerpt:

> It's boring to keep doing the same thing over and over again. First of all, anything I do in a new way – over and beyond the fact that I'm teaching or learning, introducing those people to something new – I feel that it rejuvenates me and makes me stronger, and they strengthen what I do in my work.

To sum up, the women teachers in this study expressed an emotional commitment combined with a feeling of educational vocation, generating a form of civil behavior

in the organization and an unceasing quest for professional innovations which will enable them to put their commitment and emotional vocation into practice.

4   Discussion

The Israeli women teachers in this study seem to interpret the concepts of work commitment and job involvement in a way that differs from the commonly used definitions and conceptualizations that are still widespread in the social sciences. Combining the two concepts interchangeably in their life story they construct work commitment and involvement in terms of emotion and calling, rather than participation and identification only. Furthermore, their work commitment and involvement were perceived to include a high level of emotional commitment toward staff and students, a sense of professional calling, concern and care for the schooling process and innovation-oriented teaching. Their construction of commitment and involvement is embedded with care, affection, love, concern, growth, and moral education, all of which are elements that are absent from common definitions of these concepts. This absence may partially explain why women teachers have long been perceived as being less committed and involved in their work than men.

Let us stretch this argument one step further and take a scale that is used to measure involvement. This is a graphic scale developed by Kanungo (1982), which asks respondents to indicate the degree to which they are involved in their present job (as opposed to involvement with their family or with leisure activities). Kanungo's ten-item Job Involvement Scale consists of statements such as "[t]he most important things that happen to me involve my present job," and "[t]o me, my job is only a small part of who I am." It goes without saying, firstly, that women in general are less likely to attach greater importance to work than to family (due to social norms expecting women to prioritize their family), which therefore reduces their job involvement rankings. Furthermore any claims about women's low levels of work commitment and involvement in education are based, first and foremost, on male-based assumptions that long working hours, active participation in the organization and readiness to work far away from home are indications of high job involvement and work commitment (Becker, 1985). Needless to say, including the emotions and behaviors indicated by the women teachers in this study in the constructions of work commitment and job involvement would probably improve women teachers' rankings in the inventory.

4.1   Implications for Cross-Cultural Education Policy

Despite some differences in culture and in educational arrangements between Israel and other Western countries, (e.g., centralized educational system, ideological values in Israel that tend to stress the importance of collectivism rather than individualism),

there is a similarity in the construction of job commitment and involvement among women teachers in these countries. The stories of the Israeli women teachers highlight a universal perception of emotional commitment and involvement in the school organization shared by women teachers (e.g., Acker, 1989; Blackmore, 1998; Golby, 1996; Nias, 1989). With this in mind, women teachers' universal construction of work commitment and job in terms of emotion and calling may be considered another reflection of the unique world of women, or in Bernard's (1981) words, "the female ethos." According to this ethos, women stress caring and love for other people, and their main function is "stroking," which means responsiveness to others' needs, altruism, self-sacrifice, and unassertive attitudes (Tong, 1994, Josselson, 1995). Thus, the women teachers' construction of work commitment and job involvement may be seen as part of their "female" identity. By constructing these concepts in terms borrowed from the "female world," women teachers worldwide are less likely to meet role–family conflicts, as their commitment is not measured in terms of participation and priority to the school. For them the work commitment is emotional in nature rather than rational, and therefore the efforts they devote to work are inseparable from their identity.

5 Conclusion

The data in the study were based on a small sample of women teachers, and so the findings must be interpreted with caution. One cannot, therefore, generalize from our findings to other professions. But even so, the findings shed light on women teachers' unique construction of work commitment and job involvement, and provide insight into the universal aspects of this construction. What, then, can we learn from the Israeli case? At a practical level it is possible to identify some lessons that might be valuable for global education policy.

Firstly, the women teachers' own constructions of these concepts sharpen the feminist argument for distinctive conceptualization of phenomena based on gender in studies within the field of educational management. It follows, then, that any educational policy aimed at increasing teachers' organizational commitment needs to develop more gender-based definitions and inventories of the work commitment and job involvement concepts (as well as of other concepts) that are more profoundly based on the particular characteristics of the women's world and voices. In this vein, issues found to characterize women (Bernard, 1981; Tong, 1994) such as caring for others, emotional commitment and non-polar views are likely to be of great importance and should be taken into account in the construction of this policy among women teachers.

Secondly, the rational-based assumptions underlying recent educational reforms (e.g., standardization of outputs, differential incentives for teachers) introduced in many countries ought to be reexamined in light of women teachers' universal interpretation and construction of commitment and involvement (Zajda, 2005, 2008b). For

example, an education policy which is oriented toward long working-hours-based incentives virtually ignores women teachers' particular needs and constraints. An education policy which is in favor of outputs evaluation disregards women teachers' major attention to issues of emotional aspects in the schooling process itself. Thus, the universal, emotional code shared by women teachers worldwide may account for some limitations in the introduction of rational-oriented policies in many countries.

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Bridging the Educational Gap: Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Beliefs, Attitudes and Practices in a Remote Australian School

Elizabeth Warren, Tom J Cooper, and Annette R Baturo

1 Indigenous Education: An Introduction

Indigenous education remains of grave concern within Australian society (Fitzgerald, 2002). Systems are currently making limited educational impact in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities (Department of Education, Training and Employment, 1999). In particular, Indigenous students' beliefs about the relevance of education, attitudes towards school, behaviour in school and attendance at school are affecting their educational performance (Bourke et al., 2000; Cataldi and Partington, 1998; Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs, 2002). This chapter reports on the success of a 3-year longitudinal professional learning project in a remote Australian school. Using mathematics as the vehicle, this project set out to improve Indigenous students' learning outcomes by enhancing their beliefs, attitudes and practices and thus to begin to bridge the current educational gap between them and non-Indigenous students. The chapter reviews the literature relevant to the relationship between beliefs, attitudes, practices and performance, outlines the project generally and, for the particular school Albertown (pseudonym), describes findings with regard to beliefs and attitudes, and discusses the implications for future intervention projects.

Since competency in mathematics is one of the critical elements of school success in many cultures (Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs, 2001), the implications of this project extend beyond mathematics performance. Lack of competency in mathematics reduces life chances, and being innumerate can be profoundly disabling in every sphere of life including, home, work and professional pursuits (Orrill, 2001).

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2   School Practices, Beliefs, Attitudes and Educational Performance

Teachers in Indigenous communities tend to be young and inexperienced in terms of teaching practice (mainly newly graduated) and the cultural context of the school. They therefore tend to construct Indigenous culture in terms saturated with Western ideals and preconceptions (Rothbaum et al., 2000) which are alien to Indigenous students. Western thinking is traditionally compartmentalized, resulting in an education system in schools (whether oral or written) focusing on the details of the individual parts rather than the whole and relationships within the whole. By contrast, Indigenous students tend to be holistic learners, appreciating overviews of subjects and conscious linking of ideas (Christie, 1994, 1995; Grant, 1997).

This alienation can be exacerbated in mathematics where Western methods and a lack of contextualization into Indigenous culture (Matthews et al., 2005; Zajda, 2004, 2008) lead many Indigenous students to feel "put down" and to develop low confidence in their ability to do mathematics (Howard, 2001). In Queensland, Indigenous students' average performance on standard numeracy tests is 2 years behind that of non-Indigenous students (Queensland Studies Authority, 2004, 2005) and, for many Indigenous students, there is further deterioration from Year 4 onwards (Howard, 2001).

Many non-Indigenous teachers believe that classrooms are places where they are in charge (McFadden et al., 1999) and they are reluctant to allow Indigenous participation in decision making (Beresford, 2001). This dominant attitude can impact on white teacher–Indigenous Teacher Assistants (herein called ITAs) and white teacher–Indigenous student relationships and can result in negative beliefs and attitudes (including shame – Groome, 1995).

Teachers have the potential to offset Indigenous underperformance through having high expectations of success, respect for culture and developing positive relationships with students and community (Howard, 2001; Sarra, 2003). Indigenous students experience difficulties with teachers who do not (a) understand them and respect their culture, (b) relate to them positively (Groome and Edwardson, 1996) or, (c) have high expectations of their success. If teacher expectations are lowered for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) students, as they commonly are by Australian teachers (Reaburn, 1993), participation and success are marginalized.

Australian Indigenous students' attendance and subsequent learning at school are impacted upon by their beliefs and attitudes towards school (Bourke et al., 2000) although the exact nature of the cause–effect relationship is unclear. Self-esteem and identity are also important in academic success and can be positive if Indigenous students believe that schooling is something in which they can succeed and with which their culture can be productively associated (Matthews et al., 2005; Sarra, 2003). Negative academic self-esteem leads to dis-identification with school, a common protective strategy for minority groups (Purdi et al., 2000). Dis-identification leads to irregular or nonattendance and to underperformance (McFadden et al., 1999). Indigenous role models are a major impetus in assisting

students to identify with mathematics learning; the lack of Indigenous role models can negatively impact on Indigenous students' self-identity and performance (Howard, 2001). Positive self-identity is promoted when young people can successfully integrate the various aspects of themselves without having to deal with excessive contradictions in behaviours and emotions associated with these different dimensions.

Therefore, in summary, school practices that do not acknowledge and value the background of the students and enhance the self-esteem of all students (Queensland Indigenous Education Consultative Body (QIECB), 2003) often lead to negative beliefs and attitudes, nonattendance and underperformance. To bridge the gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous mathematics outcomes, it is essential that Indigenous students experience practices that acknowledge their Indigenality, are based on expectations of success and are better-suited to their learning style.

3   Professional Learning Project

In 2002–2004, we undertook a 3-year longitudinal professional learning project in three primary schools in a remote area of Australia. The project aimed to reverse Indigenous students' underperformance in mathematics outcomes with respect to State and National benchmarks. We attempted to do this by: (a) realigning teachers' mathematics knowledge, classroom practices and community relationships so that they were more conducive to Indigenous student learning; (b) providing specific mathematics education training to ITAs; and (c) ensuring that teachers and principals recognized ITAs as key partners in assisting to develop appropriate learning activities and in liaising with Indigenous students and their communities. In this, we followed the literature that schools can make a positive difference to Indigenous learning if they: had experienced and knowledgeable school personnel in terms of teaching in Indigenous communities; and, nurtured collaborative relationships between school and local Indigenous communities (Board of Studies New South Wales, 1996).

This next section overviews the part of this project relevant to this chapter, namely, the study of beliefs, attitudes and practices associated with Albertown (pseudonym purposely chosen to reflect a common practice in these areas, a remote place with a "white" name), one of the three participating schools. The findings presented in this chapter are from the last year of the project.

Albertown is a small remote outback town with a population of approximately 300. It is a 3 h drive from a large regional city and is considered to be one of the last outposts before the deserts. It services a pastoral industry which consists of some of the largest stations in Australia. Albertown has only one supermarket, a hotel and a visitor's centre. Most goods and services are accessed from the large regional city.

Albertown primary school, the only school in the town, is classified by the education system as a rural and remote school. It caters for students from Years 1–7 of schooling (i.e., 5–12 year olds) and has two classes, a lower and an upper class. The

lower class caters for students within the first 3 years of schooling and the upper class for students in the remaining 4 years of primary schooling. We visited Albertown at least four times a year for 3 years, planning and implementing effective strategies to support mathematics learning for all students at the school.

Over the time of the project, each class consisted of approximately 20 students and the school was staffed by a principal (non-Indigenous), two teachers (non-Indigenous; first teaching appointment) and five teacher assistants (two of whom were Indigenous). Neither the principal nor the teachers were familiar with the Albertown community. During the 3 years of the study, there were three different principals and four different teachers, and hence, our change of focus to supporting the two Indigenous teacher assistants, Lyn and Max (pseudonyms), who were members of the local Indigenous community. In the school communities that participated in the larger study, teachers tended to hold differing beliefs about the role of Indigenous and non-Indigenous teacher assistants in supporting Indigenous student learning. Non-Indigenous Teacher Assistants were often given greater responsibility for student learning and, in spite of holding similar academic backgrounds, ITAs' time was commonly allocated to assisting in classroom management (Warren et al., 2004).

Lyn started working at the school in our first year and remained there throughout the whole project. At the beginning of the project, her attendance was sporadic and she did not feel "accepted within the school community" [her words]. She had completed Year 12 (the final year of secondary schooling) and had returned to the community as an adult; she had two young children attending the school. Max joined the school in our final year. He had also completed Year 12 and had commenced studying to be a teacher assistant through a Distance Education program. Both Lyn and Max were employed on a casual basis. Two of the non-Indigenous teacher assistants had been at the school for over 15 years and thus were perceived as having a great deal of authority and power within the school community. Both were permanent members of staff. In fact, one of them was an assistant at the school when Lyn was a student there.

Data were collected primarily through open-ended interviews. These data were complemented with observations of the students in school and in community, as well as through interviews with family, community members, teachers and teacher assistants. The primary focus of this paper is on the students in the upper class, ten Indigenous and nine non-Indigenous students. Each student participated in a 1 h interview with the interview questions focusing on five main dimensions, namely, (a) demographic information, for example, the time they have lived in Albertown, their family structures and employment of their primary carers; (b) attitudes and beliefs about their own future employment; (c) information about after-school and in-school activities; (d) attitudes and beliefs about mathematics and its usefulness in life; and (e) understanding and performance in arithmetical situations. The interview took the form of an informal discussion and was conducted by one of the researchers, who had been consistently working in their classroom over the 3-year period.

Arithmetical performance was gauged by a simple problem that involved subtraction and was situated in a real-world context that both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous students had equal access to, namely the context of money and

shopping. The question was: *So if you were shopping and I was the shopkeeper and I said it costs $5.10 and you gave me $6 how much money would you get back?* The question was also asked orally thus addressing the concern of ascertaining mathematical understanding by means of a pen and paper test (Barnes, 2000).

4 The Albertown Experience

The findings for Albertown focus first on the student interviews and then on staff interviews and school observations. The staff interviews and school observations focused on support for Indigenous teacher assistants per se and support for teacher and teacher assistant partnerships. All interviews were audiotaped and the tapes transcribed. The descriptions of findings are interspersed with representative statements by interviewees. These are taken from transcriptions and are given in italics.

It should be noted that these findings are from the end of the study during which a major change occurred at Albertown school. At the commencement of the study, school attendance of the Indigenous students tended to be sporadic with only about half the students attending on a regular basis and ITA involvement in learning was uneven. At the end of the study, attendance of the Indigenous students had changed to almost 100% and structures had been put in place to ensure the Indigenous teacher assistants were considered central to Indigenous student learning.

5 Student Demographic Information and Perceptions of Future Employment and School

Of the ten Indigenous students interviewed, four had always lived in Albertown and six shared that they had attended up to two other schools before joining the upper class at the school. Five of the students indicated that they were a part of large extended family groupings living in the town. Two were not living with their parents. In both cases, the primary carers were either their grandmother or an auntie. In the majority of instances, either one or both of their parents were gainfully employed either working for the local council or on the nearby cattle stations. All of their siblings who had completed their elementary education at Albertown attended a boarding school at the nearby regional city. This school was developed to especially cater for its Indigenous clientele with these siblings having regular contact with their family. Most of the Indigenous students like living in Albertown because

> there are lots of family and lots of people to help, it is safer, and we can go fishing, swimming in the river. There is lots of things to do.

By contrast, of the nine non-Indigenous students, seven had always lived in Albertown. Many of these students were members of small nuclear families. All families had at least one parent who was employed in the local community. Up

to six families had both parents employed in Albertown. All their siblings who had completed their elementary education at Albertown attended a boarding school that was at least a 10 h drive or 4 h plane trip from the town itself. Thus, many of the non-Indigenous students were faced with experiencing long periods away from family on the commencement of their secondary education. While they all tended to like Albertown because it was

> friendly, has lots of space with the freedom of living in the country, and we can ride horses and motorbikes many faced a feeling of loneliness with nothing much to do.

Interestingly, the Indigenous and non-Indigenous students' beliefs with regard to future employment seemed to be similar. Half of the students in each group were unsure of what they wanted to do. For the other students, the roles that they chose for their future employment were very similar (e.g., teacher, teacher-aide, nurse, horse trainer, station hand, shopkeeper and policeman). All of these choices reflect the categories of employment that exist within the local community. What was different was that two of the Indigenous students felt so strongly about the work that their Indigenous teacher assistant was doing in helping them to learn that they just wanted to *be like her*.

The non-Indigenous students tended not to express any feelings about school. One did suggest that they were keen to go to boarding school

> as there was no one else in the school that is my age.

By contrast, six of the Indigenous students expressed strong feelings about school with four liking school because

> you learn stuff, they [the teacher assistant] reads you stories, it gives you more education and you don't grow up dumb.

The other two commented that

> I am not happy at school. I would like to go to high school because you learn more stuff about maths, reading and I don't like getting up early for school or doing homework.

6   Students' After-School Activities and Perceptions of Mathematics and Its Usefulness

The next section of the interview related to the types of activities that they tended to participate in their leisure hours and to identify whether there were differences between the two groups. A common myth is that for most Indigenous students' education is not as valued in the home environment as it is for non-Indigenous students. Thus, a particular focus was on their engagement with literacy activities and homework practices. Table 1 summarizes the categories delineated in the analysis for after-school activities together with the frequency of responses for each group (Indigenous and non-Indigenous students).

The trends in the above table suggest that, at the conclusion of the project, there were little differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. Most regularly attempted to complete their homework with the assistance of their mother.

Table 1 After-school activities with frequency of responses (n = 10 Indigenous; 9 non-Indigenous)

After-school activity	Indigenous students	Non-Indigenous students
Homework (who assists)	5 (mother) 2 (self)	4 (mother) 4 (self)
Reading at home	6	6
Visiting the library	4	0
Leisure activities	All	All

Table 2 Usefulness of mathematics and frequency of responses (n = 10 Indigenous; 9 non-Indigenous)

Home situation	Indigenous students	Non-Indigenous students
Shopping and money	8	2
Measuring	0	3
Sport	2	2
Counting cattle etc.	0	1

Most read in their home environment. Interestingly, the Indigenous students attended the library after school, unlike their non-Indigenous counterparts. The main reason for this was that "we can read magazines and play games on the computers," activities that did not seem to occur in their home environment. The fourth category, leisure activities were very similar for both groups and included activities such as visiting friends, watching television and playing computer games and cricket, and going fishing.

Eleven students indicated that Mathematics was their favorite subject; four preferred art; one liked sport and one liked everything that they did at school. Thus, when asked if they liked Mathematics, all but two students indicated that they liked participating in mathematical activities especially *timetables, sums, measuring* and *takeaways* and felt confident with mathematics. All but two non-Indigenous students believed it was important to be good at mathematics. Many were not too sure why. Some reasons proffered were "helps you to be brainy, count properly, helps you learn," and "so you can go to high school and get a good education." Four (two Indigenous and two non-Indigenous) students thought that it was important to be good at mathematics as "it helped you get a job, you need it to work" but could not give specific examples of how you would use it in the workplace. One Indigenous student, who wanted to be a carpenter, did not believe that you would use mathematics in this profession. Table 2 summarizes how students perceived mathematics to be useful to them at home.

While most believed that what they were learning at school was useful for them at home, many had difficulty seeing mathematics in a work-related context. Overall, the most common home situation for mathematics was money and shopping, with all but one Indigenous student identifying this as a common use of mathematics. Unlike the non-Indigenous students, it is not uncommon for these Indigenous students to be involved in assisting with the purchasing of groceries for their family. At school money was also a context commonly used by the teachers to introduce concepts such as addition and subtraction.

7 Students' Arithmetical Performance

For the question *So if you were shopping and I was the shopkeeper and I said it costs $5.10 and you gave me $6, how much would you get back?*, only half of both groups of students (Indigenous and non-Indigenous) gave the correct answer of $0.90 and explained how they worked out the answer. For those students who were incorrect nearly all the non-Indigenous students gave the answer of $1.10, indicating a miscomprehension of the problem. For example, a common reply was "Because 6 take 5 is 1 dollar and you have 10 cents left so that is $1.10." By contrast, the Indigenous students could comprehend the problem but errors occurred in the application of the strategy used to solve the problem. For example, one explained "I counted up 50 [to $5.50] and then counted another 50 [to $6] that makes a $1." For this question, both groups were exhibiting similar achievement but different trends in mathematical ability.

In summary, by the conclusion of the 3-year period the ten Indigenous and nine non-Indigenous students in the upper class at Albertown were not only attending school on a more regular basis as compared to the beginning of the project but were also giving very similar responses as their non-Indigenous counterparts to all dimensions of the interview. They were exhibiting similar beliefs and attitudes to school, engaging in similar at-home practices, holding similar future employment aspirations and possessing similar beliefs and attitudes to mathematics and its usefulness to life beyond the school walls. The next section begins to tease out some of the factors that were perceived to assist in closing the gap.

8 Support for Indigenous Assistants and Teachers' and Assistants' Perceptions of This

The support provided to the Indigenous teacher assistants (ITAs) by the study consisted of two main dimensions. First, specific professional help was provided by the researchers that focused on enhancing assistants' understanding of mathematics and strategies targeted to support student learning. The assistants were encouraged and supported to translate this understanding to activities and conversations that were meaningful to Indigenous students' context.

Second, the importance of establishing of school structures that acknowledged the role the ITAs played in supporting Indigenous student learning was acknowledged by the principal. A physical space was allocated for the Indigenous teacher assistants in which to work and time was given for them to make and locate appropriate resources that would assist in implementing the ideas that the researchers had discussed with them.

As well, the upper class teacher also set up formal structures that ensured that the work the ITAs did with the students was communicated to him on a regular basis. Initially this took the form of allocating regular times for one-on-one discus-

sions with the ITAs, and then implementing the use of a communication book in which the ITAs recorded students with whom they had worked, what activities they had used and what the students had achieved. The teacher responded to these notes on a daily basis giving written explicit directions on what to do next or what specific problems the students were exhibiting in the classroom context and strategies for assisting these.

From the interviews conducted in the third year of the study, the teachers believed that the support of the ITAs had resulted in *them becoming more focused and enjoying helping the Indigenous students.* This was supported by the Indigenous teacher assistant interviews; as Lyn commented:

> *before we did not know a great deal and neither did the Indigenous students. What we are doing now is making a big difference.*

9 Teacher–Teacher Assistant Partnerships and Teachers' Perception of These

With the constant change of teaching personnel at the school, the teacher assistants tended to have to begin new relationships regularly. New teachers entering the school had little experience of teacher assistants; their previous school practices had no teacher assistants or a teacher assistant working for a few hours a week on photocopying worksheets or making resources. Each time new teachers and principals entered the school, the researchers ensured that conversation occurred about what training the teacher assistants had participated in and how crucial their role was in supporting learning.

This resulted in positive partnerships. As a new graduate commented, after being in the classroom for a short time, about one of her Indigenous students who was causing her difficulties:

> *I get very frustrated with Michael … but Lyn [the female ITS] is very patient with him. She's just, you know, "cut out your nonsense." She's good with all the Indigenous students. So yes she just works well with them. She has an affinity for them. I have Lyn working with one of the boys for literacy. He works better for her than he does for me.*

Another new teacher also acknowledged that the Indigenous teacher assistants also played a crucial role in connecting to the community and contextualizing classroom learning.

> *Lyn is the best person to go to as I don't know the Community too well. She helps me bring the culture into the classroom.*

By the conclusion of the project the teachers were acknowledging their teacher assistants ability to "pick up" on important teaching strategies.

> *I rarely have to give her example questions. She has picked up on the sort of questions to ask the kids to support them.*

The inclusion of a male Indigenous teacher assistant (Max) was also seen as crucial for supporting the Indigenous boys.

> *He puts a lot of lunch breaks in helping the ones that are struggling. They don't like it sometimes. … But it doesn't deter them or make them not come to school. He's got his own studies and goals and pushing these ideals towards the kids. It's good.*

The improved teacher–Indigenous teacher assistant relationships were also seen as one of the reasons for improved attendance of Indigenous students (from sporadic to almost full attendance across the 3 years). In an interview, the teacher of the upper class shared that:

> *students are happy because the teachers are endeavouring to make[LEARNING?] fun and the content relevant and processes have been set up to ensure that all students are working to their individual capability. I also believe that "Max" [the male Indigenous teacher assistant] is having a substantive impact on the students as he himself is studying to be a teacher. His explicit message to the students is, "you have to do this work as it is important for your future."*

This chapter represents the findings from one rural and remote Australian school for a longitudinal 3-year study to bridge the mathematics learning gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. For this school, the study appears to have had a positive effect, particularly with regard to Indigenous students' beliefs, attitudes and attendance. Analysis of the reasons for this effect appears to provide three implications for supporting Indigenous student learning.

10 Policy Implications

10.1 Implication 1: Change Can Happen

At the conclusion of the study at Albertown, there were fundamental changes in the school. Indigenous students were nearly all regularly attending school. Differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students with regard to their beliefs and attitudes about school, future employment, mathematics and its usefulness for everyday life were very few, and some of those were positive to the Indigenous students. The support for Indigenous teacher assistants had improved and teacher–teacher assistant partnerships appeared to be productive. In particular, the ITAs felt more confident and valued within the school community.

In many communities, there is a belief that Indigenous students' education is not as valued in the home environment as it is for non-Indigenous students. The results of the interview pertaining to home activities with a particular focus on engagement with literacy activities and homework practices indicated that this was no longer the case in Albertown. The responses showed little difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in the types of activities in which they tended to participate in their leisure hours. In this community, Indigenous parents do care and are willing to assist where necessary.

Overall, average performance is lower for Indigenous than non-Indigenous students in Australia. However, the results for the Albertown students showed that

there were little differences in performance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students in the upper school class. Their responses towards attitude to mathematics also showed that Indigenous students at Albertown exhibited a strong self-identity with respect to mathematics and had not dis-identified with school (as per Purdi et al., 2000; Sarra, 2003). It is conjectured that the establishment of ITAs as key players and role models in supporting Indigenous learning positively impacted on students' self-identity and performance.

10.2 Implication 2: Contextualization Is the Key

Contextualization is teaching mathematics through associating activities with culture (Board of Studies New South Wales, 1995; Matthews et al., 2005) This means ensuring that students associate mathematics achievement with Indigenality and that Indigenous staff members and community have a prominent role in the school and mathematics classroom (Howard, 2001; Sarra, 2003); the basis of the study on which this chapter reports.

Traditionally, mathematics and its teaching both reflect Western culture (Bishop et al., 1999; McFadden et al., 1999). Therefore, differences in mathematics performance can stem from a different cultural view of what it means to be good at mathematics. Commonly in most school environments this is determined by gauging students' performance level from items that reflect non-Indigenous learning style, namely solving meaningless problems by pen-and-paper means (Barnes, 2000; Christie, 1994, 1995; Grant, 1997). This was the reason why the "shopping" question was used in the interview. It was not only appropriate to this context but was presented in an aural format. Interestingly, although performance was the same, there were marked differences in errors between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. The Indigenous students' errors reflected the position of Grant (1997) and Matthews et al. (2005) in that Indigenous students tend to understand the structure of problems and that their underperformance commonly reflects mistakes in procedures used to solve the problem.

Analysis of the data conjectures that improvement in Indigenous students' attitude to school and mathematics was due to three main reasons, namely, (a) ensuring that the teaching was aligned to Indigenous student learning, (b) increasing the mathematical knowledge of Indigenous teacher assistants and (c) giving Indigenous teacher assistants a voice and an explicit role in assisting Indigenous student learning. Unbeknown to the researchers, each of their visits raised the confidence and status of the Indigenous teacher assistant within the school environment. As the researchers always gave significant time to them, the assistants felt that they had an important role to play. It is conjectured that this resulted in more positive Indigenous teacher assistant's self-images, better role models for Indigenous students and consequentially improved performance and identity towards mathematics for the Indigenous students (Howard, 2001).

10.3 Implication 3: Training, Professional Development and Infrastructure Have Strong Roles

Most teachers who go to rural and remote schools with Indigenous students are inexperienced and stay for 2 years; they have little expertise to assist them with the Indigenous culture and teacher assistants. As well, most teacher assistants in these schools have little training in how to teach and to support their teacher in teaching. Further, schools have little infrastructure to build positive teacher–assistant partnerships; for example, assistants are only paid for the time they are with students (not with their teacher).

First, there is a need for initial teacher training to include knowledge on contextualization and relating to Indigenous teacher assistants and their communities, and there is a need for professional development to fill in the gaps of training. In particular, new teachers entering rural and remote communities need professional development on the particular roles Indigenous teacher assistants fulfill in supporting Indigenous student learning. Second, there is a need for professional development to be given to teacher assistants to upskill them to be effective supporters of learning, acquire ways of working effectively with teachers and recognize their role as the liaison between the school and the Indigenous parents and community. Third, there is the need to establish communications between teachers and teacher assistants where the main aim is to document and share students' learning. Having processes that are written ensures longevity of productive teacher–Indigenous teacher assistant partnerships in situations where participants are regularly changing. Fourth, there is a need to provide infrastructure for teacher–assistant partnerships. The room supplied by the principal of Albertown for the teacher assistants was an important sign to the assistants and the students of their importance. The study described in this chapter shows the efficacy of such professional development and infrastructure for teachers and teacher assistants.

11 Conclusion

The study shows the efficacy of working collaboratively with staff, principals, teachers and assistants, in the school environment; it is and should be the preferred model of operation. It also shows the importance of breaking down the notion that school is a game that "teachers always control and having the winning hand" (McFadden et al., 1999). Finally, taking everything into account, it seems evident from the study that equity in schooling outcomes requires equity in the schooling process, particularly in the school's treatment of students, assistants and the community.

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