

Journal of the World Federation of Associations of Teacher Education  
Vol. 2, Issue 2

---

JOURNAL OF THE  
WORLD FEDERATION OF  
ASSOCIATIONS FOR TEACHER  
EDUCATION



*Teacher Education: Global and Local Issues*

March 2018

Volume 2, Issue 2

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

EDITOR’S COLUMN.....	3
WFATE FIFTH BIENNIAL CONFERENCE.....	4
EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF AN INTERNATIONAL EARLY FIELD EXPERIENCE IN A TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM Kathryn Will-Dubyak	6
BUILDING A GLOBAL NETWORK IN TEACHER EDUCATION: PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS ON THE EXPEDITION Maxine Cooper & Joan Stewart	18
SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA Beverly J. Klug	34
STRANGE BEDFELLOWS: ESSA, TEACHER PREPARATION, AND THE TRUMP ERA James L. Alouf & Ann Converse Shelly	53

## **EDITOR'S COLUMN**

This issue of the WFATE Journal is an open submission issue with a focus on issues in global and local settings. Each article has been blind, peer-reviewed. It is great to have authors who are thoughtful and creative and who trust the process to work well. My thanks to the members of the Board of Directors (listed below) and to our reviewers.

Maxine Cooper, Jenene Burke, and Joan Steward along with many of their colleagues in Australia are preparing for the fifth biennial conference of the World Federation of Associations for Teacher Education (WFATE) to be held in Melbourne, Victoria, Australia, from 9th-11th July 2018.

For more information about the World Federation of Associations of Teacher Education, please go to our website: <https://www.worldfate.org> and, for conference information, see the website or the conference website: <https://federation.edu.au/wfate-conference-2018>.

In this issue:

**EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF AN INTERNATIONAL EARLY FIELD EXPERIENCE IN A TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM** focuses on the clinical intercultural experiences and the impact they can have on new teachers.

**BUILDING A GLOBAL NETWORK IN TEACHER EDUCATION PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS ON THE EXPEDITION** tells a story of one organization's progress as they work to build networks of teacher educators across the world.

**SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA** focuses on the story of the search for social justice in one particular setting that will resonate with those who struggle in other parts of the world.

**STRANGE BEDFELLOWS: ESSA, TEACHER PREPARATION, AND THE TRUMP ERA** calls attention to the increasing politicization of education and the alliances that are created through this movement.

<b>WFATE Board Members</b>				
<b>Last Name</b>	<b>First Name</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Location</b>	<b>Role</b>
<b>Salazar</b>	Joana	Europe	Palma de Mallorca	ATE-E President 2013-2016
<b>Morberg</b>	Asa	Europe	Sweden	ATE-E President
<b>Montane</b>	Mireia	Europe	Spain, Barcelona	WFATE President
<b>Lefever</b>	Shirley	USA	Kansas	ATE-US President
<b>Embry-Jenlick</b>	Karen	USA	Texas	ATE-US President-Elect
<b>Stachowski</b>	Laura	USA	Indiana	Board Member
<b>Stewart</b>	Joan	Australia	Federation	Board Member
<b>Burke</b>	Jenene	Australia	Federation	Board Member
<b>Cooper</b>	Maxine	Australia	Federation	WFATE President 2011-2014
<b>WFATE Officers</b>				
<b>Cooper</b>	Maxine	Australia	Federation	WFATE President 2011-2014
<b>McCarthy</b>	Jane	USA	Nevada	WFATE President 2014-2016
<b>Montane</b>	Mireia	Europe	Spain, Barcelona	WFATE President 2016-2018
<b>Paese</b>	Paul	USA	Indiana	WFATE President Elect 2018-2020
<b>WFATE Ex-Officio Officers</b>				
<b>Alouf</b>	Jim	USA	Virginia	WFATE Business Officer
<b>Shelly</b>	Ann	USA	Ohio	WFATE Executive Secretary
<b>van Tassell</b>	Frances	USA	Texas	WFATE Recording Secretary
<b>Affiliate Members</b>				
<b>Kappa Delta Pi</b>			Snodgrass	Faye
<b>Educational Leaders Without Borders</b>			Papa	Rosemary
<b>University Nevada Las Vegas</b>			Metcalf	Kim
<b>Ashland University</b>			Casto	Carlos
<b>Federation University of Australia</b>			Cooper	Maxine
<b>Schools Association for Formal education (SAFE) (Somalia)</b>			Keyse	Mr.
<b>University of St. Thomas – Houston</b>			Paese	Paul
<b>UNESCO Center For Global Education</b>			Okika	Ada
<b>PINOY GURO EU</b>			Tatel	Hamel II
<b>National Union of Teachers In Somalia</b>			Adan	Abdisalan Yusuf
<b>ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH IN SOMALIA</b>			Adan	Abdisalan Yusuf

## (WFATE) Fifth Biennial Conference



Hosted by **Federation**  
UNIVERSITY • AUSTRALIA

**World Federation of Associations for Teacher Education (WFATE) Fifth Biennial Conference**  
9<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> July 2018 in Melbourne Australia

At ACU Melbourne Campus, Victoria, Australia

### ***Transformative Teacher Education in Local and Global Contexts***

Venue: ACU, Melbourne Campus, Victoria, Australia

Jenene Burke and Maxine Cooper  
Federation University Australia



The fifth biennial conference of the *World Federation of Associations for Teacher Education (WFATE)* will be held in Australia, hosted by Federation University Australia (FedUni) at the ACU Melbourne Campus from 9<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> July 2018. The overall theme of WFATE 2018, *Transformative Teacher Education in Local and Global Contexts*, will explore four enduring sub-themes that have been selected to offer universal appeal to teacher educators over the three days of the conference: Theme 1 - Social Justice, Inclusion and Diversity in Education; Theme 2 - Transformative Teacher Education; Theme 3 - Pedagogy and Curriculum, and Theme 4 - Policy and Partnerships in Teacher Education. While respecting the particularities of cultures, places, and spaces for education, delegates will explore together each other's contemporary experiences in teacher education. What are the challenges and opportunities? How can we contribute to building the necessary research evidence, wisdom, and commitment to meet the complexities of teacher education in an ever-changing world? How can we

share insights and learn together so that innovative teacher education is available for all communities?

The conference will continue the WFATE focus on the shaping of global research and the development of professional networks by building on the research working groups that are already established. Meetings of the groups from the previous Barcelona conference, WFATE 2016, will be held and new participants are welcome to choose to join in the ongoing work of these groups. The research working

groups 'Synthesis document' (WFATE, 2016) from the Barcelona conference provides a list of the fifteen working groups and the general ideas, challenges and recommendations for each that have been developed by the working group participants (pp. 8-35).

Conference information, such as the conference program outline and accommodation and tourism, can be found on the conference website: <https://federation.edu.au/wfate-conference-2018>. Both domestic and International registrations can be completed through the links from this website. Early bird registrations are now open until 23 March 2018, (after that date full registration applies until 2 July 2018). Australian delegates should register through the Eventbrite link: <https://federation.edu.au/wfate-conference-2018/register>. International delegates are required to register through PayPal at: [https://www.worldfate.org/conference\\_payment.php](https://www.worldfate.org/conference_payment.php).

The WFATE 2018 Executive Planning Committee combined with the WFATE board, matches international experience with local teacher education expertise and knowledge. FedUni is leading the team of eight teacher educators from four partnering Australian universities, all located in the State of Victoria and is pleased to partner with Deakin University, Australian Catholic University and Victoria University in the planning of this event.

As an added bonus, the city of Melbourne is expected to be a highly desirable destination for teacher education conference-goers in July 2018 with a collaboration of three major conferences taking place in the city over an eight-day period. From 4<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> July (in the week prior to WFATE 2018), the *Australian Teacher Education Association* (ATEA) annual conference will, for the first time in its history, partner with the Teacher Education Forum of Aotearoa New Zealand (TEFANZ) biennial conference under the theme, *Teacher Education In and For Uncertain Times*. The WFATE conference team is working closely with the ATEA/TEFANZ conference committee to ensure a seamless teacher education conference experience in Melbourne provided by the two conferences over the period from 4<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> July 2018. We extend a warm invitation to teacher educators from across the world to engage in what promises to be a week of significant local, national and international interest in 'Marvellous Melbourne', a city which was recently (for the seventh consecutive year) named the "world's most liveable city" by the Economist Intelligence Unit's (EIU) liveability survey (Chalkley-Rhoden, 2017). Take the time to look at Visit Victoria at <http://www.visitvictoria.com/Regions/Melbourne/Things-to-do>.

WFATE 2018 conference convenor: Dr Jenene Burke, Federation University Australia  
[js.burke@federation.edu.au](mailto:js.burke@federation.edu.au)

### **WFATE 2018 Executive Planning Committee**

Dr Jenene Burke, School of Education, Federation University Australia  
Assoc Prof Maxine Cooper, School of Education, Federation University Australia  
Dr Linda Hobbs, School of Education and Arts, Deakin University  
Assoc Prof Diane Toe, School of Education and Arts, Deakin University  
Dr Mellita Jones, School of Education, Australian Catholic University  
Dr Josephine Ryan, School of Education, Australian Catholic University  
Assoc Prof Tony Watt, College of Arts and Education, Victoria University  
Assoc Prof Marcelle Cacciattolo, College of Arts and Education, Victoria University

## **EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF AN INTERNATIONAL EARLY FIELD EXPERIENCE IN A TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM**

**Kathryn Will-Dubyak**  
**University of Maine Farmington**

### **ABSTRACT:**

*Research indicates that many teachers are culturally deficient with little to no experience with other cultures (Malewski, Sharma & Phillion, 2012; Nieto, 2006). Zeichner and Hoeft state, “Pre-service teachers need opportunities to discover their own cultural identities, to experience and learn about other cultural groups, to consider their beliefs about racial and cultural differences, to examine critically the socio-cultural aspect of learning and teaching” (1996, p. 526). The completion of student teaching internationally has been examined as a mechanism through which to effectively provide this experience (DeVillar & Jiang, 2012), but this is often not available to pre-service teachers due to various factors. This case study sought to investigate the experiences of pre-service teachers who traveled to Thailand to complete a four-week field experience in a school as part of an early field experience in their teacher education program based in the Rocky Mountain West.*

*The findings suggest that their development of teaching practice was positively impacted through this experience including: communication skills, resourcefulness and flexibility, classroom management, teaching strategies and pedagogy, co-teaching, and reflective practice. The findings also suggest that the pre-service teachers’ appreciation of cultural differences was expanded, allowing them to develop a sense of understanding of the universality of children around the world.*

## **EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF AN INTERNATIONAL EARLY FIELD EXPERIENCE IN A TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAM**

### **Introduction**

In the United States of America, we live in an increasingly culturally diverse nation, and yet the population of classroom teachers does not mirror this cultural diversity. The National Center for Education Statistics reported that in 2014 the percentage of white students enrolled in K-12 schools dropped below 50%, while 81.9% of the teachers in 2012 were of white ethnicity. Research shows that many of these teachers are culturally deficient with little to no experience with other cultures (Malewski, Sharma & Phillion, 2012; Nieto, 2006). If the knowledge a teacher brings to the classroom is based on life experiences that have shaped both personal belief and value systems, how does this effect a teacher's ability to relate to the students in the classroom? Is the teacher able to understand the effects of culture on language use and learning for the students? Will the teacher be tolerant of culturally influenced behaviors in the classroom? If the very structure of the understanding of teaching and learning has been built from prior experiences (Shkedi & Niran, 2006), how do we in teacher education programs then prepare our pre-service teachers for the multicultural environment of their future classroom? Zeichner and Hoefft state, "Pre-service teachers need opportunities to discover their own cultural identities, to experience and learn about other cultural groups, to consider their beliefs about racial and cultural differences, to examine critically the socio-cultural aspect of learning and teaching" (1996, p. 526).

It is widely accepted that international travel has positive benefits such as increased cultural awareness and global mindedness, but how does this translate into the education profession? "It is understood that teacher preparation programs must provide effective platforms and settings for pre-service teachers to develop, express, and refine the knowledge, skills and dispositions that will collectively, establish their foundational competence as culturally responsive teachers. Toward this end, the student teaching abroad experience is projected to provide a substantive platform and setting for student teachers to engage in a multifaceted, culturally distinct experience outside the United States to develop and even transform, their professional and personal perspectives, and related knowledge and skill bases" (DeVillar & Jiang, 2012). This model of international field experience has been used for quite some time, but many students are constrained by program requirements in completing the student teaching internship within their state, or time and financial limitations. How could we then begin to explore other options for our pre-service teachers to have in-depth cultural experiences outside of the student teaching internship? Thus, this study was undertaken in order to answer the following research question: How were the pre-service education students impacted by the completion of their practicum in an international setting where they were of the minority population?

### **Literature Review**

Research has demonstrated time and time again that international student teaching experiences are beneficial to the pre-service teachers (Wilson, 1993; Merryfield, 1995; Zeichner & Hoefft, 1996; Mahon & Cushner, 2002; Willard & Holt, 2001; Sahin, 2008; Malewski, Sharma, &

Phillion, 2012). Wilson (1993) found that any cross-cultural experience can have benefits which can be placed in the following four categories: knowledge of other cultures, open-minded and empathetic understandings of other cultures free from stereotypes, growth of self including independence and self-confidence, and meaningful connections with people of other cultures. How do these categories cross over into the experiences of pre-service teachers? How can this benefit the children in their future classrooms? Both DeVillar and Jing (2012), and Mahon and Cushner (2002) found the experiences pre-service teachers had in their international experiences enabled the future teachers to more clearly see the importance for attending to individual needs, and how the students' personal and cultural experiences had a strong effect on their learning, and thus how they should most effectively teach. Although many education preparation programs strive to include multi-cultural content in their curriculum in order to build knowledge of other cultures, value cultural diversity, and work to breakdown stereotypes, there is a need for authentic experiential learning. There is a difference between reading about something and actually doing it (Mahon & Cushner, 2002). It is thought that the experience of being placed outside their comfort zone in a foreign culture where they become the minority can lead to growth in interpersonal skills such as self-confidence, communication strategies, and development of abilities to relate to people for pre-service teachers (Sahin 2008, Pence & Macgillivray, 2008). Research has shown that pre-service teachers in these placements have the potential to develop professional autonomy, flexibility, creativity, resourcefulness, and ability to problem-solve (Crucksand & Westbrook, 2013). Perhaps the inclusion of reflective practice is the vehicle that aids the students in these areas of growth. It has even been said that these international teaching experiences lead to a more expanded world-view and thus making a more compassionate teacher. This research sought to discover if a shorter, earlier experience within a teacher education program might have positive impacts as well.

## **Background**

The university-based teacher education program from which the participants were drawn is located in a mid-sized town, located in the Rocky Mountain West. The population of the town according to the 2010 census was 97,100 with 93.6% of the population being of white ethnicity. The international field experience for the pre-service teachers occurred in Nakhon Sawan, Thailand, where according to Wikipedia 1,071,686 people reside as of 2011. Although accurate information could not be located as to the ethnic make-up of the population within Nakhon Sawan, it was very obvious, from the time spent there, there were very, very few people of white ethnicity. The opportunity for this practicum experience in Thailand developed from a relationship between the institution in the Rocky Mountain West and a higher education institution in Nakhon Sawan. The two institutions have worked together for approximately 20 years in a variety of ways. Faculty from both institutions have visited the other school as part of cultural exchanges, as well as worked with one another on the research level, but undergraduates in the teacher education program had never been a part of the relationship. For this experience, pre-service education students were encouraged to submit an application. When the applications were submitted an interview was scheduled. From the applicants, four students were chosen to participate in the experience based on GPA, recommendations from professors, and availability to participate. The experience was designed to be equivalent in length to the "summer practicum" course, in which the pre-service teachers are assigned to a classroom to work with a mentor teacher for four weeks-eight hours a day, four days a week.

In Thailand, each of the pre-service teachers was assigned a host family with whom they lived throughout the month-long experience. The hosts provided breakfast and dinner for the pre-service teachers as well as a place to stay each night during the school week. Some of the hosts spoke no English at the beginning of the experience, but none of the families spoke English fluently. The classrooms in which the pre-service teachers completed their field experience were associated with the University demonstration school. The pre-service teachers were paired according to grade level placement preference. The purpose of this was to facilitate experience with co-teaching, per alignment with the traditional early field experience in the teacher education program. Two of the pre-service teachers had a strong interest in early childhood and were thus assigned to work with the youngest of the elementary students, with the remaining two primarily working with students up to age 12 years. During the month-long experience, the pre-service teachers worked with all of the mentor teachers at various times as they moved through the two classrooms. Of the mentor teachers, two were from Thailand and one was from the Philippines. As in a traditional early field experience, the pre-service teachers began with observations, before moving into assisting students with independent work, and then finally providing whole class instruction. The other three days of each week were spent traveling to different regions of Thailand as a group to experience the various geographical features and cultural differences within the country. At the school, the children received most of their instruction in their main classroom, with physical education and English happening outside their main classroom. The pre-service teachers worked in the English classroom but had opportunities to observe in the children's main classrooms as well. During the time at the school the teachers and children organized a day to teach us about Thai food preparation and traditional dance. The pre-service teachers reciprocated this by teaching them about Halloween in America, culminating in mask making and trick-o-treating at the school. These cultural exchanges were done with all of the students and school staff.

### **Methods, Data Collection and Analysis**

The pre-service education students who participated in this study were all of traditional age, 21-22 years, and of white ethnicity. There were three females and one male, all of who were seniors in the elementary education program. Each of the participants grew up in a rural area of the United States of America, two from Montana, one from Vermont, and one from Minnesota. Three of the students had traveled outside of the United States prior to this trip either for recreational trips. Per the requirements for participation in this experience all of the students had a grade point average of 3.0 or better.

Prior to traveling to Thailand, we met as a group once a week for four weeks in order to prepare for the experience, as well as to get to know one another. We discussed topics such as reflective journaling as it relates to reflective teaching, teaching English as a foreign language, and strategies we might use to develop language in the classroom. At this point we had not received the actual classroom assignments and so were unable to specifically prepare for a certain grade level or even teaching assignment.

The qualitative methodology of this research was a case study (Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994) that allowed the researcher to examine the experience by the multiple participants. Denzin and

Lincoln explain that qualitative research stresses the “...the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what it studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry.” (2000, p. 10). The paradigm of qualitative research acknowledges that there is no single objective reality, but that the understandings that emerge are co-constructed by researchers and participants and reflect positions, experiences, values and beliefs of all involved. These are interconnected with one another, influencing the others iteratively (Mertens, 2009). The methodology of this study was based on the belief that “meaning is embedded in people’s experiences and that this meaning is mediated through the investigator’s own perceptions” (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). Qualitative research seeks to explore the emerging themes and patterns from multiple data sources with a sensitivity to the context and participants involved in the study, including the researcher as a “key instrument” (Creswell, 2013, p.45) within the research. A case study approach was chosen based on its appropriateness for this particular study. Trainor and Graue (2013) cite the multiple definitions and key terms for case study pointing out the lack of singular definition for the methodology; they then note the common emphasis among them all to be the “boundedness of the object of study” (p. 55) to be what differentiates case study. Merriam (1988) suggests that a bounded phenomenon in education can be “...a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group” (p.13). In this research the month long international experience was the case which was examined. Trainor and Graue (2013) speak to several qualitative touchstones of case studies including complexity, evolutionary nature, and contextualization. As mentioned earlier, this investigation focused on the complex work of teacher preparation and considered the influences of numerous sources of input for the case. In order to investigate such a complex topic, multiple sources of data are used to triangulate and address ethical obligations (Stake, 1995). This triangulation, or use of multiple and different data sources, allow the researcher to “provide corroborating evidence” (Creswell, 2013, p. 251). Case studies evolve, and as such, the researcher must be responsive to the changes. In this particular case, the exact events could not be designated prior to the beginning of the case as there were opportunities that arose throughout the month that shaped the experiences for the participants. This evolving nature was impacted by the third case study touchstone of context. This research was entirely reliant upon the context. During the research, I was the Assistant Director of Field Placement and Licensure for the teacher education program, and the instructor for practicum course for the field experience. This role of the embedded researcher was influential within the context of the study. I was not a stranger to the pre-service teachers in this study, but instead developed a strong relationship with them over the course of the experience. This relationship allowed me to have deeper understandings of the context in which the research took place, but also the individuals studied. I believe my embedded position was a strength. The participants knew I was interested in them and had a strong desire to learn more about what was working in helping them develop their teaching abilities. Anselm Strauss stated that a researcher should “Mine your experience, there is potential gold there!” (1987, p. 11). While this was the case, I also worked to maintain my reflexivity in consideration of how my identity, beliefs, and relationships with participants might influence the research (Trainor & Graue, 2013).

Interviews, observations, supervisor journal entries and the Field Performance Assessment checklist were the data collected for this study. The interviews were transcribed and iteratively coded through constant-comparison (Corbin & Strauss, 2007) to identify themes representing pre-service teachers’ and the field supervisor’s transformative learning experiences.

Triangulation of results from interviews, observations, supervisor journal entries and the teacher practicum assessment were used to establish the trustworthiness of the results for this study.

The data was collected from all of the pre-service teacher participants. Data was collected in four different ways. Before beginning the experience, the students were asked to answer three questions in a written format (see Appendix A). As the Field Supervisor I observed and participated in many of the classes in which the practicum students were teaching. During that time, I took observational notes when possible. The students were required to keep a reflective teaching journal throughout the experience that they submitted to me twice weekly for feedback. At the conclusion of the experience I completed an interview with the students. For two of the students it was done in person and for two of them it was completed over the phone due to geographical distance. These interviews were completed approximately one week after the return to the United States.

The interviews were transcribed after which the four different data sources (pre-questionnaire, reflective journal, observational notes, and interview) were analyzed for theme emergence. The texts were first read for review, followed by noting repeated ideas; these ideas were then grouped into categories and named. These findings were used to answer the research question. Dependability and credibility were addressed by having four different sources of data from which to triangulate, and by asking the participants to examine the theme designations that emerged from the data.

## **Findings and Discussion**

The students who participated in this international practicum experience in Thailand were impacted in many ways by their time spent in the classroom, and within the country of Thailand. It was obvious that their time spent in Thailand afforded them the opportunity to expand their appreciation of cultural differences. This was evidenced by C's statement, "Your way of living isn't always the right way of living." The students spoke of the close bonds they had with their host families, and how they had been taken in and taken care of by people who started out as strangers, but became extended family by the end of the experience. Wilson's research (1993) on cross-cultural experiences was confirmed by the experiences of the pre-service teachers development of open-mindedness, self-confidence, and meaningful connections. Through their authentic engagement in experiential learning they had the opportunity to face the language barrier and cultural differences on their path in teacher preparation. When the three sources of data were analyzed, six themes emerged: communication, co-teaching, resourcefulness and flexibility, classroom management, teaching strategies and pedagogy, and reflective practice.

### **Communication**

Through this experience there were multiple opportunities for communication skills to develop. Each student was paired with a peer and worked with the variety of mentor teachers. None of the mentor teachers held English as their native tongue, even though they taught English in the school. Multiple students emphasized that communication was THE most challenging part of the trip, but that they all felt they grew to better at communicating both with native Thai speakers as well as their peers and supervisors. J realized that, "No matter where you are there's always

going to be problems in communication whether you are both speaking the same language or a different language. How you handle those problems in communication is solely up to you.” He goes on to realize, “Communication is not just about language, but the need for helping myself by being clear and assertive.” Over time, the pre-service teachers’ abilities to communicate through both verbal and nonverbal means developed, indicating that the experience impacted their communication skills and their flexibility in using them, just as Sahin (2008) and Pence & Macgillivray (2008) suggested happened in the culturally different student teaching experience.

### Co-Teaching

Co-teaching opportunities were abundant throughout the experience. The practicum students worked with one another, their cooperating teachers, and with myself as the field supervisor. They were able to see that they could observe others, and test the observed behaviors in their own lessons, plan and execute activities as a team, and develop a level of comfortableness with one another that allowed them to work together seamlessly. This required a significant amount of communication and cooperation. The pre-service teachers spoke to the value of observing and co-teaching with mentor teachers, as well as co-planning and co-teaching with their peers. The language barrier with the mentor teachers and students, and the cultural differences with respect to classroom expectations within the classroom did not make it easy, but the pre-service teachers stated that a really strong part of the experience was working with other teachers. This structure helped the students develop their communications skills and their abilities to relate to people. This aligns with Sahin (2008) and Pence and Macgillivray’s findings (2008) in international student teaching experiences.

### Resourcefulness and Flexibility

Over the course of the four-week long experience, the students moved from being tentative to assertive when working with the Thai students. This is evidenced by J’s comment in the post interview, “At first we were just scrambling for ideas, but by the end of it we just had more tools in our toolbox, and more ways to handle these different situations.” They spoke of their growing abilities to improvise and learning the importance of changing plans as needed based on the students’ response to activities. K stated, “Things don’t always go as you planned and as a teacher you really need to be able to think on your toes and adjust to how things are going.” This aligns strongly to Cruksand and Westbrook’s findings (2013) in international student teaching internships that there is the potential to develop professional autonomy, flexibility, creativity, resourcefulness, and the ability to problem solve.

### Classroom Management

Classroom management was an area that we did not anticipate a significant amount of practice from this experience for the pre-service teachers; in fact, we expected quite the opposite based what we had heard and read about Thai school culture. We were actually concerned that this might be an area of weakness from this experience when comparing it to the traditional domestic placement. In the English classroom in Thailand, it is quite the opposite of the regular classrooms. The practicum students’ management skills were challenged each day, in almost every moment in the classroom. K noted that “I really worked on my classroom management

skills there, and I think that is really going to help me in the long term. I learned that they need to keep moving, and they do need some set of rules and some set of discipline in order to have, I think a successful learning environment for all of the kids.” Multiple times it was found in the data the students recognition of the importance of clear expectations and boundaries in order to have a positive impact on the learning environment. This was an area where the pre-service teachers developed self-confidence (Crucksand & Westbrook, 2013) in their abilities to manage the classroom. Over time, the pre-service teachers began to develop nonverbal communication techniques such as hand signals, and other proactive strategies to attain, and maintain engagement throughout the lessons. They were able to adapt to the context and make meaningful connections with their students in ways that honored the different cultures just as Wilson (1993) found from cross-cultural experiences.

### Teaching Strategies and Pedagogy

Several times the pre-service teachers reported the development of their toolbox through this experience, the increase in their knowledge of strategies and pedagogy. They were able to see the importance of active engaged learning, “moving beyond the textbook” to create learning opportunities that met students’ needs. They were able to see the benefits of physical movement, repetition, immersion and music in their lessons. K noted that she saw the benefits of using music that included higher engagement and more vocabulary growth. Over the four weeks, they increased their use of multimodal instruction, as well as modeling within the gradual release of responsibility framework. And finally, they really began to understand the benefits of using pre-assessment and formative assessment to inform their teaching. These gains in their understandings of effective pedagogies grew out of their authentic experiences in the classroom working with children. They were actually doing the work of teaching, not just reading about it (Mahon & Cushner, 2002).

### Reflective Practice

As part of the experience the pre-service teachers were required to keep a reflective journal. As a result, many instances of reflective teaching were noted, but there were also instances of reflective teaching both in my field notes, as well as in the post-experience interviews. The pre-service teachers made lists of things that went well and did not go well, made notes of observations and possible reasons for effective and ineffective lessons, and considered implications for having the students copy them. Many times, they were able to repeat the teaching of a lesson to a different group of children, providing an informal opportunity for lesson study. This allowed them to teach, reflect, make adjustments and then test their ideas through another teaching session. The structure of the authentic experience (Mahon & Cushner, 2002), both in the requirement of the reflective journal, as well as multiple opportunities to teach-adjust-reteach provided many opportunities for the pre-service teachers to develop their teaching practice through reflection.

### Conclusion

When the research question is revisited, it is evident that the pre-service teachers who completed the field experience in Thailand were positively impacted by their time spent teaching English in

the Thai classroom. They grew as educators. This growth was evidenced by their increase in communication and collaboration skills, their self-reflections on teaching experiences, their practice in classroom management, and the development of their toolbox of strategies they could use flexibly. The practicum experience the students had in Thailand met the requirements of the traditional practicum field experience at the institution located in the Rocky Mountain West both in the structure which was identical (4 days/week for four weeks, 8-hour days) and in the opportunities for learning to occur which helps prepare pre-service education students on their path in the education profession. The students in this international experience had the opportunity to observe and collaborate with peers, and other educational professionals as they completed a field experience in a classroom setting. They were able to experience the universality of learning. I believe that C captured this succinctly in her statement, “Even though there was a language barrier, you could still see those students who were struggling, and it was just like a normal classroom anywhere around the world. You have those kids that are struggling, the kids that are achieving, the kids that aren’t paying attention, the ones that are pretty smart, but just don’t care at all.” The pre-service teachers demonstrated growth as educators, but ultimately came to see the humanness of the children, no matter the culture.

### **Limitations**

Limitations of this study include the volunteer nature of participation and the pre-service teachers who chose to participate in their international field experience. The findings from this case study are highly contextualized to the case in which it occurred. Generalizability is not suggested, nor is it prudent to make broad assumptions from the findings to be applied across other populations. The findings from this research could be applicable to other teacher education programs with similar opportunities for clinically based practice within their teacher education program who are considering how they might consider the role of cultural experiences in the teacher education program.

### **Future study**

The results of this study indicate that an international experience within a field experience prior to the student teaching internship can have positive outcomes within a teacher education program. I believe that there is a need for future study to determine the role of the field supervisor in the international field experience. In the traditional field experience, the field supervisor observes the students twice and meets with them weekly in small groups, where as in the international practicum experience the field supervisor was present at the school the entire time, sometimes co-teaching with the cooperating teachers and pre-service teachers. I also believe more research should be done into the long-term effects of the early international field experience. I am left wondering if the effects of this experience will impact the pre-service teachers in their career paths or classrooms?

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Corbin, J. & Strauss, A. (2007). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Cushner, K. & Mahon, J. (2002). Overseas Student Teaching: Affecting personal, professional and global competencies in the age of globalization. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 6, 44-58.
- Cruikshank, K. & Westbrook, R. (2013) Local and global-conflicting perspectives? The place of overseas practicum in preservice teacher education, *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, 41 (1), 55-68.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education: How America's commitment to equity will determine our future*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- DeVillar, R., & Jiang, B. (2012). From student teaching abroad to teaching in the U.S. classroom: Effects of global experiences on local instructional practice. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, (39) 7-21.
- Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). *The sage handbook of qualitative research* (5<sup>th</sup> ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Gay, G. (2010) *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research and practice* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Mahon, J. & Cushner, K. (2002). The overseas teaching experience: Creating optimal culture learning. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 4(3), 308.
- Malewski, E., Sharma, S., & Phillion, J. (2012). How international field experiences promote cross-cultural awareness in preservice teachers through experiential learning: Findings from a six-year case study. *Teachers College Record*, (114), 1-44
- Merriam, S.B. (1998). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Mertens, D. (2009) *Research and evaluation in education and psychology: Integrating diversity with quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods* (Third ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

Merryfield, M. (1995). *Teacher education in global and international education*. Washington D.C.: *ERIC Clearinghouse on Teaching and Teacher Education*. (ERIC document Reproduction Service No. ED 384 601)

National Center for Educational Statistics. (2015). Table 203.50. *Enrollment and percentage distribution of enrollment in public elementary and secondary schools, by race/ethnicity and region: Selected years, fall 1995 through fall 2025*. Retrieved from: [https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d15/tables/dt15\\_203.50.asp](https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d15/tables/dt15_203.50.asp)

National Center for Educational Statistics. (2013). Table 209.10. *Number and percentage distribution of teachers in public and private elementary and secondary schools, by selected teacher characteristics: Selected years, 1987-88 through 2011-2012*. Retrieved from: [https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13\\_209.10.asp](https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13_209.10.asp)

Nieto, J. (2006). The cultural plunge: cultural immersion as a means of promoting self-awareness and cultural sensitivity among student teachers. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, (33), 75-83.

Pence, H.M. & Macgillivray, I.K. (2008). The impact of an international field experience on preservice teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, (24), 14-25.

Rodriguez, E., (2011). Reflections from an international immersion trip: New possibilities to internationalize curriculum. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, (38)147-157.

Sahin, M. (2008). Cross-cultural experience in preservice teacher education. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 24, 1777-1790.

Shkedi, A., & Nisan, M. (2006). Teachers' cultural ideology: Patterns of curriculum and teaching culturally valued texts. *Teachers College Record*, 108, 687-725.

Stake, R.E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Stauss, A. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press

Trainor, A. & Graue, E. (2013). *Reviewing qualitative research in the social sciences*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Willard-Holt, C. (2001). The impact of a short term international experience for preservice teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 17, 505-517.

Wilson A. H. (1993). Conversation partners: Helping students gain a global perspective through cross-cultural experiences. *Theory Into Practice*, 32(1), 21-26.

Yin, R. (1994). *Case study research: Design and methods* (2nd ed.). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing.

Zeichner, K. & Hoeft, K. (1996). Teacher socialization for cultural diversity, In J. Sikula & T. Buttery & E. Guyton (Eds.) *Handbook of research on teacher education*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 525-547, New York: Macmillan.

**AUTHOR:**

Kathryn Will-Dubyak is an Assistant Professor of Literacy Education at the University of Maine Farmington. Professor Will-Dubyak's research focuses on the effects of clinical field experiences within teacher education as we seek to prepare teachers with a deep understanding of the interconnectedness of theory and practice. She may be reached at [kathryn.willdubyak@maine.edu](mailto:kathryn.willdubyak@maine.edu).

## **BUILDING A GLOBAL NETWORK IN TEACHER EDUCATION: PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS ON THE EXPEDITION**

**Maxine Cooper & Joan Stewart  
Federation University Australia**

### **Abstract**

*The World Federation of Associations of Teacher Educators is a global organization that brings together teacher educators as part of an international professional learning community. Part of the purpose in establishing WFATE was to build a global community to promote trans-national collaboration, support each other and our organization/s, and to undertake research in teacher education contexts.*

*The first WFATE conference was in Chicago USA, 2010, and since then we have had conferences biennially beginning in 2012 Nairobi Kenya, 2014 Beijing China, and most recently in Barcelona Spain, in 2016. The 2018 WFATE conference is being organized for July 2018 in Melbourne Australia.*

*This paper is based on a research project using a survey questionnaire to examine reflections and metaphors on the ways that WFATE has enabled and enriched participant's personal and professional lives as teacher educators.*

*The focus of this research is our learning about ourselves as teacher educators and our reflections on the metaphors we use about our ongoing journeys and explorations in becoming who we are in local and global settings. The current challenges and opportunities have evolved out of the rapidly changing global contexts in teacher education and will be highlighted as a part of examining some of the metaphors of our expedition so far. Our plans for the future will be a part of this exploration of our learnings and the metaphors and meanings we have made out of our diverse cultural experiences.*

## **BUILDING A GLOBAL NETWORK IN TEACHER EDUCATION: PROFESSIONAL REFLECTIONS ON THE EXPEDITION**

### **Introduction**

In this paper we share the metaphors and personal images that have been used by WFATE members to examine the metaphors that pertain to their profession of teacher education. These, therefore are the images that are used by some teacher educators to make sense of the challenges and paradoxes posed by the often-turbulent changes that have occurred in our professional lives over the past 5 or so decades. The neoliberal agenda, high stakes testing in schools and teacher education programs, the lack of or reductions in government funding, lack of or reduction in funding for research, the constant restructuring of universities and internal restructuring of academics and professional staff has had reverberations in many local and global settings.

### **Institutional changes**

Teacher education is organized within a range of universities and higher education places of learning and in a vast array of educational settings and systems throughout the world. In Australia, in the 1990's, for example, there was been a form of institutional amalgamations and restructuring of higher education spaces, including for example the amalgamation of the Melbourne Teachers College, initially with Early Childhood Education and then Secondary Teachers College and finally with the Faculty of Education in The University of Melbourne. Then in more recent times the Faculties of Education and Teacher Education Programs have been restructured in many Australian Universities so that whether they are called schools or faculties of Education or Teacher Education they are often nestled within a range of other academic disciplines, such as at Federation University Australia, the school of Education is a small voice within the disciplines of Arts or Humanities, or Social Sciences. The recent few decades have been a remarkably unsettling time for the academics and researchers who identify as Teacher Educators. Sumison 1999, Maguire & Weiner 1996 and Smyth 2017, all indicate there has been dwindling resources, escalating pressures to publish research and obtain research grant money, and an increased emphasis on accountability, management and meeting the needs of the marketplace for academics working in universities. As Smyth (2017: 5) writes about universities as 'embracing the tenets of neoliberalism – marketization, competition, audit culture, and metrification. And as Smyth argues, getting an academic life now is 'lonely, hard and dangerous work' (Smyth 2017: 5). So, a part of this study is how are teacher educators handling and responding to the challenges of professional and institutional change.

### **Metaphors for the changes**

We are suggesting that it is useful to use the idea of a metaphor as an aid to reflection as it provides a useful gaze, or a type of mirror with which we can undertake some core reflecting on ourselves as teacher educators. As outlined in previous research about metaphors (Perry and Cooper 2001) we explore and reconsider the usefulness of metaphor as a medium for reverberation and reflection. Bateson (1990: 34) states that metaphors are 'fundamental to the human search for meaning'. So we have chosen the idea of metaphors to get a visual and 'up

front' idea of teacher education which we look at with a global gaze attempting to explore ways of looking at our professional lives and world/s. We are therefore attempting to explore our world as teacher educators unrestrained by our own national values, or cultures or our national histories as much as we can at this stage of our reflections on and explorations of our worlds. We are exploring and examining the ideas of teaching for the common good for all. We are thinking about how can we be a responsible citizen of the world, in encouraging diversity at the same time as having a focus on social justice and inclusion of all peoples. Through this we are hoping to get some ideas for actions for power and agency to focus on the possibilities for change for social justice for all in the world. We as teacher educators know that education can make a difference in the lives of people and that generational changes in access to education is crucial in a democratic society and social justice in a peaceful world.

We have written previously of witnessing the changing demographics

*of immense movements of people as a result of complex conflicts of wars and natural disasters leading to mass migration into many countries throughout the world.*

*Immigration and migration ... issues challenging economic and work structures....*

(Cooper & Stewart, 2016:5)

All these elements are therefore ongoing and complex challenges that we realize affect us all as educators. As members of WFATE and being a part of growing and strong professional learning community for some years, we, as teacher educators want to build even stronger links locally, nationally and internationally. For the sake of our new and beginning teachers who are teaching very diverse and constantly changing groups of students we need to continually understand the cultures and backgrounds of our students and our preservice teachers to make sure that teacher education and ongoing teacher professional learning takes account of all these complexities.

### **Conceptual framework**

We draw on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and particularly his work on structure, agency and habitus including the idea of teacher dispositions and teacher professional capital. (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1990) have written and emphasised the various reasons why schooling does not create meaningful opportunities for all groups of students and these have been well documented in past research in education. Schools, curriculum and teachers tend to value the kinds of knowledge and skills that are promoted and developed within families in high socio-economic status (SES) contexts (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1990; Teese & Polesel, 2003; Fenwick & Cooper 2013). As reported in Fenwick and Cooper (2013)

*Students from low SES backgrounds, in particular, tend to lack the linguistic and cultural capacities that are generally required to succeed within schooling. In addition, teachers and the curriculum work effectively for students from high SES backgrounds who already possess many of the aspirations and capacities valued within schooling (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1990; Gamoran, 2010; Oakes, 2005; Teese, 2007; Teese, & Polesel, 2003).*

Similarly, research studies from around the world, over a number of decades, have consistently demonstrated that schooling tends to reproduce the inequalities that exist within society. For example, students from low SES and ethnic minority backgrounds often have educational experiences defined by low expectations, a weak curriculum, with an emphasis on basic skills rather than higher-order thinking, and constant disruption within learning environments that do

not emphasize learning and achievement (Eder, 1981; Gamoran, 2010; Oakes, 2005; Oakes, Gamoran, & Page, 1992; Page, 1990).

Bourdieu's work provided the concept of 'habitus', which refers to the 'system of schemes of thought, perception, appreciation and action' that a child first acquires within the culture of the family (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1990, p. 40). The habitus initially acquired by a child then affects the experience of schooling. The extent to which a child can absorb and assimilate classroom-based learning is determined to a large extent by the habitus developed within the home. Those students from home backgrounds situated within the dominant culture of the society will have the kind of habitus that is closely aligned with the expectations and demands of schooling. In turn, the pedagogies employed by teachers will support and extend the achievements of those students who come from the dominant culture, but largely fail to support students whose initially acquired habitus is far removed from the experience of schooling (Bourdieu, & Passeron, 1990).

### **Core reflection**

Drawing on the work on Korthagen & Vasalos, (2005) and Cooper & Stewart (2014) we use the idea of core reflection which Korthagen and Vasalos refer to as the onion model of core reflection. In their model there are 6 internal layers named as environment, then the layer of behavior, the competencies layer, the beliefs layer, Identity is the next layer, and this refers to when people make assumptions about themselves and their self-concept. The final layer is the inner layer which refers to a person's mission. This is concerned with what inspire and gives meaning and significance to one's work and personal life. Therefore, we see this as the purpose, passion, and idealism that are a part of our core mission, our being and becoming as teacher educators.

### **The study up till now**

We emailed a survey questionnaire to all members to WFATE and also had the questionnaire printed in the newsletter of WFATE. There were initially 18 responses and we used these to analyze the data for this paper. We used data to examine the visuals and metaphors to look for patterns of similarities and differences in the range of responses. We will continue to do evaluations and follow-ups of our member's reflections and metaphors after the biennial conferences to gain evidence of the trends, ideas and visions that have come out of the relationships and connections that are being built and strengthened through this organization. All participant's responses are treated as confidential and ethically appropriate.

### **Reflections of a 'fabulous journey'**

*Participation in WFATE has been a fabulous journey as I've met numerous world-wide educators, many of whom now are close friends. I've travelled to various countries as a result of my involvement in WFATE, getting to know and experience the cultures of various parts of the world.*

*Simply put, participation in and with WFATE has been a true joy! To me, it is the wonderful people that comprise WFATE, in addition to the amazing people that we meet in various countries that keep me going with WFATE. Learning about the culture and practices of people in other countries impacts my life in many ways but the joy of new friendships across the globe is the glue that holds me together with WFATE.*

*The challenge of working across cultures and traditions as we plan conferences and the challenge of always learning something new keeps me involved and going in the profession.*

*WFATE has provided a fertile ground to keep growing.... The organization can continue to be a platform for projects and research. WFATE must be open to new activities – some we haven't thought of at this point.*

*It has allowed me to witness the diversity of professional situations of TE at an international level and see that similar debates on TE also take place or have taken place in other countries and continents.*

*Above all it has been, at a personal level, by learning from excellent professionals who still inspire me in believing in the power of our profession as teacher educators. Thus my outmost thanks to WFATE, which I hope will continue to last for many years and grow all over the world.*

*We have all experienced the benefits of belonging and sharing with other teacher educators. And WFATE has given me the chance to dream that it is possible not only to belong to your local teacher education association, but to belong to a higher and more global organization such as WFATE which unites all TE associations in the world.*

These WFATE indicate that the participants have been encouraged and inspired to work with the other members of the group involved with WFATE. Through developing close friendships and in having the courage and persistence to try new ways of meeting together in sometimes quite challenging cultural settings and situations. There is also something of the idea of a journey together and the power of the profession of being a teacher educator building on the past and looking forward to the future.

### **Democracy and Teacher Education**

It was also important to see the ideas about democracy in education and in teacher education even though the concept will be seen quite differently in diverse cultures and languages.

As one respondent noted,

*I see myself staying involved with my lifework in education because I see it as vital to a democracy. Democracy depends upon an educated population and, to me, that means that teacher education is also vital to a democracy.*

*Without an independent college/university system where academic freedom is valued and protected, independent thought is in jeopardy. Classrooms everywhere should be places where teachers and students can express their thoughts freely.*

*Because we need teachers who are reflective and knowledgeable, teacher education is vital to democratic societies in every respect.*

Therefore, we can see that for those of us who believe in freedom, equality and democracy many see those ideals as crucial to a quality and equitable education system.

### **Some specific metaphors**

The earth, gardening, growing and fertile ground

*I choose the metaphor of a gardener as I see WFATE as fertile ground on which we intentionally plant seeds of collaboration, cooperation, and development of teacher education across the globe. I look forward to continuing the planting of shared best practices in teacher education the seeing the harvest of how our work impacts program development and improvement.*



Adding to the metaphor is the idea of networks of people as seen here by cobwebs and the dew and rain as the moisture that keeps the earth fertile and the flowers able to bloom.

Another participant's metaphor was as a tree.

*In my metaphor I am a tree ... Grounded in*

*(1) subject matter and its inherently critical nature,*

*(2) the natural science of the human being's innate and critical grammar of mind, and*

*(3) our precious and dedicated teachers the world over who generationally propagate the world's subject matter.*

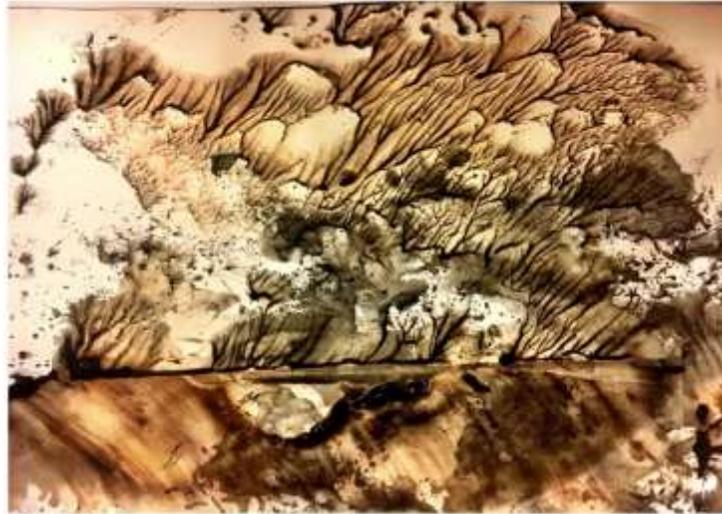
*My trunk represents the formal integration of the three. My branches represent the world's disciplines. My leaves are the world's most valuable resource: our students' minds. ...*

*Trees, when they regenerate become a part of a new journey of life-long learning, and world citizenry.*

*All of this type of metaphor works into the earth and growing metaphor but then a change is clear, and the new challenges become a further complexity and paradox.*

*The world is now digitally, financially, and socially interconnected. It is also at ideological, cultural, and social war with itself. To meet these modern global challenges, the world's largest and most significant profession needs a new and powerful cognitive foundation for modern instructional practice. That foundation now exists. It is based on the innate and critical grammar of mind possessed by all the world's people regardless of race, creed, color, gender, national origin, or state of academic preparation.*

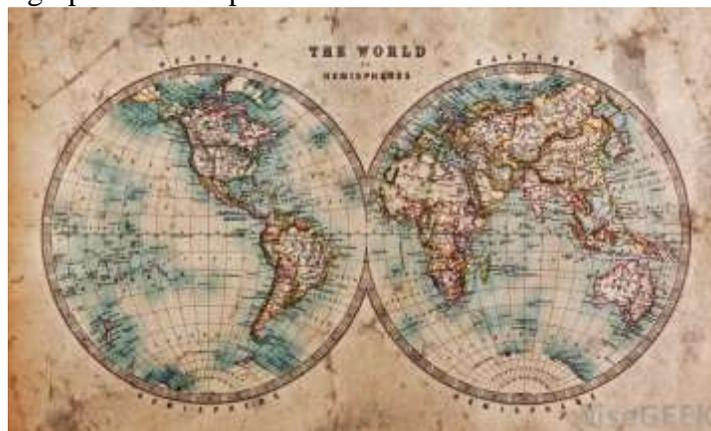
This juxtaposition of earth and growth to and ideological, cultural and social war with itself makes for a powerful point taken up in different ways with some other metaphors.  
Trees in the breezes and winds of change



Maxine Cooper

Trees in the Breeze at Weereera.

Cartography and cartographer as metaphor



Another respondent wrote,

*Cartographers are map makers. Cartographers are willing to voyage to new lands and navigate uncharted territory. They create maps that will allow others to voyage in the future, hopefully without peril or getting lost. Their service is oriented toward the future.*

So, mapping our worlds, mapping our journeys and our knowledge, designing the curriculum for schools and the curriculum for teacher education is an important part of the expedition of being a teacher educator.

The metaphor of the teacher education causeway



In thinking of teacher education as a causeway, we imagine it as a raised road that leads us across low or wet ground. The respondent noted

*The Causeway is appropriate as it looks as though you have a clear path ahead of you on your teacher education journey, but you know that the tide is going to come in and there is the danger of being swept away by it.*

Then we can also look at the causeway in teacher education from another angle...

*No matter what country you are in the same is true of all teacher education systems – you can see the path ahead, but you are also aware that teacher education's direction may be overwhelmed or swept aside by a tide of government initiatives or 'improvements'.*

Then maybe the mist will come over the causeway....



*As a new member of WFATE, I look to WFATE as a logical next step of involvement for me in addressing the challenges of our profession, the globalization of education, the changing context of higher education in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and above all, preparing citizens for participating in democracies within a global society.*

The metaphor of the waves over the pathway, the mist on the mountain and the need for a clear way forward can lead us to other metaphors such as the idea of teacher education as being between a rock and a hard place.

The idea of teacher education as being ‘between a rock and a hard place’ is a metaphor to refer to the difficulties of bringing the theory of teaching and learning together with the practices of teaching and learning and is particularly challenging in societies where systems of education are funded and controlled by governments and powerful politicians and systems. The economy and politics of education is currently one that has many countries aught within the neoliberal agenda, the marketization of education for profit and the competition of having the best universities in the world and competing with other countries trying to outbid each other for the top students and researchers in the world.

*I think the “rock and a hard place” metaphor works so well when dealing with regulations and government. But I also think of that wonderful description of John the Baptist as the “voice of one crying in the wilderness” and see my role as a leader in ATE and WFATE as just that sort of person ... I think my WFATE involvement has shown me that dialogue among nations can create opportunities for new ideas, new pathways to the future.*

So, there is now the idea of opening up new insights ...and looking between and with a rock and a hard place.



Storm on the rocks.

Maxine Cooper 23 October 2017

This participant responded further by stating more fully and moving to more of the challenges involved,

*What organizations such as WFATE do is to provide a potential lifeboat when there is the danger of being swept away. And knowing that other people are in the lifeboat with you, struggling with the same issues is wonderfully reassuring.*

The images of waves and even tsunamis then come to the fore:

*Teacher education in the USA is much like standing under a tsunami ... The avalanche of laws and changing regulations is never ending. I have come to realize the true importance of teacher education when I see how many countries really have no way of providing teacher education for their populations.*

*Nations who have no specialized education for teachers can't provide a quality education for their citizens... without teacher education, many impoverished countries have no way of helping their populations out of poverty.*

Some of these challenges are brought to the fore in UNESCO documents such as the Education 2030 Incheon Document that states that having access to a quality education is a basic human right and an indispensable prerequisite for sustainable development. For example, the document makes it clear that UNESCO reaffirms that:

*education is a public good, a fundamental human right and a basis for guaranteeing the realization of other rights. It is essential for peace, tolerance, human fulfilment and sustainable development. We recognize education as key to achieving full employment and poverty eradication. We will focus our efforts on access, equity and inclusion, quality and learning outcomes, within a lifelong learning approach (UNESCO 2016.)*

But where are the funds and possibilities to make all this idea of a quality education for all a reality.

It is the power of the people and the relationships of teacher, students, parents and community members to keep this agenda at the top to ensure all children can be educated to the best possible outcomes.



## **Where to and which way from here?**

In terms of how WFATE can move beyond the short-term politics and economics of the current climate we can see the paradoxes and a few synchronicities that may assist our thinking and our actions. One respondent stated:

*I hope the suggestions in this response serve the WFATE as it further undertakes collaborative research to move forward with resolving the paradoxes and synchronicities to help global change in teacher education, schools, and society.*

Suggestions for future focus for WFATE also included the idea of

*WFATE conferences and dialogue should begin to focus (more on) the research agenda in these troubling issues. At times I feel that our conferences help to “stir the pot” but I am not sure that our impact is significant. I think that our influence will grow with time, provided we can engage more educators globally to share their challenges with their fellow educators.*

*I guess I would like to see WFATE focus the exchange of ideas to societal problems that confront educators everywhere. I know we are working harder to achieve that goal.*

## **Some other key ideas that are worthy of further research.**

Within the confines of this current paper we can only indicate briefly some other aspects for further research, reflection and action.

*Teaching is a profession whose effective practice rests on the ability to communicate (i.e., explain) simple and complex ideas and facts in ways that promote critical understanding and comprehension. Yet, paradoxically, the profession continues to operate without a common language for professional preparation and practice, research, and scholarly writing and discourse. A major positive consequence of a new language of instruction is that the profession can establish and build a professional practice owned, operated, and maintained by those who actually practice the profession.*

*The Profession Lacks Universal Concepts, Principles, and Procedures for Practice  
The greatest and most damaging synchronous practice within the profession is ‘roteism’ instruction. This universal practice defeats critical skills development in the context of engaging new and revisited subject matter in all learners.*

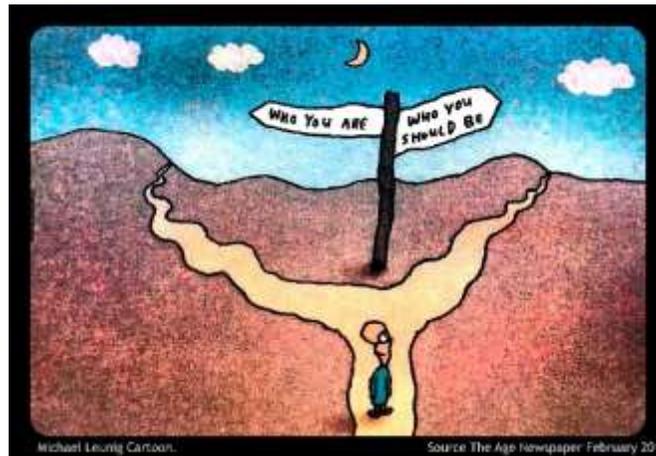
*The Profession Lacks Thinking Standards for Teacher Educators, Teacher Candidates, Teachers, and Students*

*The organization can continue to be a platform for projects and research. WFATE must be open to new activities – some we haven’t thought of at this point.*

## **Conclusion**

We need to continue to strengthen our voices and our actions for change. We need to cooperate across the boundaries and the barriers that hinder our actions. We need to continue to challenge the distinctions and connections between theory and practice. We need to maintain our

intellectual independence as teacher educators and the right and courage to speak out to media and the social media. We need to speak about what we know works, in theory and in practice, to politicians and economists and university and system leaders who have not been immersed with the current generation of children in classrooms today. We need to listen carefully to our present=vice teachers and they need to listen carefully to their students in their classrooms. All this is about respect for our rights and the rights of others to be able to learn from a curriculum that will assist them in becoming global citizens and learning about the world, learning to become resilient and risk-taking teachers who learn with and from their students. It is the way to move forward to an 'Education for peace, sustainability and global citizenship'. A well know Australian Cartoonist suggest that we are who we are or who we should be. But who decides this. We do, or who?



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J. (1977) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.

Cooper M. & Stewart J. (2016). Creating Cooperative Organizations Between Teacher Education Associations Worldwide. *Journal of the World Federation of Associations of Teacher Education* Vol.1, Issue 2. Pp 4 – 11.

Cooper, M. & Stewart, J. (2014) Theory to practice using core reflection: Stories from teacher education students and staff. In *Reflectivity and Cultivating Student Learning: Critical Elements for Enhancing a Global Community of Learners and Educators*. Edward Pultorak (Ed.) Rowman & Littlefield.

UNESCO (2016) Education 2030 Incheon Framework for Action.  
[http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/education-2030-incheon-framework-for-action-implementation-of-sdg4-2016-en\\_2.pdf](http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/education-2030-incheon-framework-for-action-implementation-of-sdg4-2016-en_2.pdf)

Eder, D. (1981). Ability grouping as a self-fulfilling prophecy: A microanalysis of teacher student interaction. *Sociology of Education*, 54, 151-161.

Fenwick, L., & Cooper, M. (2013). Learning about the Effects of Context on Teaching and Learning in Pre-Service Teacher Education. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 38(3).  
<http://dx.doi.org/10.14221/ajte.2013v38n3.6>

Gamoran, A. (2010). Tracking and inequality: New directions for research and practice. In M.W. Apple, S.J. Ball, & L.A. Gandin (Eds.), *The Routledge international handbook of the sociology of education* (pp. 213-228). London and New York: Routledge.

Korthagen, F., Kim, Y, and Greene, W. (2013). *Teaching and Learning from Within: A Core Reflection Approach to Quality and Inspiration in Education*. New York: Routledge.

Korthagen, F and Vasalos, A. (2005) Levels in reflection: core reflection as a means to enhance professional growth. *Teachers and Teaching: theory and practice*, Vol. 11, No. 1, February 2005, pp. 47–71.

Maguire, M. & Weiner, G. (1996) 'The place of women'. In: M.O. Vallente, A. Barrios, A. Gaspar & V.D. Theodoro (Eds) *Teacher Training and Values Education*. Selected papers from the 18<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Association for Teacher Education in Europe Lisbon.

Meijer, P., Korthagen, F. and Vasalos, A. (2013) Coaching Based on Core Reflection: A Case Study on Supporting Presence in Teacher Education. In *Teaching and Learning from Within: A Core Reflection Approach to Quality and Inspiration in Education*.

Korthagen, Kim, and Greene, (Eds.) New York: Routledge.

Jin, A., Cooper, M., & Golding, B. (2016). Cross-Cultural Communication in Teacher Education. *Australian Journal of Teacher Education*, 41(6). <http://ro.ecu.edu.au/ajte/vol41/iss6/2>

Oakes, J. (2005). Keeping track: How schools structure inequality. (2nd ed.). New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press.

Oakes, J., Gamoran, A., & Page, R.N. (1992). Curriculum differentiation: opportunities, outcomes, and meanings. In P.W. Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (pp. 570-608). New York: Macmillan.

Oakes, J. & Martin, L. (2007). *Teaching to change the world* (3rd ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.

Perry, C. & Cooper, M. (2001). *Metaphors are good Mirrors: Reflecting on change for teacher educators*'. *Reflective Practice*. 2:1, 41 – 52.

Sumsion, J. (1999). *Reflecting on sailing; and imagining, reinventing, and renewing life as a teacher educator*. *Teacher Education Quarterly*: 27 (2), 77-87.

Smyth, J. (2017) *The Toxic University*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Teese, R. (2007). Time and space in the reproduction of educational inequality. In R. Teese, S. Lamb, & M. Duru-Bellat (Eds.), *International studies in educational inequality, theory and policy, volume 1, Educational inequality: Persistence and change* (pp. 1-21). Dordrecht: Springer.

Teese, R. & Polesel, J. (2003) *Undemocratic Schooling: Equity and Quality in Mass Secondary Education in Australia*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press. ISBN 0-522-85048-0.

## **APPENDIX A**

### **Survey Questions for WFATE members in relation to professional reflections on being a member of the organisation.**

1. In a few sentences can you tell us about your involvement as a teacher educator e.g. do you work in initial teacher education or in post graduate teacher education programs or as post graduate research programs such as PHD supervision or research Master programs for experienced teachers?
2. How many years have you worked as a classroom teacher, and/or, as a teacher educator? Or do you do both teaching in schools and in teacher education institutions and in what ways does this work for you work as a teacher educator, researcher or learner and teacher?
3. Which country do you work in and please describe the context of your teacher education institution in a few words. Is it a university, higher education institution, specifically a teacher education only institution or how else is it organized as an organization/institution?
4. Please give us a brief narrative of your reflections on your journey/explorations from your local/global socio-cultural experiences with WFATE.
5. In a paragraph or so, can you please give us a metaphor about your journey/expedition as a teacher educator involved with WFATE? For example, metaphors are seen as organizing perceptions which help us see our professional situations/contexts and, even ourselves in a certain way.
6. What is it about Teacher Education and WFATE that keeps you 'going'?
7. Do you have any other suggestion for ways WFATE can further undertake collaborative research and move forward with the paradoxes and synchronicities in global change in teacher education, schools and society?
8. Any other comments please?

**AUTHORS:**

**MAXINE COOPER** is an Associate Professor in Education at Federation University Australia (FUA). She is an experienced teacher, teacher educator and educational researcher and has taught in Australia, Peru, Portugal and Pakistan. Maxine is the author, co-author and editor of over 30 publications including international journal articles and book chapters on her various research projects. Her research interests are in the changing social and cultural contexts of education with a focus on diversity, gender, power relations, teacher induction and the teacher education curriculum. Maxine is a Past President of the Australia Teacher Education Association and was the Inaugural Preside of the Board of Directors of the World Federation of Teacher Education Associations, and she is currently Chair of the Social Justice, Inclusion and Diversity Research Group in the School of Education at FUA.

Email: [m.cooper@federation.edu.au](mailto:m.cooper@federation.edu.au)

**JOAN STEWART** is an experienced teacher from Kindergarten to Year Twelve, a teacher educator and an English curriculum writer and developer. Currently she is working and researching on developing partnership relationships with a number of local regional schools through Federal funding projects and local partnership initiatives in the areas of literacy learning, new teacher support systems and youth schemes for re involvement with schooling and lifelong learning. Joan is the past president of the following organizations: Institute of Senior Officers of Victorian Education Services (ISOVES), the Victorian English Language and Learning Association (VELLA) and the Manhattan Reading Association, USA.

## **SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

**Beverly J. Klug**  
**Idaho State University**

### **Abstract**

*As educators, many of us have been fighting for social justice for all of our careers. We were able to see the injustices that were perpetrated on our students who were of racial, ethnic, and socio-economic statuses, two which we add those who are members of the LBGT community. We were involved in the principles of equity for all in this country, even if we were too young to actually join any Civil Rights marches.*

*We followed the campaigns of those we believed were champions of social justice and celebrated the hard-won victories for everyone, for we believed that victory for any group of citizens or workers was victory for us all. We've lived with the expectations that civil rights guaranteed all of our rights to be able to obtain a world-class education in the public schools and universities for nearly 60 years.*

*Nevertheless, we have been witnessing a sea change of prevailing thoughts of government officials at all levels, and we have not understood what is happening in our country to all this to occur. Within this document, we explore what is meant by the phrase, "the oppressed become the oppressors" and how our world is changing due to a theory of "Economic Liberty" developed by James McGill Buchanan and funded by wealthy millionaires and billionaires in this country, especially in the last ten years.*

## **SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**

“We don’t meet people by accident, they are meant to cross our paths for a reason.”

~Anonymous

This past year has been difficult for many who are concerned about social justice in the United States. We have a President, Mr. Donald Trump, who was elected in part by appealing to some of the worst characteristics of human nature. To the dismay of countless individuals and organizations committed to making our country a better, more equitable place for all, experiencing the effects of the divisive rhetoric employed by this man has engendered our own feelings of hopelessness in light of the current events and daily savaging of what we consider to be dear and precious for our American way of life.

For those of us committed to making the teaching profession more sensitive to the issues of racism, bullying, and equity of access for all and more empowering for all of our students, what is happening in our schools as a result of this mood permeating every state and corner of our nation has created disequilibrium. Negotiating issues that we believed were buried, as well as horrific traumas from the past, is difficult as we thought we had made progress towards equality for all our citizens.

Those living in predominantly rural and “red” (Republican) states such as Idaho that depend on the work of Mexican migrant farmworkers, have witnessed numerous Latino children already on the receiving end of cruel taunts of what would happen to them if the current President was elected (Harris, 2016). These incidents occurred both prior to and after the election of November 2017 shattering our perceived delusions about the treatment of ethnically diverse students by their peers.

Part of the reason for increased racism appears to be the endorsement of Mr. Trump by the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that many of us unrealistically assumed was dead or dying. The thought that in this day and age, organizations like the Klan and other white supremacist groups are still alive and well is particularly disconcerting, especially for those of us living in Idaho and Montana, two states chosen by these groups for their continued activity in the Western part of the United States. We thought that we had fought the battles and we had won: we felt that a new day of equity was dawning near. And we were caught unawares and off-guard.

Since Donald Trump won the Presidential election, there has been a dramatic uptick in incidents of racist and xenophobic harassment across the country. The Southern Poverty Law Center [S.P.L.C.] has reported that there were four hundred and thirty-seven incidents of intimidation between the election, on November 8th, and November 14th, targeting blacks and other people of color, Muslims, immigrants, the L.G.B.T. community, and women. One woman in Colorado told the S.P.L.C. that her twelve-year-old daughter was approached by a boy who said, “Now that Trump is President, I’m going to shoot you and all the blacks I can find.” At a school in Washington State, students chanted “build a wall” in a cafeteria. In Texas, someone saw graffiti at work: “no more illegals 1-20-17,” a reference to Inauguration Day...

Richard Cohen, the president of the S.P.L.C., said ‘White supremacists are celebrating, and it’s their time, the way they see it.’ Cohen said that an online survey of teachers found that more than half had seen an increase in hostile speech during the campaign. Students of color have

wondered aloud if their parents will be deported. (Okeowo, 2017, Paragraphs 1-2)

The Southern Poverty Law Center (S.P.L.C.; 2017) records that there are currently 954 hate groups operating in the United States, many of them in the Midwestern and Eastern corridors of the US, with large concentrations in the Southern areas. These hate groups include anti-Muslim, Black Nationalists, anti-immigrant, anti-LGBT, and others in addition to the KKK.

Author Toni Morrison, in a column for *The New Yorker* (November 17, 2016), indicates that the re-emergence of white racism has more to do with the loss of perceived privilege than actual “strength” of ordinary white citizens. They, especially men, believe that they are the chosen few, and consequently perceive that the civil liberties being afforded to other groups constitute true injustice in this country. She states that

*So scary are the consequences of a collapse of white privilege that many Americans have flocked to a political platform that supports and translates violence against the defenseless as strength. These people are not so much angry as terrified, with the kind of terror that makes knees tremble. (Morrison, 2016)*

### **One Explanation for Oppression of Groups Different from One’s Own Ethnicity**

Throughout history, it can be seen that many times the oppressed become the oppressors (Sowell, 1998). This can be seen in the history of the Irish and their English conquerors. In the later part of the 1100’s, the English King Henry II invaded Ireland after the Earl of Pembroke, Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare (Strongbow) landed a large force in Leinster. Strongbow was responding to the banished King Dermot MacMurrough’s plea and promises of rewards if he could facilitate MacMurrough’s reclamation of his lands and title (Delaney, 2005; Flynn, n.d.; Irish Historian, n.d.).

MacMurrough had been expelled from Ireland by the High King for his many crimes and cruelties. Thus, began the history of oppressive relations between the English and the Irish, and Anglo-Norman invasions (The English had been conquered themselves by the Normans 1066 CE; Flynn, n.d.; Sowell, 1998).

With the ascension of King Henry the VIII to the throne of England and Ireland in 1509 followed by his daughter Elizabeth I in 1558, intense persecution of the Irish began (Flynn, n.d.). Irish laws were no longer tolerated, and they were forbidden to speak their native Irish tongue, though this proved difficult to enforce. With the Reformation, both King Henry VIII and then Queen Elizabeth I attempted to convert all the Irish to the Church of England. The Irish resisted this tyranny.

Oliver Cromwell came to power under Charles I (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1996). However, Charles’s reign was fraught with chaos and wars, and he was eventually executed. Cromwell determined to crush the Irish who had sided with Charles I and refused to give up their Catholic religion and Anglo-Irish who were viewed as renegades (Cahill, 1995; Sowell, 1998).

In 1649 Oliver Cromwell was Commander-in-Chief of the English royal forces. Oliver Cromwell, who was a very apt military planner, hated Catholics in general and priests in

particular, and was determined to avenge the deaths of English Protestant settlers who had been killed in an Irish uprising (Sowell, 1998).

After crossing the Irish Sea, Cromwell and his infantry exacted atrocities throughout the cities they conquered (Cahill, 1995; Flynn, n.d.; Sowell, 1998). Other cities simply caved to the invaders as they heard the news of slaughtering of the Irish and Anglo-Irish occupiers of the lands. The famine that followed this devastation killed an additional 40% of the population (Sowell, 1998). Still, Cromwell continued to persecute the Irish through a series of declarations and laws limiting their abilities as free people in their lands.

Cromwell served as Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland beginning in 1653 until his death in 1658 (Houghton, Mifflin, Harcourt, 1996). Cromwell enacted extreme taxes on Irish landholders, who became impoverished as a result, and distributed the lands to the British to settle (Flynn, n.d.; Sowell, 1998).

Cromwell's successors, including his son, Richard, continued anti-Irish penalties, resulting in the passage of Irish Penal Laws in 1695, intended to reduce all Irish influence in their native land (Cahill, 1995; Delaney, 2005). By 1709, the Irish only owned 14% of their original lands and had an average lifespan of 19 years (Sowell, 1998). They had become virtual slaves of their English masters (Cahill, 1996; Irish Historian, n.d.; Sowell, 1998). Even today, relations Anglo-Irish relations are strained.

Irish powerlessness continued in the United States from the 1820's through the mid-1800's when immigration began in earnest from Ireland to this country. When emigrating, they took their culture with them. Due to poverty, they settled in the worst slum areas of the US (Sowell, 1998). In the British Isles and this country they faced prejudice and were considered "non-white," having to fight for their rights as accepted American citizens (Ignatiev, 1995).

Around the world, the Irish have been successful in the fields of politics, labor union leadership, law, and writing (Sowell, 1998). Once virtual slaves themselves, they were part of the westward movement in this country and the displacement of American Indians from their lands. Some of the "greatest Indian fighters," such as Andrew Jackson, Ulysses S. Grant, and Philip Sheridan, were of Irish ancestry. In Southern cities where a significant number of Irish became prominent, they supported slavery, had slaves of their own, and bolstered the Southern states during the Civil War (Herman, 2001; Sowell, 1998; Wikipedia, 2018).

According to Sowell (1998), the Ulster Scots, so called "Scots-Irish," which included other Protestant groups from the border lands between England and Scotland, did not fare as well in America as other groups of Scotch or Irish. They settled in the Southern areas of the US, as well as in the high country of Appalachia, reminiscent of their Scottish homelands (Herman, 2001). They were described thus:

*The fringe of British civilization from which they came was notable not only for its poverty and backwardness, but also for its lawlessness and violence. These included the disputed borderlands between England and Scotland—a region accustomed to 'barbarity with slaughter, rape, and fire—where warfare between the two countries was marked by atrocities and counter-atrocities, and supplemented by unofficial violence from marauders, vigilantes, and others who kept this region which 'never enjoyed fifty*

*years of quiet' until the decisive English victories of 1745. By then, however, many people from this region had already immigrated to America, where the old traditions of violence survived, long after they were suppressed in Britain. (Herman, 2001, p. 76)*

A portion of this population who settled in Appalachia and the South continued in their ways with family feuds as well as intolerance of their Indian neighbors. These rural impoverished populations were known in Britain and America as “crackers” and “rednecks,” as well as “Hoosiers,” a term used especially in the area that became Indiana (Sowell, 1998). However, after the American Revolution,

Their descendants helped to extend and govern the result—Andrew Jackson, John C. Calhoun, James K. Polk, Jim Bowie, Daniel Boone, William Clark (of the Lewis and Clark expedition), Sam Houston, and General Winfield Scott, whose grandfather fought at Culloden. (Herman, 2001, p. 394)

However, not all of this group of individuals, known for their fierce pride as well as for violence and poverty, had the opportunity for schooling and/or moving out of poverty. Vigilantism was a regular practice, first directed at other whites. Later sprang up a new organization, the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), organized along the lines of the Scottish clan system, operating primarily in the South, and eventually spreading to other regions in the US as they moved into those areas (Sowell, 1998). Burning of crosses is a reflection of Scottish practices being adapted for nefarious purposes in the US. During Reconstruction, their activities turned to lynching and intimidating freed African-American slaves.

When Ulysses S. Grant became President, he demonstrated the schizophrenic attitudes of the times in supporting the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution giving African-American men the right to vote; revised US policy towards Native Americans; and supported public education for all (National Park Service, 2015). Additionally, Grant signed the Ku Klux Klan Act in April 1871 in order to counteract the rise of white Southern tyranny enacted upon African-Americans in the South in order to prevent them from exercising their voting rights and taking their rightful places in society (Waugh, 2017).

This act of courage did not stop the Klan completely, nor has it prevented the emergence of other white supremacist groups. As evidenced by stories of the Klan, its activities continued through the Civil Rights Movement. In the same vein, Neo-Nazism has raised its head prominently again since the Trump campaign with members consisting of many different European heritages. The Klan is alive and well as are other white supremacist and/or hate groups (S. P. L. C., 2017).

The story of the Irish and Scots-Irish exemplifies the complicated history of oppression and the oppressed becoming the oppressors as well as abilities to become forces for extraordinary goodness. Twenty-four (24) US Presidents, four (4) Vice-Presidents, and Nine (9) Justices of the Supreme Court have/had Irish ancestry, as well as numerous individuals who have made positive impacts in this country in all areas of education, commerce, sports, entertainment, and the arts (Cahill, 1995; Herman, 2001; Sowell, 1998).

The later Scottish immigrants have also made many contributions to life in America in the areas of economics, technological inventions, trades, philosophy, and education. Many of those of

other European ethnicities have done the same. Additionally, many American Indians and African Americans claim Irish/Scotch-Irish ancestry, giving us all pause for reflection.

### **The Depression and Post-Depression Era Advocacy for Civil Rights**

After the fall of Wall Street in 1929 and the beginning of the Great Depression in this country and around the world, the differences between the haves and the have-nots became somewhat blurred as many of the previously “haves” became the “have nots,” sometimes overnight. Numerous individuals growing up in the 50’s and 60’s were privy to the stories of their grandparents and what it was like for them to wake up one morning without money or anything of value, and to realize that they had to take measures to provide for their families in ways they never previously considered. With the breakdown of the economy, suddenly the impact of poverty thrust itself on the general population who then experienced first-hand its truly devastating effects upon their lives and social positions.

Nationally, in 1933 Franklin Roosevelt became President of the United States and was responsible for leading the US out of the Great Depression and World War II until his death in 1945 (Biography.com). While Franklin was in the limelight as President of the United States, Eleanor Roosevelt became an activist for many causes. Eventually, she received letters from Pauli Murray, an African-American poet and intellectual, and an advocate for the rights of African-Americans (Bell-Scott, 2016). Murray had a transformative effect upon Mrs. Roosevelt.

Murray and others were forbidden to attend all-white state colleges and universities in the south, just one example of injustices perpetuated with impunity upon the Black population (Bell-Scott, 2016). Murray invited Roosevelt to experience the plight of the African-American population and challenged her to overcome the status quo. In the process of their relationship, the two not only became great friends but partners in the first stirrings of Civil Rights in this country (Bell-Scott). Eleanor Roosevelt became the first to chair the United States Commission on Human Rights and the President’s Commission on the Status of Women; Pauli Murray became the co-founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW; Bell-Scott, 2016).

### **Members of the Southern (White) elite and *Brown vs. the Board of Education*.**

*Brown vs. the Board of Education* decision in 1955 which destroyed the south’s “separate but equal” clauses for education, became a rallying point for those opposed to federal government interference in their affairs (MacLean, 2017). Those on the conservative right, many of whom called themselves libertarians, and others in the south did not appreciate the movements toward racial equality and access to appropriate public education by all. The terms “race” and “racial” were never used, nonetheless the intentions of the ruling white class were clear: They were not going to give up their power to inferior races easily.

Into this mix came a brilliant young man of pure Scots-Irish lineage, James McGill Buchanan, who heralded from Tennessee (MacLean, 2017). He proclaimed that he had grown up poor, though poverty is a relative term. His family had a live-in servant and a person to work the fields of their farm in the 1920’s. They employed a family of black sharecroppers in the 1940’s and were middle-class by Tennessee standards. Later, his grandfather became governor of Tennessee, running on the Populist ticket that advocated the government should work for all, not serve the

monopolies such as the railroads or mining industry.

After graduating from the University of Chicago with a PhD in economics, Buchanan set about to use the theories of conservative Professor Frank Hyneman Knight who was against socialism in any form (MacLean, 2017). He eventually applied to become chair of the economics department the University of Virginia which was under the Presidency of Colgate Darden.

Darden was against equal rights for all and desegregation in any form, and the two of them formed a pact allowing Buchanan to develop his economics and social order theories in such a way that the government actions could be reversed legally. For this promise, James Buchanan was given space to found the Thomas Jefferson Center for Political Economy and Social Philosophy in 1956.

### **Economic development theory and social justice practice.**

While the audacious and visionary works of Eleanor Roosevelt and Pauli Murray as well as others involved in the stirrings of the Civil Rights movement, James Buchanan and others of similar political leanings were busy trying to find ways of bringing these reforms to an end, returning the county to the early days of the Robber Barons when no one could encroach upon the wealth created by the millionaires who lived through that period.

James Buchanan was looking to past economic theories to bolster his and others' "legitimate" efforts to re-claim what they perceived as their rights and cultural heritages. One such economic theorist, Maximilian Weber (1864–1920), a German sociologist, political economist, and philosopher, may have held the key for Buchanan's future work.

Weber was one of the leading thinkers whose works influenced the 20<sup>th</sup> century in many countries (Kim, 2017). He held the position that religions have always been the sources of values practiced by their members, many were taught these values as small children (Grondona, 2000). Weber identified Protestantism, in particular the Calvinist branch, as the foundation for capitalism. As such, he theorized that the economic development of individuals, cities, and countries was "...one in which the treatment of life's winners (the rich) and losers (the poor) was centrally relevant" (Grondona, p. 47). This is the essence of the "dependency theory" of economics.

Weber theorized that the "publican" cultivated values that demonstrated concerns for the poor (primarily Catholic views at the time), while the "pharisaic" preferred the rich and promotion of those values, such as hard work, creative individualism, and the accumulation of wealth, which promoted a higher lifestyle and economic development (Gordona, 2000).

The publican, on the other hand, was content to "take care of the poor," in fact inhibiting the poor from developing their own values for the accumulation of wealth. This was indicted by lesser economic development and less reliance on day-to-day satisfaction of one's needs (Grondona, 2000).

It appears that James McGill Buchanan and others have appropriated this reasoning as a way to justify Buchanan's economic theory dubbed "economic liberty," or put in other terms, the right to retain all of your wealth without feeling the need to contribute to the common good, since you are "better than" average American citizens, especially those of socially inferior status

(MacLean, 2017). Although Buchanan was a noted economist and had won the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences in 1986, his “economic liberty” theory was a well-guarded secret shared by a select group.

From papers historian Nancy MacLean found in Buchanan House located on the campus of George Washington University, Buchanan had developed a long-term approach for undermining what he called—the “Welfare state” in this country (MacLean, 2017). When Buchanan’s staff were moved to other quarters on campus after his death, his papers—which had been left out in the open—outlined a “stealth plan” begun in the 1960’s and ‘70’s for eliminating public funding for the goods and services provided for citizens in this country. The plan called for eliminating the following:

- labor unions
- minimum wage
- maximum hours
- safety regulations
- workman’s compensation
- grievance relief for workers
- environmental standards
- the Center for Disease Control
- health standards
- efforts to control water-borne diseases
- the Social Security system
- government provided health care
- public lands
- public education
- tax support for roads and infrastructure
- the Federal Drug Administration
- building construction codes
- Medicare
- Medicaid
- child labor laws, and
- foreign aid (MacLean, 2017)

In other words, Buchanan’s version of the dependency theory determined that there were “makers” (the rich) and “takers” (the not so rich, middle-and lower-classes), and that “makers” should not be forced to give away their wealth for the common good, or for programs that they did not agree with:

To Buchanan, what others described as taxation to advance social justice or the common good was nothing more than a modern version of mob attempts to take by force what the takers had no moral right to: the fruits of another person’s efforts.... legally sanctioned gangsterism.” (MacLean, 2017, p.xxii)

In order to accomplish this goal, Buchanan needed financial backing. He proved to be the perfect match for the ideas of Charles Koch and his brother, David:

*The goal of the cause [for radical change of government programs] Buchanan announced to his associates, should no longer be to influence who makes the rules, to vest hopes in*

*one party candidate. The focus must shift from who rules to changing the rules. For liberty to thrive, Buchanan...argued, the cause must figure out how to put legal—indeed, constitutional—shackles on public officials, shackles so powerful that no matter how sympathetic these officials might be to the will of majorities, no matter how concerned they were with their own reelections, they would no longer have the ability to respond to those who used their numbers to get government to do their bidding....Once these shackles were put in place, they had to be binding and permanent. The only way to ensure that the will of the majority could no longer influence representative government on core matters of political economy was through what he called ‘constitutional revolution.’ (MacLean, pp. xxv-xxvi)*

### **The plans of the Koch brothers and other wealthy elites to eliminate social programs.**

The Koch brothers had found their man, one who would support their ideas concerning the rights to retain their wealth and was willing to proselytize on their behalf. The Cato Institute, the Heritage Foundation, the Liberty Fund, Public Choice Society, Society of Fellows, Institute of Contemporary Studies, Americans for Progress, and other like institutes—with wealth provided by the Koch brothers and other right-wing believers—began to attack the “soft underbelly of the welfare state,” as Buchanan described the Social Security system (MacLean, 2017). Included in the plan was the attack on public schools and Buchanan’s brand of libertarians’ desires to eliminate them in favor of private education without integration.

The result of this marriage between Buchanan and the Koch brothers has been the rise of radical conservatives who, while representing the Republican Party in name, are not the same in character as those of the old Republicans who were willing to compromise and work across the aisle. “The Republican Party is now in control of a group of true believers for whom compromise is a dirty word. Their cause, they say, is liberty” (MacLean, 2017, p. xxviii).

In order to accomplish their goals, their claims have been and continues to be made in all forms of the media that private organizations would do a better job in the areas of education, prison systems, and the now-run government services (MacLean, 2017). Private enterprises could provide all of these necessary services more efficiently and at great cost-savings for the nation. Charles Koch’s Reason Foundation has pushed this privatization.

Individuals involved in this stealth plan concluded that by gradually taking over these institutions and services, the public would not object to the resulting “new normal.” This new world would consist of the top wealthiest individuals running the country and its institutional services while keeping as much of their wealth and growing it even more. Meanwhile, the lower- and middle-classes would provide the labor at reduced wages while they provided more in taxes to keep the country moving economically (MacLean, 2017).

Indeed, we have witnessed more and more struggles in the areas targeted for elimination by Buchanan and his cronies. How did they “suddenly” become so powerful, a force most of us didn’t even know existed prior to MacLean’s exposé. I believe that part of the answer to this question lies in the fact that Buchanan was a very good recruiter: He held many conferences for like-minded groups throughout the country. Under the guise of being affiliated with four institutions of higher education, he was able to blind others in authority to the work he and the

economists who worked for him were doing (MacLean, 2017).

The Koch brothers have financed many of the campaigns of those who are serving in office at the state and national levels today (MacLean, 2017). Their influence, and that of others of their ilk, cannot be underestimated with continuance of their stealth approach to undermine social justice in this country. If elected officials do not do what their funders want, they pay the price in terms of losing support in elections, etc.

Since Buchanan's death, these radical libertarians have continued on with the goals of changing this nation from what it has been since the creation Social Security in the 1940's through the creation of Civil Rights and Johnson's Great Society legislation in the 60's. They are actively pursuing their agenda of eliminating the identified social programs and groups on their list with the end game of discontinuing the fight for social justice initiatives today.

The irony is that for at least the past 20 years other countries have acknowledged the collapse of the dependency theory in economics where the poor (or "takers" in Buchanan's terms) rely on the rich ("makers" in Buchanan's terms) and society to take care of their needs. New theories concerning strong and weak economic development in countries have arisen as intellectuals have turned their eyes towards a "culture-centered paradigm" to explain the differences between the rich and the poor, and these countries now promote social justice in their communities (Harrison, 2000).

### **Education for All of Our Students: A Twentieth and Twenty-First Century Dream**

At the turn of the beginning of the 20th Century, there were many states and cities that had mandated schools for children, yet had relatively few students attending those schools. One area that played a significant role in preventing children from attending schools was that of child labor (Yarrow, 2009). Children were used in both agriculture and in industry as factory workers. While progressive reformers held that education was the key for improvement in the lives of children and families, especially those living on the bottom rungs of society, the wages brought in by children to their families were considered essential for the survival of these families.

For many years discussions concerning the issues surrounding child labor ensued, including national conferences on children and their conditions (Trattner, 1970/1991). Even though proposals had been made to address these concerns, it wasn't until the enactment of the 1938 *Fair Labor Standards Act* under the New Deal developed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his administration that there were actual repercussions for hiring those under-age laborers, with the exception given to agriculture.

While one of the reasons for passing the legislation was to remove children from the competition for jobs as part of the national Great Depression recovery, finally there was agreement that no child should leave school before age 16. Many children could now benefit from having the schooling they so desperately needed (Trattner, 1970/1991).

Ever since then, we've had students drop out of schools and we've been asking ourselves as a profession, "Why?" First, we blamed the students: that they were too stupid or too lazy to learn. Then, when we learned that some children had learning disabilities, we blamed parents for those

who dropped out who did not have learning difficulties. Next, we blamed students' natal cultures for not encouraging them to stay in school and develop their cognitive abilities.

This was followed by blaming teachers during the era of No Child Left Behind Act (2001). As a result, we are facing a huge teacher shortage across the U S, especially in low-paying states like Idaho (source, 2018). According to Messacar and Oreopulos (2013), the current dropout rates of 30 % for the nation as a whole has remained steady for several decades. The prospects for school drop-outs, though, have remained dismal in comparison to those who continue to stay in school. Consequences include lower-incomes, lower paying jobs, raising children at a young age for those who have dropped out due to pregnancy, fewer opportunities for future growth and development of self, and life-long struggles (Messacar & Oreopulos). Messacar and Oreopulos offer some insights as to reasons for school dropout, reasons familiar to those of us in education:

With so much hardship associated with leaving high school before graduating, why do so many students decide to do it? Of course, there is no single explanation: Conflicts at home, urgent financial difficulties, and unexpected pregnancies are only a few examples. Some dropouts say they are too poorly prepared to complete. A majority of these individuals say they are unmotivated or uninspired to go to class. Dropouts are truant more often, experience more academic troubles, and record more failing grades throughout all levels of schooling than do their peers who graduate. Dropouts are more likely to be from households where parents are less active in promoting and helping with school. By the time students decide to leave, they often feel there is a disconnect or lack of support between themselves, their parents, and their teachers. The act of dropping out, therefore, must be understood not as a single event but an outcome that begins with school disengagement, often long before the dropout finally decides to stop coming to class. (2013, ¶6)

In cases where students drop out and complete GED's soon after, some of these problems are ameliorated, though these students may have missed much critical information needed to become truly knowledgeable about the world. This in turn may impact their future abilities to attain employment in areas where they have interests.

The situation for students who drop out during their middle school/junior high school years is particularly dire, as they miss out on critical information regarding the social sciences, the sciences, and technology. The same is true of the areas in the humanities which help inform us of our values and ethics, shaping our lives as future citizens.

### **Achieving social justice in our public schools.**

Lewis and Diamond (2015) attribute the failure to be able to achieve social justice in our society, especially schools, to the fact that so many white teachers who dominant the teaching force say they "don't see color" when teaching students. Unfortunately, this prevents them from being able to fully integrate culturally relevant pedagogy in their classrooms, which has been proven to provide success in the academic lives of students of color (Ladson-Billings, 2009; Klug and Whitfield, 2003; Klug, 2014).

The term "culturally relevant pedagogy (CRP)" or its sister "culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP)" is interpreted to mean only celebrating holidays that are important to various ethnic

groups of students that comprise the classroom. The significance of CRP s lost when not extended to including information about different ethnicities within the contexts of various subject matters or to changing the way we teach to meet the cultural expectations of all of our different learners in our classrooms (Klug, 2012; Lewis and Diamond).

We must add to the problems facing schools today the fact that many schools serving non-white students are poorly maintained, giving the impression that their students' achievements don't matter as much as those of more affluent students. We have to add to that mix the toxicity of bullying and cyber-bullying which is permeating our schools, in addition to the feelings that schools are not as safe as they once were due to school shootings.

Finally, in many instances, the school experience has become so negative that many students drop-out: primarily students of color, students who are enrolled in special education classes, and students who are economically disadvantaged. Kristin van Ogtrop (2018) tells the story of her son's teaching experience in a fourth-grade classroom in the following:

*My eldest son.... twenty-two years old, himself a brand-new adult coming of age in an angry nation, ...is all too aware of what gets lost in growing up. And so he wrestles daily with how to promote and sustain a feeling of kindness in his classroom, for these children are our future. His students are extremely empathetic when one of their peers is upset; they don't hesitate to yell across the room to get his attention if they see a classmate crying, even if they have caused the tears. 'they are good at comforting each other,' my son told me. 'But it's like they have to totally destroy each other first.'* (p. 55)

All students need to be challenged and rewarded as learners. In "Colorblindness: The New Racism," Afi-Odlia E. Scruggs (2009) suggests that those folks who enjoy racial privilege are closing their eyes to the experiences of others....Paying attention to the cultural experience of students is becoming increasingly important, given the differences between the demographics of American students and their teachers....roughly 80% of American teachers are white, while children of color make up more than 40% of the student body. (p. 46)

As a nation, we can't continue to treat racism, color, ethnicity, sexism, intellectual abilities, and socioeconomic differences as ancillary to the educational process. We must be cognizant of the effects of all of these factors if all of our students are going to rise to the challenges of being successful in our academic institutions. To do so means that we must work to create what K. Tsianina Lowawaima and Theresa McCarty (2014) have termed "Safety Zones" in their work with American Indian children, where students' cultures are protected and integral to the school and its curriculum.

### **Education, the 2016 National Election, and the Presidency of Donald Trump.**

Beginning with the announcement of businessman-millionaire Mr. Donald Trump as the Republican candidate for President in 2015, his winning the election and his inauguration in 2017, numerous individuals involved in social justice in the United States have been dismayed by the messages coming from the candidate. Mr. Trump is notably a capitalist and does not espouse the radical libertarian views (MacLean, 2017). He did not need money from the Koch brothers for his campaign. However, due to his own character flaws, the doors have been opened once again to racism, sexism, and social inequities.

We are living in a time of the “perfect storm,” where the radical right and “Trumpism” has created a charged atmosphere for the worst of human nature to re-infect our nation and our children. Missives coming now from the White House are nationalistic, racist, misogynistic, and show little regard for many of the citizens of this nation and of the world. To cap these communications off, the deliberate choosing of Steve Bannon, known for his racist and right-wing views, to be Mr. Trump’s White House Chief Strategist was a sign that we had not really made the progress towards social justice that we had imagined.

It seems that white racism was only buried and has now come out of hiding once again as many whites are afraid that they have lost their privileges and point to their inability to be hired or to hold high-paying jobs as evidence of this. As explained by Lewis and Diamond (2015), while race has consequences for our individual understandings of self and other, it matters much more—deep and broad consequences for the very organization of social institutions. In societies like the United States, where race has been a fundamental organizing principle since before the country’s founding, racialization led not only to the formation of entrenched cultural belief systems that suggested that some people were essentially different (and better) than others, but also led to the development of complex hierarchies in which those racialized bodies were *treated differently* in social, legal, political, and economic realms....

The challenge for understanding what is ‘racial’ about ‘racial achievement gaps’ comes in part from the challenge of keeping the larger history of race in mind when we are trying to understand daily processes. This is the challenge of paying attention simultaneously to the very bigness and the very smallness of its effects and to the connections between the two.... When racial categories are (even subconsciously) assigned in daily interactions, entrenched cultural belief systems get primed, cultural belief systems that emerged and evolved across long histories. (p. 5)

### **The Challenge of Changing This “New Era” and Restoring Social Justice to Its Place**

It is difficult to realize that while we have legislation addressing our society’s needs and the promises of a better life for all, that a handful of people could so thoroughly destabilize our current system of government for all, including all races, ethnicities, socioeconomic status, sexual identification, and religious affiliations.

This is, essentially, a story of the oppressed (or those who believe they are oppressed) becoming the oppressors, but in ways we never dreamed possible: By manipulating our system of laws and damaging the fabric of our society. This statement is not to indict all members of a particular ethnic group to which many of us belong, but to explain what is happening at this point in our history to undo social justice efforts in this country.

To challenge what is happening, we need to unmask the followers of Buchanan, the Koch brothers, and others, and be aware that when we are voting, we need to know the principles of the politicians we are electing. We need to understand that this is not going to be an easy battle since the funding provided by the Koch brothers and other wealthy members of their inner circles amounts to million, and perhaps trillions of dollars.

We must also be careful when we see that someone who professes economic liberty or their

institutes or businesses are supporting causes that we hold dear: What is their reason for being a part of this organization? Are they there to change things from the inside? For the stealth model is still operational and its practitioners are among many of our elected officials and wealthy donors.

We must extend the offering of school cultural “Safety Zones” discussed by Lowawima and McCarty (2014) so that it is operational in all schools, honoring the perspectives and epistemologies of all cultures/ethnicities (Irvine, 2009; Klug & Whitfield, 2003; Klug, 2012). Truly in this way we become united with our students and constituents. We all assist students in becoming citizens of the world. In so doing, we too become capable of finding our true places in societies in spite of the current undermining of our institutions by those who adhere to the “economic liberty”/ “dependency” views of the world.

While money given to schools to assist students and encourage them to stay in school may not be the complete answer, we do know that there are worthwhile programs that have made a difference in the lives of many of our nations’ students who were potentially headed toward dropping out. These programs cost money in personnel and materials. Yet, with the current climate and actions that are being taken in many states that are cutting taxes and funding for schools, how long will it be before the national dropout rates climb to 40 percent, 50 percent, 60 percent, or more? As so eloquently stated by Susan Ripley, President of the League of Women Voters of Idaho: *The League of Women Voters of Idaho believe that all children should have equal opportunity to an education that prepares them to be productive citizens.*

During the past decade, the Legislature passed tax cuts totaling \$1 billion. These aren’t really tax cuts. They are tax shifts or expense shifts.

Over those 10 years, school districts around the state ran supplemental property tax levies to try to retain good teachers and keep class sizes reasonable. Those levies have totaled \$1.6 billion in property tax increases while the state cut income taxes and gave sales tax exemptions.... The dependence on supplemental levies places students at a disadvantage in districts that cannot pass those levies....

The situation is no better for the university students. In 2001, the state started cutting taxes, and college tuition increased. The state support used to be 80 to 90 percent of college expenses. Now the cost is about 50-50 tuition and state dollars. Seventy percent of students graduate with an average of \$26,000 to \$36,000 in student loan debt. That debt in Idaho is estimated at \$5.7 billion. (Feb. 22, 2017, p. A6)

The state of affairs in Idaho is a microcosm of what is happening in relation to states with larger populations. On February 15, 2018, Trump’s budget proposal was released at a Senate Finance Committee hearing. For the Department of Education, it calls for cuts in: (a) a program to increase the quality of teachers and school leaders (\$2 billion); (b) a program establishing before- and after-school learning centers for academic improvement (\$1.19 billion); and (c) grants for improved K-12 literacy instruction (\$190 million). For the corporation for Public Broadcasting, which has many programs available on NPR radio and PBS television for student learning, development, and edification, a call of \$480 million cut (Hafner, Feb. 15, 2018, p. 4A).

Whatever the final amounts to eliminate remain in the President's proposal, it is evident that education is not one of the priorities of this administration. The budget, in effect, mirrors Buchanan's dependency theory and how to change the nation in favor of the "makers."

At her confirmation hearings, Trump's Secretary of Education Betsy DeVos (Camera, 2017) originally called for more charter schools and federal vouchers for private schools. DeVos has recently changed her views as conservatives in education have shown that this could be a cause for more federal control of education.

DeVos now promotes school privatization, the use of vouchers, and founding more charter schools should be left up to states (Camera, 2017). Nonetheless, we can see that inroads are being made into undermining social justice in our schools and country, making the provision of educational opportunities more difficult for many of our youth.

Consequently, it will be left to us, those who are deeply concerned about our children and their educational opportunities, to remain vigilant now and in the coming years. We have already experienced the attacks on unions, including teachers' unions, in many states with "Right to Work" laws, as well as talks about privatizing social security, and privatizing prisons and other governmental services.

We have seen reductions in funding for public education at all levels K through graduate school. Whether Buchanan's followers have their day and continue to dismantle social programs and services remains to be seen. Nevertheless, we as educators will continue to appeal to our federal, state, and local governments to take care of the needs of all our citizens, especially those of our most vulnerable. For education is the only way that we can counteract the work that has been undertaken to destroy the social fabric of our nation.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anonymous. (2018). Retrieved from Quotesgate.com
- Bell-Scott, P. (2016). *The firebrand and the First Lady: Portrait of a friendship*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Biography.com. (August, 2017). *Franklin D. Roosevelt Biography*. New York, NY: A & E Network. Retrieved from <https://www.biography.com/people/franklin-d-roosevelt-9463381>
- Cahill, T. (1995). *How the Irish saved civilization: The untold story of Ireland's heroic role from the fall of Rome to the rise of medieval Europe*. New York: Doubleday.
- Camera, L. (2017, Oct. 2). The evolution of Betsy DeVos. *U.S. News*. Retrieved from <https://www.usnews.com/news/the-report/articles/2017-10-02/the-evolution-of-betsy-devos-and-private-school-choice>
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, Pub.L. 88–352, 78 Stat. 241
- Civil Rights Act of 1991-EEOC, § 706 or §717 of the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964, 42 U.S.C. 2000e-5
- Cozzens, P. (November, 2016). Ulysses Grant launched an illegal war against the plains Indians and then lied about it. *Smithsonian Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/ulysses-grant-launched-illegal-war-plains-indians-180960787/#pHBRPAwMbl8ecXww.99>
- Delaney, F. (2005). *Ireland*. New York, NY: Harper.
- Flynn, D. (n.d.). *A Brief History of Ireland 1014-1922*. Redwood Castle, Co. Tipperary, Ireland: Redwood Castle. Retrieved from <http://www.redwoodcastleireland.com/irish-history-page.html>
- Grondona, M. (2000). A cultural typology of economic development. In L. E Harrison & S. P. Huntington, Eds., *Culture matters: How values shape human progress* (pp. 44–55). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Hafner, J. (Feb. 15, 2018). Trump's Budget: What president would toss to pay for his priorities. *USA Today*, 36 (107), 4A. McLean, VA: Gannett.
- Harris, S. (Nov. 18, 2016). Hispanic teens say that racism has increased since Trump victory. *Idaho State Journal*. Retrieved from <https://idahostatejournal.com/eedition>
- Harrison, L. E. (2000). Promoting progressive cultural change. In L. E Harrison & S. P. Huntington, Eds., *Culture matters: How values shape human progress* (pp. 296–307). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Herman, A. (2001). *How the Scots invented the modern world: The true story of how Europe's*

*poorest nation created our world and everything in it.* New York, NY: MJF Books.

Houghton Mifflin Harcourt. (1996). *History: Oliver Cromwell*. Boston, MA: Author. Retrieved from <http://www.history.com/topics/british-history/oliver-cromwell>

Ignatiev, N. (1995). *How the Irish Became White*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Irvine, J. J. (2009). Relevant beyond the basics. *Teaching Tolerance, Fall*, pp. 41–44.

Irish Historian. (n.d.) Irish History Timeline. Retrieved from <http://www.irishhistorian.com/IrishHistoryTimeline.html>

Kim, S. H. (2017). Max Weber. *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter), Edward N. Zalta (Ed.). Stanford, CA: Stanford University. Retrieved from <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2017/entries/weber/>

Klug, B. J., & Whitfield, P. T. (2003). *Widening the circle: Culturally relevant pedagogy for American Indian children*. New York, NY: RoutledgeFalmer.

Klug, B. J. (2012). Falling from grace: How new government policies undermine American Indian education. In Beverly J. Klug (Ed.), *Standing Together: Indigenous Education as Culturally Responsive Pedagogy* (pp. 71-86). New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield.

Klug, B. J. (2014). Pedagogy for Aboriginal Students in the U.S.: Shattering Walls of Distorted Glass. In C. Craig & L. Orland-Barak (Eds.), *International Teacher Education: Promising Pedagogies* (Vol. 2), Emerald Group Publishing Limited, Howard House, Wagon Lane, Bingley, BD16 1WA, United Kingdom.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995/9). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Education Research Journal*, 32(3), 465–491.

Lewis, A. E., & Diamond, J. B. (2015). *Despite the best intentions: How racial inequality thrives in good schools*. New York, NY: Oxford University.

Lowmawaima, K. Tsianina, & McCarty, T. L. (2014). Examining and applying safety zone theory: Current policies, practices, and experiences. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 5 (3), 1–10.

MacLean, N. (2017). *Democracy in chains: The deep history of the radical right's stealth plan for America*. New York, NY: Viking.

Messacar, D., & Oreopoulos, P. (2013). Staying in school: A proposal for raising high-school graduation rates. *Issues in Science and Technology*, XXIX (2). Retrieved from [issues.org/29-2/derek](http://issues.org/29-2/derek)

Morrison, T. (November 21, 2016). Mourning for Whiteness. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/11/21/making-america-white-again>

- National Organization for Women. (2018). *Highlights*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <https://now.org/now-foundation/about-now-foundation>
- National Park Service. (n.d.). *Ulysses S. Grant*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from <https://www.nps.gov/ulsg/learn/historyculture/ulysses-s-grant.htm>
- No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, 20 U.S.C. § 6319 (2011).
- Okeowo, A. (November 17, 2016). Hate on Rise After Trump's Election. *The New Yorker*. Retrieved from <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/hate-on-the-rise-after-trumps-election>
- PBS. (2018). Philip Henry Sheridan. *A new perspective on the West*. Retrieved from [http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/people/s\\_z/sheridan.htm](http://www.pbs.org/weta/thewest/people/s_z/sheridan.htm)
- Ripley, S. (Feb. 22, 2018). League of Women Voters in Idaho. *Idaho State Journal* (Letters to the Editor, p. A6). Pocatello, ID.
- Scruggs, A. E. (2009). Colorblindness: the new racism? *Teaching Tolerance, Fall*, pp. 45-47.
- Sowell, T. (1998). *Conquests and cultures: An international history*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2017). *Hate Map*. Retrieved from <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map>
- Trattner, W. (1970/1991). Crusade for the Children: A History of the National Child Labor Committee and Child Labor Reform in America. In E. Foner & J. A. Garraty (Eds.), *The Reader's Companion to American History*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- van Ogtrop, K. (2018). One hope for the new year: a kinder culture. *Time*, 191(10), p. 55.
- Waugh, J. (2017). *Ulysses S. Grant*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia, Miller Center. Retrieved from <https://millercenter.org/president/grant>
- Wikipedia. (February 10, 2017). Irish Americans. Retrieved from [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish\\_Americans](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_Americans)
- Yarrow, A. L. (2009). *History of the U.S. Children's Policy, 1900's-Present*. Pdf. First Focus. <https://firstfocus.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Childrens-Policy-History.pdf>

**AUTHOR:**

Beverly J. Klug is a Professor Emerita from Idaho State University where she taught for 29 years in the college of Education. She has a total of 42 years of teaching experience, and expertise in the areas of literacy, teacher development, American Indian education, multicultural education, and special education. Dr. Klug is the author of many articles, chapters, books, and editor of *Standing Together: American Indian Education as Culturally Responsive Teaching*.

## **STRANGE BEDFELLOWS: ESSA, TEACHER PREPARATION, AND THE TRUMP ERA**

**James L. Alouf, Sweet Briar College  
Ann Converse Shelly, Ashland University**

### **ABSTRACT**

*The authors trace the development of education reform from A Nation at Risk (1983) to the Every Student Succeeds Act (2016), analyzing the expanding influence of the federal government in education and in teacher preparation. The article concludes with an analysis of ESSA's reversal of the trend and concern over the impact of the reform movement on public education.*

## **STRANGE BEDFELLOWS: ESSA, TEACHER PREPARATION, AND THE TRUMP ERA**

In the past few years, teachers, their roles, and their education have been in the crosshairs of political discussion around the world. Perspectives in the debates range from social change to social preservation, from content focus to thinking processes, and from drill masters to holistic teaching. We start by focusing on the United States as a case study.

Schools and teachers have been in the crosshairs of politicians, business people, and many of the think tanks in the United States. ESEA (The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was signed into law in 1965 by President Lyndon Baines Johnson, who believed that "full educational opportunity" should be "our first national goal." From its inception, ESEA was a civil rights law. The development of federal intervention into what had been, until then, a state's prerogative now was accepted as logical.

The history of modern reform movements actually begins in 1983 with the publication of A Nation at Risk. The commission charged with the work consisted of 18 members, drawn from the private sector, government, and education. The chair of the commission was David Pierpont Gardner. Secretary of Education T. H. Bell sought to have the commission appointed by the President. Reagan did not concur, and Bell used his own authority as Secretary to establish the commission and appoint its members.

Salvatore Babones has criticized the composition and competences of the committee: The commission included 12 administrators, 1 businessperson, 1 chemist, 1 physicist, 1 politician, 1 conservative activist, and 1 teacher. ... Just one practicing teacher and not a single academic expert on education. It should come as no surprise that a commission dominated by administrators found that the problems of U.S. schools were mainly caused by lazy students and unaccountable teachers. Administrative incompetence was not on the agenda. Nor were poverty, inequality, and racial discrimination. "Which gets to the point of the matter: For most of the 150-year- history of public education in the U.S., public schools have done a pretty good job. There is no crisis in public education. There never has been—or at least not until now." This time really was different. This time the issue was not the quality of our public schools. This time the issue was the survival of our public schools as public schools. Public schools began to face relentless attacks from pro-business conservatives who see U.S. public education budgets as pots of gold to be mined for private gain.

In 1989, then President G. H. W. Bush and the Governor of Arkansas began a bipartisan effort. A coalition of state governors concerned about the ailing state of America's public schools proposed a solution: "Goals 2000." This program would set educational goals for the nation's public schools to be achieved by the year 2000, create a framework for implementing the goals, and provide incentives for the states to cooperate in meeting the goals. By 1994, the eight national goals were in place and Goals 2000 was an official federal program. On the surface, these goals to improve America's schools were unobjectionable. But many conservatives, including homeschoolers, identified dangerous pitfalls in Goals 2000.

First, although Goals 2000 was presented to the states as a program in which they could "voluntarily" participate, opting out meant passing up significant federal funds as well. However, the states found quite a few mandates hidden in the small print, requiring them to: submit grant proposals; submit "improvement plans" for the U.S. Secretary of Education's approval; endure

penalties for failure to comply with their own improvement plans; form "partnerships" between local schools, businesses, and institutions of higher education; and coordinate their Goals 2000 efforts with School-to-Work and other social reform programs.

Second, the program followed the unconstitutional pattern of shifting control of education from parents and local school officials to Washington, D.C. Conservatives also criticized Goals 2000 for establishing public schools as the coordinators and monitors of various social and welfare services for children. Although the legislation did not directly address home education, homeschoolers recognized that public school policies (especially at the national level) often end up as private and home education regulations.

ESEA was followed by No Child Left Behind (the second iteration of ESEA). The NCLB law, which grew out of concern that the American education system was no longer internationally competitive, significantly increased the federal role in holding schools responsible for the academic progress of all students. It put a special focus on ensuring that states and schools boost the performance of certain groups of students, such as English-language learners, students in special education, and poor and minority children, whose achievement, on average, trails their peers. States did not have to comply with the new requirements, but, if they didn't, they again risked losing federal money.

NCLB was followed by Race to the Top (RTtT). The United States Department of Education competitive grant was created to spur and reward innovation and reforms in state and local district K-12 education. It was funded by the ED Recovery Act as part of the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 and was announced by President Barack Obama and Secretary of Education Arne Duncan on July 25, 2009. States were awarded points for satisfying certain educational policies, such as performance-based evaluations for teachers and principals based on multiple measures of educator effectiveness (and are tied to targeted professional development and feedback), adopting common standards (though adoption of the Common Core State Standards was not required), adoption of policies that do not prohibit (or effectively prohibit) the expansion of high-quality charter schools, turning around the lowest-performing schools, and building and using data systems. Although the clear majority of states have competed to win the grants, Race to the Top has been criticized by politicians, policy analysts, thought leaders, and educators. Teachers' unions argued that state tests are an inaccurate way to measure teacher effectiveness, even though learning gains on assessments are only one component of the evaluation systems. Conservatives complained that it imposes federal overreach on state schools. In explaining why Texas would not be applying for Race to the Top funding, then Governor Rick Perry stated, "we would be foolish and irresponsible to place our children's future in the hands of unelected bureaucrats and special interest groups thousands of miles away in Washington." Critics further contend that the reforms being promoted are unproven or have been unsuccessful in the past. Former Assistant Secretary of Education Diane Ravitch, for example, commented that empirical evidence "shows clearly that choice, competition and accountability as education reform levers are not working".

RTtT followed the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) with a new focus. The new Every Student Succeeds Act, signed into law Dec. 10, 2015, rolls back much of the federal government's big footprint in education policy, on everything from testing and teacher quality to low-performing schools. And it gives new leeway to states in "calling the shots." This is a big change from the previous acts, which ESSA replaced and altered.

During the debates about the legislation, strange bedfellows have surfaced. Supporting ESSA was the only thing the groups had in common.

A group that could be called social conservatives was composed of the 10<sup>th</sup> amendment strict interpreters and states' rights advocates. The 10<sup>th</sup> amendment states that: *The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.* The federal system limits the ability of the federal government to use state governments as an instrument of the national government, as held in *Printz v. United States*, 521 U.S. 898 (1997). However, where Congress or the Executive has the power to implement programs, or otherwise regulate, there are incentives in the national government encouraging States to become the instruments of such national policy, rather than to implement the program directly. That incentive has primarily been money. ESSA ends the pretense that Washington bureaucrats should tell states how to judge school performance, how to intervene in schools, or which teachers are qualified. Reversing years of "lawless freelancing" by Obama's Department of Education, ESSA imposes a raft of new prohibitions on the federal Department of Education while broadly reflecting recommendations sketched by conservative education reformers.

A second group, those who are social liberals, have felt that education reform in ESEA, NCLB, and RTtT were ignoring the very real social disconnect that has plagued schools for decades. ESEA was designed to ameliorate the negative effects of race, socio-economic class, and all of the social ills of our society. Early efforts were cheered, but lately these groups have begun to see that the state and local levels may be easier arenas within which to work. ESSA is a model for what every federal law should be: a floor, not a ceiling. It proves that bipartisan, bicameral creativity and compromise can still produce pragmatic solutions that equip states, schools, and teachers to improve the lives of students who need help the most. It is a clear reflection of John Adams. "The whole people must take upon themselves the education of the whole people and be willing to bear the expenses of it. There should not be a district of one-mile square, without a school in it, not founded by a charitable individual, but maintained at the public expense of the people themselves."

Educators, whose knowledge of education is the key, held views that reflected their experience in schools and with learners. Linda Darling-Hammond, in her testimony before the Senate, said: "As a parent, an educator, and a researcher, I want to begin by congratulating the Congress on the many ways in which the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) builds on our knowledge of what works in education and how schools can be improved. To a much greater extent than its predecessor, ESSA affords states the opportunity to design accountability systems that both support continuous improvement across all schools while accurately identifying and assisting schools that are struggling to meet the needs of all students." The statement reflected the desire of educators to have more control over what happens in the school.

Civil Rights Activists have argued that straight competition, i.e. RTtT, hurts disadvantaged students. In fact, their testimony included a sad eulogy to ESEA, an act that was explicitly civil rights legislation. NCLR was on the forefront of embracing standards-based education reforms and has a record of supporting policy grounded in student-based outcomes that will result in equality of opportunity for all children, regardless of circumstance. Janet Murguía, President and CEO National Council of La Raza, reflected this view: "We applauded the passage of the Every

Student Succeeds Act as a much-needed update to our federal education law, but recognize that passage was just the first step.”

Economists have, over the past decade, indicated that regulation is costing too much for the dubious results. “What we are getting for all that money?” Despite this considerable investment, many students will not receive a quality education. More than a quarter of all eighth-grade students scored "below basic" in reading on the 2005 NAEP exam, which by the government's definition means that they are not able to "demonstrate a literal understanding of what they read" and "make some interpretations." Pouring more money into dysfunctional schools gives incompetent administrators the excuse they need to avoid trimming bureaucratic fat and shedding underutilized facilities and underperforming personnel. It spares them the need to focus on the essentials, or to rethink familiar models. The promise of constant spending increases is what keeps lousy schools lousy. When private businesses keep failing their customers year after year, they eventually go out of business. When public schools do the same, they dupe taxpayers, and the occasional tech billionaire, into forking over more money. If one really, really cares about The Children, call for a system in which the most cost-effective schools expand while the least cost-effective schools shrink, and school leaders are given the freedom to figure out what works best for their teachers and their students.

Libertarians, who have taken as a basic idea that government should be out of schools altogether, have opposed every legislative act since ESEA while agreeing with A Nation at Risk. A measured reaction was presented by Katie Haycock, CEO of The Education Trust. “The Every Student Succeeds Act significantly improves upon No Child Left Behind by, among other things, giving more power back to states and local schools. We’re working to help policymakers and educators take advantage of the law’s new flexibility, especially when it comes to creating smarter school accountability systems, prioritizing the needs of high-achieving low-income students, and encouraging the adoption of content-rich curricula.”

The Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) was signed into law on December 10, 2015 during the Obama administration. States were allowed to develop ESSA plans and implementation procedures for 2016-2017 with full implementation of ESSA in 2017-2018. The intent of the law, in part, is to roll back federal accountability measures to give states more flexibility. However, the Secretary of Education must review each state’s accountability plan. Four indicators must be included in state plans, three of which include proficiency of state tests, English-language proficiency, and one other measure related to subgroup performance. One other indicator that the individual state deems important must also be included. Of the four required indicators, the proficiency measures should be counted more heavily. Student testing requirements remain much the same with math and reading tested every year between third and eighth grades, but states may decide if the scores will influence reform decisions. If schools are performing in the bottom five percent, states are required to intervene, but local governments make the final decisions on reform implementation. States have the ability to design their own school evaluation systems and to design programs to ensure equality across diverse population subgroups based on income, race, and disability. The important change here is the federal requirement that states require high standards, that student subgroups succeed, and that states work to improve low performing schools.

ESSA also restricts the power of the federal government and the Secretary of Education. The federal government may not restrict or coerce states' accountability systems or require a particular set of standards be adopted to meet any federal requirements. The states have the power to make their own funding decisions under the ESSA guidelines. The law also changes the accountability system to end "AYP" or Adequate Yearly Progress and allows states more options to assess school quality.

The changes affecting teacher quality are also noteworthy. Student performance outcomes are no longer an emphasis in assessing teacher quality. States are no longer required to evaluate teacher performance through student outcomes. The "highly qualified teacher" requirement is no longer a mandate under ESSA. Funds are available to incentivize teacher quality improvements through the renamed Teacher and School Leader Program. ESSA also provides funds for literacy and STEM education. Changes to the Teacher Quality formula may also help rural states find funds for improving teacher performance.

The implementation of ESSA has already begun with states submitting their plans and goals to the Secretary of Education. The Secretary can review the states' definition of terms to determine how reasonable they are, but states have been worried that the ambiguity of the law's terminology may pose problems for the acceptance of their plans. In mid-July of 2017, the Department of Education began feedback phone calls to the states that had submitted their plans. Ranking members of the House and Senate Education committees subsequently learned of the practice and wrote a letter to Education Secretary Betsy DeVos calling for the practice to end immediately. Feedback given by phone is not a matter of public record and therefore not subject to public discussion. While the initial implementation phase of the law is somewhat chaotic, the law also faces some challenges from the proposed fiscal year 2018 budget from the Trump administration. The proposed budget is not, in fact, likely to pass the Congress without very close scrutiny. However, it is important to note that the Trump administration is proposing \$59 billion for the Department of Education, a 13% reduction or \$9 billion dollar cut. The cuts to the department's budget were most notable with the elimination of \$2.4 billion for ESSA Title II Supporting Effective Instruction State Grants program. Other programs that are eliminated entirely under the proposed budget include ESSA Title IV Part A SSAE Grants as well as the ESSA 21<sup>st</sup> Century Community Learning Centers, and the funding (\$1.2 billion) for the afterschool program associated with the community learning centers. The ESSA STEM Master Teacher Corp also received no funding in the proposed budget. The programs that did receive additional funding include ESSA Title I with \$16.9 billion for literacy, adding \$1 billion to develop a new portable program and the Perkins CTE programs designed to promote more competition in STEM fields.

The discrepancy between the proposed funding and the desired outcome of the law poses some real problems for state implementation. Without the presence of budget approved by Congress, how will states comply with their plans since they have no working knowledge of what funding is available to them from the federal government? The law is a clear step to returning regulatory authority to the states where it rightfully belongs under the 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution but it remains to be seen whether the loss of \$9 billion from the Department of Education's budget will allow "every student to succeed."

Lest one be tempted to conclude that educational policy in the United States is headed in the “right” direction, it would be prudent to reflect on the actual implementation of the so-called reforms that influence what states and school districts must undergo. For instance, Betsy DeVos is a proponent of school choice, including voucher programs and charter schools. Under the guise of “school choice” as a democratic principle, both programs undermine funding for public schools and encourage re-segregation of school districts by race and by socioeconomic status. Once these programs achieve their true purpose, those public schools that can’t meet state standards will fail. It would be naïve to conclude that public education will improve, given the nature of the reforms and the impetus behind them. It is equally naïve to think that vouchers and charter schools are an attempt to improve schools in the United States. Vouchers and charter schools attempt to foist free market principles as a remedy for failing schools. By increasing competition, schools must improve or lose their students to competing interests. Competition becomes the solution to failing schools since winners and losers can be identified by their performance on observable measures like standardized tests. ESSA has decreased the emphasis on standardized testing, but states are still required to report performance results. While the complexities of educational policy in the US appear to be simpler under the new law, the implementation environment constrains the law by emphasizing competitive alternatives to public education.

Universal public education in the United States does not appear in the Constitution as a right that all citizens possess. The Tenth Amendment or Reserved Clause left education to individual states to decide. Now that the federal government’s control has grown extensively over the last fifty years, ESSA seems like a breath of fresh air. The implementation of the law, however, poses a potential threat to the existence of public education. Equal opportunity through education has always been a hallmark of the American dream. Perhaps that dream will become more of a nightmare as equal access to education continues to decline.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- A Nation At Risk - U.S. Department of Education: Archived:  
<https://www2.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/risk.html>
- Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2018 - Congress.gov Resources –  
<https://www.congress.gov/resources/display/.../Appropriations+for+Fiscal+Year+2018>
- Babones, Salvatore. Racial Wealth Divide. How America Is Failing Its Schools,  
*RESEARCH & COMMENTARY*, JULY 23, 2015
- Brunette II, D. *ESSA Challenges Ahead for States*, Education Week, January 20, 2016.
- Darling-Hammond, L. Written Statement of Dr. Linda Darling-Hammond, President and CEO .  
[https://www.help.senate.gov/download/testimony/darling-hammond-testimony Jul 14, 2016](https://www.help.senate.gov/download/testimony/darling-hammond-testimony-Jul-14-2016)
- Swann, L. Constitutional Schooling. On Education. The Tenth Amendment Center. March 2011.
- Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 [As Amended Through P.L. 114–95, Enacted December 10, 2015]. <https://www2.ed.gov/documents/essa-act-of-1965.pdf>
- Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) | U.S. Department of Education.  
<https://www.ed.gov/essa?src=rn>
- Ferguson, M. Economists’ View of education Not All Bad. *Phi Delta Kapan*, November 1, 2013; pp. 68–69
- GOALS 2000: Educate America Act*: Archived:  
<https://www.ed.gov/legislation/GOALS2000/TheAct/index.html>
- Haycock, K. President, The Education Trust Before the U.S. House of Representatives Committee on Education and the Workforce Subcommittee on 21st Century Competitiveness. Publication date: May 20, 2003
- Hess, F.M & English, E. “The Nation’s New Education Law Is a Major Conservative Triumph.”  
<http://www.nationalreview.com/article/428727/essa-education-law-conservative-triumph>  
December 18, 2015
- John Adams letter to John Jebb (a British medical doctor and political reformer) September 10, 1785
- Klein, A. Stephen Sawchuk, & Andrew Ujifusa, *State ESSA Plans: One-Stop Guide*, Education Week, Vol., 37, Issue 07, October 4, 2017, pp. 20-21.
- Klein, A. *Trump Team Hurries to Soothe States Worried About ESSA*, Education Week, June 18, 2017, blog edweek.org.

Murguía, J. President and CEO National Council of La Raza Raul Yzaguirre Building 1126 16th Street, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20036-4845 May 18, 2016

*No Child Left Behind Act of 2001*. [www.k12.wa.us/esea/NCLB.aspx](http://www.k12.wa.us/esea/NCLB.aspx)

Peterson, J. ESSA: An Overview of the Federal Education Law and Federal Funding for STEM Initiatives, NSTA Legislative Affairs, June 2017.

*Printz v. United States*, :: 521 U.S. 898 (1997) :: Justia US Supreme ...  
<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/521/898/>

*Race to the Top District (RTT-D)* - U.S. Department of Education  
<https://www2.ed.gov/programs/racetothetop-district/index.html>

Shettle, C. Shep Roey, Joy Mordica, Robert Perkins, Christine Nord, Jelena Teodorovic, Marsha Lyons, Chris Averett, David Kastberg (Westat) and Janis Brown (National Center for Education Statistics) America's High School Graduates: Results from the 2005 NAEP High School Transcript Study. February 22, 2007. NCES 2007467

*Statement of The Honorable Gary R. Herbert, Governor of Utah Before ...*  
<https://www.help.senate.gov/download/testimony/herbert-testimony> February 23, 2016

Strauss, V. *The Washington Post*. "What 'school choice' means in the era of Trump and DeVos." May 22

#### AUTHORS:

James Alouf is professor emeritus at Sweet Briar College where he was Professor and Director of the Graduate Education MAT program and Cameron Fellow. Jim completed his PhD at the University of Virginia in 1988 after ten years as a secondary social studies teacher in central New Jersey. He is the past president of the Association of Teacher Educators and business officer for the World Federation of Associations of Teacher Educators.

Ann Converse Shelly is professor emerita from Ashland University (Ohio). She has served as a professor and administrator in higher education. She currently serves as Legislative Liaison for the Ohio Association of Colleges of Teacher Education and as consultant to Ohio Wesleyan University for accreditation. Her teaching experience is as a social studies teacher in the P-12 schools.