



Department of International Education and Lifelong Learning

# Democracy and Social Justice: What do the Concepts Mean for Education?

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### WHAT DO I KNOW? WHAT DO I DO?

- Sign in my office: "I don't know."
- 25 years as dean at Montclair State University in New Jersey and system wide at City University of New York.
- Education policy, teacher education policy, urban education, school university partnerships, critical thinking, large scale assessment, education for democracy and social justice.
- Now, Presidential Professor, Ph.D. Program in Urban Education—teach public policy work with dissertation students mostly social justice projects.

## WHAT DO I KNOW? WHAT DO I DO? CURRENT PROJECTS:

- Book on Teacher Education Policy, Routledge, Fall, 2010.
- \* Article for *Encyclopedia of Diversity*, forthcoming Sage, "Democratic theory, teacher education, and diversity." with James Banks.
- Textbook: Teaching in a Democracy, Forthcoming McGraw Hill, 2011.
- Funded project for University of Wisconsin system—performance assessment of mathematics and science preservice teachers. Ongoing, 2007-0011.
- Evaluation for Wm. Penn Foundation at Temple University, Urban Education Center. Present-Fall, 2011.
- Seminar on Democracy, National Network for Educational Renewal, Seattle, July, 2010.
- Examiner for National Council of Accreditation of Teacher Education.
- Former chair, and current Executive Board Member, The National Network for Educational Renewal.

# HOW DO WE ANSWER THE QUESTION OF "WHAT DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE MEAN FOR EDUCATION?"

- Why do we educate in a democracy? What are the purposes of education?
- What are the key elements of democracy?
  How do we know when we have it?
- What are the key elements of social justice? How do we recognize injustice?

### WHY DO WE EDUCATE?

For the most substantive answers to this question, it is a matter of worldview.

\* George Lakoff, Moral Politics and Whose Freedom?: The Battle over America's Most Important Idea

- George Lakoff's analysis is from the perspective of a linguist who examines metaphors and the way people represent ideas.
- \* His work focuses on the United States and tries to define the basis for understanding differences between liberals and conservatives.

1. Preparing students to have access to knowledge and critical thinking within the disciplines.

2. Preparing students to be active, involved, socially just participants in our democracy.

3. Helping students imagine and achieve all the possibilities for their places in the society and to have full access to life's chances.

4. Enabling students to lead rich and rewarding personal lives characterized by understanding, access to technology, the aesthetics, creativity, and personal health.

### W.B. GALLIE'S CONTRIBUTION

- Essentially Contested Concepts:
  - Inherently subject to multiple interpretations, depending on your values, concerns, experiences, goals, and beliefs
- Democracy, freedom, social justice, citizenship, knowledge, critical thinking and, yes, education.

### WHAT DO THEY MEAN?

- Democracy?—System of government? personal interactions? Civics and civility?
- Freedom?—Unlimited? If not, what limits?
- Social justice?—Distribution of wealth? Access? Nonrepression and Nondiscrimination?
- Knowledge?—What counts as knowledge? Whose? Who gets it? Who creates it?
- Critical thinking? --Skills? Judgments? Outcomes? Teachable?
- Education?? -- Do we have to answer the other questions first?
- Citizenship??—A legal status? The same as a participant? Any civically committed individual?

## Why Education for Democracy and Social Justice?

Democracy is not a natural form of association; it is an extraordinarily rare contrivance of cultivated imagination. Empower the merely ignorant and endow the uneducated with a right to the make collective decisions and what results is not democracy but, at best, mob rule: the government of private prejudice and the tyranny of opinion—all those perversions that liberty's enemies like to pretend (and its friends fear) constitute democracy.

--Benjamin Barber

◆Those who wish for a nation that is ignorant and free, ask for something that never was and never will be.

**♦**Thomas Jefferson

Your people, sir, are a great beast!

Alexander Hamilton (supposedly to John Adams)

## Why Education for Democracy and Social Justice?

The devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact. The superficial explanation is that a government resting upon popular suffrage cannot be successful unless those who elect and who obey their governors are educated.

and later

A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living of conjoint communicated experience.

-- John Dewey

## Why Education for Democracy and Social Justice?

A democratic society ...be constrained not to legislate policies that render democracy repressive or discriminatory. A democratic theory of education recognizes the importance of empowering citizens to make educational policy with those principles—of nonrepression and nondiscrimination— that preserve the intellectual and social foundations of democratic deliberations. A society that empowers citizens to make educational policy, moderated by these two principled constraints, realizes the democratic ideal of education.

--Amy Gutmann
Democratic Education

#### The Conditions for Democracy

What would you say are the minimum conditions that must be present before an organization or a society can be called a democracy?

List 3 conditions you think must be present.

ROGER SODER, "EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY," IN DEVELOPING DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER IN THE YOUNG. R. SODER, J. GOODLAD, AND T. MCMANNON, 2001

- \* Trust
- \* trust is necessary for people to enter into the kinds of long-term relationships necessary for political and social interaction in a democracy
- \* Exchange
- people need to exchange goods and services in balanced ways in order to survive in a democracy
- × Social capital
- \* people need the social and political skills to work together to understand problems and create solutions—as opposed to simply accepting orders

#### SODER

- \* Respect for equal justice under law
- \* if there is no justice, we have no recourse other than self-interest, which is ultimately self-defeating
- \* Respect for civil discourse
- \* the art of conversation is central to the moral art of democracy
- \* Recognition of the need for E Pluribus Unum
- dealing with the tensions between the pluribus and the unum group and individual rights and responsibilities

#### SODER

- \* Free and open inquiry
- \* the ability and inclination to inquire into all aspects of the workings of society
- \* Knowledge of rights
- \* if we don't know what our rights are we have difficulty exercising them
- \* Freedom
- \* the power to exercise freedom and the insight to recognize its limits

#### SODER

- \* Recognition of the tension between freedom and order
- \* the freedom that is not license and the order that is not oppression
- Recognition of the difference between a persuaded audience and a more thoughtful public
- × Ecological understanding
- \* the only way for democracy to survive is for the larger environment to survive

What, if anything, is missing from the list?

## WHAT DOES EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY LOOK LIKE IN CLASSROOMS?

- Emphasis on critical thinking and making judgments.
- Developing empathy and respect for alternative positions.
- Learning to argue well for our positions and how to compromise
- Learning to participate in community meetings
- Learning to give reasons for positions
- Creating classroom communities of inquiry

## AND HERE?

\* What does this mean?

\* Would it be discussed in schools?



#### **Gary Cheung**

More than three in five business and opinion leaders in Hong Kong want Beijing to promise to take steps in 2016 to pave the way for universal suffrage and abolish functional constituencies, a survey has found.

Forty-three per cent of the respondents to the SCMP/TNS survey believe the central government should make more concessions to ensure the passage of the electoral reform package for 2012. A quarter say the pan-democratic camp should offer concessions.

Forty-two per cent of the respondents said the pan-democratic camp should veto the package if there was no roadmap for universal suffrage, compared with 39 per cent who disagreed.

Democratic Party legislator Cheung Man-kwong said the survey findings reflected Hongkongers' ambivalence about the process. "They Forty-two per cent of the respondents supported the government proposal for the 2012 elections while 28 per cent opposed the package.

Of the 425 respondents who support the proposal, 46 per cent said they would not vote for pan-democratic candidates in the 2012 Legco election if the camp vetoed the proposal, while 40 per cent said they would still support them.

Among those respondents who opposed the package, 39 per cent said they would not vote for candidates from the pan-democratic camp in 2012 if the camp supported it. Forty-three per cent said they would support pan-democrats in the 2012 election.

A total of 1,000 opinion leaders and business decision makers from households with a monthly income

The public thinks it would be better to

picks the chief executive to 1,200.

Asked to rank a li

of improvements

the proposal for t 2012 elections that were needed win their support, a pledge by central government to abolish fit tional constituencies was ran among the top three options by per cent of the respondents.

A pledge by Beijing or the Kong government to take incretal steps in 2016 towards unisuffrage, such as an increasi proportion of directly electeds Legco, was ranked among three measures by 61 per cent

Some moderate pan-der say they may give serious the supporting electoral proper 2012 if the central governme a statement promising an in the proportion of directh seats in Legco in 2016. Beiji also have to ensure the electing executive in 2017 and

# 2016 prog

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A total of and business households

The pu

### SOCIAL JUSTICE: WHAT CAN IT BE?

- \* Another essentially contested concept.
- Very controversial in US education

What does Father Coughlin have to do with this?

## WHY EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE?

Learning to teach for social justice is a lifelong undertaking. It involves coming to understand oneself in relation to others; examining how society constructs privilege and inequality and how this affects one's own opportunities as well as those of different people; exploring the experiences of others and appreciating how those inform their worldviews, perspectives, and opportunities; and evaluating how schools and classrooms operate and can be structured to value diverse human experiences and to enable learning for all students.

--Linda Darling-Hammond

One way to think about social justice is to think about social injustice.

How about this?

\* Is it an issue of social justice or injustice??

### Of Every 100 White Kindergartners:

- 93 Graduate from high school
- 65 Complete at least some college
- 33 Obtain at least a Bachelor Degree

(25-to 29-Year-Olds)

### **HOW ABOUT IN NEW YORK CITY??**

- For every 100 white kindergartners
  - + 75 graduate from high school
    - ×77 females
    - ×71 males

Gary Orfield, et. al., Losing our Future: How Minority Children are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis (Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project, 2004).

## Of Every 100 African American Kindergartners:

- 87 Graduate from High School
- 50 Complete at Least Some College
- 18 Obtain at Least a Bachelor® Degree

(25-to 29-Year-Olds)

### **HOW ABOUT IN NEW YORK CITY??**

- For every 100 Latino kindergartners
  - +32 graduate from high school
    - ×35 females
    - ×29 males

Gary Orfield, et. al., Losing our Future: How Minority Children are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis (Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project, 2004).

## Of Every 100 Latino

### Kindergartners:

- 63 Graduate from high school
- 32 Complete at least some college
- 11 Obtain at least a Bachelor Degree

(25-to 29-Year-Olds)

### **HOW ABOUT IN NEW YORK CITY??**

- For every 100 Latino kindergartners
  - +32 graduate from high school
    - ×35 females
    - ×29 males

Gary Orfield, et. al., Losing our Future: How Minority Children are Being Left Behind by the Graduation Rate Crisis (Cambridge: The Civil Rights Project, 2004).



### Lost Opportunity:

A 50 State Report on the Opportunity to Learn

A Merica

**National Summary Report** 



Schott Foundation for Public Education



### FEDERAL RECOMMENDATIONS





# (RE)THEORIZING SCHOOL DROPOUT AND THE EDUCATION-HEALTH NEXUS JESSICA RUGLIS, PH.D.

We must replace the singular term of school dropout, and keep the field moving in the direction of the emerging term "school pushout" (Browne, 2003). I argue that the broad rubric for discussing issues of diploma denial and educational dispossession (Fine & Ruglis, 2009) should be termed school non-completion, instead of school dropout; and under this umbrella term are six suggested categories, with new labels, of why students do not complete school. The intention of this schematic is two-fold. First, these new categories of school dropout offer a methodological frame in which to ground research. Reframing dropout is a move towards a decolonizing methodology (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; 2006) and critical race theory.

Jessica Ruglis, 2009

#### **RUGLIS'S CATEGORIES**

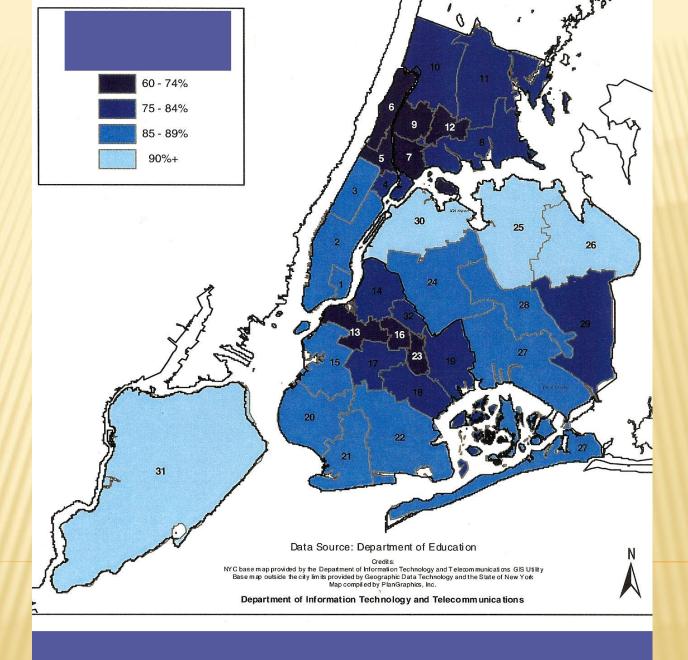
- The suggested categories of school non-completion are: 1) School pushout, 2) School leaver, 3) School refuser (or resistor), 4) School forceout, 5) School neglected, and 6) School denied.
- Notably, these categories are neither fixed nor exclusive: they are softly contained with porous boundaries; and a young person's experiences, identities and choices may exist across and within numerous categories.

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF UNDER-EDUCATION

- \* A high school dropout has less than a 50% chance of getting a job.
- \* That job will earn less than ½ what the same job earned 20 years ago.
- \* Wages are increasing only for those with at least a college education
- \* The likelihood of incarceration increases significantly.
- \* The likelihood of public assistance increases significantly.
- \* The correlation with staying in school and good health, even with SES controlled, is documented.

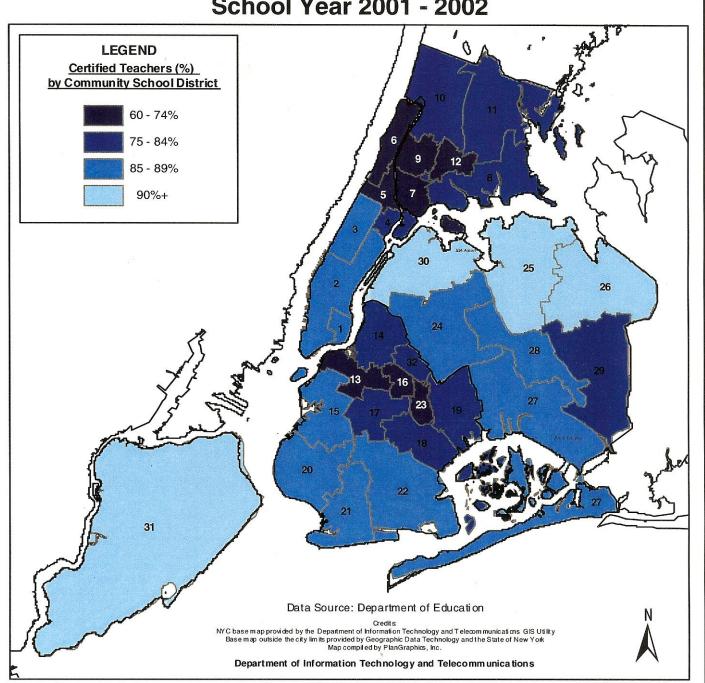
# ACCESS TO QUALIFIED TEACHERS STRONGLY INFLUENCES ACHIEVEMENT

- \* Consistently studies in a number of different places have found that, after controlling for SES, students' scores and pass rates on state examinations in reading and math are significantly related to the proportion of fully certified teachers in their schools (Fuller, 1998; 2000; Fetler, 1999; Goe, 2002; Pastor, 2003; NYC BOE, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2003).
- \* A 1% increase in teacher quality (as measured by NTE scores) was related to a 3-5% decrease in student fail rates on North Carolina's state examinations (Strauss & Sawyer, 1986)



What do you think this map illustrates? What are the possibilities?

#### Certified Teachers (%) by Community School District School Year 2001 - 2002



### POOR AND MINORITY CHILDREN GET THE LEAST QUALIFIED **TEACHERS**

Distribution of Underqualified Teachers by School Income and Minority Status in California



Source: CBEDSdata, 1999; SRI International, Teaching and California's Future, Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning, 1999.

# WE NEED HIGH QUALITY TEACHERS NOT LEGALLY HIGHLY QUALIFIED

#### **TEACHERS**

- Deep content knowledge
- High expectations for all students including knowledge of child development
- Pedagogy that includes culturally responsive approaches
- Internships in schools like those they will teach in
- An understanding of the purposes of education in a democracy
- The ability to collaborate to enhance school climate.

### AND...

In 35 of 48 states, districts enrolling the highest proportions of minority students have substantially fewer state & local dollars per student than districts with the lowest percentages of minority students.

× Education Trust, 2004

For example, in New York the funding gap between high- and low-poverty school districts amounts to \$2,615 per student. This translates into a shortfall of \$1 million for a high-poverty elementary school serving 400 children.

Education Trust, 2004

## What about these outcomes?

#### **COULD THEY BE BE INTENTIONAL?**

Can the outcomes be changed? Is it within our power to do so? What should we do?

#### **HOW ABOUT HERE?**

Are there examples of social injustice you can identify?

Is the "democracy movement" progressing?
What does it mean for you?

x Is the role of education clear?

#### AND, IN THE UNITED STATES?

- Everyone must be aware of these examples of injustice.
- Everyone must know how important education is to democracy and social justice and work to extend the influence of education.

- × Right???
- WRONG!!!!

Education for democracy as a contested concept: mistrust of educators.

Civic education may sound like a good idea in theory, but in practice public schools could even do harm in this realm. Some educators harbor worrisome values: moral relativism, atheism, doubts about the superiority of democracy, undue deference to the "pluribus" at the expense of the "unum," discomfort with patriotism, cynicism toward established cultural conventions and civic institutions.

## Education for democracy as a contested concept.

Transmitting those values to children will gradually erode the foundations of a free society. Perhaps society would be better off if its schools stuck to the three R's and did a solid job in domains where they enjoy both competence and wide public support.

--Chester Finn

**Education Next** 

#### THERE ARE MANY OTHERS

- The American Board for the Certification of Teacher Excellence
- National Center for Teacher Quality—Kate Walsh
- Education Next
- The American Enterprise Institute—Frederick Hess
- National Center for Education Information
- × Teach Now—Emily Feistritzer

# National Network for Educational Renewal

- First Iteration 1986—10 Partnerships
- > Second Iteration 1991—8 Partnerships
- ➤ Autonomous with Governing Council 1998 Expanded to 24 Partnerships

## THE NATIONAL NETWORK FOR EDUCATIONAL RENEWAL

#### **SOME PRINCIPLES**

- \* To prepare teachers, we need faculty from education, the arts and sciences and the schools we serve to be teacher educators.
- The network is committed to simultaneous renewal of schools and the education of educators.
- The network is governed by the "Agenda for Education in a Democracy"

## THE NATIONAL NETWORK FOR EDUCATIONAL RENEWAL

#### **SOME PRINCIPLES**

- Access to knowledge.
- Nurturing pedagogy.
- Induction (enculturation) into a political and social democracy.
- Extensive professional development to build a "shared vision."
- × Annual meeting.
- \* The real work goes on in the settings.

### NNER Membership

- University of Southern Maine and The Southern Maine Partnership
  - University of Missouri and the Missouri Partnership
  - Metro St. Louis Consortium for Educational Renewal
  - > The Nebraska Network for Educational Renewal
- ➤ University of New Mexico and the UNM Network of Public Schools

### NNER Membership

- University of Washington and the Washington Partnership
  - West Virginia University and the Benedum Collaborative
  - Brigham Young University and the Brigham Young Partnership
    - University of Wyoming and the Wyoming Partnership

### NNER Membership

- Brandon University and the Brandon School Division, Manitoba, Canada
- California State University at Chico and the Chico Public School Partnership
- The City University of New York and The New York City Public Schools
- > Colorado Partnership for Educational Renewal
- Montclair State University and The New Jersey Network for Educational Renewal
  - > Miami University and the Miami Partnership

# PARENTS ACCUSE BYU, ALPINE DISTRICT OF SOCIALIST CONSPIRACY DAILY HERALD, APRIL, 2010

- Some local parents are leveling serious charges against Alpine School District and Brigham Young University.
- \* Parents are saying district and university officials are participating in "a deliberate course of action to subvert the moral fabric of a society with the goal to eliminate the worship of deity and replace it with the worship of man."

# PARENTS ACCUSE BYU, ALPINE DISTRICT OF SOCIALIST CONSPIRACY DAILY HERALD, APRIL, 2010

#### To some, alarm bells sound

To Norton and many other parents, all this rings alarm bells.

"Which of you believe the state has a right to your children and has interests that must be protected in the education of your child?" Norton told the Daily Herald. "Which of you believes it is up to the schools to educate your children because parents don't understand how to run a democracy? Which of you believe morals and knowledge are subjective?"

# PARENTS ACCUSE BYU, ALPINE DISTRICT OF SOCIALIST CONSPIRACY DAILY HERALD, APRIL, 2010 RESPONSE FROM BYU

- "The teacher preparation programs at Brigham Young University strive to prepare educators who act with moral integrity and possess social and academic competence," said Richard Young, dean of the BYU David O. McKay School of Education. "Our goal is to graduate future teachers who can safeguard the learning of all students by teaching and caring for each student as an individual. We expect our graduates to be educators who can prepare today's youth to think deeply, to read and write well, to analyze and solve problems, and to be responsible citizens."
- --Response from Dean Richard Young, BYU

## OTHER EXAMPLES OF WORK ON EDUCATION AND DEMOCRACY

\* The Forum on Education in a Democracy

\* The League of Democratic Schools



# 为了民主和 社会公正的

**Teacher Education for Democracy and Social Justice** 

尼古拉斯・M・米凯利 戴维・李・凯泽◇主编 任友群 杨蓓玉 刘润英 等◇译

#### HERE IS WHERE WE STAND NOW:

Social justice has as its most essential quality the conditions of nonrepression and nondiscrimination. We must examine our society and every aspect of our lives to assure that we do not discriminate or repress.



#### HERE IS WHERE WE STAND NOW:

We argue that democracy and social justice are not separable as concepts—you can't have one without the other.

In its essence, socially just democratic living is conjoint associated living characterized by the <u>care for others</u>, <u>consideration</u> of the views of others, <u>civil</u> discourse, <u>argument</u> that is based on <u>reason</u>, <u>civic</u> participation, and living a life defined by <u>nonrepression and nondiscrimination</u> of others.

Michelli and Keiser

#### SOME CONCLUSIONS

- This is not easy work.
- Education as an institution in society must be involved if we are to have democracy and social justice.
- The idea of social justice threatens the wealthy.
- Resistance can be expected.
- Being clear about meanings of the key ideas is essential. Without a shared vision expect either no progress or failure.
- Involve your colleagues—arts and science, education, K-12 schools.

\* WAIT NICK!!!!!

What about Father Coughlin??
What does he have to do with this???

### WHAT ARE YOUR...

\* questions?

comments?

\* observations?

PLEASE KEEP IN TOUCH!!
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