

**Teaching for Outrage and Empathy:
Challenging Pre-service Teachers'
Hegemonic Perspectives and Practices**

Virginia Lea

leav@uwstout.edu

& Roberta Ahlquist

roberta.ahlquist@sjsu.edu

National Context

- In just the last generation, the richest 1% almost quadrupled their incomes.
- The average wealth of the 1% is 225 times bigger than the wealth of the typical household -- the highest it's ever been.
- Three decades ago, CEOs made about 40 times as much as an average worker – now CEOs make almost 200 times as much as regular employees.
- Last year, half of Americans earned less than \$26,000 while CEOs at top 500 companies raked in an average of \$11 million.
- Over the past decade, earnings for middle class Americans fell. Working Americans' wages are now a lower percentage of our economy than they've ever been.
- The divide between the rich and the poor is worse in the U.S. than it is in nearly all of Europe and Asia and much of Africa. It's about as bad as in Rwanda and Serbia – it is devastating for the happiness and welfare of our people, as well as the economy
- THE 1% IS NOT AN ACCIDENT. IT IS THE RESULT OF NEOLIBERAL, PRIVATIZATION POLICIES THE GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATE INTERESTS CHOSE TO PURSUE.

Looking at our schools: local-global

- Re-segregation, privatization of schools, limited access to higher education
- Deculturation of the curriculum, scripted curriculum
- Top-down hierarchy, top down control, power, tracking
- Control over content of teachers, students, poor students
- English only, monocultural view in multi-lingual world

Looking Further at our Schools

- School as a marketplace serving corporate needs, not human needs, not social justice, equity needs
- High Stakes tests are associated with increasing dropout rates, limiting access to schooling for the lower working class, poor, new immigrants, those on the downside of power and privilege
- Increased U.S. militarism has trickled down, become the default narrative in many schools—the big stick rather than rational exchange and dialogue—U.S. occupation of the world is in the classroom

Setting the Context: *The Savage Inequalities*

www.edchange.org

Compared with low-poverty schools, high-poverty schools have:

- More teachers teaching in areas outside their certification;
- More serious teacher turnover problems;
- More teacher vacancies;
- Larger numbers of substitute teachers;
- More limited access to computers and the Internet;
- Inadequate facilities (such as science labs);

Savage Inequalities continued

www.edchange.org

- More dirty or inoperative bathrooms;
- More evidence of vermin such as cockroaches and rats;
- Insufficient classroom materials;
- Less rigorous and multicultural curricula;
- Fewer experienced teachers;
- Lower teacher salaries;
- Larger class sizes; and
- Less funding

International Context

International Context

- Close encounters in 42 days in the Middle East (UAE, Pakistan, India, Egypt, Jordan, the West Bank): some reflections on what we saw, learned—
- Before we left: The role of the corporate media in U.S.: terrorizing travellers-'don't go to Pakistan; you'll be killed, why go to Pakistan, it's a terrorist country', Tunisia, Arab Spring, media critical..Occupy Wall St, Occupy 99% as a counter here
- Surveillance, metal detectors, guns, cell phones,technology
- Everywhere, people are rising up at immoral, unethical, corrupt governments all around the world with an outcry for the dissolution of such corrupt, racist, degrading, unjust governments that do not serve the majority of their people, and for new democratic societies

International Context

- Neoliberalism, globalization: standardization of languages, whiteness, the 'Western gaze' viewed as the driving force in the curriculum: Urdu in Pakistan being replaced with English, continuing privatization of schools at all levels, increased surveillance, cell phones for 'all', from the working poor to the highest level worker, examples in several school classrooms—
- Militarism as a solution to unrest, Obama releasing \$1.5 billion in 'foreign aid' to Egypt April 8, 2012-- cries for democracy and equality across the Middle East
- Jordan imports 95% of its food from Syria, Turkey, and 2/3 of its exports to these two countries
- \$\$ as the bottom line, Western media promoting visions of whiteness, and the 'American Dream'. Graduate students seeking entry into the U.S. for jobs

A new slavery?

- Throughout history, elites have found a way to make poor people work for them for free or for a subsistence wage. In our time, this is the prison system.
- Before the advent of science and modern technology, control over the oppressed people was carried out through religion, superstition and fear and violent force.
- Cf. Alexander (2012), *The new Jim crow*

- Mass incarceration is the new legal method by which poor people, disproportionately African American, can be legally made to work to increase the wealth of the 1%.
- This increasingly privatized prison system has a ready made “slave” workforce and some of the largest and most powerful corporations have a stake in the expansion of the prison labor market.
- The new system is also sanctioned by the state. Over the last 30 years, at least 37 states have enacted laws permitting the use of convict labor by private enterprise, with an average pay of \$0.93 to \$4.73 per day.
- Prison factories that operate as "multibillion-dollar industries in every state, and throughout the federal prison system," where prisoners are contracted out to major corporations by the state.

Breaking the School-to-Prison Pipeline

- The pipeline begins in classrooms, where students of color, black students in particular, are disproportionately affected.
- Nationally, black students in public schools are suspended or expelled at nearly three times the rate of white students, according to a *Chicago Tribune* analysis of U.S. Department of Education data.
- Nationwide, almost 100,000 children and teens are in custody. Black youths are vastly overrepresented in this population; they are held in custody at four times the rate of white youths, according to the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

“I won’t learn from you”

- Overall graduation rate for 2008 was 68% (not much change in recent years)
- More than 75% of White and Asian students graduated.
- The graduation rates of Black, American Indian, and Hispanic were 50%, 51% and 53% respectively.
- More females graduated than males.
- Graduation rates were lower for students in highly segregated, low-income, urban centers; there are regional disparities (from highest to lowest: Midwest, Northwest, West, South).

Cumulative Promotion Index (CPI): NCLB definition of graduation rate, and 2 years of data collection on enrollment and diploma counts from US Department of Education Common Core of Data [CCD] – national comparative data reported to NCES

It's not just the south

- The state with the worst disparity is New Jersey, where black students are almost 60 times as likely as white students to be expelled for serious infractions.
- Many other states also have huge gaps in discipline rates. In Alabama, a state where more than a third of all public school students are African-American, black students are expelled five times as often as whites.
- The proportion of black youths within the system grows at each stage -- from arrest through sentencing -- until this group, which represents only 16 percent of the nation's youth population, accounts for 58 percent of the youths admitted to state adult prisons.

Southern Poverty Law Center

The Real life Story of Darius:

A metaphor for so many
students in similar circumstances

Breaking the school to prison pipeline

- Students with disabilities that would qualify them for special education services are also grossly overrepresented in juvenile correctional facilities.
- George Galvis, a colleague from way back when we were both at Berkeley, is a prison activist and youth organizer Oakland, California. George talks about how “early contact with police in schools often sets students on a path of alienation, suspension, expulsion, and arrests.
- Fights are seen differently between fraternities on the Cal campus, to “gang-related fights” in other contexts, even if the behavior is the same.”
- It is all in how things are framed, and they are framed to meet the ends of those in power.

Truthout.org

- <http://www.truth-out.org/stop-school-prison-pipeline/1326636604>
- Zero Tolerance in Philadelphia: Robert's case

Robert was an 11-year-old in 5th grade who, in his rush to get to school on time, put on a dirty pair of pants from the laundry basket. He did not notice that his Boy Scout pocketknife was in one of the pockets until he got to school. He also did not notice that it fell out when he was running in gym class. When the teacher found it and asked whom it belonged to, Robert volunteered that it was his, only to find himself in police custody minutes later. He was arrested, suspended, and transferred to a disciplinary school.

Input from you

- On how hegemony works
- After the protest, what do we do to make sure we are not faced with hierarchies of power under another name?
- Your ideas?

Resources

- http://www.alecexposed.org/wiki/ALEC_Exposed
- American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) [see <http://www.alec.org/>], connects conservative state legislators with like-minded think tanks, corporations and foundations to develop "model legislation" that can be enacted at the state level.
- Underwood and Mead write that this "motivation for dismantling the public education system -- creating a system where schools do not provide for everyone -- is ideological and motivated by profit."

Southern Poverty Law Center

- Southern Poverty Law Center's new initiative: The School-to-Prison Reform Project.
- Based in New Orleans, the project is seeking systemic reforms through legal action, community activism and lobbying to ensure these students get the services -- both in school and in the juvenile justice system -- that can make the difference between incarceration and graduation.
- <http://www.alternet.org/rights/75533/>

Reframing the Issue:

Connecting Critical Consciousness to Cultural Competence and Academic Success

(e.g. the work of Jeff Duncan
Andrade, Sean Ginwright, Antwi
Akomo in Oakland CA)

Imagining alternative outcomes

- Kevin Kumashiro: We win arguments when we frame them in terms of equity
- Changing the socio-economic structure—Too big to imagine? What can we do?
- Reframing/Redesigning schools and classrooms for critical multicultural pedagogical *alternatives*?
- Work with some of the amazing organizations that see the bigger picture and the connections between the parts?

National Association for Multicultural Education (www.nameorg.org)

- NAME is a non-profit organization that advances and advocates for equity and social justice through multicultural education.
 - To provide opportunities for learning in order to advance multicultural education, equity and social justice.
 - To proactively reframe public debate and impact current and emerging policies in ways that advance social, political, economic and educational equity through advocacy, position papers, policy statements and other strategies.
 - To provide the preeminent digital clearinghouse of resources about educational equity and social justice.
- NAME is an inclusive organization that welcomes members who are new to the field of multiculturalism

The Freire Project

Paulo & Nita Freire Critical Pedagogy Congress

- <http://www.freireproject.org/content/freire-international-project-critical-pedagogy>
- The Freire Project is dedicated to building an international critical community which works to promote social justice in a variety of cultural contexts. We are committed to conducting and sharing critical research in social, political, and educational locations.
- Made up of some extraordinary educators, this organization promotes social justice education based on the work of the Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire
- Freire's critical pedagogy is a critique of banking education or mindless schooling, designed to shape students and control them as citizens for economic ends that serve the elite.

Rethinking Schools

- This great organization remains firmly committed to equity and to the vision that public education is central to the creation of a humane, caring, multiracial democracy. While writing for a broad audience, Rethinking Schools emphasizes problems facing urban schools, particularly issues of race.
- Issue dedicated to Stop the School-To-Prison-Pipeline:
http://www.rethinkingschools.org/archive/26_02/edit262.shtml
- Issues addressing the curriculum debacle in Tucson:
<http://www.teacheractivistgroups.org/tucson/>
- Issue to support the Occupy movement, *Occupy the Curriculum*:
rethinkingschoolsblog.wordpress.com/2011/11/07/occupy-the-curriculum/
- <http://www.rethinkingschools.org/opt-in/120105.shtml>

Challenging the Ethnic Studies in AZ

- Work of Alberto Romero and Julio Cammarota in Arizona:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tIhjTHq-Dgw;>
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dr3YhS9moYY>
- <http://www.georgiansforfreedom.blogspot.com/2012/01/t-each-in-on-tucson.html>
- http://www.salon.com/2012/01/13/whos_afraid_of_the_t-empest/singleton/
- <http://saveethnicstudies.org/news.shtml>

Education Radio

- Education Radio looks at how audit culture is being used to undermine and privatize teacher education, decoupling it from higher education and turning teacher development into technical training.
- http://education-radio.blogspot.com/2012/02/audit-culture-snuffing-life-out-of_05.html

ACLU

- <http://www.aclu.org/racial-justice/school-prison-pipeline>
- The American Civil Liberties Union is tracking the “school-to-prison pipeline” trend where the policies and practices of our nation’s public schools, especially those serving our most at-risk children, lead to an alarming number of kids in the juvenile and criminal justice systems.
- "Zero-tolerance" policies criminalize minor infractions of school rules, while high-stakes testing programs encourage educators to push out low-performing students to improve their schools' overall test scores. Students of color are especially vulnerable to push-out trends and the discriminatory application of discipline

SchooltoPrison.org

- <https://www.schooltoprison.org/>
- **SchooltoPrison.org** provides a password-protected forum for impact litigators, direct services attorneys and other legal advocates across the nation to share ideas and strategies to challenge the push-out of children from schools and into the juvenile and criminal justice systems.

Occupy

- Occupy movement: Protesting machinations of the 1%, building their own wealth at the expense of the 99%
- Occupy education:
<http://www.facebook.com/Occupyingeducation>
- <http://occupyeducated.org/>
- <http://www.stanforddaily.com/2012/02/28/an-exhortation-for-occupation/>
- <http://occupyedu.tumblr.com/>

Input from you

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Articles/Books

- Soueif, Ahdaf (2011). *Cairo: My city; our revolution*
- *Tweets from Tahir: Egypt's Revolution as it Unfolded (2012) (Ed).Idle, Nadia, Nunns, Alex.*
- Nicols, J. *Uprising*
- Ahlquist et al. (2011). *Assault on kids: Hyper-accountability, privatization, deficit ideologies and Ruby Payne are destroying our schools*
- <http://www.sonomastatestar.com/opinion/education-and-the-occupy-movement-1.2799770#.T00dmcyZJVg>
- http://www.alternet.org/world/151732/21stcentury_slaves_how_corporations_exploit_prison_labor?page=3