

TABOO

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THE JOURNAL OF CULTURE AND EDUCATION

Spring 2016

Volume 15, Number 1, Spring 2016

Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education
Volume 15, Number 1, Spring 2016

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Publisher: Alan H. Jones

Caddo Gap Press, 3145 Geary Boulevard PMB 275
San Francisco, California 94118, USA
Telephone 415/666-3012 info@caddogap.com

ISSN 1080-5400

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Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education

Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education is an academic forum for the study of teaching and pedagogy that focuses on the relationship between education and its socio-cultural context. Drawing upon a variety of contextualizing disciplines including cultural studies, curriculum theorizing, feminist studies, the social foundations of education, critical pedagogy, multi/interculturalism, queer theory, and symbolic interactionism, *Taboo* is grounded on the notion of “radical contextualization.” The journal encourages papers from a wide range of contributors who work within these general areas. As its title suggests, *Taboo* seeks compelling and contro-versial submissions.

Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education is published electronically and periodically in paper by Caddo Gap Press. The annual subscription rate for individuals is \$50 US and for institutions is \$100 US; for addresses outside the United States add \$30 per year. Single issues are available for \$30 each. Subscriptions orders should be addressed and payable to Caddo Gap Press, 3145 Geary Boulevard PMB 275, San Francisco, California 94118, USA.

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Articles, contributions, and editorial correspondence should be sent electronically to Editors-in-Chief Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner or Lori Latrice Martin at

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Publisher: Alan H. Jones, Caddo Gap Press
3145 Geary Boulevard, PMB 275, San Francisco, California 94118, U.S.A.
Telephone 415/666-3012
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Website www.caddogap.com

Table of Contents

Editorial Introduction	3
<i>Lori Latrice Martin & Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner</i>	
Education for Whom?	
Word Problems as Carriers of Cultural Values	6
<i>Anita Bright</i>	
The Real Olympic Games: Sponsorship, Schools, and the Olympics— the Case of Coca-Cola	23
<i>Annette Coburn & Patricia McCafferty</i>	
“I Just Love Kids . . . Is That a Problem?” Desire, Suspicion, and Other Good Reasons Men Don’t Choose Early Childhood Education	41
<i>Thomas Crisp & James R. King</i>	
Two Latina Teachers: Culture, Success, Higher Education	61
<i>Laureen Fregeau & Robert Leier</i>	
Lesbophobia as a Barrier to Women in Coaching	79
<i>Tracy Keats</i>	
The Sociopolitical Vessel of Black Student Life: An Examination of How Context Influenced the Emergence of the Extracurriculum	93
<i>Andre Perry, Rashida Gowan, & Christine Clark</i>	

Teaching and Learning from an Anti-Fragile Perspective	112
<i>Bretton Polowy</i>	
Teaching Jewish Holidays in Early Childhood Education in Israel: Critical Femiist Pedagogy Perspective	119
<i>Haggith Gor Ziv</i>	
Book Review:	
<i>The Prize: Who's in Charge of America's Schools?</i>	
By Dale Russakoff	135
<i>Reviewed by Tifanie Pulley & Melinda Jackson</i>	
Editors and Editorial Board	inside front cover
Editorial Guidelines	inside back cover
Subscription Form for <i>Taboo</i>	137

Editorial Introduction

Lori Latrice Martin
Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner

Thank you for your continued support of *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education*. It is indeed an honor and a privilege for us to join the impressive lists of scholars who have contributed to the success of the unique academic forum *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education* as the new Editors in Chief. Those attached to this journal represent scholars willing to tackle the tough challenges associated with critically examining the study of teaching and pedagogy that focuses on the relationship between education and its socio-cultural context. As the new editors we are committed to publishing works from a variety of contextualizing disciplines including cultural studies, curriculum theorizing, feminist studies, the social foundations of education, critical pedagogy, mutli/interculturalism, queer theory, and symbolic interaction. *Taboo* is grounded on the notion of “radical contextualization.” During our tenure, the pages of *Taboo* will continue to be filled with contributions from a range of contributors who work within these general areas and as its title suggests, each piece published under our tenure will address compelling and controversial issues. This current issue, however, draws upon manuscripts accepted by the previous editors and represents our commitment to honoring the decisions on these manuscripts before we move into new articles under our editorship.

In “Education for Whom? Word Problems as Carriers of Cultural Values,” Anita Bright examines the use of mathematics textbooks, trade books and standardized tests to communicate what is valued and what constitutes acceptable forms of knowledge. Bright shows how mathematics curricula is linked to cultural reproduction and contains a hidden curriculum that perpetuates hegemony and the exploitation and marginalization of historically disadvantaged groups.

Annette Coburn and Patricia McCafferty take a provocative look at the effects of the marketing of the Olympic Games school-based learning. In “The Real Olympic Games: Sponsorship, Schools, and the Olympics—the Case of Coca-Cola,” Coburn and McCafferty examine the use of mascots and other marketing tools during the

London Games in 2012 aimed at children under the guise of school-based learning, which was really aimed at promoting the Coca-Cola brand. Specifically, the authors examine the role (and control) of corporate sponsors in reaching school-aged young people through enterprise education that appear to advance the commercialization of childhood. The authors characterize the Olympics as the ultimate branding prize, the real legacy of which is often masked and misunderstood.

“I Just Love Kids...Is That a Problem?": Desire, Suspicion, and Other Good Reasons Men Don't Choose Early Childhood Education" by Thomas Crisp and James R. King forces readers to think about the under representation of male educators in elementary education in new ways. The article enhances our understanding about the contradictions that often influence men in their decisions about teaching at the elementary school level. Crisp and King call upon readers to re-imagine ideal types of elementary school teachers and the ways in which current images of educators are gendered.

Lauren Fregeau and Robert Leier weigh-in on a topic that has received a great deal of scholarly attention, but in ways that limit our understanding of the scholarship's application to diverse populations. Specifically, the authors of “Two Latina Teachers: Culture, Success, Higher Education” examine the graduate-level teacher education experiences of Latina immigrants with a particular focus on what motivates Latina migrants to excel in higher education. The scholars draw from the literature on critical consciousness and resilience.

Tracy Keats examines homophobia in women's coaching in the article “Lesbophobia as a Barrier to Women in Coaching.” Research on sports is not only male-dominated, but limited in other important ways. Sports also tend to reflect hypermasculinity, homophobia, and misogyny. Consequently, the challenges of female coaches in the heterosexual male-dominated institution of sport are often ignored. Keats addresses the gaps in the sports literature by focusing on what she calls “an irrational fear of and negative attitude towards homosexuals, and particularly lesbophobia—fear and negativity towards lesbians—impedes all female coaching careers.” To address the pervasiveness of lesbophobia in sports, Keats investigates homonegative barriers to women coaches and stresses the importance of acknowledging and dismantling homophobia within a hegemonic sport culture in order to create safer, more equitable, and more welcoming sports environments for women, regardless of sexual orientation.

Andre Perry, Rashida Govan, and Christine Clark provide the one new piece included in this first issue that did not originate from the previous editors. We decided to include this piece as it provides a robust discussion about Historically Black Colleges and Universities that seems much needed in the conversation about higher education. In this piece the authors urge readers, through a careful analysis, to consider the ways that race, class, social standing, and school type help to craft a robust understanding and description of the emergence of college extracurricular activities.

A public school principal, Bretton Polowy, contributes a piece in our inaugural issue as editors of *Taboo* titled, “Teaching and Learning From an Anti-Fragile Perspective.” We welcome contributions from scholars, teachers, graduate students, practitioners, and other interest-holders because we recognize that knowledge originates from many sources and the lived and professional experiences of the aforementioned groups have value. Principal Polowy makes the argument that complexity science, living systems theory, and self-organizing networks of community practice must become an essential part of every child’s school experience if we are ever to attain a sustainable future. Polowy further argues, that an anti-fragile teaching and learning perspective has the potential to shift human endeavor in a more sustainable direction and prepare the leaders of tomorrow for the challenges of the world around them.

Clearly, *Taboo* is a safe space for ideas that push the proverbial envelope and new ways of thinking that challenge conventional norms and wisdom, and hopefully takes readers out of our comfort zones—wherever those invisible boundaries may exist. In keeping with the theme of cutting-edge critical analysis, Haggith Gor Ziv writes “Teaching Jewish Holidays in Early Childhood Education in Israel: Critical Feminist Pedagogy Perspective.” Using a critical feminist pedagogical lens, Ziv unpacks teaching in early childhood education in Israel.

Our readers should find that the articles we publish are much like we are as editors—diverse ideologically and methodologically and challengers of the status quo. Readers will find that articles published during our tenure are also academically rigorous. They are meant for a diverse audience and meant to provoke and evoke people to challenge the ways they see issues they have seen before in new ways and issues they may never have encountered before.

Our goal is to problematize that which is either commonly taken for granted as truths or conventionally regarding as off-limits and to produce and promote new knowledge and new paradigms that will allow readers to tackle the tough challenges we face and thrive.

To that end you will see some new directions for *Taboo*, with special issues proposed by leading scholars in the field to tackle really important and focused conversations on a variety of critical topics. Also, beginning with our first full issue of new articles to come out later in 2016 we will include a hot topic conversation starter that we generate as editors to share our thoughts and ideas on controversial issues facing the disciplines represented in this journal. We hope this hot topic section will begin, engage with, and otherwise extend necessary conversations in the field.

In solidarity,
Kenny and Lori

Education for Whom? Word Problems as Carriers of Cultural Values

Anita Bright

Abstract

Is the mathematics presented in textbooks, trade books and standardized tests neutral? Drawing from critical theory and feminist epistemologies, the purpose of this research is to examine mathematics curricular materials through the lens of two questions: “What is valued?” and “Knowledge for whom?” Findings indicate that mathematics texts contain multiple examples of problems that reify hegemony, the exploitation of people, and a marked disregard for the environment. This article includes ways mathematics educators can reconceptualize mathematics texts as inextricably linked to cultural reproduction and furthermore, to use these insights to build ways that mathematics educators can disrupt the current narratives of inequity, waste, exploitation and the privileging of particularly narrow perspectives in mathematics education and replace them with more equitable, inclusive, sustainable and critical perspectives.

Education for Whom? Word Problems as Carriers of Cultural Values

School is widely regarded as one of the primary means of cultural reproduction, and within this context, our mathematics texts play a large, albeit frequently invisible and unchallenged role in this reproduction. In this article, I cast light onto issues taken for granted, and intend to help move the conversation from the dominant discourse to the outer edges of comfort, and perhaps even beyond. To this end, I engaged several groups of my graduate students, both pre-service and in-service teachers, in examining how mathematics texts might be part of this cultural reproduction.

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In the arena of public education in the United States, much emphasis, of late, has been focused on the establishment, implementation and measurement of progress towards meeting local, state, and national standards for educational success, typically as measured on standardized assessments. Nudged ahead by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (United States Department of Education, 2010), these standards are embodied in the benchmarks and indicators used to construct curricula and guide instruction. These benchmarks and indicators make up what is known as the curriculum in our schools. Typically a public document, the curriculum contains all of the essential information deemed necessary for “success” as defined by some body designated as experts. The curriculum is the canon of public school education, and myriad educational decisions, ranging from textbook purchases, course scheduling, teaching certification and more hinge upon what is contained in the curriculum.

In efforts to teach the entire mandated curriculum, most school districts elect to purchase textbooks that mostly (or fully) address the standards, benchmarks and indicators outlined by the school division. Although there are many factors that influence the textbook-adoption process and decision (including price, history, and the relationship with the textbook salesperson), the primary deciding factor is usually one of tight alignment to tested standards, quietly emphasizing a kind of “Taylorism” (Au, 2011) in the pursuit of the most efficient use of time (as measured by test scores).

However, what many textbook adoption committees or individuals frequently overlook or fail to consider is what’s commonly known as the “hidden curriculum” embedded within the curricular materials themselves. Coined by Jackson in 1968, the term *hidden curriculum* has come to be understood as the unwritten and unscripted transmission and reproduction of norms, values, and beliefs—that is, culture—conveyed in both the formal educational content and the social interactions in schools (Giroux & Penna, 1983). Typically unrecognized and unchallenged, the hidden curriculum is one of the primary means of cultural reproduction, effectively and efficiently shaping what is believed to be worthy, valued, and important.

Within the field of mathematics education, there exists a particularly pervasive belief that “mathematics is universal” and as such, is “neutral,” carrying no artifacts of language, identity, nor culture. “It’s just numbers” is a common refrain, which may, in fact, speak to a deeper belief about mathematics education, in that it has long been framed as a black box of sorts, with a mostly unchallengeable, perhaps unknowable, evolutionary history and place within the canon.

As such, when textbook adoption committees select books and supplemental materials for their students, what degree of sensitivity to the hidden curriculum is demonstrated? What about the textbook authors and publishing companies themselves? To be sure, textbook publishers have, over the last decades, worked to represent more of the diversity that is present in the United States—but typically only in the most superficial ways. No longer are textbooks brimming with white children in gender-specific roles. Rather, modern textbooks include students from

many ethnicities and sometimes many nations, sometimes even moving into the territory of essentialism by featuring images of people in country-specific ceremonial or historical garb. Current mathematics textbooks clearly include a range of names that more accurately represent the students in the U.S., typically with a heavy skew towards Latino names. Additionally, it's increasingly common for mathematics texts to include images of persons with disabilities, and men and women in roles different from those traditionally assigned. Female mechanics and male nurses may even be disproportionately represented in some mathematics books.

Because of these quite visible changes in the ways mathematics texts include individuals in ways that mildly challenge the status quo, many educators (mostly white and female, with incomes placing them squarely in the middle class) (National Center for Education Statistics, 2013) appear content with the current situation, as there is no audible, generalized outcry. However, I posit that this superficial treatment of "multiculturalism" that focuses on the addition of people of color may in fact be working against some of the primary goals of a socially just society by tokenizing individuals and groups without any direct movements towards challenging the shifting other aspects of the status quo.

To this end, a large part of what I (and my participants) contend to be the insidiousness of cultural reproduction hinges on the way "normal" is portrayed and presented. Particular ideas and concepts are framed as typical, and remain unchallenged and un-problematized. There is a pervasive favoritism of what I call, "inner circle" elements, which include preference for white perspectives, male perspectives, English-speaking perspectives, middle or upper class perspectives, heterosexual perspectives, Christian (or sometimes Jewish) perspectives, and patriarchal perspectives, some of which will be discussed in this paper.

So... isn't mathematics neutral? For many K-12 educators, the answer seems obvious: Of course; it's just numbers, and mathematics texts (textbooks, curricular materials and standardized assessments) are totally objective. However, what this hasty response may fail to include is the rich complexity and contextualization that mathematics texts carry (Bright & Wong, 2009; Gutstein, 2006; Boaler, 2009; Moses & Cobb, 2001). Although it's entirely possible that the contexts presented in mathematics texts are purposefully selected to convey a particular frame, perhaps the field of mathematics educational materials is simply part of a more pervasive, unproblematized facet of institutionalized hegemonic educational practices. Speaking to this possibility (if not probability), Greer and Mukhopadhyay (2012) state, "mathematics and mathematics education are implicated in various forms of interpersonal dominance and in ideological struggles" (p. 229).

With the exception of vanguard educators like Greer & Mukhopadhyay (2012), Gutstein (2006), Moses & Cobb (2001), Boaler (2009), and Ball, Gofney & Bass (2005), very few researchers have focused on mathematics as a carrier or transmitter of hegemony. Framed around the questions, "What is valued?" and "Knowledge for whom?" the purpose of this research is to highlight the ways mathematics

educators can conceptualize mathematics texts as inextricably linked to cultural reproduction (Bourdieu, 1986), and use these insights to build ways to disrupt the current narratives of inequity and the privileging of particularly narrow perspectives in mathematics education and replace them with more equitable, inclusive and critical perspectives (Freire, 1982).

The mathematics educators (and future educators) described in this research drew from the work of Kubota (2004) and critically analyzed mathematics items—word problems—purposefully selected from their classroom mathematics materials. They practiced uncovering the ways in which mathematics education is decidedly not neutral, but is instead politically, socially and historically situated within a particular agenda. Using these new perspectives to examine this corpus, the educators in this research were surprised to unearth hundreds of examples they experienced as hegemonic. They used (and continue to use) their new insights to actively disrupt the hegemonic narratives and, with their students, co-create counternarratives intended to empower the learners. Details about how the participants selected problems and crafted analyses are provided in the methods section.

In framing the stances of the contributors to this work (the graduate students), it is useful to highlight the post-structural stance adopted by both myself and by the students as well. As Foote and Bartell (2011) state,

This research acknowledges that researchers producing knowledge are located within a particular social, economic, and political context of society. This positionality (Tetreault, 1993) of a researcher is shaped by his/her unique mix of race, class, gender, sexuality, and other identifiers, including positions of power into which society has placed the person, as well as his/her personal life experiences within and around these identifiers. (p. 46)

Thus, the items selected for inclusion in this research represent the stances adopted by the participants (including myself), and as such provide intentionally subjective testimony to our lived experiences as students, as teachers, and as mathematicians.

Theoretical Framework

Informed by critical theory, this work is an effort which, “recognizes power—that seeks in its analyses to plumb the archaeology of taken-for-granted perspectives to understand how unjust and oppressive social conditions came to be reified as historical “givens” (Cannella & Lincoln, 2012, p. 105). This term, “givens,” serves well in the context of this research, as the use of this term in mathematics traditionally means “known.” By employing critical theory, the intent of this work is to scratch away at these givens—particularly the most omnipresent examples in the canon of mathematics education—and cast light into what may have been not only the unconsidered messages or intentions of the original authors in invoking these givens, but also to reframe these assumptions in ways that may be more

emancipatory for all K-12 mathematics students in the U.S.—not just those already enjoying various forms of privilege.

Building upon these ideas, this work also draws from feminist epistemology, in that the situated-ness of the knowledge of mathematics signals a masculinity that is often unnamed and unchallenged (Haraway, 1988). Invoking Anzaldúa's (2002) concept of the *nepantlera*, which she describes as those who “facilitate passage between worlds” and who engage in thinking that seeks to “question old ideas and beliefs, acquire new perspectives, change worldviews, and shift from one world to another” (p. 1), this work frames the activities of participants as active and agentic, questioning and challenging.

Finally, this work is heavily informed by post-structuralism, digging into the ways the self is constructed through language, riffing from the conviction that “there is no unified reality, but rather multiple and individual realities” (p. 62, Savin-Baden & Major, 2013). As such, this work is founded upon the interpretations of the participants, whose authority, rooted in their individual and unique lived experiences, is taken as independent versions of truth. In my role as researcher with a post-structuralist stance, I seek not to challenge or discount the interpretations of my participants, but rather to provide a forum for their testimonies in the form of reactions to and analyses of mathematics problems. As such, with each example included herein, “the speaker does not speak for or represent a community, but rather performs an act of identity-formation which is simultaneously personal and collective” (p. 15, Yúdice, 1991). In other words, each participant articulates a perspective that although particular to a singled lived experience, may also be resonant for others who may have walked similar paths. Further, in the assertion of these thoughts and reactions, the individual voices form a sort of chorus that defines the collective response of the community, which may perhaps provide insight for textbook authors and publishers.

Methods

This research is centered in the collaborative work of 58 graduate students (teachers and future teachers) who agreed to participate in this exploration. The participants were enrolled in one of 3 sections of a graduate mathematics methods course for educators, which focused heavily on a critical implementation of pedagogical content knowledge in mathematics, and each participant engaged in a two-part exploration. The first part, a collaborative analysis of a text, took place during a regular class meeting. The second part, which consisted of individual identification of “troubling” mathematics problems, took place as an out-of-class assignment. Both parts will be described in turn.

Part 1

To begin, the participants engaged in an in-class, collaborative analysis of a

mathematics text, a picture book titled *The Dot and the Line: A Romance in Lower Mathematics* (Juster, 1963). The text, featuring 3 non-human characters (dot, line and squiggle), is described as, “a supremely witty love story with a twist that reveals profound truths about relationships—both human and mathematical—sure to tickle lovers of all ages” (Amazon.com, 2012). Because the text itself is a physically small book (measuring only about 7” x 7”) and as such is not conducive to a whole-group read-aloud session, the book was briefly shown to the whole group before being passed around for individual inspection. However, thanks to the popularity of the text when it was initially published, it was subsequently made into an animated short film (with the same title) (Jones & Noble, 1965) and went on to win an Academy Award in the “Best Short Subject: Cartoons” category. The narration of this award-winning film follows the text from the book almost verbatim. After a short introduction, the participants were divided into three groups. Each group was assigned one of the three characters from the book (and movie): the dot, the line, or the squiggle. Each group was asked to watch the movie with an eye towards their assigned character, and to notice for how that character was portrayed. Participants were also asked to note what was framed as “normal” and what kinds of things seemed to be valued or privileged for each character.

After the 10-minute viewing of the film, the participants were provided with a transcript of the text, and asked to discuss within their assigned groups (the dot, line or squiggle) how their character was portrayed. What was framed as “normal?” What seemed to be valued? Where/ with whom did power seem to be located? Working together, the “character groups” discussed and debated their interpretations, and then shared insights with the group at large, and discussed their varying perspectives, acknowledging that each person’s perspective is rooted in her or his own historical and cultural context.

Using Burbles’ (1986) work, “Tootle: A Parable of School and Destiny” as a model for deconstructing this superficially innocuous children’s book (and subsequent film, which is readily available for viewing on the internet), the participants were asked to consider the following in relation to *The Dot and the Line*:

Where the text implicitly assumes certain social circumstances that can be raised to question; where it colors certain conditions with an evaluative shade, or makes outright judgments about them; and where it distorts, misrepresents, or offers a partial, incomplete version of social events, it can be subject to criticism. (Burbles, 1986, p. 240)

In other words, the participants engaged in a collaborative form of critical discourse analysis, “noticing and naming structures, conditions and manifestations of domination (however small or large)” (p. 5, Rogers, 2011). Working from this definition, participants readily identified examples from the Juster (1963) text and the parallel Jones and Noble (1965) film of sexism, (as only male characters who actually engage in mathematics, and the female character is physically objectified),

heterosexism and heteronormativity (as “couplehood” is presented as the only possible norm, and in a heterosexual fashion), racism (as the squiggle is interpreted to be a male of color, interpreted by participants to be Black), violence against women (as the female character is depicted as fleeing arrows and is physically manipulated and even thrown around by male characters), linguicism (as the squiggle character is maligned for pronunciation the letter L), white privilege (as the protagonist is interpreted by participants as white and as such, has access to “white” styles of discourse), tokenization and even Western-faith-normativity (as some participants interpreted the story as an Adam-and-Eve trope).

Part 2

Building from this experience, participants were then asked to use some of the same frames to look at their own mathematics curricular materials, either in their teaching or student-teaching settings, and select 3 examples (of word problems) to scrutinize using some of the same critical stances. Participants were directed to select any 3 examples that stood out to them in some way as being carriers of a particular cultural or social stance, drawing from their own, personal reactions to and interpretations of the problems. Using the phrase “impact over intent” as a refrain, participants were encouraged to focus less on what the author’s intentions might have been, and rather, to focus more closely on how the impact of word problems might privilege a particular worldview, stance or perspective while marginalizing another.

Drawing from what Burbles terms “ideology analysis” or “ideology critique,” students were asked to engage in, “an attempt to hold a portrayal accountable to social reality” (p. 240). The participants were asked to consider the following questions as they selected examples (word problems) and considered their interpretations, focusing on challenging what Gay (2011) terms, “the unquestionably correct knowledge” (30).

- What is valued in this problem?
- Who or what has power?
- What is not mentioned/ missing/ assumed in the problem?
- What prior knowledge (aside from mathematics) is assumed for this problem?
- Does this problem contain or promote “aspirational” cultural values?

After all participants had identified at least 3 examples of word problems that privileged or frame as “normal” a particular worldview, and after all participants had responded to the preceding prompts for each of their 3 or more problems, they then engaged in focus group discussions to both provide commentary on the process and also to discuss insights gained during their analyses of their chosen problems. Information from these focus groups, along with the written analyses of textbook items, were included in this research. Finally, participants shared these examples with their students and collaboratively generated more relevant, socially just scenarios that resonated in the lived experiences of the students.

In an effort to synthesize the all-over-the-map findings of the students, we used grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to generate codes and themes, grouping “like” findings together under headings that seemed to capture the big ideas. These categories echoed many of those the students identified in their examinations of the Juster (1963) text in Part 1, but also included a focus on middle-class values, capitalism, acquisitiveness, and disregard for environmental and human impacts.

Findings

The 58 participants in this effort identified 180 unique mathematics word problems (items) from a range of sources, including materials drawn from the elementary level, Algebra 1, Algebra 2, Geometry, Trigonometry, Statistics, Pre-Calculus and Calculus courses. Although there were conceptual similarities in many items, there were no verbatim overlaps drawn from the same sources.

The majority of examples (just over half) identified by the participants fell under the general umbrella of promoting or accentuating middle-class ideals, which participants identified as valuing competitive consumerism, conspicuous leisure time and activities, engaging in white-collar work, and, as one participant explained, “keeping up with the Joneses.” These concepts neatly fit what Bourdieu (1977) would describe as part of the cultural capital middle and upper-middle class students bring to their school experiences. Sub-categories within this area included problems that focused on travel, problems that focused on home improvement, problems that focused on shopping or acquiring things, problems that focused on earning money, and most commonly, problems that focused on leisure time.

One of the most common themes that emerged in the examples participants identified in their mathematics texts was that of consumerism and acquisitiveness. Dozens of problems were identified that focused on purchasing items, with the stated goal often being to acquire the maximum quantity for minimum cost. The problems were mostly rooted in the perspective of the consumer, serving to normalize and routinize the act of shopping, reinforcing the ideals of capitalism and framing the students as buyers. Some of the items featured in problems included laptops, televisions, jackets, cars, a scooter, and a mildly baffling, no-picture-included problem about a “snowskate.” “A boy asked me what it was, and I had to go Google it,” explained a participant.

Related to this focus on acquiring possessions, participants also identified dozens of examples promoting middle- and upper-middle-class values as highlighted in consumative acts related to living spaces. These examples (typically with a stated focus on calculating area and/ or perimeter) centered on re-carpeting, re-tiling, or re-painting rooms, walls, or other surfaces. What participants found troubling about this was the ways in which “re-anything” (except reduce, reuse or recycle) implies a disdain for not only an environmentalist orientation, but also the idea that there exists fashion trends in home decor, and the problems frame as normal the need to

keep up with current fashion in our surroundings. Participants also took issue with what they interpreted as classist ideals, in that those who elect to re-work parts of their homes are typically homeowners and not renters, and have the disposable income to support decorative projects. One participant explained her thinking on this, stating, “These problems tell me that it’s “normal” to be a homeowner, and... I am expected to be constantly striving to “improve” my space in ways that cost money, usually with a focus on some standard of beauty and not functionality.”

The leisure time examples covered a range of activities, but by and large focused on those with more structured adult supervision, organization, and input—all characteristics more closely associated with middle-class families than with working class families (Lareau, 1987). Examples included problems that focused on bowling, golf, scuba, carriage rides, pilot lessons, music lessons, dance lessons, snowboard lessons, martial arts lessons, and the like. Most of the examples identified were for leisure activities required a financial obligation and enrollment in advance, with the implication that highly structured events are more common and more desirable—again, suggesting middle class families. Lareau (1987) explains that “working class parents [have]... limited time and disposable income” (p. 81) to engage their children in these kinds of activities.

Travel-related examples identified by the participants ranged from the broad and generic (“vacation”) to the more detailed and specific (skiing in Switzerland, hiking in Ireland, staying at an underwater hotel). Each travel scenario requires leisure time and disposable income from some usually unidentified source, which again foregrounds the middle-class experience and frames it as normal. This problem, found in a Harcourt text (Maletsky, E., 2002, p. 77b), is a typical example:

Two art students are touring Paris. They each buy a one-day museum pass for \$14. Each student also buys a ticket to the Eiffel Tower for \$11 and a boat ticket for \$3. How much do the two students spend altogether? Explain.

What may superficially seem like an affordable day in Paris is in fact part of an outing in one of the most expensive cities in the world for tourists (TripAdvisor, 2012). There is no mention of the numerous additional expenses involved in this problem (such as airfare, lodging, and meals), but rather, the problem is presented as if art students touring Paris is a matter-of-course experience. In spite of this missing contextual information, the problem still requires students to think about spending money, including for things that, if another paradigm were in operation, might be viewed for free—like art. Further, there is no mention of the environmental impact related to travel (air travel and the “boat ride” mentioned in the problem). Additionally, although this textbook is still in use with students, it is so dated that at the time of this writing, admission prices to the Eiffel Tower have increased 3-fold, to \$33 (<http://www.francetourism.com.au>).

Some examples skewed into territory unfamiliar for many children and adolescents, and focused on topics many would find obscure or irrelevant to their lived

experiences and interests. One such example asked Algebra 2 students to calculate the cost of a particular mixture of potpourri (Burger, et al., 2007) that included pine needles and lavender, resulting in a product that would cost exactly \$200. The very idea of potpourri—a mixture of aromatic plant matter intended to imbue a particular smell—is decidedly intended for people with disposable income and the belief that these smells improve the overall ambiance of a space. Additionally, with the target price of \$200, the wording of this mixture problem implies that it is normal to spend this amount of money to make one’s home smell a particular way.

Additionally, participants identified multiple examples that alluded to an upper-class lifestyle and set of lived experiences. About a dozen examples focused on ways to invest money to reap the greatest profit, but none of these problems explored where the profit actually comes from or from whose pockets it is drawn. Five examples identified by the participants focused on inheriting large sums of money or precious gemstones. Other examples alluded to the lifestyle of the wealthy-- owning a vacation home, having multiple horses in one’s corral, arranging parking for one’s yacht, and so on, each framed as normal experience. Perhaps most telling were the examples that emphasized getting “cheap labor” and calculating ways to pay “the help” as little as possible. One example in particular was found on a school-district-recommended website, mathhelpforum.com. The problem, described by the participant as “clearly exploitative,” reads:

An orange grower in California hires migrant workers to pick oranges during the season. He has 12 employees, and each can pick 400 oranges per hour. He has discovered that if he adds more workers, the production per worker decreases due to lack of supervision. When x new workers (above the 12) are hired, each worker picks $400 - 2x^2$ oranges per hour (mathhelpforum.com, 2009).

The layered status-orientations in this problem were described as “insulting and painful” by the student who identified the problem, and when discussed in the focus group, were described as racist and serving to reinforce damaging stereotypes. Additionally, the students pointed out the probable misnomer in the first sentence, as the person hiring the migrant workers isn’t the one growing the oranges—it’s most likely the migrant workers tasked with this job as well.

Several other participants also identified problems that, without naming it, seemed to hint at race or racialized ways of knowing and being. One common example is illustrated in problems that focus on meals, like one that was featured in *Algebra 1* (Larson, 2010), with these instructions and given information:

You want to plan a nutritious breakfast. It should supply at least 500 calories or more. Be sure your choices would provide a reasonable breakfast. (p. 371).

<i>Breakfast food</i>	<i>Calories</i>
Plain bagel	195
Cereal, 1 cup	102
Apple juice, 1 glass	123

Tomato juice, 1 glass	41
Egg	75
Milk, 1 cup	150

First, the phrasing of the problem states that breakfast consists of options, and that the reader has a choice in what to select for the meal. While this may be the case for some students, there are also many students who received free or reduced price meals at school, and as such, have no choice in what they are served. Also, this breakfast is typical of what is eaten in U.S. households, although as the participant asked, “Do people really drink tomato juice for breakfast?” It was noted that few of the options seem to be whole foods (except perhaps the egg or maybe the cereal), with the emphasis being instead on processed foods. Additionally, what’s emphasized in this problem is not the nutritional content, but rather, the calories associated with each food. The instructions, using the words “nutritious” and “reasonable” assume some collective, baseline agreements of what these terms might actually mean in practice. Finally, the inclusion of milk (assumed to be cow’s milk) on this list of options for a “nutritious” breakfast fails to recognize the fact that the majority of people on the planet (~60%) are lactose intolerant (Itan, Jones, Ingram, Swallow, & Thomas, 2010), and it is primarily white people (people of European descent) who are able to digest milk. Thus, in considering who the authors had in mind when writing this item, it would seem that white, middle class children were the target audience.

Heteronormativity was another theme identified by participants on several occasions. One commonly known example is *As I was going to St. Ives* (Wikipedia, 2013), a traditional nursery rhyme found in multiple books (including Boswell & Larson, 2010) and on countless math-oriented websites. The poem’s second line mentions a man with wives and in doing so, normalizes-by-naming heterosexuality (and in fact, polygamy) in an unquestioned and unchallenged frame; in contrast, rare (if ever) do mathematics texts include problems that focus on same-sex marital or romantic life-partnerships. Additionally, the poem is stated as “I met a man with seven wives,” foregrounding the male figure (although only one person) and backgrounding seven others, the wives, described by their marital status and not their sex. Participants also noted that the wives were framed as perhaps a type of accessory—not “a man and his seven wives” but as a man *with* seven wives, further depersonalizing the women. In considering this problem through a feminist lens, participants agreed that the use of language, perhaps intended to sound playful, carried a subtle but clear message of male privilege, like, as one participant explained, “unseen smoke that you can smell.” The problem was deemed to be even more disturbing once participants began to deconstruct the un-remarked-upon animal cruelty by describing cats and kittens being carried in sacks by the women.

A curious and confusing example was identified in the *Saxon Math: Course 2, Teacher’s Edition* (Hake, 2007), on p. 78. The problem for students, which included no illustration or photograph, read:

Dawn cranked for a number of turns. Then, Tim gave the crank 216 turns. If the total number of turns was 400, how many turns did Dawn give the crank?

What makes this problem most vexing is the way the author freely interchanges the verb “to turn” with the verb, “to crank,” and then also uses both crank and turn as nouns. Clearly privileging those students with stronger grasps of English and an understanding of the ways nouns can be used as verbs (and vice versa), the author anticipated challenges for English learners reading this problem, and included this suggestion:

Teacher’s Edition Note for English Learners: Demonstrate the word crank by using a rotary motion with your hands. Be sure to repeat the word crank while making the motion. Have the students repeat the word and make the motion for confirmation of their understanding.

This minimal note, with a superficial-at-best attempt to provide differentiation for new speakers of English, speaks to what may be interpreted as a lack of investment in ensuring English learners have full access to the content being presented.

Even the most classic, playful, and beloved examples, when scrutinized carefully, showed evidence of carrying specific cultural norms that may privilege some realities while denying or even insulting others. One participant examined the 1974 Shel Silverstein poem, “Smart” (p. 35), and found multiple examples she described as “disappointing.” In the poem, which focuses on money, the protagonist engages in a series of money exchanges, trading a dollar bill for two quarters, then trading the two quarters for 3 dimes, and so on, each time believing he has made a gain (having exchanged fewer coins for more coins). The mathematics are simple and appropriate for those learning about U.S. currency, but the entire arc of the poem is the story of the protagonist being taken advantage of, repeatedly, by those he trusts. The very title of the poem (“Smart”) is sarcastic, and the emphasis on acquisitiveness (both the overall number of coins and the total value) is powerful. The protagonist expresses opportunistic thinking, implying the wish to take advantage of others, in his exchange with “old blind Bates” (p. 35) and his description of another trader as “the fool” (p. 35). At no point in the poem did anyone attempt to educate or support the protagonist in ensuring his money was equitably accounted for; in fact, the poem ends with the protagonist’s father turning “red in the cheeks” (p. 35) and refusing to speak.

Counterpoint

Although most participants described experiencing a series of epiphanies around issues of social justice education and the subtle ways hegemonic thinking can creep into mathematics problems, as the result of their participation in this project, a handful of participants (3 or 4) instead had a different reaction that ranged from indifference to strenuous defense of the entire canon of mathematics problems discussed. One wrote, “I am inherently skeptical of reading values, ‘‘cul-

tural aspirations,” and power dynamics into everything. In particular, I think most math textbook problems are made with little or no thought, and with the attempt to make it ‘relevant to students.’” Drawing heavily from the work of Lockhart’s (2009) generalized critique of “word problems” in mathematics, this participant went on to state, “I think to have borderline paranoia about how we as teachers are somehow perpetuating an oppressive system by assigning word problems that may involve a male carpenter instead of a female one is fairly ridiculous.” So although the majority of participants in the research gained new insights into how mathematics educational materials may perpetuate worldviews and norms that may be damaging, insulting or otherwise excluding to some students, a few participants found that engaging in this research reinforced further solidified their complicity with or perhaps indifference to hegemonic thinking and the dismissal or silencing of those with other perspectives.

This is not to say, however, that the skeptics were wrong. Perhaps the presence of these examples is in fact unproblematic and unnoticed by the students reading them; perhaps the images and scenarios and contexts are enlightening, or inspirational, or educational—or as often described, “aspirational,” that is, included to provide less-privileged students with suggestions for things or goals they may aspire towards. Perhaps the values espoused in the problems—either directly or indirectly—have no impact at all. But perhaps they do. Perhaps the problems point out what is considered to be the “right” way of being, the “right” kind of home, the “right” kind of vacation, the “right” kind of leisure activity. What, then, happens to the spirits of students who perhaps do not aspire to these ideas and ideals, or who recognize that their own lives are currently devoid of these opportunities and structures? What becomes of their passions for mathematics, their engagement with the curricula, their vision of how school is intended for them?

To be fair, the problems highlighted here (and in truth, those selected by the students to begin with) represent but a fraction of the total set of problems posed to students in the United States. These are not randomly sampled or selected, but rather, purposefully chosen because, through the eyes of the participants, these problems carry markers of social, cultural, and/ or linguistic privilege. This is not to say that the entire body of mathematics problems presented to students is flawed or faulty, but rather, simply to highlight that these threads of inequity and the assertions of specific cultural values are woven throughout mathematics curricula at all levels. The next steps in this project will involve the participants taking their selected mathematics problems back to their K-12 students for the purpose of re-working, re-framing, or re-conceptualizing their chosen problems into examples that will more accurately suit the beliefs and ideals that will best serve the students themselves. Gutstein (2007) advocates for this form of co-construction of new meanings with students, stating, “While we cannot always directly or immediately affect macro political and economic structures, although that is an essential part of creating a more just society, we do have agency ourselves” (p. 438).

Discussion

As the literature on the ways current mathematics discourses may serve hegemonic ideals is only newly emerging, this work is significant in that it identifies an engaging and accessible means for educators to deepen their critical perspectives and undertake agentic activities that work against hegemonic patterns of discourse in schools. By locating social justice work in the critical analysis and purposeful re-shaping of mathematics contexts, this work broadens the field of opportunity for creating a more democratic and critical liberatory pedagogy (Freire, 1982; Frankenstein, 2009). The initial findings from this research suggest that given a supportive and collaborative forum, educators may be equipped to challenge the oft-replayed examples used in mathematics education and craft new and more socially just substitutes.

In exploring how engaging in this activity changed the thinking and professional practices of participants, several themes emerged. Initially, many participants expressed a sense of disappointment or shame at never noticing the preponderance of “troubling” math problems before. Once beyond this initial wave of guilt, some participants expressed outrage aimed in two directions: first, outrage directed at their own teachers for never identifying or challenging the hegemonic examples in textbooks and problems, and second, outrage directed at the authors, editors and publishers of the materials. However, most participants recognized that understanding of hegemony and the insidiousness of cultural reproduction is not part of the common conversation in mathematics education— if anything, it’s avoided. Pennycook (2006) explains, “Any model of relation between language and society will only be as good as one’s understanding of society” (p. 117). For authors, editors and publishers who have never been asked to consider their work through the lenses offered in this paper, the problems identified as classist, sexist, heterosexist, racist, xenophobic or consumerism-oriented seem only natural. So where do we go from here, if anywhere?

First, and perhaps most obviously, I believe that as educators, we should strongly consider broadening our lenses to consider how different kinds of frames (math contexts) may be interpreted and experienced by our students. What seems normal or neutral to me may be foreign, uncomfortable or even offensive to my students. But of course, this raises the concern with meeting the needs of all learners—how might I possibly account for and incorporate the range of conflicting and possibly confusing perspectives shared by my students? At root, I posit that the solution to this is to know one’s students, and to create a classroom climate wherein challenging the status quo is accepted, normalized and encouraged. Educators can create classroom climates wherein it’s normal for students to make note of what sits uneasily, to call out what may be seen as classist or sexist or racist, to identify and respond to what feels oppressive or colonizing in some way—even if these thoughts and ideas aren’t at the point they can be fully articulated and outlined. Perhaps we can

craft classroom communities where it's all right and normal to say "I feel uneasy about this, and although I can't exactly say why, there's something about it that feels wrong or off." Setting this space, where the students are authentically agentic, may provide educators with insights into how they might re-shape the mathematics contexts we ask students to engage with. In other words, this iterative process may better equip teachers to select more appropriate problems in the first place.

I posit that from this centering of the student's lived experiences, this centering of student voices, careful listening may provide educators with rich educational opportunities to expand their understandings of the kinds of things students notice, the kinds of things students bristle at, and the kinds of things students identify as problematic. Thus, this situation may set up a scenario in which teaching is symbiotic, and in the purest Freirian (1973) sense, the students inform the teacher and the teacher responds in kind, making better selections for the students the following year. Also, by asking students to intentionally re-shape their own curricular materials, their level of engagement with the actual content (as the need for fidelity to actual mathematics objectives will remain) may in fact deepen student understandings—for example, when recrafting a problem about calculating the perimeter of an irregularly shaped room, it will be important for the student to present another context that focuses on the same mathematical objective. This may serve to benefit the students even more deeply than by simply completing the assigned problems.

Additionally, with this kind of grass-roots focus on the contexts presented in mathematics, it's entirely possible that a class of students (or even individual students) may wish to reach out to textbook authors and curricular material publishers with specific feedback on the ways their examples and wordings may be unwelcome or unsettling for students. This may, in turn, help to reshape the overall quality of examples textbooks choose to include.

But what about those who argue that students need to see many examples from different walks of life, that students need to experience "aspirational" values through the modeling showing in mathematics contexts? Although these ideas may seem, at first pass, to be noble, they may in fact embody "white savior" (Titone, 1998) thinking, wherein caring about students is conflated with encouraging and fostering assimilation into the teacher's (typically middle-class, mainstream) ideals.

As the literature on the ways current mathematics discourses may serve hegemonic ideals is only newly emerging, my hope is that this work may serve as a model for others to build and improve upon in that it identifies an engaging and accessible means for educators to deepen their critical perspectives and undertake agentic activities that work against hegemonic patterns of discourse in schools. By locating social justice work in the critical analysis and purposeful re-shaping of mathematics contexts, this work broadens the field of opportunity for creating a more democratic and critical liberatory pedagogy (Freire, 1982). The initial findings from this research suggest that given a supportive and collaborative forum, educa-

tors may be equipped to challenge the oft-replayed examples used in mathematics education and craft new and more socially just substitutes.

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The *Real* Olympic Games Sponsorship, Schools, and the Olympics— the Case of Coca-Cola

Annette Coburn & Patricia McCafferty

Abstract

Corporate influences on educational systems throughout the globe are yielding a host of intended and unintended consequences. While some educational systems welcome the participation of corporations and some even model how they operate after various corporate models, we argue there are serious calls for concern. Nowhere is the influence of corporations on school-based education more visible and more misunderstood than during the Olympics. As we move towards the Rio Olympics in 2016, this article draws on empirical work about school-based enterprise education in the run-up to the London Games in 2012. This helps us to consider the impact of school-business partnerships, by focusing on a critique of corporate sponsorship to make visible the hidden legacy of the Coca-Cola Company's interest in the Olympic and Paralympic Games in previous games, particularly during the London 2012. The article examines the role (and control) of corporate sponsors in reaching school-aged young people through enterprise education that appear to advance the 'corporate capture of childhood' (Beder, 2009) in ways that are hitherto under-researched. Drawing on Bakan's (2005, pp. 1-2) notion of duality in relation to the corporation as a (positively portrayed) person, yet legally obliged to pursue self-interest in generating profit, the article suggests the Olympics as the ultimate branding prize, the real legacy of which is often masked and misunderstood.

Introduction

When unveiled in May 2010, the mascots of the 2012 Olympic Games, Wenlock and Mandeville, were the subject of debate and ridicule in respect of the design,

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the design costs and the appeal of these futuristic and arguably indefinable ‘characters’. One feature that emerged at that time (From was the idea that these mascots were designed to appeal directly to children—to encourage them to feel part of their Olympics, to inspire them to experience affinity with perhaps the major sporting event of their lives. As the impact and lasting legacy of hosting the Games in the United Kingdom unfolded, the role of multi-national corporations as Olympic sponsors, created branding connections with young people’s experiences of, and attachment to, the Olympics. These connections were developed in a number of ways by forging links with schools in the run-in to the main event. While this kind of activity was not new or exclusive to the Olympics, we were interested in its scope for the accumulation of branding capital, and its potential legacy, in a country that hosted the Games.

This article is developed in four sections. First, it introduces the context and the research project that inspired this article. Second, it briefly outlines the nature of 21st century partnerships between public and private bodies and how these connect with Sklair’s (2001) analyses of corporate social responsibility and global citizenship. Third, it examines the specific case of Coca-Cola and its sponsorship of the Olympics. This includes findings from a study that examined Coca-Cola’s relationship with schools, and an exploration of the nature, contours and motivational issues around private sponsorship in a neo-liberal ideology, whereby ‘the state makes a grim alignment with corporate capital and transnational corporations’ (Giroux, 2005, p. 210). Finally, we argue that, in the context of the Olympic Games, the corporate capture of young people’s minds is facilitated through a pervasive marketing opportunity and form of cultural invasion (Freire, 1972). In this sense, we concur with Holt’s views on the contribution of branding to the maintenance of culturally produced ‘myth markets’ (2006, p. 374) that help to maintain the status quo where ‘iconic brands...[act as]...the tireless proselytizers, diffusing these myths into every nook and cranny of everyday life’ (Holt, 2006, p. 376). Here we make clear how this is demonstrably the case, even in arenas like schools which are afforded, at face value at least, state protection.

In this context, Holt’s suggestion of iconic brands as ‘mercenaries, following ideological demands wherever the action is’ (Holt, 2006, p. 374) in order to sustain the ideological status quo, offers a useful frame for discussion of the legacy of the Games. The potential legacy was sold to a consuming host population as an opportunity for country-wide economic growth, with benefits in health and well-being that are in keeping with the ideals of the Olympic movement. However, we argue that the alleged altruistic case for Olympic sponsorship to support human flourishing, harmony and global peace can best be understood as support of product placement and fierce brand protectionism that enhanced the reputation, trust and value of corporate iconic brands, one of which was Coca-Cola.

The nature of contemporary public private partnerships (PPPs) is such that they involve an uncritical acceptance of business imperatives and the valorisation of private partners, which obscures their ‘real’ interests. ‘Corporate social responsibility’

is linked to the idea of a corporate duality whereby, 'the corporation' has the rights of a (socially responsible) person whilst being legally obliged to engage in the pursuit of profit and self-interest above all (Bakan, 2005). This duality is useful analytically in the context of a global event like the Olympic Games as it acts as a foundation for the corporation to develop its public 'persona' as an 'altruistic' corporate philanthropist. The Games allow an intensification of activity and a strengthening of opportunities to promote 'hero-corporation status'. The promotion of shared ideals and mutual interests in global community development (Sklair, 2001) illustrate how a corporate ethos can be presented as fully complementing the Olympic Movement.

This persona compares to economic imperatives and market reasoning that ultimately drives sponsorship of the Games. It appears that for companies like Coca-Cola, McDonalds and Samsung, signing up as a 'world-wide partner' (London, 2012) brings profits and thus, sponsorship breeds success. However, this should be viewed alongside wider commercialisation processes (see Ball, 2007), that add a further 'layer' to the 'corporate capture of childhood' (Beder, 2009). In a world where identities are mediated through the consumption of goods and the kind of status that is accrued through brand affiliation (Giroux, 2009; Holt, 2004) children and young people are suggested as a 'primary source of redemption for the future of capitalism. Erased as future citizens of a democracy, kids are now constructed as consuming and saleable objects' (Giroux, 2009, p. 42). Thus, the promotion of commercial interests, hidden within seemingly innocuous and subtle processes that are aligned to the moral pillars of institutions such as schooling and the Olympic Games, appears to contribute to a kind of hegemonic fusion of neoliberal citizenship which privileges but is not limited to, particular ideologies.

Whilst it is not possible here to present a developed general discussion on the nature and contours of contemporary corporate capitalism, it is useful to isolate some important currents in its organisation that are relevant to our main arguments. One such current in the contemporary context is the promotion of 'partnership', especially between the private and public sectors.

There are three important aspects of partnership that appear interesting in relation to branding and the Olympic partners. Firstly, the Olympic Movement is arguably a good example of the sort of Public Private Partnership (PPP) envisaged for new public services over the past two decades. Indeed it is perhaps the oldest example of a PPP. Secondly, it is also noteworthy that partnership is always portrayed as 'progressive' and profit is rarely, if ever, fore-grounded. Lastly, in facilitating the creation of partnerships, the state becomes an enabler rather than a provider of services and 'and the power of the market is harnessed to serve the public interest' (Blair, 1998, p. 7).

The Coca-Cola Company has the longest-standing partnership with the Olympics Movement and has sponsored 'the Games' since they were held in Amsterdam in 1928. This brings specific privileges, in allowing the company to forge 'partnerships' with schools on a national level and therefore gain access to children under

the auspices of its Olympic partner privilege. This creates a parallel process in the organization of Olympic sponsorship and the generation of profits for partner companies, whereby:

[A] corporation's legally defined mandate is to pursue, relentlessly and without exception, its own self interest, regardless of the often harmful consequences it might cause to others. (Bakan, 2005, pp. 1-2)

In respect of a critical consideration of sponsorship and the Olympic Games, the corporation is characterised by an important co-identification of interests and its promotion as a global 'citizen'. Crucially, corporations develop a wide range of marketing tools from obvious advertisements and direct activity to less obvious sponsorship of sporting events (Sklair, 2001, p. 88). Unsurprisingly perhaps:

Whilst not alone in this, Coca-Cola was certainly a global leader in most forms of marketing for its ubiquitous product. The Coca-Cola logo adorns a remarkable range of activities and objects not least the world's most popular sports [], and countless other events...that meld the company and its products into the very fabric of everyday life all over the world. (ibid)

For example, it was the Coca-Cola Company that put Santa into a red suit, therefore the Olympics is simply another key mechanism through which to consolidate brand success. Olympic sponsorship is promoted as community investment, an altruistic and socially responsible activity. In this sense, the Olympic movement does the hard work in promoting its ideals, while sponsors become the 'iconic...ideological parasites' (Hart, 2006, p. 374) involved in high level resourcing that promotes those ideals through what could be described as complimentary globalising myth-making practice.

This broadens product reach, which in the case of Coca-Cola means 'virtually all permanently inhabited parts of the planet' (Sklair, 2001, p. 169). Yet, the promotion of partnership, portraying corporate sponsorship investment as 'giving something back', means this sort of activity often escapes critical scrutiny. The case of the Olympic Games helps to demonstrate that companies are prepared to pay good money for the 'feel good-deed factor' that is actually built into sponsorship arrangements. On the surface, this could be regarded as a win-win arrangement between the Olympics and its sponsors. The Games receive high level, and much needed, funding in exchange for product placement and advertising. However, as we have alluded to earlier, the contours of this relationship are not straightforward and the prize is literally worth a fortune.

Trentmann (2009) cautions against reducing debate about branding and consumption to a post-1960's discussion of globalisation and technological advance. Tracking the history of global consumption, Trentmann reminds us of the 'global flow of commodities' (2009, p. 211) that have come and gone since the 15th Century. However, when brought into the mix, the impact of the 20th Century constructions of young people are important in thinking about how consumption and the market

has changed their experiences of life. For example 'branding has played an enormous role in convincing generations of young people that instead of simply buying goods, they were buying lifestyles, worldviews, ideas and images' (Giroux, 2009, p. 56) as part of their search for identity. This adds another dimension to the discussion of corporate sponsorship and convinces us of the importance of making visible the purposes of sponsorship of the Olympics, in order to reveal, and perhaps even challenge the development of a hidden legacy that offers a political narcotic (Holt, 2006) to help those in power to retain their power.

In the context of the Olympics, powerful corporations work relentlessly at blurring any distinction between marketing and socially responsible activity. Coca-Cola, offers evidence to reinforce notions of community citizenship and 'common good' values. For example, buying the marketing rights to the Harry Potter movies for \$150 allowed the company to lay claim to 'core values and attributes' of the Potter franchise (Beder, 2009 p. 39). Thus, the Olympics provide an opportunity *par excellence* to take this reinforcing of common good and citizenship values further as 'corporate social responsibility' but it is also an opportunity for improving sales, brand loyalty and the acceptance of market driven, company values. In this light, we now consider the case of Coca-Cola as a TOP Olympic Partner, involved in enterprise education in the build-up to the Games in Great Britain.

The Research Project

The initial empirical research that underpins this critique was undertaken in a school in Scotland. Both the UK and Scottish government (in relation to the 2012 Olympics and the 2014 Commonwealth Games) envisaged a particular, demonstrably 'hands on' role for business in schools that promote values of enterprise and entrepreneurship among students. To this end, enterprise education or 'enterprise in education' was developed in line with a general thrust towards increased business involvement. As with the UK Government's focus on enterprising education (Davies, 2002; HMSO, 2008), the Scottish Government strategy for enterprise in education, *Determined to Succeed* (DtS), sought to recognise and promote the benefits of the 'can do, will do attitude' at the heart of enterprise values (Scottish Executive, 2003, p.2; Bryan & Granville, 2011). In line with the demands of a *Curriculum for Excellence* (CfE) in school education, it was suggested that DtS 'creates environments where enterprise can flourish and involves business and education working together' (Scottish Government, 2008).

Consequently, Scottish school pupils are routinely exposed to enterprise values and engage in entrepreneurial activities. These are suggested as preparing them for the world of work and helping them to gain knowledge and understanding of how business works. We suggest that business involvement in schools reflects a series of priorities in respect of the economic climate of the 21st Century and its dominant ideological proclivities.

This research was designed to explore how the values of enterprise were promoted in schools and how businesses responded to their new responsibilities and the opportunities that come with increasing involvement in enterprise education. Although not presented here in full, the study offered a snapshot of the current role of business in Scottish schools. It also analysed the impact of DtS on school life, pedagogy and the activities of the businesses involved. The study included two multi-national corporations, one established local business and one new business specifically created to respond to the opportunities presented by the emerging enterprise education agenda. Data were gathered in focus groups, interviews and through participant observation at one event that was hosted by Coca-Cola. In light of this, a detailed document analysis focused on this company was subsequently undertaken to inform knowledge that underpinned development of ideas that are explored in this article.

The findings suggested that Coca-Cola's 'Olympic' efforts in schools was overtly about striving to 'give something back' to local communities, which in being realised provided an ideal opportunity to promote Coke's interests in making profits through reinforcement of the idea of altruistic Olympic support. Whilst the removal of excessive branding from the school-scape and the limits placed on advertising, branding and direct marketing to school children were faithfully adhered to, findings suggested that teachers and pupils perceived a series of joint-benefits and mutuality of interests in the processes of business engagement. So, despite these overt benefits, the access to young minds being granted to corporations like Coca-Cola was problematized and identified as a concern by teachers involved in this study. In the context of the Olympic Games, such concerns add a layer of complexity that is both important and underplayed.

Corporations, Partnerships, and Social Responsibility

Playing the Olympic Games in School

In order to fully explore how some of these processes are 'played out' in reality in schools it is important to explore them from a concrete empirical perspective and it is that we now turn to. Early on in the study the Coca-Cola Company (as Coca-Cola Enterprises) emerged as an important partner in Scottish schools. The company was involved directly in supporting curriculum-based projects in Home Economics, 'enterprise education' activities and, in particular, organizing a programme of visits to the company's dedicated Education Centre. In addition, Coca-Cola promoted other, largely 'extra-curricular' activity in the shape of national schools' competitions and challenges. In recent years, these activities have served to showcase Coke's 'good work' in respect of the Olympic Games. In both cases, the company suggests that it makes a clear and altruistic commitment to social responsibility and the development of good corporate citizenship:

This all comes out of our corporate responsibility and sustainability department, where we have to be giving something back to the local community...It's got to do with ethos. And for all the people who think that all we do is make sugar-filled fizzy drinks and make you drink them, they're suddenly realising that you know we have choice p. we have...water to energy drinks and everything all through the middle...So the whole idea is getting the people in to see that we're not an evil, sugar-filled company. (Education Officer, Coca-Cola Enterprises 2010)

Notwithstanding the bizarre concept of selling bottled water even when it is available 'on-tap', companies like Coca-Cola are able to use such activity to serve their own interests which can and does have a sound economic foundation and effect. It also influences wider perceptions:

Corporate promotion does not necessarily aim to sell goods directly, but to foster brand loyalty in children over time, through familiarity gained from exposure to corporate brands and their positive association with school activities, as well as implicit messages about branded products. (Beder, 2009, p. 61).

The Real Business Challenge—Rhetoric versus Reality

One of the most important ways that Coca-Cola's Olympic 'tie-in' was promoted was through 'The Real Business Challenge' where students participated in often simulated tasks, frequently in their own time. Although promoted as 'real business experiences' and crucial 'world of work' learning, the findings suggested these were of limited value (for example, all work roles were managerial), save the positive promotion of the company. Yet, these are useful to consider in the context of this article.

The *Real* Challenge of 2009 involved designing a product—a fictitious new drink to be launched for 2012 - and developing a marketing and distribution strategy. This was largely a 'paper exercise' and the main student task was in presenting ideas. In addition, while it was promoted that students would work directly with experts from Coca-Cola, in reality the teams competed to go through to a final that involved five schools in pitching to 'experts' who were runners up in the BBC's *The Apprentice*, a reality TV show. Yet, this sort of activity drew praise at the highest level:

Activities such as The Real Business Challenge provide an invaluable opportunity for students up and down the country to gain the enterprise experience and the confidence that they need to succeed in the world of work. (Secretary of State for Children, Schools and Families, Ed Balls, quoted in Haringey Council, 2010)

The 2010 *Real* Business Design Challenge involved designing an Education Centre at the Coca-Cola Sidcup site, 'close to Olympic Park' (Enterprise Education Officer Coca-Cola Enterprises, 2010) which 'will be hosting CCE's stakeholders during the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games' (Coca-Cola Enterprises Ltd 2010c, original emphasis). This was promoted in a particular way and cast in a positive light:

It's a Real Legacy for the Olympics...An education initiative supporting schools across Great Britain...the whole idea over the next three years is that we get the project into every single secondary school in the UK...This challenge tick[s] all the boxes' to meet [enterprise education] obligations it's at the heart of [our] Olympic work. (Enterprise Education Officer 2010)

Two points are worthy of note in relation to these 'challenges.' First, whilst they are not about soft drinks in an obvious way, one teacher who participated in this enterprise education study suggested 'big names do attract a wee bit of excitement' (High School Enterprise Teacher, 2010) and the promotional material distributed to schools was heavily branded. In this way, iconic brands were still able to proliferate, even in settings where branded vending machines banned (such as in Scotland and Wales) alongside direct marketing of carbonated soft drinks in schools. Secondly, most of the resources such as the necessary PCs, laptops, digital cameras and such-like, were all provided by the school. Much of the activity was classroom-based with little obvious direct engagement involving the global corporation, outside of glossy promotional material aimed primarily at teachers.

Such contests appear characterised as involving limited investment (both financial and practical) while offering large sponsor returns. They also reinforce Coca-Cola's Olympic association yet their connection with the Games per se, is tenuous. This illustrates how 'today, corporations use 'branding' to create unique and attractive personalities for themselves' Bakan (2005, p. 26) and 'corporations' brand identities are 'personification[s]' of 'who they are and where they come from' (Timon quoted in Bakan). In this context it becomes clear that association with the Olympics is being used to the advantage of Coca-Cola, where challenges under its auspices may be regarded as straight-forward commercial opportunism that promotes the company in ways that would be otherwise unavailable including normally protected groups, such as children. The insights from this analysis suggested three topics related to Coca-Cola's sponsorship of the Olympics—spirit, ethos, and principles. Discussion of how these topics contributed to the successful sponsorship of the Games facilitated conclusions to be drawn about the corporate capture of childhood and suggests possibilities for critical myth-busting.

1. The Olympic 'Spirit' Promoting Shared Values

The Olympic Games are unrivalled by other major sporting events in respect of an underpinning philosophy, a globally inclusive ethos, a strong set of values and an all-encompassing positive spirit. The Olympic Movement is based on fundamental principles that shape and define the goals of Olympism. Unlike any other global cultural event, the Olympics are organised and promoted as positive, unifying, life affirming and potentially world changing in its aims and, of course, its rhetoric. Across the world, people have grown up with key principles that remind us of the spirit of the Games.

The first Olympic principle is the philosophy of balancing 'body, will, and

mind' (International Olympic Committee, 2010, p. 44) and the benefits of sport in 'the service of the harmonious development of man, with a view to encouraging the establishment of a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity' (ibid). Intrinsically connected to this is the fundamental principle of respect for human rights, 'friendship, solidarity and fair play...and freedom from discrimination of any kind' (ibid). Important also, especially from the point of view of this article, is the ideal that sport, culture and education are blended for the common good and the 'educational value of good example' (ibid).

If ultimately the Games *are* a 'commercial event' and the role of the International Olympic Committee is to ensure 'the priority of sport in a commercial environment' (International Olympic Committee, 2010, p. 10), then sponsor's products should not 'conflict with or be inappropriate to its mission of the spirit of Olympism (ibid, p. 45).

2. *Coca-Cola and the Olympic Ethos*

As the Coca-Cola Company has become synonymous with major sporting events, it is perhaps not surprising that its partnership with the Olympic Games is the longest continuous relationship as an Olympic sponsor. In effect, this connects to the consumption of soft drinks and market capture:

Coca-Cola refreshes Olympic athletes, officials and spectators with its beverages during the Olympic Games. (Olympic.org, 2010)

Very few brands have the lasting power of appeal and recognition that Coca-Cola enjoys throughout the world and the Olympics is the ideal place to showcase that power...it offers more than 400 brands and more than 2,600 beverage products in more than 200 countries...' (Seeking Alpha, 2008)

But partnership also brings capacity to build the company's positive association with the Olympic values:

The optimism and spirit of hope of the games matches the refreshment of our brand exactly. (Ted Ryan, Archives Collection Manager for Coca-Cola quoted in *The Independent*, 2008)

As an organisation, the Coca-Cola Company shares the Olympic Values which embody the discovery of ones abilities, the spirit of competition, the pursuit of excellence, a sense of fair play and the building of a better and more peaceful world. (Coca-Cola Company, 2009)

[Coca-Cola] has developed a strong tradition of creating programmes and events to bring the spirit of the Games to consumers in Olympic host cities and around the world. (Olympic.org, 2010)

These examples show how the Olympics present a unique opportunity to develop an economically and culturally valuable reputation. Thus, it should come as little surprise that the partnership between Coca-Cola and the Olympic Games

was extended in 2005 until 2020, taking it to an unprecedented and unmatched level. Indeed despite shifts away from this by other global brands, support was unequivocal p. ‘Coke has not in the least reconsidered its Olympic sponsorship’ (Coca-Cola’s Director of Worldwide Sports and Entertainment Marketing quoted by Balfour and Jana, 2008).

Yet, closer inspection of Coca-Cola’s reasons for supporting the games and embracing the Olympic spirit helps to illustrate what is really sought from sponsorship, even when it appears to promote shared values:

...We support the Games for numerous reasons, primarily because we share the values that, in addition to the vision of a better and more peaceful world, encourage the discovery of ones abilities and promote the spirit of competition, the pursuit of excellence and a sense of fair play...Beyond creating *sheer economic impact from our marketing investments* in the Games, we have steadily worked hand in hand with the Olympic Family to enhance the mission of the Olympic Movement and its reach to an ever-growing audience. (Coca-Cola Canada, 2010, emphasis added)

This citation shows that the driver in seeking profit is not hidden but remains well camouflaged among the rhetoric of shared values. Thus, consideration of sponsorship highlights a possible rational and the ideological drivers that underpin Coca-Cola’s motivation to become an Olympic partner.

3. The Principles of Coca-Cola’s Olympic Sponsorship: The best Advertising Money Can Buy?

Given that it is not unusual for companies like Coca-Cola to openly seek to tie products into a set of values that it promotes, this intrinsically connects what it sells to the Olympic ideal. It is not difficult to find the motives underpinning sponsorship in company rhetoric p. it is about positive association and improving market position through ubiquity and pervasiveness. And yet sponsorship is regulated and seemingly based on the ethical principles that are promoted as underpinning the whole Olympic Movement. At face value there are strict sponsorship regulations that seek:

To ensure that no advertising or other commercial message in or near the Olympic venues is visible to the Olympic Games venue spectators or to the Olympic Games broadcast audience. No advertising or commercial messages are permitted in the Olympic stadia, on the person of venue spectators, or on the uniforms of the Olympic athletes, coaches, officials, or judges (International Olympic Committee, 2011, p. 45)

Yet sponsorship does allow for open connections between the iconography of the Olympic Movement and globally-recognised brands. This delivers a commercial impact, not least in respect of product proliferation and the pervasiveness of corporate symbolism. So, in theory, sponsorship is expected to enhance experience ‘and provide the youth of the world with opportunities to experience the Olympic

ideals at the global and local levels' (International Olympic Committee, 2011, p. 10). Such rhetoric tends to underplay central processes of marketing and creation of brand loyalty as a means of bringing economic impact from investments. It is not clear how these impacts are monitored. Yet, it is also suggested:

Sponsorship support contributes to the success of the educational, environmental, cultural and youth-oriented initiatives of the Olympic Movement...Sponsors develop advertising and promotional activities that help to promote the Olympic ideals, heighten public awareness of the Olympic Games and increase support for the Olympic athletes. (International Olympic Committee 2011 p. 10)

Companies like Coca-Cola accrue benefits in using athletes and national sports teams, as brand 'ambassadors' who are obliged to promote products. This often involves justifying particular consumption routines that they link to prowess:

It's going to be a busy two years for me, but obviously the main focus is going to be London 2012, so I'm just really focusing on getting ready and performing and improving year upon year and [Coca-Cola brand] Powerade will play a big factor in that. During a session I don't like to drink a big litre bottle of water. I like to get some liquid into me but also some carbohydrate, so Powerade is a nice amount of liquid that I can sip at during the session and it makes a big difference. (GB Athlete, Jessica Ennis, quoted in *Coca-Cola Enterprises*, 2010a)

In this sense, both brand and ethos are well served, despite strict controls on 'using' Olympic connections that are seemingly enshrined in the ethos of sponsorship. Yet, clear market imperatives that cannot be ignored. The 'corporation is granted the rights to specific Olympic intellectual property and Olympic marketing opportunities in exchange for financial support and goods and services contributions' (International Olympic Committee, 2011, p. 10) and this is fully exploited:

Each level of sponsorship entitles companies to different marketing rights in various regions, category exclusivity and the use of designated Olympic images and marks. (International Olympic Committee, 2012)

The main way that sponsorship is controlled is through the lucrative 'TOP' worldwide sponsorship programme which in the period 2005 to 2008 provided a revenue of US\$866,000,000 compared with US\$279,000,000 in the years 1993 to 1996 (International Olympic Committee 2010 p. 6). Since 1985, this programme has fostered 'long term corporate partnerships...[granting]...exclusive global rights on services and products in specific categories' (International Olympic Committee 2011 p. 45). It is designed 'to maximize support for the Games through the minimum number of partnerships and sponsorship programmes are controlled "to ensure that partnerships are compatible with the Olympic ideals' (ibid). Ostensibly this means TOP sponsors have the privilege of ensuring their products are not only solely available but are also the only ones *visible* in and around the Games.

Although this may seem largely unproblematic it is important to recognise the

level of control that this allows sponsors to exercise in respect of competitor brands. Again, Coca-Cola provides a clear demonstration of how seriously this exclusive provision and brand protection is taken. In 2009, a struggle between the London Committee and Coke began when it became clear that the former sought a super-market partner and opened negotiations with Marks and Spencer and Sainsbury about setting up a Games supermarket. There was reported resistance to this by Coca-Cola who feared it 'might jeopardise its own publicity efforts' (banmoco.co.uk, 2009).

This level of control and protectionism is built in to sponsorship principles p. 'the Olympic Family works to preserve the value of Olympic properties and to protect the exclusive rights of Olympic sponsors' (International Olympic Committee 2011 p. 10). Feasibly this means a bottle of Pepsi could be confiscated and its possessor ejected from Olympic events. Whilst this might seem an extreme example, evidence suggests this principle is being rigorously enforced. For example, in the 2010 FIFA World Cup Finals a group of 'Orange Girls' wearing dresses sporting the logo of *Bavaria Beer* at a first round game between Holland and Denmark drew a hail of publicity when they were ejected from the stadium and later charged with 'carrying out an unlawful marketing ploy' (*Daily Mail*, 2010). Budweiser was the official sponsor and their rights were being enforced.

To an extent these examples challenge the notion that having only a few sponsors strikes a balance and limits the commercialisation of the Games through minimising branding. Alternatively, we suggest this allows for the proliferation of certain global brands like Coca-Cola. Crucial then, whilst it is claimed that sponsorship arrangements are designed 'to prohibit the uncontrolled commercialisation of the Olympic Games' (International Olympic Committee, 2011, p. 10), controlled commercialism is clearly acceptable even if this means resorting to criminal proceedings. Importantly, our evidence suggests that corporations like Coca-Cola see a clear, if subtler, role for schools in such processes.

Partnerships and Profit—Coca-Cola's Successful Sponsorship

Interestingly, some sponsors ended their association with the Olympics after the Beijing Games in 2008. Whereas Beijing had presented an attractive opportunity to access emerging lucrative Chinese markets especially in the face of Chinese state restrictions imposed on advertisers and marketers which meant that official sponsorship was the only method through which to create brand awareness and develop corporate identity (*iStockanalysis.com*, 2009), London, on the other hand, is a mature market. In the context of brand proliferation and pervasiveness, it is understandable therefore why sponsor companies are 'walking away' (Balfour & Janna, 2008). Yet, Coca-Cola strongly defended its financial support for the Olympics stating 'we believe and they believe in a mutually beneficial association' (Coca-Cola Chief Executive quoted in *SportsBusiness.com*, 2010). This suggested a need to

examine the nature of benefits and association inherent in corporate sponsorship in relation to the principles and values of partnership.

The longevity of Coca-Cola's association/partnership with the Olympics is important and its judgement to continue as a sponsor has proven valuable to company success. Neither the economic crisis of the 1930s nor post war austerity saw Coke's interest wane and even the effect of sugar rationing (or indeed because of it), during the 1948 'Austerity Games' in London, did not dampen Coke's sponsorship efforts:

...partly brought about by the company's shrewd decision to stick with the Olympics throughout the Great Depression and the Second World War, on the assumption that the best way to market itself globally would be to sponsor a global competition. (*The Independent*, 2008)

Thus, the company can argue a positive impact through its historical role as a socially responsible corporate actor across much of the twentieth century. However, it can also be argued that Coca-Cola depended on its earlier Olympic sponsorship to grow the carbonated soft drinks market as it continues to do, to-day. We can see evidence of this in Coca-Cola's rhetoric (in this case around the creation of a commemorative glass bottle):

With such a heritage [of sponsorship] its wonderful that Rankin has created such a powerful and iconic image on the iconic Coca-Cola glass bottle which symbolises the spirit, excitement and anticipation of the 2012 Games. (Coke Marketing Director, Cathryn Sleight cited by Coca-Cola Great Britain 2008, emphasis added)

Nevertheless, as alluded to throughout, sponsorship is not simply about symbolism and positive historical reputation. It is about improving the 'bottom line', sometimes in the face of reverse trends. For example, at the same time as US markets have fallen, sales in Canada, where Coke was sponsoring the Winter Olympics in Vancouver, grew (*SportsBusiness.com*, 2010). In terms of growth, the post-Beijing experience demonstrates further success, where 'unit case volume was up by 29% in the last quarter of 2008 and five million more bottles of Coca-Cola daily were supplied to Olympic venues in Beijing than in Athens in 2004' (*iStockAnalyst*, 2009). Indeed, it has been reported that China has become one of Coca-Cola's largest and fastest growing markets (*Seeking Alpha*, 2008) and whilst consumer spending on soft drinks in China has more than doubled since 2001, and is still comparatively low (*iStockAnalyst*, 2009), it is eventually expected to surpass the US market.

Important too is that sponsorship of large scale international events helps also with the global 'reach' that is suggested as crucial to corporate growth (Sklair, 2001) and the promotion of positive messages. For example, in the lead up to 2012, the company's explicit sponsorship of the Olympic Torch Relay, over 70 days in May, June and July included national and local daily exposure associated with this event described by former head of marketing for the IOC as, 'the single most sought after marketing opportunity' (Payne, as cited in Bloomberg, 2015). This additional sponsorship shows the pervasive nature of Coca-Cola's involvement and suggests

wider, market-driven imperatives. For example, in discussing this element of the company's Olympic sponsorship, the Managing Director of Coca-Cola Enterprises, Simon Baldry was unequivocal:

We're focused on building long term category plans with our customers to grow soft drink sales in Great Britain. We know that our sponsorship for London 2012 will energise this work. Adding the London 2012 Olympic Torch Relay will accelerate this, and enable us to connect CCE's trade partners with our worldwide Olympic sponsorship at a local community level in the build-up to the 2012 games. (quoted in Coca-Cola Enterprises Ltd., 2010b)

Similarly, the 2010 World Cup exemplified the ability to develop reach through sponsorship whereby Coke sponsored the tour of the Trophy in the run-up to the finals in June 2010 (*FLEXNEWS*, 2009). This resulted in a tour of the whole continent rather than just the host country, South Africa, which was similar to a Coca-Cola-sponsored continental tour in 2002, when the finals were held in Japan and South Korea. Interesting in this regard is that 54% of the world's teenagers and 47% of the world's population are in Eurasia and Africa although soft drink consumption is *below average* (ibid).

It is questionable therefore whether this sort of approach fully adheres to the principle that sponsors should not 'conflict with or be inappropriate to its mission of the spirit of Olympism (International Olympic Committee 2010 p. 45) and the promotion of universal human rights. Clearly this serves to demonstrate how the rhetoric of sponsorship may not necessarily be matched in reality.

Loyalty building and brand recognition are crucial and commercial prerogatives at the heart of corporate sponsorship which in turn illustrates an absence of altruism and challenges the notion of philanthropic endeavour. This is important in schools contexts, where the exclusive use of the Olympics' distinctive symbolism and insignia are intrinsically embedded in processes that create a 'layering' of recognition, acceptance, loyalty and, indeed, in terms of encouragement and celebration of global corporate brands. Of all those brands, and of the 'TOP' Olympic Sponsors, Coca-Cola is furthest advanced in its activities but is only one example of many corporate sponsors/games partners.

Sponsorship and association with a credible global event creates new opportunities to negotiate through any negativity and to swim with the tide of public opinion. Thus, the case of the Olympic Games helps to illustrate how adeptly Coke adapts to changing world context. London 2012 provided a useful illustration of the necessity of sponsorship and helps to create understanding of dual processes that were contradictory in promoting a positive ethos and valorising companies alongside the promotion of self-interest and profit.

The London Games in 1948 were depicted, in the context of post-war rationing and economic hardship, as the 'Austerity Games'. London 2012 was portrayed as the 'Regeneration Games,' where the clearance of formerly derelict sites and the

progression of a massive building programme transformed the urban landscape. The Stratford area, where most of Olympic Park was situated, demonstrates the sort of legacy of infrastructure development and long term opportunities for part of East London that had neglected through the building of the Millennium Dome on the other side of the Thames. The creation of 2800 new dwellings, a new water park, new sporting venues and improved rail network plus 100 acres of land for development (UK Government, 2012) on previously polluted and low-grade industrial land has brought new life into a run-down area of London.

The Olympics were suggested as the motivation to ‘finally get a grip on this opportunity’ to regenerate a blighted area of East London (UK Government, 2012). Yet, the leader of neighbouring area, Waltham Forest, which also hosted Olympic events has suggested the Olympic Park Legacy Company faced challenges in respect of crime figures, poverty and deprivation, mortality and morbidity in order to demonstrate lasting benefits for the community in the long term, as an illustration of success (Waltham Forest, 2010). It is in respect of such a legacy that the Games are justified in terms of cost to the public purse in the face of criticisms related to Government spending of over £9 billion on the Games. This was compared to the £3.9 billion that it estimates it would cost to eradicate child poverty (Barnardo’s cited in BBC News 2007).

Clearly then, there are positive public benefits associated with hosting the Olympics. Yet, the notion of legacy has become crucial in balancing these benefits with state funded spending and the controlled access of corporate sponsors to specific events, such as the Olympic Torch Relay. As with Glasgow, in its hosting of the Commonwealth Games in 2014, the long-term beneficial significance in terms of spatial regeneration and cultural transformation may not become apparent for at least 20 years.

Although outwith the scope of this article, more research and increased dialogue is needed in order to understand the change processes that underpin this idea of legacy in relation to the Games as a catalyst for community regeneration. Most overtly sold as bringing a positive impact, the creation of new infrastructures, housing and such, leads to displacement of people through process of gentrification that can be interpreted as either urban renewal or social cleansing of poor neighbourhoods. This overtly positive message overrides any suggestion of critique. As processes of sponsor-valorisation, allow for the hagiography of sponsor-corporations that might be otherwise unavailable, gratitude for financial support of athletes, local organising committees and the Olympic movement generally can, and does, mitigate any alternative reading of what is happening. Sponsors, like Coca-Cola, have the future of the Games, their success and the long term legacy in their hands.

Three years on from London 2012, the altruistic question of sponsor/partner involvement and legacy remains problematic for Rio 2016, where concerns about crime, pollution and utilities underpin commentary that suggests, ‘the “Olympic Legacy” in Rio has been criticized for serving mostly the interests of the private

sector and the wealthy' (Kaiser, 2015). Further, Coke continues in its TOP partner role and is lead sponsor in the torch relay alongside Nissan and Bradesco. Sponsoring the torch relay for the 11th time, the Vice-President of Coke in Brazil suggests, 'It allows us to stretch time because we bring the Olympic Games prior actually to the games themselves' (Camelier, 2015) to show the importance of this pre-event event!

It is perhaps unsurprising that official criticisms of such corporations are muted or non-existent. This may also explain why the activity of sponsors in schools in relation to the Olympics is not fully scrutinised and in some cases celebrated. Our research raises questions about such activity for example in considering the extent to which they are driven more by sponsors than any real embrace of the Olympic 'ideal.'

Conclusions

We have shown that corporate sponsorship of the Olympic Games ensures access to children and young people for sponsors and, as the longest serving Olympic partner, Coca-Cola is adept at taking advantage of this. Overall, Coca-Cola's effort to be perceived as a responsible citizen through corporate social responsibility activity masks the 'naked' pursuit of profit, by aligning this iconic brand with the Olympic ethos. This was evident in respect of Coke's enterprise activity in schools. It is suggested that this is either not recognised by the State and Olympic Bodies or ignored because this type of partnership is crucial to the Games sustainability within current neoliberal frames. To challenge it would contradict the notion of corporate altruism. Yet we assert a need to remain alert to the subtle and novel ways that corporate interests are promoted in the context of a (if not *the*) global event.

Further analyses of the Olympic Games, in 2012 and beyond, or in similar sporting arenas, needs to explore how sponsorship becomes embedded in a set of values that appears to help legitimise the activities of multi-national corporations. The reliance on companies as event partners makes their activities difficult to critique. Yet, these seemingly innocuous processes should be rigorously examined, not least in respect of their underlying ideological premises. On the one hand, it is clear that since the early 20th Century at least, sponsorship has been a key feature of the Games, thus, it is possible to argue that without some altruism on behalf of global corporations the Olympic Games would not exist. On the other hand, it is important to recognise that this kind of sponsorship is not value free, and it facilitates important marketing opportunities and the development of factors like 'top of mind recall' and the exercising of control market competitors.

This kind of partnership/sponsorship glorifies a particular world-view in working with children in schools and across communities that may act against their long-term interests and contradicts ideologies that underpin a social and democratic purpose for health and well-being, equality and indeed, the stated Olympic ethos. There remains a question of whether validating the TOP Partner brand brings an impact

on the Olympic 'brand' itself as both sustainable and vulnerable. Our purpose in writing this article is to ensure that such questions are asked about the nature and contours of business engagement with schools in the context of Olympic sponsorship.

The Olympics create scope for companies like Coca-Cola to demonstrate their social responsibility credentials in ways that would otherwise be unavailable and unthinkable. In taking a critical position, we do not intend to place an embargo on all sponsorship of the Games or other major events. Nor do we suggest that Coca Cola's motives are any different from other corporate partners/sponsors. Instead, we seek to make clear the ideological and market driven purpose of such sponsorship, in order to raise consciousness to the struggle against corporate cultural invasion (Freire, 1996). We suggest that by reducing the myth making effects of branding as the ultimate prize, we can reclaim a focus on the Olympics' potential for creating the possibility of democratic gold.

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“I Just Love Kids . . . Is That a Problem?” Desire, Suspicion, and Other Good Reasons Men Don’t Choose Early Childhood Education

Thomas Crisp & James R. King

Abstract

This essay is a critical response to the ubiquitous call for “more men in elementary education.” The need for more male teachers in elementary grades classrooms is based on a belief that resides uneasily within a tight fist of related wisdom, contradictory understandings, and buried prejudices. The persistent call to teach occludes the culture’s systematic rejection of men for the same job. In order to better understand the value/rejection associated with the mixed message, we examine several perspectives that may influence men in their decisions to reject the call to teach young students. One framework is that of desire or want of teaching and teachers. Another perspective is teaching in early grades construed as gendered women’s work, policed by sexist and pedophilic bullying. In contrast, we offer cultural pedophilia, or child-loving practices that are recovered from popular culture. Women’s desire is examined for ways it is instantiated into desexualized, everyday teaching practice, and the constitutive knot of mothering and early teaching is loosened. Finally, we offer the obverse, “the sexy teacher,” not as a palliative, but as the necessary, logical counterpoint for a mirrored image of what we theorize are the everyday psychological transactions in acts of teaching. We suggest a re-visioning of whom we desire as our children’s teachers.

Introduction

“We need more men in elementary education.” Many involved in the field of education have encountered this declarative statement of need. Scholarly and pedagogical publications, as well as the popular press, lament the absence of males in

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elementary grades settings. Rich (2014), a national education reporter for the *New York Times*, is among the latest to address the lack of men in the teaching profession. Her reporting rehashes what have become prototypical responses to the question (to quote the article’s headline), “Why Don’t More Men Go Into Teaching?” (n.p.). The answers, according to Rich and others before her, are embedded in issues of pay, prestige, and privilege. In a review of research on the subject, Snyder (2008) similarly concludes, “low status and pay deter males from entering education,” as does the stereotype that teaching is “women’s work” (n.p.). Concerns about the lack of males in the teaching profession are supported by data: according to the latest *Current Population Survey* (conducted annually by the U.S. Department of Labor’s Bureau of Labor Statistics), men account for only 2.8% of preschool and kindergarten teachers and 19.1% of elementary and middle school teachers (2015, n.p.). Rich similarly reports that across kindergarten through twelfth grade, more than three-quarters of American teachers are women and in elementary and middle schools, women comprise more than 80% of teachers in the United States. The clear imbalance in representation of men in early grades settings provides a rationale for the statement of need that opens this essay.

Teaching, however, is a profession laden with ironies and contradictions. Teaching itself, for example, has been construed as a variable profession with niches of expertise (early education, adult education, content education). Because teaching is an activity with many different instantiations, presumably, there is something for everyone. At the same time, teaching has been conversely characterized as a limitless, occupational sponge, able to absorb students defaulting from college majors assumed to be more demanding (hence the patronizing adage that, “those who can’t do, teach”). Conversations about the need for male teachers, too, seem to be paradoxical: while issues related to pay and prestige likely inform men’s decisions not to be elementary teachers, the on-going, repetitive circulation of these reasons/solutions embeds them within collective consciousness as “common sense,” increasingly shutting out the possibility of alternative explanations.

Clearly, the “shortage of men” conundrum is one that has no right or wrong sides; our purpose in writing this essay is not to propose any definitive answers or solutions. Instead, we hope to add complexity to these ongoing debates by examining the issue through an alternative lens. We posit that, because it remains largely unexamined and has evaded critical scrutiny, the notion that “we need more men in elementary education” has become an axiom that circulates endlessly, simultaneously relying upon and reifying rote responses that do not engage with the deeper, sedimented notions of gender, teaching, childhood, and sexuality that are imbricated in decisions not to teach at the elementary level. After all, despite consistent proclamations of desire for men, situating a male body in the role of an early grades teacher simultaneously raises alarm: what kind of man wants to teach young children? Ultimately, the desire for more male teachers in early childhood education is closely coupled with anxieties about male presence in such classrooms.

This paradox (one of many) in early grades teaching, based upon both desire and suspicion, frames the arguments in this paper.

Of course, these arguments are not new. In the 1980s, Seifert (1988a, 1988b) critically examined the call for men in early childhood education. At that time, as remains the case today, he found ambiguity and duplicity in the call. When examined critically, declarations like “we need more men in elementary education” result in ambiguity: while one might presume that these men are needed as teachers, the work to be performed is not specified. Duplicity, for Seifert, is found in the subtle but persistent direction of men away from early childhood education. While women are accepted as inevitable teachers, a man’s decision to teach in the early grades is likely to be interrogated. We wish to examine and analyse the underlying tropes of this conflation of desire and anxiety: why the thought of men teaching in the early grades axiomatically rankles those who consider it, and how we can better understand the desires that subtend the acts of teaching, the care for young children, and the social construction of acts of care as synecdoche for teaching.

In undertaking this project, we invoke and rely upon what Spivak (1993/2009) calls, “strategic essentialism,” the temporary deployment of positivist essentialism as a means of achieving specific political goals. As an example of strategic essentialism in action, one may position themselves in an argument as a “feminist,” while at the same time acknowledging that this particular instantiation of feminism is not intended to represent the whole person using the stance, nor all feminists; rather, it is an identity deployed provisionally and temporarily to achieve a specific goal or accomplish a specific task. While the person taking on the position of “feminist” may view gender as socially constructed and performative, it may be productive (for the sake of understanding) to assume an essentialist position on gender and identity and argue as if each were immutable things. In order to uncover and expose the cultural anxieties around men as elementary school teachers, we purposely (and strategically) deploy binary constructions of both gender and sexual identities throughout our interrogation. Drawing upon “fixed,” often stereotyped, identities and utilizing them as “real” and distinct categories is a strategy that allows us to accomplish specific, political work. We want to be clear that our arguments are not about actual teachers who may or may not match our descriptions; our analyses are of the cultural beliefs that situate possible roles for early grades teachers. Strategic essentialism also allows us, two self-identified males, to write into a space of what is arguably “women’s work,” using a feminist-aligned perspective to argue for men’s rights to work in this same space.

Male Early Education Teachers and the Fantasy of Desires

Before interrogating some of the factors we believe may undergird men’s decisions not to teach in early grades settings, the *intent to teach* itself deserves expansive attention. A first distinction that must be made is the difference between

others' desires for men *as* teachers, and some men's inherent desire to *be* teachers. The former, the desire of others for men as teachers, is a wish to fill a lack: that there are few men in elementary education is the lack, and securing the men is the goal that satisfies the lack (hence, the call for men in elementary education). But Žižek (1992, 2006) makes Lacan's point that, while counterintuitive, the real purpose of a drive (a lack) is *not* achieving its goal, or satisfaction. Pleasure is derived in having a drive, desire, or goal, so the ultimate aim is not resolution, but is instead simply *to be*. A fantasy provides the coordinates of the subject's desire, establishing—not wish-fulfillment—but rather an instantiation of the desire, a scene in which the desire can manifest. Anxiety, in contrast, occurs when the object of desire is lacking. More specifically, anxiety is caused not by the lack of the object, but the lack of the desire that made the notion of the object possible.

Within this reasoning, the wish for more men in early education is a drive, a pleasurable and possibly productive fantasy. Building upon Lacan's theorizing, the wish is for the *idea* of men in educational contexts, but not to see them in the classroom next door. After all, if Mr. Smith shows up in the first grade room next door, a number of questions are likely to become important and bothersome: do we want him to be like his colleagues (a nurturing, comforting, “soft” male who can utilize women's ways of teaching)? In this guise, we may be comfortable teaching next door to a nurturing teacher, but will we also want to witness in a male teacher the behavioral manifestations of nurturing (e.g., caressing children)? Perhaps, then, we would prefer the teacher next door to be a sub-in for fathers missing from the home front, a man who can lift heavy boxes on the school site and discipline difficult boys. While we may be comfortable with having a male next door who can do the heavy lifting for us, is such a person a suitable colleague, or someone who can spend endless days with young children? Any “surplus pleasure” prompted by these questions, and subsequently experienced when the wish for men is fulfilled, cannot adequately compensate for the loss of pleasure that was provided by the fantasy of desire itself. Ultimately, then, it seems that wishing for men is better than actually getting them. How can this be so? We examine the weight carried by this wish later in the paper.

But first, we must address the separate desire carried by men who wish they could be teachers, those who inherently want to be elementary grades teachers. This desire, too, creates a fantasy life (this time for the potential teacher) that, in some cases, may be actualized. As in the previous example, when the desire to become an elementary teacher is fulfilled, it may not live up to the fantasy. When wish-fulfillment occurs, men report ambivalently about their experiences as teachers in the elementary grades. After interviewing several males who were primary grades teachers, King (1997) concluded that work experience is just that (a real effort to fit in). Despite the myth that males do not pursue careers as elementary teachers because they are not nurturing or patient, research shows that male teachers often do embody these traits and practices (see, e.g., Seifert, 1988b; Hansen & Mulholland,

2005). In King's (1997) research, many men characterized themselves as teaching in "women's ways," though they were often dismissive of their female colleagues' enactments—even when these were skills the male teachers claimed to have mastered better than their female colleagues. The irony (and hubris) in the previous statement is noticeable, and these men may be seen as "winning" a contest that only they know about. In contrast, other men who participated in early elementary teaching culture viewed themselves as "lone wolves," solitary and individualistic. Even still, these men claimed that their teaching was far superior to that of their female colleagues. Ultimately, men's fantasies about teaching may supersede their enactments, their own estimations to the contrary. That said, understanding the sources of our differences in teaching may assist all of us in meeting the task with some wisdom and reserve.

In contrast to gendered contests about "who is better at what," Reskin's (1991) research pragmatically suggests that the very inclusion of men in female workspaces, such as elementary teaching or nursing, raises both the prestige for and the salary of the work (see, also, Padavic & Reskin, 2002). Rich (2014) agrees, writing,

Across the country, teaching is an overwhelmingly female profession...Jobs dominated by women pay less on average than those with higher proportions of men, and studies have shown that these careers tend to enjoy less prestige as well...despite inroads that women have made entering previously male-dominated fields, there has not been a corresponding flow of men into teaching and nursing. (n.p.)

Because we view increases in both prestige and salary for teachers as positive outcomes, we must look elsewhere and look differently for the sources of anxieties that plague suggestions about staffing primary classrooms with men. If it is not the ability of males to be nurturing and patient or the potential impact (higher pay and prestige) of male presence on the profession that prevents males from becoming early childhood teachers, then what is it? We argue that, in contrast to the ubiquitous, yet unexamined call for men in elementary education, few have actually argued on behalf of men and their rights to be teachers of young children. More importantly, even fewer have questioned the fit of women in their "natural" role as teachers in the early grades. For us, this is the problematic "elephant in the room" that has evaded critical scrutiny; it is a complex fist of problems that merits deconstruction.

Moral Panic, the Pedagogy of Love, and Teaching as "Women's Work"

The historical construction of early childhood education as "women's work" has been documented extensively in academic scholarship (e.g., Hoffman, 2003; Tyack & Hasnot, 1982). Weems (1999) summarizes this research, explaining how Pestalozzi's notion of "the pedagogy of love" (Gutek, 1968) and Catherine Beecher's metaphor of "republican motherhood" were appropriated by Horace Mann and

utilized—quite successfully—to argue his perspective that women were uniquely suited to assume the position of teacher (Weems, 1999, pp. 27-38). The legacy of Mann’s belief dictated that the purpose of early childhood education was to mould and support the fragile moral development of the Innocent Child, a social construction of the Victorian era. This assumed innocence of children continues to function as an underlying social construction and political lever (Kincaid, 1994) and the Innocent Child remains a supposition which undergirds assumptions about the profession of early childhood education, necessitating a particular kind of teacher-as-mother in role.

Although conversations about the place of males (and, by extension, the place of females who do not adhere to the role of “mother”) in elementary education are possible in an era of postfeminist inquiry and influence from constructs for identity, such as positioning theory (van Langenhove and Harré, 1999), Weems argues that educational contexts continue to be policed, with “contemporary witch-hunts to rid schools of ‘perverts’ by either firing or forcing to resign those who fall outside the bounds of hetero-normativity” (p. 32). To Weems’s binaries of boundary policing, we would add: “mother/non-mother.” Weems argues that, as a result of efforts to “protect” innocent children,

Male elementary-education teachers (regardless of their sexual orientation and marital status) particularly feel the effects of moral panic. Many are presumed to be gay, given the hetero-normative assumption that gender deviance equals homosexuality. By historical definition, attributes of elementary educators include gentleness, nurturing, and a strong penchant for order. These characteristics, considered markers of femininity and women’s ‘true nature,’ make male primary educators suspect as good role models. (p. 33)

The paradox in Weems’ binary is that men who exhibit the very qualities valorized by early childhood professionals (gentleness, nurturance, and order) are disqualified from being teachers because these attributes also signify “queer” when deployed by men.

Or, is it instead the case that “the gays” have been suppressed into duty as placeholders for men’s deployment of these otherwise admirable qualities? That is, by their association with “tainted personages,” the value of the virtue is also tainted. Underlying the bullying here is a cultural need to keep homosexuality an undesirable state, and the strategy to do so is misogyny. The inherent “value” in being perceived as homosexual must be kept at a minimum so that accusations of being gay continue to have their intended illocutionary effect: shaming, shaping, and controlling the behavior of all men. In this way, accusations of being gay are an effective control mechanism for the management of (presumably) heterosexual males, specifically delimiting males as inappropriate for teaching young children. In the U.S., calling someone “gay” is usually predicated on behaviors construed as “feminine,” “what girls like,” or “anything pink.” Misogyny is used as a negative threat to keep all men in line, where “in line” is used as synecdoche for patriarchal

cultural mores. And yet, we reiterate, these are supposedly the very competencies desired for early grade teachers.¹ Weems (1999) concluded her examination of the historical precedents that continue to inform beliefs that teaching young children is “women’s work” with a call to action: “Defining the work of elementary education as a project of morality has led to the vigilant regulation of sexuality in elementary-educational contexts. It is time to redefine the project” (p. 34). It is that project we hope here to advance.

Mother-Teacher, Teacher-Learner: Containers of Irrationality and the Return of Difference

In contrast to descriptive or feminist-inspired criticisms of teaching as “women’s work” was a mid-twentieth century groundswell against women’s monopoly in elementary teaching. This resistance stemmed from a pro-male backlash to women’s “feminizing” of teaching and what were characterized as women’s deleterious effects on young males, a social, and perhaps non-intellectual, movement that occurred largely in the United States in the 1970s and currently manifests, unabated, in the UK and other countries. Sexist devaluing of women’s work is a timeless strategy. Smith (1973), for example, argued that young boys were harmed by an exclusively female environment, a refrain repeated by Rich (2014), who wrote, “some educators say boys, who tend to struggle in school more than girls, could use more male role models, or simply people who understand them, in the classroom” (n.p.). Likewise, Sugg (1978) coined the term “mother/teacher” to highlight the convergence of these two roles; from his masculinist perspective, it is a marriage Sugg regrets. Given the time of his complaint (the 1970s being somewhat of a watershed for misogynistic critiques of elementary education practice), it is not surprising that Sugg was first “alarmed” at the feminization of education and then found educational staffing by women to be wanting. His claim is based on a nostalgic look back to a time in education when “male role models” dispensed knowledge and disciplined behavior, “losses” Sugg longs to replace. To us, Sugg’s claims appear sexist and based on static notions of expected, gendered behavior (Butler’s [1997] “gendex” construct). But, what is lacking in Sugg’s critique is a critical examination of his claim for the isomorphic nature of mothering and early grades teaching, a topic we now examine, not with hopes of evacuating women, but instead understanding what it is both women and men might productively do (and avoid doing) when intending to teach young children.

Are You My Mother?—Woman-Mother-Teacher and the Trouble with Caring

The role of mother as synecdoche for woman is one that has been critiqued by feminists for decades. Chodorow (1989) delineated what she viewed as a duality: the simultaneous blame toward and idealization of mothers. The density and stability of this paradox led Chodorow to suggest that, “Blame and idealization have become

our cultural ideology” (p. 90). But how can such a stalemate have an impact on the act of teaching, where teachers generally do not work with their own children? The metaphor for early grades teaching as mothering (the moulding, shaping, and nurturing as children enter schooling) requires projective identification between what mothers do and what teachers do for children. In one model, the common denominator is care (see, e.g., Noddings, 2003, 2005).

While we would argue strongly that teachers often do care about and for the children in their classrooms, we believe that care in and of itself is an insufficient exchange for teaching. At the very least, teaching also involves teachers’ knowledge of content subjects. Further, the construct of care is yet another unexamined cultural holding that begs for critique (see, e.g., Matias & Zembylas, 2014; Tronto, 1993; King, 1997). We agree with Chodorow that the (blame/idealization) dichotomy that leads infants to a rage response may also lead students to similar anger and simultaneously requires teachers (like mothers) to suppress their own anger. It is because we cannot surpass idealization and engage differently that theories about mothering (and teaching) ultimately lead to stalemates. In fact, we remain trapped in the dominant cultural theorizing that centers on the idealization of mothers, which “rest[s] on fantasies and unexamined notions of child development” (Chodorow, 1989, p. 90). Culturally sedimented notions of the developing child and the nurturing mother may say more about *our* needs for children than describe the development of individual children. Early grades teaching may be one place where providing developmental contexts for young children may be interrogated in systematic ways, ways that studies of mothering have been unable to disintegrate. Mothering may resist interrogation because of the intimacy between mothers and their infants, whereas teaching may offer us opportunities to examine the fantasies of mothering, one step removed. Interrogating such underlying notions, however, is complex.

Intending to teach from a stance of difference from child-centering might be a subtly different psychological task for females and males. For example, choosing to focus on science content (say, photosynthesis) de-centers the developing child from the teacher’s focus. The psychological process of differentiation, which results in the recognition of difference (for teachers and others), begins with the internalization by the infant of the primary caretaker’s role (as other) and the caretaking itself (as somatic experience). While the care-giving can provide the infant pleasure, the source of the pleasure (mother) is soon experienced by the infant as “not me.” Butler (1997) theorizes that, as the lost mother is never really let go, mourning is an inappropriate metaphor; rather, it is melancholia, or a registering of the missing part that is still in some ways present. Eventually, the present/no-longer-present mother is internalized. But the internalization process may be differentiated for boys and girls, so the earliest attitudes toward mothering emerge in the earliest differentiation of self. Psychoanalytic theorizing provides a way of understanding the emergence of difference by examining the separateness, differentiation, and the theorized perception of that constructed difference by the infant. Yet, female

infants confront the emergence of difference with some sense of reserve. First, there is the nascent notion that the female infant is like her mother. This sameness is fuelled by the mother's construction of the female infant as "like her." This likeness constitutes an early, pre-verbal, somatic sense of primary oneness with the mother. It is the oneness with mother that transforms into oneness as mother that both enriches and complicates teaching decisions. These musings suggest for Butler (1997) that identity and eventually care-giving, may emerge as conflictual for males. A boy child must learn his gender identity as being not-female, not-mother. Therefore, what it is to be male is not female, not feminine. Masculinity is constructed in opposition to being female (clearly, this reasoning is part of the misogynistic bullying we described earlier). Therefore, "self" for males is "not-mother." Masculinity is fashioned and policed by what it is not: being a woman. To some extent, these constructed, gender-based identity positions also determine how we each appreciate, value, and use knowledge as projective instantiations of that early difference. It is true, however, that both sexes, female and male, must establish individuation in relation to the mother. But, because the mother is also female, separation is different for females and males, and therefore influences daily decisions having to do with teaching focus.

Child-Centered Pedagogy and the Teaching Transaction

One way to examine what teachers "do" is by re-imagining acts of pedagogy from the perspectives of psychoanalysis, a project aptly initiated by Felman (1997), who characterizes Freud as a teacher to posit that he is a capable teacher because he is a capable learner. Further exploiting the reversal, she adds,

What is unique about Freud's position as a student—as a learner—is that he learns from, or puts in the position of his teacher, the least authoritative sources of information that can be imagined: that he knows how to derive a teaching, or a lesson, from the very unreliable—the very *non-authority*-of literature, of dreams, of patients...a knowledge that does not know what it knows, and is thus *not in possession of itself*. (p. 37, *emphasis in original*)

Teaching understood as authority's investment in unreliable knowledge is not unlike the learner-centered pedagogy that was a hallmark of early childhood education, or at least in the rhetoric about it.² At least nostalgically, an early grades "centering on the child" would be consistent with Felman's characterization of Freud's learning/teaching methods, and also consistent with "women's ways of teaching" (Weiler, 1988). In this account of the psychological exchanges in everyday teaching, learning from the other is a surprise based on a return of difference (Felman, 1997). Todd (1997), also referencing a return of difference from students, suggests that, through classroom interactions based on teachers' desires to learn from the students, difference is observed and located within the students. Teachers re-present that constructed difference, a discursive creation, back to the students in order

to teach about difference. We encounter, in both Todd (1997) and Felman's (1997) characterizations, some psychological underpinnings of what it might be like for an early childhood teacher to “center on children”: teachers become the students of their young pupils and the phrase “child study” takes on a new substance, a data-based reality. We wonder how interacting with anticipated difference might be understood to occur for male teachers with, perhaps, different sets of gendered behaviors.

But even if the teacher manages to organize herself in a way that actually puts students at the center of the educational enterprise, it may not be good for either participant—the teacher or the child. For teachers to expect a return of difference in response to their instruction, their question, their personage as a teacher, is in fact to re-enact the separation of being a mother. In her critique of a child-centered teaching environment, Walkerdine (1990) suggested that female teachers identify strongly with their students, highlighting, in particular, early grades teaching where the adult female shunts her own desires in order to make way for the emerging child. Walkerdine views such an intent as irrational and, in her view, female teachers of young children become the “containers of irrationality” (p. 54). The outcome, according to Walkerdine's feminist perspective, is that teachers harbor resentment resulting from their deferred, more self-centered desires, resentment that is ultimately projected back onto students in some disciplinary, commodified form. We agree with Walkerdine's critique of teachers' shunting of personal desire, and suggest that it may be the very closeness to their students that causes teachers' introjected dissatisfaction to be borne by their students, and essentially prevents these teachers from being more effective for their young pupils.

In contrast, teachers' recognition that their students are not part of the teacher seems a minimal aptitude for creating independent learners. Consider the act of mothering from the perspective of the developing infant: historically, caregivers (mothers) productively mirror for the infant in order to facilitate the infant's sense of self. So, false mirroring that secures the infant's attention for the acknowledgement and benefit of the narcissistic parent also fails to establish independence and an adequate sense of self for the infant. Guessing what is in mom's (or, by extension, the teacher's) head is a trap. The infant, who is successful at supplying mother with her desired self-validating attention, becomes the student who can provide the teacher with her prescribed answer. “Love” is transacted via accuracy, thus screening teachers' and students' latent hostilities.

For both of the authors, based on years of teaching, interaction with primary grade children seems initiated and organized by our agendas as teachers. Rather than a return of difference, asking a question of first graders is predicated on an expectation that the answer will confirm something the teacher already knows. This is clearly a patriarchal exchange: a knowing teacher's question; a student's obsequious response; a teacher's self-gratified, even libidinous, response to students, who are then positioned as sending their “love” via answers the teachers already knows. Here, pedagogy constructs love-relationships based on accuracy (a token) from the

teacher's perspective, and the student's ability to infer what the teacher wanted. We suggest that the preceding is a common, even every-minute occurrence in pedagogy and that fantasies about "the child" are more about the teachers' own desires and needs for confirmation and love than about their pedagogical practices. This seems to us a transaction that must at some point be paid for by students and teachers at some personal costs.

Ultimately, teaching is not mothering, and mirroring may not produce the independence desired in the social settings of school. Whereas a non-mirroring (say, a narcissistic) mother may not provide needed child development contexts, a teacher's narcissistic attachment to knowledge as object, may propel learning in students who anticipate the experts' ways of doing science, literature, art, and mathematics. Expertise and apprenticeship may be more productive motivators for learning than mirroring. Since fathers allow for greater independence and engage with their children in more open verbal interactions than mothers and men are presumed to understand difference in ways that promote individualism and expertise (Cox et al., 1992; Krampe & Fairweather, 1993), it seems likely that they may also be productive teachers of young children.

Therefore, we suggest that "teaching like a mother" may not be the best way to support a young person's development of independence, of separateness, and of individuation. We also realize that actual teachers, both female and male, may or may not teach in these ways. We suggest, like Walkerdine (1990), that popular notions and values held in the culture value females reproducing motherhood and consequently influencing the development of children. This comes to us as an uncomfortable realization... we are seemingly squarely in a community with those like Sugg (1978) and Smith (1973), asking: What kind of man should be teaching children, and what demons do we call down when we invoke masculinity as a cure for what ails primary education?

Mirroring Desire: Interrogating the Pleasures of Teaching Children

One outcome from a self-sacrificing teacher is the virtual silence surrounding teachers' potential for desire. After all, if the teacher is fantasized as a selfless conduit for the "emerging child," there is little reason to consider what she may want. Watkins (2008) goes so far as to mention that desire is "demonized in relation to teachers" (p. 113), but in arguing *for* desire, she remarks that teaching desire is "immanently woven into the practitioners' relationship with their students... This is particularly the case in the elementary school teacher, who is in close contact with up to 30 students, five days a week for a period of a year" (p. 114). In situating her perspective, Watkins points out that teaching desire is necessarily for the Other, but is careful to reference McWilliam's circumlocution of subjection by referencing "a desire for the Other's *achievement* and the resultant pleasure that ensues for both

teacher and student” (p. 115, *emphasis added*). From this standpoint, Watkins argues against previous uses of psychoanalytic theory to understand teaching desire (cf., Felman, 1997), stating, “these theorizations do not go far enough in conceptualizing the pedagogic relationship between desire and the body and its subject formation” (Watkins, 2008, p. 118).

We argue the obverse: psychoanalytic accounts of pedagogic desire have been subverted by tangential issues (such as Watkins’ attempts to explain teaching desire through habitus and monism), and not sufficiently examined as inter-intra-psychic constructs. In fact, to some extent, Watkins may agree: in what appears to contradict her own thesis, she writes, “the notion of desire pursued here stresses that [discourse and representation] must not be conflated with the materiality and performativity of the body” (2008, p. 119). And then, on the subsequent page, she offers a reiteration of the point: “Desire, therefore, is not simply spoken into existence; it has a corporeal basis derived from an individual’s ongoing affective engagement with the world” (p. 120). To which we would add, “. . .and mediated by its psychic representation.”

In discussing others’ work on the nexus of learning to write, learning to teach, and teaching/learning desire, Watkins quotes Jones: “Via perfect writing, I desired to deliver perfect mind to my teacher. The predictable and painstakingly even shape of my words signalled my willingness to conform, to be controlled which pleased my teachers” (Jones, 2000, p. 53). But Watkins denies Jones of her own interpretation: “Jones’s willingness to please here is an act of conformity but not, as she seems to suggest, a form of subjugation. . . Desire for the Other, in this case, the teacher, while possessing the potential to be abusive, as in any unequal power relationship, is what motivated Jones to succeed” (p. 119-120). One can disagree when and where desire/subjugation, love/abuse delimit each other, but our point in this convoluted citation matrix is to show that Watkins solidly makes our point on the validity of studying desire as it is manifested in the everyday teaching practices of everyday teachers. It is important to understand what contributes to the underlying desire that operates through teaching.

Cultural Pedophilia and Children as the Containers of Adult Desire

So, where does all this theory building leave us? What does it allow for? In this section, we issue a forthright interrogation of situations that result from our theorizing. We return to the question of who shows up when we issue the call for more men in early education. Often, at least in the mind of popular culture, men who desire to teach young children are axiomatically pedophilic. If the claim is to have men in elementary and early childhood classrooms, doing so requires inviting in “The (Potential) Pedophile.” So, in addition to males who devalue women’s early education work in sexist ways, we are also including men who are, at least rhetorically, positioned as pedophilic by their very desire to teach (be with) young children.

Snyder (2008), for example, acknowledges that the lack of men in elementary

teaching may be linked to “possible fears of lawsuits around accusations of sexual abuse of children” (n.p.). Elsewhere, King (1997) has made the point that men who choose early grades teaching carry this supposition with them. His informant, Van, reported on his internalized sense of being monitored for pedophilia, noting, “I think that there will always be a fear that any man on staff is there only for one reason, and that is to get at some kid. (...) It’s not going to change. It’s part of the job” (p. 77). Van is resigned to the monitoring, but the impact is greater than the self-monitoring he must maintain. As he states:

I have to be rather insensitive to these kids. I don’t like to be, but I could lose my job. Say, I was spending extra time with a little girl who just lost her father, whether through divorce or death, I could actually help her through a tough time by being a father figure. But others [adults] might say “Why is he spending so much time with that little girl?” (p. 79)

Since *any* sex act is inadmissible in any classroom, teachers’ sexual desire should not be intersected with their teaching of students of any age (child or adult); sexual behavior, non-educational sexual discourses, and even sexual innuendo are all inappropriate in educational contexts. As such, performing acceptable instantiations of “heterosexual identity” and enduring the speculation and inspection of everybody in order to “pass” as non-pedophilic are every day, job-related expectations. These tests may be as simple as playing with balls or using “locker room” banter, as long as, by displaying these attributes, the male disavows any sexual positioning. It stands to reason, then, that teachers with pedophilic desire should not be precluded for that fact alone. Suggesting that a pedophilic teacher cannot control himself in a classroom is like saying a heterosexual male plumber cannot control himself while fixing a pipe at a sorority house.

Rather than determining who is or is not pedophilic, here, we cut the cloth differently by instead addressing the ubiquitous notion that male teachers of young children are, until proven otherwise, automatically suspect for pedophilia. As opposed to excoriating the individual pedophile (an act and personage that remain illegal), we seek to examine what value the (constructed) pedophile holds in hopes of exposing the pedophilic practices treasured in contemporary culture. Arguing on the side of extant pedophilic cultural practices is delicate work; in essence, this is the work of re-viewing the obvious. Scholars like Mohr (2004) have undertaken this endeavour through efforts to recover the pedophilia embedded in everyday life, including (for example) advertisements and anti-drug campaigns. Arguing that the Victorian era construction of an ‘innocent’ and ‘pure’ childhood is undercut regularly in media and popular culture, Mohr (2004) concludes that, “today’s hysteria springs mainly from adults’ fear of themselves, but this fear issues from their half recognition that to admit explicitly, as pornography does, that children are sexy would mean that virtually everyone is a pedophile” (p. 28-29). Higonnet (1998) similarly confronts discourses about pedophilia and child pornography through

her critical exploration of photographs of children. Higonnet’s study interrogates the work of numerous photographers, including Anne Belle Geddes, who gained celebrity status with her photographs of children dressed not only as angels and butterflies, but also as vegetables, flowers, and other flora and fauna. Her subjects are often nude, their bottoms exposed or their genitalia carefully concealed by a leaf, pedal, or other prop, where concealment enhances the value of the occluded. Geddes’s books have been translated into 25 different languages and published in 83 countries, selling more than 19 million copies (Geddes, 2012a). Perhaps more than any other photographer, Geddes has created an empire based almost exclusively upon the exploitation of children’s bodies: in addition to selling more than 14.5 million calendars across 55 countries, Geddes’s images can be purchased on a range of products (such as postage stamps, gift cards, and even an “Anne Geddes Visa Platinum Rewards Card” featuring one of four Geddes images—two of which are images of children). Fans can also download five different Anne Geddes apps for Apple’s iPhone, iTouch, and iPad, including “Anne Geddes Marvels,” an “exciting new matching card game” that allows users to “[v]iew Anne’s work in a new and engaging way as you unlock galleries and slideshows *that allow you to zoom and explore image detail like never before*” (Geddes, 2012b, *emphasis added*). As Higonnet concluded, “If Geddes’s enormous popularity is any indication, we—a buying public—enjoy the tension between knowing and not-knowing, between believing and denying the visual conventions of childhood” (p. 82).

Analogous to Geddes’ exploitation of infant bodies, child-star worship regularly sexualizes underage adolescents with teen magazine details of their “dating” exploits. Kincaid (1998) makes a careful, critical study of ways that popular culture trades in the sexualization of youth, those children we wish we could “freeze in time.” Building on the work of Kincaid, Weldy and Crisp (2012) write,

Pop-culture figures like Taylor Lautner and Miley Cyrus are admired as attractive children, and their being on the cusp of maturity serves as an intensifier of their attractiveness as forbidden sexual objects. But once these figures mature, their cultural attraction in this context fades and viewers transition to new, fresher (meaning younger) signifiers to mark as simultaneously adorably innocent and erotic. (p. 370)

As evidence, one need only look at the upset and commotion that resulted when Miley Cyrus transitioned from more “feminine-as-innocent” and child-like locks that flowed past her shoulders to a much shorter, more “adult” haircut. While one may initially think a young star’s haircut would be ultimately inconsequential, the resulting fervour further underscores the cultural investment placed upon these idealized children on the cusp of adulthood. As a second, more explicit example, Pipedream Products modelled their “Finally Mylie Love Doll” after Miley Cyrus and commemorated Justin Bieber’s “coming-of-age” with the release of its “Just-In Beaver” blow-up doll, a sex toy that almost immediately sold out. The existence of products such as these, not to mention their sales numbers, seem to validate the

sexualization of children by adults. In September 2015, Neil Patrick Harris offered more overt confirmation by revealing that singer Nick Jonas is his “celebrity crush.” Harris stated,

He was really good-looking even before it was allowed to think he was good-looking, which was a bit of a problem. You kind of had to wait until he turned to be—you know, [laughs nervously] 19 to 20, and then you were like “What is happening??” (Williams, 2015, n.p.)

The point of the preceding discussion is to demonstrate that pedophilia and sexualizing children are cultural phenomena that recursively use children’s bodies as sites that contain adult sexual desire. The objectification and exploitation of children’s bodies are justified and rationalized by the “fact” (what is, actually, a culturally constructed belief created by adults and bestowed upon children) that children are innocent and pure. Therefore, we like to claim, so too is our admiration of (and pleasure derived from) their bodies. So powerful are the guilt and anxieties surrounding the sexiness of children (or, minimally—should we presume that children are, in actuality, pure and innocent—the myriad of ways in which children are sexualized by adults), that we feel compelled to deny its existence while attempting to demarcate the “difference between a healthy and normal love of children and a love which is sick and freakish” (Kincaid, 1998, p. 3). In the face of guilt, constructing the figure of “The Pedophile” provides a mechanism for both exciting (promoting) and policing (denying) our collective behavior. The Pedophile allows us to assume the position of “concerned citizens” and identify (and righteously reject) specific forms of child-loving and pedophilia as abhorrent; we allow ourselves to “disown [these narratives] while welcoming them in the back door” (Kincaid, 1998, p. 6).

Invoking Spectres, Policing Boundaries

More to the point of our current examination of men in elementary education, accusations of pedophilia are likely to be trotted out when workspace, gender conformity, or other liminal boundaries are thought to need patrolling. In our case, it is the spectre of the Pedophile invoked through the invasion by males of what has come to be women’s spaces. The invocation of the Pedophile to police the boundaries of early childhood has had a remarkably effective run in dissuading men from participation. In early grades teaching, since the beginning of the twentieth century, women in the U.S. have had almost exclusive claim on this occupational niche. From our perspective, the uniform de-sexualizing practices of early childhood educators may suggest other, deeper knowledge operating within the system. It is often observed that primary teachers, like idealized mothers, wear “sensible shoes and shapeless dresses” (we can already hear the response: “You try sitting on the floor all day with kids!”), but the regularity of clothing choices is akin to an unspoken, voluntary acceptance of de-sexualizing uniforms, a vow of chastity, a vow of fashion vacuity.

As further evidence, we offer the counter-example of the “T.I.L.F.” (the “Teacher I’d Like to Fuck”). Derived from the colloquial acronym, “M.I.L.F.” (the “Mom I’d Like to Fuck”), the T.I.L.F. is a stereotype constructed as the “sexy” teacher who disregards unwritten demands for de-sexualized uniforms, wearing, perhaps, more make-up than a teacher “should,” a pair of spike high heels, and form-fitting, shape-flattering clothing (our essentialized characterization noted). Invariably, the T.I.L.F. is distrusted, more likely spurned by her (heterosexual-identified) female colleagues and administrators, as she simply “just doesn’t fit in” with the rest of the group. In actuality, “just doesn’t fit in” is code for the fact that the T.I.L.F. has the recognized potential to serve as an object of admiration to queer-identified male colleagues and administrators, a sex object for heterosexual-identified male colleagues and administrators, and an object of desire for the children.

The preceding are obviously additional binary constructions, stereotypical teacher tropes (the school marm and the T.I.L.F.) we offer as a means of problematizing the unexamined assumptions undergirding calls for increased numbers of male teachers in elementary classrooms. These figures allow us to consider what underlying pleasures are occluded in cloaking the teacher’s body. Why is the exchange of (false) purity so important to this enterprise? Recall that even in the middle of the twentieth century, females in the U.S. who taught were required to be single, and were told regularly what they could (not) do out of schools and after school hours. Even after married women in the U.S. were “allowed” to teach, they could not do so when pregnant. To return one more time to the figure of the T.I.L.F., we argue that her rebuff is even more insidious than we suggested previously: ultimately, she is spurned because she threatens to expose what everyone else is doing; those sweaters, aprons, and seasonal broaches operate as costumes that conceal the bodily attachments to their desires. Teachers are supposed to be de-sexualized; if you decouple the body from the desire, it is not sexual (but point-in-fact, it is) (cf., McWilliam, 1997).

The relationship-to-difference described previously may position men to be in a unique position to provide care, while simultaneously keeping a distance borne of their difference from mother. Inviting men into this educational nunnery, however, would upset further the libidinal economy that denies women’s sexuality and uses the surplus pleasure for the hard, underpaid work of educating children into the culture. The “masculinity” of male “sub-in-for-fathers” teachers serves to project an aura of unquestioned heterosexuality. In some ways, he, like the T.I.L.F., doesn’t “fit in” with the others. While detrimental to the T.I.L.F., the male “sub-in-for-fathers” teacher may remain a figure desirable to female colleagues and administrators: he completes the heteronormative mother-teacher/father-teacher relationship, strengthening further the pseudo-parent/child bond that helps obscure the subaltern desires within early childhood education. Ironically, it is this presumed heterosexuality that may also be the “sub-in-for-fathers” male’s downfall: ultimately, he, like the T.I.L.F., threatens to expose the pedophilia permeating the teaching of young

children; eventually, he, like all men in early education, will be asked, “What kind of heterosexual male wants to spend that much time with children?”

Perhaps, then, the “soft” male utilizing women’s ways of teaching and “caring” for children is the male figure “we need” in elementary classrooms. The “femininity” of the “soft” male teacher may initially make him a desirable figure to female teachers and administrators: nurturing and caring, he is a safe figure in this environment because he fits in and is “one of us;” he is “one of the girls.” While the “masculinity” of “sub-in-for-fathers’ male teachers establishes a presumption of heterosexuality, the “femininity” of the “soft” male teacher carries automatically a presumption of queerness. Ironically, just as “masculinity” is a male teacher’s undoing, “femininity” operates similarly for “soft” male teachers. Beliefs that queer-identified males are pedophiles persist and the “soft” male teacher would too easily bring unwanted attention, yet another threat to the carefully-fashioned facade that elementary schools are “safe” environments for children.

Concluding Comments

A few directives are in order to understand the complexity of the related arguments we present. First, we are not providing an apology for actual pedophilia. Rather, we examine the construction of the phantasm of ubiquitous pedophilic desire that we recovered from everyday cultural practices, both within and outside of classrooms. Second, we are not mounting an attack against women or, specifically, against women teachers. Rather, we suggest that it is productive to examine the desire structure, the construction of “fantasy students,” and teachers’ psychological use of these students as part of their everyday teaching, a recommendation potentially productive for all teachers (Felman, 1997). Third, in utilizing strategic essentialism, these formulations are not based on actual teachers, actual genders, or actual students; we are, in fact, distanced from the very categories upon which we rely to make our arguments. The real target here is, of course, the use of relationships between these constructed categories within the act of teaching, how the teacher understands her/his self as a teacher, and how that identity is suffused in the discursive acts that comprise daily teaching. Our focus on early grades teachers who happen to be disproportionately female is the consequence of the culture’s comfort with equating teaching with mothering, an analogy we hope to have problematized. Our motivation for writing this essay was to call attention to the ways in which teachers invest their desire and identities into their acts of teaching.

Kelly (1997/2013) argues, “students identify with the teacher as the locus of desire and take on as their own the desires of the teacher” and suggests that this pedagogical version of transference and counter-transference is particularly dangerous for women “whose position in the social order is constituted negatively and against the odds of attaining control over the processes of signification” (p. 134). In contrast, we have suggested repeatedly that the professional and social context of

early grades education purposefully reverses the gender polarity of these dynamics and places prospective male teachers in a position “constituted negatively.” It is by examining the psychological subtexts of this teaching that we might operate differently for the benefit of all parties involved.

Notes

¹ Others have also commented on the specific contributions of females as teachers. Luttrell (1996) has made the case that literacy (a mainstay of elementary curriculum) is often construed as “women’s work.” Addressing the clean-up done by literacy educators of under-prepared college students, she observed that this “*developmental* education” is “scutwork” performed almost exclusively by women. Furthermore, the title of the discipline “developmental education” is a catch-all for remedial intervention in post-secondary classrooms that obliquely references early childhood efforts in child development, all of which act to form a metaphor for adult education that is like early childhood, presumably because of the inadequacies of the learner, and the heroic intervention by caring teachers. Likewise, Nias (1989) documented the prevalence and preference for women in British “primary” grades (equivalent to U.S. elementary), making the case that teachers of children enact several roles while tending to their young students, but claiming that these selfless teachers also maintained a “substantial self” that held their core beliefs about kids, teaching, and the call to service. While Nias was descriptive in her accounts, Luttrell intended her attribution (and critique) point to be the devaluing of the work *because* women do it.

² Our use of *was* here is a necessary qualifier, given the more recent “academic” push down and concomitant accountability into the early grades.

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Two Latina Teachers Culture, Success, Higher Education

Laureen Fregeau & Robert Leier

Abstract

This phenomenological case study focuses on an examination of Latina immigrants' perspectives on their graduate-level teacher education experiences and their motivation to succeed in higher education. Two core theories; critical consciousness and resilience and seven domains; social class, immigrant status, gender, ethnicity, education, religion/spirituality, and political issues emerged from semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Critical consciousness and resiliency developed in response to childhood poverty, sexism, and racism, and may be the foundation of their commitment to higher education.

Introduction

When the two Latina immigrants participating in this study began their graduate work at a southern comprehensive university's college of education they were in for a surprise: the less-than-enthusiastic attitudes of their American classmates toward graduate school and their jobs as teachers. These Latinas, who took advantage of every available educational opportunity, questioned why their classmates had such negative attitudes toward education. The authors noted the dichotomy between the attitudes of the two Latina immigrants and their American classmates. Also noted was how the attitudes of the two Latinas contradicted pervasive stereotypes concerning Latinos and education. Recognizing that these Peruvian women viewed education very differently than many of the American students in our classes, we sought to understand their attitudes about education through an examination of their lives and experiences.

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Research on Latinos and education typically focuses on their lack of success compared to Euro-American students or on how to improve the success rates of “at-risk” Latino students (Gándara, 2005; Fairbrother, 2008; Marietta, 2010). The authors undertook this study to better understand why these women were so very positive and enthusiastic about education and their teaching careers. Thus, the authors of this study look at successful immigrant Latina graduate students and examine their perspectives on their higher education experiences in the United States, as well as the life experiences and related attitudes that shape these perspectives. These perspectives are contrasted to the pervasive stereotypes that Latinos do not value education as do Euro-Americans.

Part of our motivation to do this research was to contribute to debunking the myths that support a negative attitude toward Latino students and parents in schools. Our more than thirty years of experience working with Latino populations in the United States and overseas, as well as teaching teachers, informed us that public and teacher attitudes toward Latino people, especially Latino immigrants, was typically based on limited interaction. That attitude, as expressed in our classes and in local school systems, can be summarized as ‘Latino immigrants are lazy, poorly educated, don’t want to learn English, a challenge to teach... a problem.’

Literature Review and Background

Years of informal discussions with teacher education graduate students and practicing classroom teachers indicate to the authors that American teachers have mixed attitudes towards teacher education and graduate teacher education programs. The “buzz” among our graduate students has been that graduate classes are too much work for teachers who are working full time, have families and other obligations and for whom getting an advanced certificate is the only route to a salary raise. In class journals and course evaluations our graduate students often complained about the amount of work assigned and the level of reading and writing required in graduate courses. Teachers in the field advise our preservice teachers that they will not learn how to be a teacher in preservice college classes; the “real” learning will be in student teaching and in on-the-job experience. Undergraduate field experience course end-of-year focus groups conducted by the authors (1996-2005) also revealed K-12 classroom teachers’s informal suggestion that college teacher training classes are of limited value. This pervasive negative attitude toward higher education is what our study participants found strikingly common among their American classmates.

One of the participants in this study often declared:

Why are these American teachers always complaining about their graduate classes?
They’re easy! They don’t know how good they have things here. They don’t know how lucky they are. They’re lazy.

The American public, including many American teachers, hold negative and stereotyped perspectives shaped by the media about Latinos, including recent immigrant students and their academic abilities (Reyes, 2003, Chavez, 2013). Numerous studies document this phenomenon. Chavez (2013) reported what many perceive as “the Latino Threat”: a set of commonly held negative misconceptions about Latino immigrants and citizens that have translated into harsh anti-immigration laws. Misconceptions include Latinos refusing to learn English and integrate in American culture. Reyes (2003) found that teachers have negative conceptions of Latinos which included the lack of discipline, the lack of commitment to learning, and the ability to keep others from learning. Valencia and Black (2002) extensively documented (and then debunked) the myth that Mexican Americans devalue education, exploring the various historical iterations of deficit theory which lead to low academic expectations for Latino students. Ference and Bell (2002) and Gonzalez and Ayala-Alcantar (2008) reported that their preservice teacher education students held negative attitudes about Latinos including that “students and families with Spanish accents are inferior,” that Latino parents do not want their children to learn English (Gonzalez & Ayala-Alcantar, pg. 7), and that Latino students “learn poorly or not at all in schools” (Ference & Bell, pg. 6). In a comparison of teacher perceptions of Latino and European American academic competence, Edl, Jones, and Estell (2008) found that teachers rated Latino students in bilingual classrooms as less academically competent than their European American peers. Sox (2009), in a synthesis of research on immigrants and ELLs in the South, found that Latino immigrants were unwelcome and unwanted in schools, and discriminated against by school personnel. The Latino Coalition of Hillsboro County (2000) found that high Latino drop-out rates were influenced by (among other things) poor teacher-student relationships and cultural barriers. Plata, Masten, and Trusty (1999) ascertained that Anglo teachers viewed Anglo students as superior to Latino students. Research on Latinos and education typically focuses on deficit models, often on how to improve the success rate of “at-risk” Latino students; however, there is significant research that contradicts these negative stereotypes and assumptions.

Contradicting negative perceptions and stereotypes is research that demonstrates success among Latino immigrant students (Ceballo, 2004; Escamilla, Chavez, & Vigil, 2005; Fuligni, 2001; Gonzalez & Ayala-Alcantar, 2008); Orellana, Ek, & Hernandez, 2000; Savitt, 1984; Tinkler, 2002; Valencia & Black, 2002). Tinkler (2002) discovered that Latino culture has high respect for teachers and education. Ceballo (2004) found that Latino parents provide significant support for their children’s education. Orellana, Ek, and Hernandez (2000) found that Latino parents want their children to speak English. Escamilla, Chavez, and Vigil (2005) found that Latino immigrant students performed close to the achievement levels of English speaking American students. Valencia and Black found significant evidence that Latinos value education, including their struggle for educational equity in the U.S. and transgenerational evidence of parent involvement. Savitt (1984) reported that

over a ten-year period her Latina students “continue their successes, often outstripping the Hispanic male in what may be called energy and ambition” (p.1). Her Latina students were also “women who juggle full-time work, full-time families and full-time studies” but are “unwilling to undermine their familial relationships and will not compromise on their educational or personal goals” (p. 1). Savitt found that the persistence of her students in their educational goals, saying “school is a socially and morally respectable outlet for Hispanic girls” (p. 1). Since Latina women have fewer culturally acceptable options than males, they are more focused on their educational goals. “In fact, the tight controls over her social behavior have propelled her to achievement in very socially acceptable arenas” (Savitt 1984, p. 1). Resilience can also be a significant factor in the success of marginalized groups, including women, cultural minorities, people living in poverty, and immigrants (Arellano, Padilla, 1996; Chavkin & Gonzalez, 2000; Waxman, Gray, & Padron, 2003). Resilient individuals from marginalized populations are more likely to succeed in formal education than their non-resilient counterparts (Werner & Smith, 1992, 2001; Madera, 2009).

Resiliency Theory explains in part how members of marginalized or oppressed groups succeed in life despite their social position. It discusses three major variables:

risk factors, which are stressful situations and chronic adversity that hinder children’s successful development; protective factors, which are variables such as family support, a relationship with community or mentors and a strong sense of self that outweigh risk factors; and resiliency, the attributes of which are social competence, problem-solving skills, autonomy, and a sense of purpose. (Gonzales, 2003, p. 4)

Yosso (2005) reported that Latinas develop resiliency in the form of skills to “maneuver through social institutions... not created with Communities of Color in mind” (p. 80), abilities to resist subordination “through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality” (p. 81), and attitudes and dispositions that allow aspirations of hope for the future in the face of oppression (p. 79).

Definition of Terms

Critical Consciousness, as defined by Freire, is an awareness and deep understanding of the social and political contradictions in the world that characterize the oppression of disenfranchised groups of people, especially the poor, and particularly as they apply to oneself. Praxis, the reflexive process of conscientization (becoming critically conscious) is to think, to reflect, and to act. Critical consciousness positions the oppressed to take action against that which oppresses them (Freire, 1972, 1998, 2005).

Machismo, an aspect of *masculine hegemony* (Gutmann, 2002) has varying definitions depending on the social class, gender, education level, race and membership in subordinate or dominant social groups of the definer (Soong, 1999,

Gutmann, 2002). The traditional definition from the *Dictionary of Mexican Cultural Code Words* (De Mente, 1996) is summarized as “a sexist patriarchy with a standard repertoire of churlish behaviors (.e.g. public drunkenness, violence, debauchery and wife beating)” (Soong, 1999). Higher social class Latino males define machismo as when a man “supports and protects his family in the face of all odds, who disciplines his children to be upright, honest and hardworking,” while lower classes define machismo more negatively (Soong, 1999). Latinas are more likely to view themselves as having roles outside the home and less subjugated to males than males view women (Soong, 1999), though the roles of Latino men and their views of masculinity and machismo are changing in recent years (Gutmann, 2002). The two Latina women in this study used the term machismo in the former, traditional and more negative perspective.

Quechua refers to an indigenous group of the Andean region, including Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru and the language spoken by this indigenous group. Quechua was the official language of the *Tawantinsuyu*, the Incan Empire at the time of the Spanish invasion in the 1530's (Heggarty, 2006).

The *Shining Path* (*Sendero Luminoso [SL]*) calls itself The Communist Party of Peru (*el Partido Comunista del Perú [PCP]*), a Maoist communist movement, and views itself as leader of the world's “pure” communist movement (The Communist Party of Perú, 1998). The Peruvian and United States governments define it as an insurgent left-wing terrorist organization (U. S. Department of State, 2004; U.S. Department of State, 2006). According to Lauer (2009), although the organization was focused on ideological agendas in the 1980s, it evolved to where 50% of its activities became narco-trafficking in the 2000's.

Latinas vs. Latinos vs. Latin American Immigrants: For the purposes of this study, Latin American Immigrants are defined as a subgroup of Latinos; the study focuses on two Latinas who are recent immigrants from Peru, South America; however, there are gender issues in the data so both sexes are included in the discussion, thus the use of “Latinos.”

Method

The authors combine Grounded Theory (Glaser, 1967, 1998) and phenomenology (Groenewald, 2004; Moustakas, 1994) in a qualitative case study approach to explore the perspectives of two Peruvian Latinas concerning their success in higher education. Simply put, phenomenology illuminates a phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it. Using data from separate interviews with two Latina immigrant women, as well as informal discussions, class discussions, and participant produced documents, we compare and describe the experiences that are the foundation of their motivation for success and challenge normative assumptions found in American education concerning Latino attitudes toward education. Semi-structured in-depth interviews (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) were conducted in a

conversational framework, recorded and reviewed, then coded. The participants had no access to each other's responses. Although the researchers are fluent in Spanish, *at the request of the participants* the interviews were conducted in English. Spanish was used for clarification in instances when the participants did not know the English vocabulary necessary to accurately explain their experiences or when there was no literal translation for a concept (as in the term "Chola").

An interview question set was initially developed addressing their personal background, school experiences in Peru and in the U.S. (particularly the graduate program in which we were teaching), general attitudes toward education, their motivation to excel, and their perceptions of their American classmates and co-worker teachers. The data from the initial semi-structured interviews, informal discussions, written reflections (from class assignments), and class discussions were then coded and compared to identify emerging theory. Emergent domains (categories, themes) were used to formulate follow-up clarification questions. These questions addressed the participants' attitudes toward higher education, the development of educational attitudes and perceptions, and the reasons for their success in higher education including more specific comparisons between higher education experiences in Peru and in the U.S., specifics on the barriers to academic success they faced (particularly the language barrier as they were Ells), and their attitudes towards teacher education. Follow-up questions were asked when necessary to clarify and amplify points and to search for additional domains (categories, themes). Interviews were coded and emergent categories/domains/themes compared to those from the previously collected and coded data and to search for evidence which could disconfirm the emerging theory.

Participants

The focus of this case study is on two participants, both Latina immigrants. The selection of these participants was serendipitous as the phenomenon we sought to explore was brought to our attention through encounters with these individuals. We assigned pseudonyms (Marita and Justinia) to protect their privacy. We have also changed some personal descriptive information to insure their anonymity. The participants were both graduate students in teacher education programs at a southern regional university at the time of the study. Both have attended education courses offered by the authors. It is important to note that even though the two participants were in the same teacher education program they were never in the same class, nor did they know one another. Both participants are mothers and teach Spanish in local schools, one full time at a private religious-based school and the other part time at three different public elementary schools. The participants inspired this investigation because of their outstanding performances in the graduate classes and the perceptive questions they would pose concerning attitudes of fellow American graduate students. The participants were classified as outstanding because they read required materials, were prepared for class discussion, would submit assignments ahead of time with double the required work, excel on class projects leaving class-

mates in awe and then inquire what else they could do to supplement and improve their learning and performance. After class, the participants would approach the researchers with questions regarding the lack of preparation, work ethic, and class engagement of their classmates.

Findings

According to Miles and Huberman (1994) qualitative data are more likely to lead to serendipitous findings and new ways of integrating information that the researchers uncover beyond their initial concepts and frameworks. This research was indeed serendipitous from its initial conception to its findings.

Two core theories, critical consciousness and Resilience Theory and seven domains (categories) emerged from the data. We report the data in the emergent categories (Glaser, 1967) or domains (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) of social class, immigrant status, gender, ethnicity, education, religion/spirituality, and political issues and follow with an analysis of the domains (categories) in terms of the core emergent theories.

Results are reported in the voices of the participants with corrections only for grammatical errors which would impede meaning. Information in the participants' voices is in quotation marks. Information summarized for brevity and not in the participants' voices is not in quotation marks. Categories are often interrelated and issues overlap, as do Gender and Education or Religion and Ethnicity.

Social Class

Participants expressed that social class factors such as class roles and overwhelming poverty motivated them to work hard to their lives and the lives of others.

Marita: "I grew up in a traditional professional, middle class Latino family where the boys were expected to go onto college and have a career and the girls stay home and take care of the family. Coming from a country where poverty is everywhere makes you want to do something about it. I could have ignored the poverty but could not have lived with myself if I did."

Justinia: "I grew up in poverty. Look at me in this picture: when I was five years old, my mother dressed me in donated clothes. My shoes were several sizes too big and I had no socks. I carry this picture with me to remind myself what life once was like."

Immigration Status

Participants did not have the security of citizenship. There was always a fear that all one has worked for could be taken away at any moment. Working hard and doing one's best might avoid the possibility of deportation back to Peru. This was more of an issue for Marita than Justinia as long as Justinia remained married.

Marita: "I immigrated six years ago when my estranged husband threatened

me with two choices: come to the United States or never see my daughter again. I work hard to make opportunities for my two children. I am here on a student visa. I am trying to get residency so I can get a green card and a regular job, but I need a job to get residency. My husband and daughter are residents.”

Justinia: “I am a resident and my husband is a U.S. citizen that I met in Central America. I came to the United States five years ago on a fiancé visa. I was previously married to a German man and have a son with him. I am glad that I live in the U.S. I do go to Ecuador frequently on mission trips.”

Gender

Gender roles are quite specific in the participants’ culture and country of origin. The possibility for women to go on to higher education and professional careers is limited.

Marita: “I resent Catholicism. The Catholic religion favors men. Women have to work harder and have fewer opportunities. They have very specific gender roles that are subordinate to men. Both the Spanish and the Catholicism are responsible for the gender discrimination in my culture.” Marita credits strong women role models in her life for her motivations. “I admired the strength of my Inca grandmother who cooked everyday for 70 years without ever having educational opportunities beyond the kitchen.”

Justinia: “Girls are mentally prepared to be housewives. Boys have a different future. Men are expected to be providers. They can be doctors, but then kill themselves to get ahead. Doctors earn \$15 for treating a patient.”

Ethnicity (Latino and Quechua)

Though participants referred to themselves as Latina, they placed great importance in their indigenous Quechua heritage that provided them strength and guidance to persevere through difficult situations.

Marita has strong Inca beliefs learned from her mother’s side. “I consider myself a “Chola,” a white woman in an Indian body. I am both Quechua and Latina, but I identify more strongly with Quechua values. There is a spiritual [spirit world/dark] energy that comes from my Inca heritage. This energy makes me perceive things, and “feel” the environment around me. It makes me understand people, students, even when they are not like me (e.g. social class). “Although males think our culture is patriarchal, it is really matriarchal because we women control the homes and children.”

Justinia: Culturally Latina, Justinia identifies strongly with her Quechua heritage. “In school I was looked down upon and teased for being Inca. Now I define myself as a “proud Chola.” My Inca heritage is the source of my inner strength and my resiliency. One of my professors told me I am resilient. Quechua people do not give up. My father, cousins, and sisters are all like that and devoted to their work. Quechua like my parents are honest, noble, and modest. It was important to be law

abiding. There are no insult words in Quechua. Since my parents spoke Quechua at home, there were seldom any insults said to others or family members. Wealth is a private issue. Quechua people do not flaunt their wealth. My father, who has become a wealthy businessman, told our family, "Wealth is between God and us." When one is fortunate one must give back to the community. My father was my example in this value. He anonymously built a school in the Andes and created a scholarship for women to study music."

Education

Both participants valued the opportunities that a formal education could provide them. Higher education is more accessible in the United States than in Peru, especially for women, and the participants felt they needed to take advantage of every educational opportunity. It was also important to do well in school out of respect for the family.

Marita: "My attitude toward education is to take advantage of all the opportunities that are presented and do my best. Education will provide opportunities. I am a perfectionist and competitive. I need to be perfect to honor my family. My parents sent me to a good private school when I was young. Then I was expected to marry. I did but I was bored and wanted to go to university like my brothers. My father and brothers asked me what I wanted to study. I said "law." They said "No! That is for men!" So I chose geography and they said "No!" Then I suggested education. Finally they allowed me to go to university to study elementary education. That was what they thought suitable for women."

Justinia: Education in Peru is "primitive." My father worked hard to get an education and then gave education to his children. He came from the mountains and went to one of the best universities. I went to public and private schools. My classmates made fun of me and called me "Chola" because of my dark skin and hair. In a class of forty-seven students I was the only one to apply to college and be accepted. I studied business.

Religion/Spirituality

Both participants were brought up in the Catholic Church but their strength and resiliency was derived from their Inca spirituality.

Marita: "I think the Spanish could have given instead of just take from the Incas. I am very spiritual. I was raised in the Catholic Church, but I believe my spirituality derives from my Inca ancestors. I see the spirit world around myself and others. My Inca grandmother told me I should fear the living not the spirits of the dead."

Justinia: "I am very devout. Jesus is the center of my life. I devote my days to Jesus. I was raised with Catholic values but embedded with Inca spirituality. I see myself as part of the Inca spirit that I was raised with."

Political Issues

The participants experienced the atrocities of political unrest in their country. Surviving these political conflicts, they were able to view their lives with a purpose to “give back” through education and mission trips to countries where others are less fortunate.

Marita: “Jobs are political...many times this means sleeping with men in power if you want to get a job or promotion. Even to this day, my husband suspects that I must be sleeping with the University administration because I do so well in school and that I plan to graduate soon. While attending university in Peru, I was exposed to the politics of social class and ethnic differences. Socialists and particularly members of the Shining Path would be at the university recruiting students to their way of thinking. It was easy since working class people had so little and they promised a share of the wealth and power.”

Justina: “I was in my senior year of college when an attempt was made to kidnap my brother. My family had to move overnight to Central America. We left with just our clothes. We could take nothing with us. Later I tried to return incognito but couldn’t finish my degree. Too much time had passed, I had missed too much work and it was too dangerous. Terrorists do well because there is little chance to get ahead in Peru. During that time incognito I could not live the middle class lifestyle I had become accustomed to. I saw a different side of Peru. I saw the poverty and came to understand the difficulties lower class people endured in their daily lives. One day after spending much time preparing myself, my hair, clothes and make-up to go to the university I was waiting for the bus that goes to the university. Along came an expensive car—the type of car, which used to drive me to school. I was splashed by the car. My hair, makeup and clothes got wet and dirty. At that moment I realized that I had been very fortunate and needed to give back to—help those less fortunate society. I was able to finish my business degree in the United States in 1999.”

Limitations of Study

Qualitative methods assume that, unlike quantitative research, findings are not for the purpose of generalization, but rather to understand the case under study, be it a phenomenon, an aspect of a culture, or a situation. The authors sought to understand the phenomenon of the participants’ positive attitude toward higher education (particularly toward the demanding work load, the level and quantity of reading, and so on) through their perspective, their life stories, and their experiences. Thus, the authors do not intend to imply the information gathered in this research, or the conclusions drawn are representative of all members of the cultural sub-groups to which the participants are members (Quechua, Latinas, Peruvians, immigrants), nor generalizable beyond those subgroups.

Qualitative research does not pretend to avoid bias. Qualitative researchers are “involved” in their research, and their experiences inform their research. Hence,

aspects of authors' the backgrounds that inform this study need to be mentioned. The authors have worked with Latino populations since 1977, have lived and worked in five Latin American countries, and worked with Latino immigrant populations in the U.S. since 1984. These experiences influenced the choice to study this topic, and informed both their research approach and interpretation of the data.

The research was also informed by the authors' twenty years of experience in higher education: the negative and complaining attitudes of American graduate students towards graduate course demands observed by the participants, were also observed by the authors. The dichotomy of attitudes between the American graduate students and the study participants triggered the decision to study this phenomenon from the perspective of the two Peruvian students. Although the study could have been expanded to explore the motivation for the negative attitudes of the American students (non-Latino, non-immigrant), that was not the purpose of this study. The authors document that these attitudes exist as background for the study and to contrast these to the attitudes of the participants.

Discussion, Implications, and Conclusion

The reasons behind the participants' attitudes toward higher education were complex and multi-layered. Central to participant's attitudes were their ethnic/linguistic heritage, religion, social class, immigrant status, gender, previous education and political experiences. Participants in this study provided examples that contradict American teacher stereotypes of Latino students. Similar to the Latinas interviewed by Walker, MacGillvray, and Aguitar (2001), Marita and Justinia perceived higher education as critical to their success.

We originally sought to investigate why two Latina graduate students had such different attitudes toward higher education than their American graduate teacher education student counterparts. We found some insights into this phenomenon after identifying and examining the domains (categories) of social class, immigrant status, gender, ethnicity, education, religion/spirituality, and political issues. Through the coded and sorted notes on informal discussions, class discussions, written participant-produced reflections on Critical Theory and Freire's (1972, 2005) work, and the oral histories of the participants, two core theories (critical consciousness and Resilience Theory) emerged from the research as central themes.

Similar to Madera (2009) we conclude that resilience is central to the success of Latina women in education. Justinia and Marita faced many obstacles in their early lives including poverty, sexism, and racism. They were later confronted with problematic marriages that included mental abuse, personal endangerment due to political and economic instability, and forced relocation. The Support they received from their families outweighed the barriers they encountered. Marita had strong support from her grandmother and teachers, while Justinia's support came primarily from both her parents, especially her father. This support from immediate

family members has been documented by Gándara (1982) as an important factor in success in higher education. Justinia also received encouragement from several professors which according to Singh and Stoloff (2003) can be a crucial support in overcoming barriers in higher education.

Selden and Wasylenko (1995) and Heyman, Brush, Provasnik, Fanning, Lent, and DeWilde, (2002) found that fewer females and poor children were enrolled in elementary schools in Peru than boys and other economic groups. According to Marita, “In Peru, women are expected to get married, have children and take care of the house.” Gender discrimination was a primary force behind Marita’s motivation to pursue graduate school education; however, Justinia did not experience nearly the same level of gender discrimination. Her father expected all of his children to earn a university degree. Justinia did not state that she was expected to marry. She implied that this was her expectation as a Latina and for religious reasons, women in other patriarchal societies have experiences similar to Marita’s. Tett (2000) found that working class women were discouraged from pursuing a higher education by the men in their families.

Castellanos (1996) found that identifying with one’s cultural and ethnic background played an important part in the success of Latina graduate students. According to Silverblatt (1987), in Incan society women have traditionally held positions nearly equal to those of men, both in politics and religion. Women and men form a dualistic social system where male and female elements interact in social, religious and reproductive situations. Both Justinia and Marita trace their strength of character, persistence in the face of barriers, and resiliency to their Inca heritage. Like the Peruvian Inca girl ‘Senna’ whose story of resilience is told in the documentary, *Girl Rising* (Robbins, 2013), Marita and Justina were motivated to succeed in response to a culture which told them they could not. Although both Justinia and Marita identify strongly with their Incan heritage, both also identify themselves as Latina. They demonstrate their Latino cultural ties in their dress, role in the family, and other stereotypical aspects. Incan parents for Justinia and matrilineal grandmother for Marita are identified as the sources of motivation and positive attitudes towards education, and contributing to the development of critical consciousness, and forms of resilience (Yosso, 2005).

Marita and Justinia refer to themselves as Latinas, yet they both identify themselves strongly with their indigenous heritage and values (as “Cholas”). Clearly, the males of Marita’s family exhibited “a strong sense of Latino masculine pride” which she refers to as machismo; however, males in Justinia’s family did not. Marita identifies strongly with her Inca religious heritage and rejects Catholic values detrimental to women. Justinia identifies closely with Christian religious values and Inca spirituality. Fuligni (2001) found that Latinas’ sense of obligation to family accounted for them having greater motivation than their American peers. Justinia and Marita expressed that their educational achievements were not only for themselves but also for their families.

Experiences with racial and social class discrimination and their deep spirituality contributed to the participants' development of resiliency. Justinia's experiences with ethnic and racial discrimination in elementary and secondary school play a strong role in her motivation to succeed in graduate school and her development of resilience. Marita, blond-haired and fair-skinned, experienced racial discrimination from other students who believed she was the teacher's pet due to her "light coloring." Justinia and Marita also find resilience through their deep spirituality though Justinia's spirituality is directed toward her Christian beliefs while Marita's is grounded in her Incan beliefs. Spirituality has been a foundation for their educational success and has been drawn from their respective religious perspectives.

Politics in Peru impacted various aspects of our participants' attitudes and resilience, and helped develop their critical consciousness, particularly in Justinia's case. She survived her experiences with the violence of the Shining Path and the kidnapping attempt on her brother through the support of her family. Marita also saw the structural violence of poverty in her community and the influence of groups such as The Shining Path on working class attitudes towards violence as a way of gaining political and economic power. Easterbrook (2002) reported that the Shining Path was a significant presence in Latin American Universities in the 1980s and 1990s.

Marita and Justinia are highly socially competent. Justinia demonstrated the insight that she needed to be an active community volunteer to escape the stereotypes and discrimination she faced in her new American community. She has also voluntarily taught Spanish at several local elementary schools for a number of years. On the other hand, Marita's sense of purpose is demonstrated in her willingness to work with homeless people and battered women and children.

Sense of purpose is strong in both Marita and Justinia. Justinia devotes her purpose to religious missions in Latin American countries and to providing a resource for the recent Latin population in her community. We found that much of the difference ties into three aspects of Resiliency Theory (Gonzales, 2003): support of family and teachers, struggle to overcome gender, social class, ethnic and religious prejudices and barriers, and a strong sense of self (particularly from their Incan heritage).

Critical consciousness as defined by Freire (1972, 1998, 2005) is an awareness of the social and political contradictions in the world that characterize the oppression of disenfranchised groups of people, especially the poor, and particularly as they apply to oneself. This awareness also includes the realization of how education can be a tool for personal empowerment. We have long considered that to have a deep understanding of critical consciousness it is necessary to experience oppression or injustice personally. Our research with Marita and Justinia supports this theory. Both experienced oppression and injustices related to gender, social class, politics and religion and were aware of how the privileges and marginalization associated with social class affect people's lives, attitudes toward education, and politics in their country of origin. Justinia and Marita drew from these experiences a realiza-

tion of the need to work for social justice, especially for marginalized people and those living in poverty.

Now we must add to this theory the possibility that to act on critical consciousness one must also be resilient! Or perhaps is it that the foundation of resiliency gained from experiences with adversity also prepares one to be receptive to critical consciousness? Marita and Justinia not only developed critical consciousness, they acted upon it as demonstrated by their enthusiastically positive attitudes toward higher education, their choice to be socially critical teachers, their continued work with the poor and their determination to be somebody other than what their oppressors envisioned.

Voice is a powerful tool supporting resiliency and empowerment. Freire's (1972, 1998) work in Brazil illustrates how when people have voice they can name their realities and experience a process of empowerment. Auerbach (2002) found that when Latino parents were given the opportunity to voice narratives of their struggles as students they built and sustained empowering identities. Justinia and Marita found the telling of their stories to be both cathartic and empowering. Through the process of story-telling they identified their strengths and mission in life for their continued struggles and resilience. In research conducted with marginalized Latinas in Costa Rica, Fregeau (1991) determined that women found a sense of self-appreciation for their courage and resiliency through the telling of their stories. The participants both expressed that the process of telling their stories, of having voice, helped them to critically reflect on their lives and to learn about their strength.

Resiliency, as well as critical consciousness, may be the foundation of the enthusiasm both Justinia and Marita demonstrated towards their graduate school education. Both possessed the attributes that defined a resilient student: social competence, problem-solving skills, autonomy, and a sense of purpose that Bernard (1997) has described. Although Werner and Smith (1992) in their study of at-risk Hawaiians found that socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds did not play a role in resiliency, Gordon (1996) found that the principal difference between resilient and non-resilient Hispanic students was that the resilient youths had more faith in their cognitive abilities in an urban school setting.

The resiliency to not only survive but to thrive was expressed poignantly when Justinia was asked to respond to why she strived so endlessly to be successful. She gave the following response:

When you make your own boat and your family is in it in the middle of the ocean,
you do what you have to do to make it work. I am a survivor. I can cry over me,
or, do what I have to do for my children.

Contrary to the pervasive stereotype that immigrants, especially Latino immigrants devalue education, we found that our Latina participants not only valued education, they were devoted to it. Justinia and Marita became positive examples to their American classmates as well as sources of resiliency and inspiration. They

enthusiastically pursued excellence in their educational performance despite language and cultural barriers. These two women worked diligently and tirelessly towards improving education in local schools and in their children's education. They found their fellow graduate students' complaining attitudes about the demands of their graduate education programs and challenges in their teaching jobs difficult to comprehend. American educators should take note of the stories of these two Latina immigrant women: positive and inspiring examples of immigrants and Latinos.

Questions for Further Study

The authors are grateful to Marita and Justinia for all we learned from their stories. We are, however, left with additional questions to pursue:

(1) If part of Justinia's and Marita's positive and enthusiastic attitude toward education comes from previous limitations in access to higher education, then is this also a source of motivation for American graduate students who are the first in their family to go to college, or who are members of marginalized groups and have similar obstacles?

(2) Why do American teachers in our graduate classes tend to have negative attitudes towards higher education? Are there graduate students who could also be identified as fitting into the same experience/resulting attitudes as Justinia and Marita?

(3) Do American individuals who experience similar oppression and injustice become teachers? If not, why not? These are, after all, the people who will best be able to relate to students who are "at risk."

(4) Do Latina immigrants with similar experiences but from other countries have similar attitudes and do those who understand critical and social consciousness act upon it? Is this specific to Peruvian women of this generation?

(5) How would the attitudes of non-resilient Latinas and resilient individuals of other backgrounds be similar and different to those of the participants in this study?

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Lesbophobia as a Barrier to Women in Coaching

Tracy Keats

Abstract

This article explores the challenges of female coaches in the heterosexual male-dominated institution of sport. The central contention is that homophobia, an irrational fear of and negative attitude towards homosexuals, and particularly lesbophobia, fear and negativity towards lesbians, impedes all female coaching careers. This investigation of homonegative barriers to women coaches stresses the importance of acknowledging and dismantling homophobia within a hegemonic sport culture in order to create safer, more equitable and more welcoming sports environments for women, regardless of sexual orientation.

Introduction

The emergence of Facebook as communication media has allowed me to re-connect with a high school friend I used to play softball with—Pat.¹ In the small, overwhelmingly White, middle class town of Gander, Newfoundland, Pat stood out as a rare deviation from heterosexual and gender norms. She donned boyish clothes, cropped her hair, and never applied make-up. Pat refused to conform to a societal expectation of femininity, no matter how much her mother pleaded and regardless of scrutiny she faced in our community. It was obvious that Pat struggled, internally and externally, with her sexual and gender identity, and I vividly recall the intensity of my empathy for her. Pat had few friends but she was athletic. In a single high school town, athletic talent was valued and so she was (perhaps reluctantly) welcomed, especially on the softball team. She “played like a guy,” with a long bat and a strong arm. She even walked and talked like a guy, with a certain swagger and a vulgar mouth. I think her male personification was her saving grace

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in sport; it is difficult to say how she may have been accepted or rejected without such redeeming “male” qualities.

In team and social situations, I acted as a buffer between Pat and the popular, “cool” jock girls who always came off as confident, beautiful and sexy, on and off the field. Makeup, hairspray and curls were abundant, regardless of practicality for sport performance. It was not uncommon to see high school athletes fluffing their hair or wiping sweat-smudged mascara from under eyes during time-outs or between innings. Looking back, I question how I was able to coexist in both social circles since my desire to be one of the beautiful, sexy athletic girls—attractive to the high school boys—was never overridden by my empathy for and friendship with Pat, and it was obvious that she was often victim to a homophobic environment. Teammates teased her to “just try a little makeup.” Road trips were uncomfortable when the popular girls grouped together for sleeping arrangements; Pat was often left with the other misfits... the uncool (sometimes myself included.)

Pat came out on Facebook. Many years later, I am forced to re-examine my role in either perpetuating or disrupting the homonegativism of our youth. Did I play a part in her struggle for identity? Was I aware, even subconsciously, of her marginalization? As I explore the social justice factors that affect me as a female coach in Canada, I am also forced to examine the impact of widespread homophobia in sport. It is evident that I am not only affected by sexism but also by heterosexism as unquestioned cultural standards. The term “lesbophobia” has emerged recently to encompass the double discrimination experienced by lesbians, due to their gender as well as their sexual orientation. This term highlights the difficulties encountered by lesbians in a society that is hostile towards both women and homosexuals, and is expressed in various forms of negativity, prejudice, discrimination, and abuse toward individuals, couples and social groups. Such manifestations of negativity towards lesbian individuals or groups are based upon a heteronormative ideal in which heterosexuality is presumed and normal whereas any other sexual relationship is abnormal, unnatural, and prohibited (Weiss, 2001).

Kumashiro notes, “society’s definition of normalcy, as with society’s understanding of common sense, teaches us not only to conform to an oppressive status quo, but also to actually want to conform” (Kumashiro, 2009, p. 52). Not only did I desire to fit an exalted image of the attractive female within my athletic role, but it is entirely possible that I secretly wished for my friend Pat to do so as well. While I supported her choices to sometimes conceal and sometimes reveal her sexual identity, how could I have more effectively contributed to challenging the broader issues that surround homonegativity and homophobia in women’s sport?

In this article, I will attempt to investigate homonegative barriers women experience in their coaching careers. Furthermore, the importance of acknowledging and dismantling lesbophobia within a hegemonic sport culture is stressed towards creating safer, more equitable and more welcoming sports environments for women, regardless of sexual orientation.

Hegemony in Sport

In order to analyze the impact of sexism and heterosexism in sport, it is important to understand that society is stratified in significantly deep-rooted ways. Inequality exists because society divides social groups along lines that include race, class, gender, sexuality and ability (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012). In all instances, a dominant group controls social, political and institutional power, and the privilege associated with this power becomes normal and acceptable to most people in society over time, including those who do not belong to the dominant group (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012). The dominant group maintains power through control of the ideology of a society; “according to Gramsci’s hegemony theory, cultural leaderships are secured through the naturalization and articulation of ruling ideas into the mass consciousness and the willing consent of those disenfranchised by ideologies” (Norman, 2010, p. 92).

Sport, like many other aspects of society, has historically been a male-dominated institution. The construction of masculinity, male identities, and heterosexuality is achieved in powerful and pervasive ways in the community of sport (Meân & Kassing, 2008). Sport, in effect, has been designed to establish what it means to be a man, and to maintain such a privileged perception. Griffin (1998) outlines sport as maintaining presumed male superiority through five social functions:

- (1) defining and reinforcing traditional conceptions of masculinity, (2) providing an acceptable and safe context for male bonding and intimacy, (3) reinforcing male privilege and female subordination, (4) establishing status among other males, and (5) reinforcing heterosexuality. (p. 20)

Women’s integration into the sporting world has been met with considerable resistance, and continues to pose a threat to male hegemony (Bryson, 1994; Griffin, 1998; Meân & Kassing, 2008). Female participation in sport has called into question the “natural” meanings of gender roles and hence the exclusivity of sport as part of the masculine realm (Griffin, 1998). Attempts to impede this challenge have been made throughout history: medical professionals claimed that females were physically unable to participate in competitive sport, for fear of disrupting reproductive function; sport was seen as having a masculinizing effect on women, so female athletes were required to uphold an image of femininity; and sexologists defined female friendships as morbid and homosexuality as pathological, attaching a severely negative social stigma to lesbian identity (Griffin, 1998; Klasovec, 1995; Lenskyj, 1986; Norman, 2010). The fear of homosexuality among female athletes grew as an effective method of masculine hegemonic control; heterosexism as an extension of sexism therefore became a way to further maintain male dominance.

The lesbian label is a political weapon that can be used against any woman who steps out of line. Any woman who defies traditional gender roles is called a lesbian. Any woman who chooses a male-identified career is called a lesbian. Any

woman who speaks out against sexism is called a lesbian. As long as women are afraid to be called lesbians, this label is an effective tool to control all women and limit women's challenges to sexism. Although lesbians are the targets of attack in women's sport, all women in sport are victimized by the use of the lesbian label to intimidate and control. (Griffin, 1992, p. 258)

While it is evident that all women are affected by the negative social stigma of lesbianism, it is also apparent that women internalize sexist and homophobic values and beliefs (Griffin, 1992). Forbes, Stevens and Lathrop (2002) assert, "years of socialization in which homonegativism is tolerated and homonegative practices are common and often not punished lead to desensitization and denial of the problem" (p. 34). An example is the negative usage of "gay" and "that's so gay" in North American conversation; such derogatory expressions have been unchallenged and have instead become so common that youth accept them as part of their language, regardless of sexual implication or not. It is termed slang and therefore "normal." Similarly, all female athletes are pressured to demonstrate overt signs of femininity and heterosexuality, thus compensating for their athletic ability (Griffin, 1992; Klasovec, 1995). Lesbian athletes who internalize the negative societal stereotype placed on them are forced to "conceal, segregate, or 'normalize' their sexuality in order to protect their sporting careers" (Klasovec, 1995, p. 64). Heterosexual athletes attempt to further distance themselves from the lesbian image and project instead the traditional standards of femininity, restrict close friendships with other women, and consciously promote their own heterosexuality (Griffin, 1992). Similarly, women do not address feminist issues in sport because feminism is seen as too political and also associated with being a lesbian (Meân & Kassing, 2008). Griffin (1992) suggests that these strategies and non-actions work against women in sport.

As long as our energy is devoted to trying to fit into models of athleticism, gender, and sexuality that support a sexist and heterosexist culture, women in sport can be controlled by anyone who chooses to use our fears and insecurities against us. . . . To successfully address the sexism and heterosexism in sport, however, women must begin to understand the necessity of seeing homophobia as a political issue and claim feminism as the unifying force needed to bring about change in a patriarchal culture. (Griffin, 1992, pp. 258-259)

It is important to acknowledge here that it is not the existence of homosexuality in sport that limits women in their endeavours for equality—"it wouldn't matter if there were no lesbians in sport" (Griffin, 1992, p. 259). Rather, it is the use of the lesbian label as a means to intimidate and control that enables male, heterosexist privilege to remain in athletics (Griffin, 1992). By focusing on sexism, heterosexism and homophobia in sport, is it possible to disrupt athletic hegemony? "We have the ability to challenge power, but first we must see and understand how power works" (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012, p.53.)

Homophobia in Women's Sport

Norman (2011) cites numerous authors who have documented that the sporting context is a homophobic environment for sexual minority groups such as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT). Sexual discrimination emerges in sport as discriminative language, derogatory initiation rituals and hazing, promotion of a heterosexual ideal, and prejudiced hiring practices by athletic departments, among other practices that serve to marginalize groups and individuals that deviate from the institutionalized norm (Griffin, 1992; Griffin, 1998; Norman, 2011).

In Canada, sexual minorities have full equality of rights and mainstream society frequently discusses lesbian and gay issues; however, similar issues in sport remain silent (Demers, 2006). According to the Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport and Physical Activity, Canada is a world leader in promoting equality of minorities and, more specifically, a "sport environment that is safe and welcoming" (Canadian Association for the Advancement of Women in Sport and Physical Activity [CAAWS], 2006, p. 3). Sport in Canada has become more inclusive, evidenced by increased participation by females, people with a disability and members of visible minorities; however, such inclusiveness does not exist to the same extent for LGBT individuals (Demers, 2006). Why do extreme stereotypes of sexuality and widespread discrimination of LGBT athletes persist in the world of sport? What allows these stereotypes to persevere, and why are we afraid to afford LGBT athletes equal access to a safe and welcoming sport context? Is it even possible to group lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender individuals into one minoritized category for sport when there are physical and biological differences to consider beyond sexual preference? What are the implications of competition involving transgender individuals? (This is an issue that is obviously worthy of much discussion, and is beyond the scope of this paper.) What purpose do stereotyping, discrimination and homophobia serve in women's sport?

Women's participation in sport has been affected by homophobia since sexologists marked same-sex relationships as pathological in the early 1900s. Heterosexual women were deterred from traditionally male sports for fears of being labelled a lesbian, and homosexual women in sport risked disclosure and violence (Lenskyj, 1992). Those who did participate experienced immense pressure to project an attractive image of femininity, and the most acceptable female athletes were those who displayed heterosexual beauty and sex appeal as they were the least likely to betray their gender role (Cahn, 1994). Even today, evidence of the pressure for women in sport to demonstrate their femininity and heterosexuality is pervasive in uniform regulations, advertisements, sponsorships, and media portrayals. The glorification of heterosexuality inevitably leads to the devaluation of any form of non-heterosexuality, which is not only harmful to LGBT individuals, but to everyone. An inequitable environment is certainly negative; entitled individuals constantly feel threatened by the under-valued and need to reaffirm their social status, and

the under-valued feel attacked or segregated by the entitled and have little hope of ever attaining a more positive social standing.

Homophobia affects every man and every woman, whatever their sexual orientation. Fear and misunderstanding about sexual orientation lead to harassment, uneasiness, anxiety, isolation, and violence. Behaviour and feelings of these kinds create unsafe environments that impede learning, adversely affect friendships, and hurt teams, athletes and coaches alike. (Demers, 2006, para. 9)

Griffin (1992) explored silence, denial, and apology as defensive reactions to the intimidating lesbian label. Rather than risk the lower social status and tougher social struggle associated with homosexuality in the athletic world, women prefer to ignore homophobia as an issue in sport. According to Griffin (1992), “women live in fear that whatever meagre gains we have made in sport are always one lesbian scandal away from being wiped out” (p. 253). She attests that refusing to talk about homosexuality, denying its existence, and using a feminine, heterosexual image to blanket the negative stigma of women’s athletics are survival strategies “in a society hostile to women in general and lesbians in particular” (Griffin, 1992, p. 253).

Homophobia is also manifested in women’s sport in expressions of attack and rejection such as discrimination, harassment, loss of leadership or other employment opportunities, and negative recruiting practices where athletes are discouraged from choosing rival schools with lesbian staff or athletes (Demers, 2006; Griffin, 1992; Lenskyj, 1990). “Athletes thought to be lesbian are dropped from teams, find themselves benched, or are suddenly ostracized by coaches and teammates” (Brownworth, 1991, as cited in Griffin, 1992, p. 255). This is difficult to comprehend in a competitive North American society where sport is often a venue to “win at all costs.” Why would the negative image of homosexuality weigh heavier than skill and performance of an athlete who may contribute to team success? Would coaches and teammates risk losing before homosexual affiliation? More recently, Demers (2006) indicates that lesbians are most often well accepted when they are open to teammates about their sexual orientation, as long as the information remains within the team. There continues to exist a need to “protect the team’s image and reputation” (Demers, 2006, para. 15). This demonstrates a double standard with regards to sexual identity: homosexual athletes are bullied into silencing their personal identities while heterosexuals are encouraged to flaunt their feminine roles as girlfriends, wives and mothers. “Although heterosexual athletes and coaches are encouraged to display their personal lives to counteract the lesbian image in sport, lesbians are intimidated into invisibility for the same reason” (Griffin, 1992, p. 259). Concurrent to homophobic views about personal lives is a dangerous presumption of the definitions of family and family values. In recruiting practices, coaches of “heterosexual” programs highlight an environment that is “family focused,” subtly implying the existence of a patriarchal married head coach, heterosexual assistants, and young players in the image of children. This is contrasted to an implied unwholesome image of rumoured homosexuality within other

programs. Even legendary Tennessee basketball coach Pat Summitt is not immune to such negative recruiting by opposing schools (Cyphers, 2011). In terms of wins and championships, Summitt is the most successful coach in National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) basketball history—what athlete would *not* want to be part of Summitt's unparalleled accomplishment? Interestingly, Summitt gave birth to a son during a 27-year heterosexual marriage and is nevertheless subjected to immense scrutiny regarding her sexual orientation. Her personal life actually reflected such assumed "wholesome family values" that male head coaches represent; yet they did not hold the same weight because she is female. Her sexuality has been widely questioned. Is this because she did not flaunt heterosexual femininity in her appearance or mannerisms? Is it because she coached aggressively and passionately, and therefore like a man? Given her resounding success as a female coach, why do these considerations even matter?

Overt displays of heterosexual femininity have even progressed to new, extreme levels in recent years. Media portrayals of female athletes are shockingly sexual—*heterosexual*—in nature (Griffin, 1992), to the point where viewers might imagine that these athletes could be pin-up models. Examples include Anna Kournikova's appearance in boyfriend Enrique Iglesias' music video, Serena Williams' flaunted cleavage, and Florence (Flo Jo) Griffith-Joyner's exceedingly ornamented finger nails. Male athletes rarely call attention to themselves in the same ways. Kournikova has never won a Women's Tennis Association (WTA) singles title and has never been ranked higher than eighth yet she has been touted as one of the best known tennis stars in the world due to her appearance and celebrity status. As tennis players, Serena Williams and her sister Venus Williams have experienced much more success, however, their professional debuts and much of their careers have been enshrouded by commentary regarding their looks. Venus' hair, in colourful beads, was consistently part of any conversation regarding the talented young tennis prodigy. In other sports, appearance is dictated by uniform regulations as in the case of beach volleyball, a recent and popular addition to the Summer Olympic Games. For the 2012 Olympiad in London, the International Volleyball Federation (FIVB) relaxed their bikini rule to permit players to wear shorts and sleeved shirts, but the heterosexual cultural standard of the sport remains prevalent. The FIVB and its players want to garner attention to the sport, and hetero-sex appeal seems to be the way to do it (Krupnick, 2012).

Concurrent to calling women's sexuality into question is doubt surrounding their competence (Kilty, 2006; Norman, 2010). This is evident in "ambiguous hiring practices" (Norman, 2010, p. 101) and a widespread preference for male coaches (Aicher & Sagas, 2010). Many athletes, parents, and athletic directors believe that men are better coaches than women, with little evidence beyond gender and lesbian stereotypes (Griffin, 1992). While there are many other factors influencing the disproportionately large number of men coaching women, homophobia is perhaps among the least explored.

Lesbophobia as a Barrier for Women Coaches

There has been much exploration of the under-representation of women in coaching (for example Anderson & Gill, 1983; Hums & Yiamouyiannis, 2007; Knoppers, 1987; Marshall, 2010; Reade, Rodgers, & Norman, 2009; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007; Werthner & Callary, 2010; Wilkerson, 1996). Among the various approaches, some have focused on gender-role meanings, stereotypes and social construction as influencing female capacity for coaching (Cunningham, Doherty, & Gregg, 2007; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007). Within a patriarchal society, women respond to oppressive social and sport ideology with self-limiting behaviour (Sartore & Cunningham, 2007) and display less intention, interest and efficacy to become head coaches (Cunningham et al., 2007). Kilty (2006) revealed external barriers such as unequal assumption of competence (male coaches are automatically assumed to be more competent than female coaches), homologous reproduction (male leaders hiring from a principle of similarity), homophobia (an irrational fear of and negative attitude toward homosexuals), and a lack of female mentors (heterosexual or otherwise). Internal barriers are also identified in female coaches' inclination for perfectionism, a lack of assertiveness, an inhibition to promote personal accomplishments, and high stress associated with balancing work and personal life (Kilty, 2006).

Krane (2001) criticizes a focus on the individual and argues the need for a much broader examination of societal influences that impact an individual's cognitions and behaviour. She explores women's experiences in sport through the interaction of feminist standpoint, queer theory, and feminist cultural studies as complementary perspectives of social power and hegemony that serve to disempower minority social groups (Krane, 2001). Gender is constructed and naturalized in society, and specifically in the work of women coaches as a perpetuation of women's marginalization and men's hegemony (Theberge, 1993).

Krane and Barber (2003) assert that beyond research exploring the heterosexist culture of sport, there is a need to further understand certain aspects of lesbian experiences in sport. More specifically, Norman (2011) has identified within the literature a lack of documented experiences of lesbian coaches, including reference to their personal lives, and suggests that the homophobic environment of the coaching profession accounts for the absence of such research. The existence of homophobia in women's sport has been claimed as the strongest deterrent to women joining or remaining in coaching positions (Veri, 1999). Norman (2011) therefore proclaims the necessity for understanding the process of homophobia and how it affects lesbian coaches. Additionally, understanding lesbophobia in the sporting world is important as it affects all women, regardless of sexual orientation; lesbophobia remains a barrier to the empowerment of all females in athletics.

Research that has been done in this area has focused on how lesbians manage their identities when faced with homophobia in sport. Griffin (1998) identified a

continuum of identity management strategies used by lesbian US collegiate coaches, ranging from 'completely closeted' or complete concealment of their lesbian identity in their athletic environment to 'publicly out' meaning their lesbian identity is revealed to everyone in the athletic context. Between the two extremes, lesbian coaches utilize decision-making processes and a variety of strategies to either disclose or hide their identity, depending on the specific circumstances (Griffin, 1998). Some of these strategies include promoting themselves as heterosexual, avoidance and covering of lesbian identity, and using language that implies homosexuality (Griffin, 1998).

In *Sexual Stories as Resistance Narratives in Women's Sports: Reconceptualizing Identity Performance*, Iannotta and Kane (2002) criticize studies by Griffin (1998), Krane (1996) and Riemer (1997), among others, for assuming a linear, progressive development of sexual identity whereby lesbians "come out". Although these scholars acknowledge differences between individuals and their reactions to diverse situations, "they nevertheless conceive of coming out as a step-by-step process in which various points—or stages—of "outness" can be identified" (Iannotta & Kane, 2002, p. 351). This conceptualization of "coming out" and "being out" within the context of homophobia in women's sport then becomes the goal, and is characterized by linguistically naming oneself as lesbian. The use of explicit language is in turn seen as a significant political act by which social change may occur through education and promotion of tolerance. Iannotta and Kane (2002) claim that this produces a hierarchy or "levels of outness" and "individuals who are more out are viewed as effective agents of social change, while those employing alternative strategies are not" (Iannotta & Kane, 2002, p. 353). Furthermore, this implies the concept of victimization among those lesbian coaches who are lower on the continuum and therefore not empowered to create social change (Iannotta & Kane, 2002). Iannotta and Kane (2002) propose that other forms of resistance to homophobia are possible, including alternative strategies of coming out and being out. They include the use of silence as an effective strategy in that what is not said—non-linguistic actions—also contribute to one's identification as lesbian, and can also affect social change (Iannotta & Kane, 2002). In other words, communicating who you are by being who you are is powerful; it is not necessary to say, "I'm a lesbian" for people to understand that homosexuality is part of one's identity.

Krane and Barber (2005) further presented strategies used by American college coaches who identified as "coach" and "lesbian" within their homophobic athletic environments. They demonstrated how lesbian coaches continually monitored, managed and negotiated their sexual identity in their coaching settings, revealing that the motivations, actions and concept of self were linked to the social norms within specific contexts (Krane & Barber, 2005). This is consistent with the social psychological theory of social identity and suggests that these coaches were at least partly responsible for maintaining a heterosexual ideal within sport (Krane & Barber, 2005). This also implies that amalgamation of the "coach" and "lesbian"

identities is difficult at best, and lesbian coaches have needed to separate these two essential parts of self in order to find success in the world of sport. Compounding this struggle is the fact that they are also women and therefore experience a double minority status within the coaching context (Gedro, 2006). This is interesting because, while individuals may identify with different social groups, Norman (2011) suggests, “not all identities may develop or be sufficiently strong to push for social change” (p. 7). This begs the question: What is a “strong enough” identity to inspire change in social status? What does that look like, and how is it attained?

The pervasive hegemony of heterosexual masculinity is obviously a huge obstacle to the equitable contribution of women in coaching. Perpetuation of the masculine standard exists in the representation of male coaches in women’s sport, despite arguments for the benefits of positive female role models for female athletes (Knoppers, 1987; Mowery, 1997). It has been argued that, based on education and playing experience, women may actually be *more* physically, technically and tactically qualified than their male counterparts to coach female athletes (Mowery, 1997). However, men have been “hired to coach women’s teams specifically to change a tarnished or negative (read lesbian) team image” (Thorngren, 1991, as cited in Griffin, 1992, p. 257) or to at least impart an appearance of heterosexuality to a women’s team (Griffin, 1992). The existence of sexist beliefs leads to a preference for a male head coach (Aicher & Sagas, 2010).

Perhaps most disturbingly, it has been noted that lesbian coaches are seen as sexual predators (Griffin, 1992). Griffin (1998) states that while parents and athletes fear sexual harassment by lesbian coaches, the same fear does not exist towards heterosexual male coaches.

The irony is that, given recent reports of sexual misconduct by male coaches and male athletes and the statistics on sexual harassment in general, young women athletes are at far greater risk of being sexually harassed, hit on, or raped by their heterosexual male coaches or by heterosexual male athletes than by lesbian coaches or teammates. (Griffin, 1998, p. 191)

In fact, society’s unequal gender dynamics are compounded by unequal power dynamics in a coach-athlete relationship, therefore rendering female athletes more susceptible to coercive sexual relationships with a male coach (Griffin, 1992; Lenskyj, 1990). Griffin (1998) comments:

Even if an athlete consents to a sexual relationship, coach-athlete relationships are based on huge differences in power that make the ability of a young athlete to give “consent” questionable. Athletes often revere and trust their coaches in a way that makes it both flattering to receive sexual attention from them and difficult to reject this attention. (p. 199)

Regardless, there are countless examples of coach-athlete sexual relationships—both homosexual and heterosexual in nature—and yet homophobia continues to be used to exclude females from coaching positions. Are we to believe that it

is more acceptable for athletes to fall victim to heterosexual male coaches than to homosexual female coaches? By using sexual predation of lesbian coaches as an ungrounded and perverse excuse, the many benefits of having women in the coaching world are overridden.

Conclusion

Sport in Canada has become a more inclusive environment; women and girls are participating in sports programs in record numbers. However, masculine heterosexuality remains the dominant ideology and females are simply finding ways to “fit” into the male athletic world. Sport ideology, as it continues to thrive, must be challenged in order for participation to become equally available, welcoming and safe to every individual, including those who identify as gay, lesbian, bisexual or transgender.

In teacher and coach education programs, naming sexual discrimination as an issue and discussing widespread implications is important. As argued previously, discrimination based on sexual orientation not only affects gay, lesbian and bisexual individuals, but everyone within a homophobic environment. Particularly, teachers and coaches should enter careers with an awareness of oppressive yet normative assumptions of female athletics. Not everyone on a women’s hockey team is a “dyke” and not everyone on a women’s volleyball team is a “girlie girl.” Leaders within schools and athletic programs should be taught skills to challenge such assumptions and provide safe, inclusive, and just environments for all females in sport.

Norman (2011) stresses the importance of illuminating the “everyday, discrete and even taken-for-granted discriminative behaviours and social practices” (p. 3) in women’s sport. Obvious examples include continuous debate over sexual orientation of individuals that do not necessarily fit a heterosexual mould, as in the case of coach Pat Summitt, and media frenzied reactions to athletes and coaches who do choose to come out. When it ceases to be a “big deal” to be non-heterosexual in sport, more individuals will feel liberated to be who they truly are, rather than disguising or denying a part of their identity. When it ceases to be a “big deal,” lesbophobia will no longer be a weapon against athletic females. In this way, lesbian visibility can play a powerful role in social and cultural change. There is a need to dispel negative social stigma attached to the lesbian label, and to recognize and reward the positive contributions of these women as athletes, coaches, administrators and role models.

As an athlete and a coach, I stress the importance for all women to acknowledge the pervasiveness of male, heterosexual hegemony and to evaluate our roles in perpetuating dominance of such ideology. A university volleyball teammate was once accused of being a lesbian because she did not date any of the varsity men, and had not had a boyfriend for several months. Veteran athletes hazed rookies by forcing them to dress in repulsive, asexual outfits while they donned skimpy, reveal-

ing ones, making them even more attractive by comparison. The soccer team with whom we shared a locker room refused to use the communal showers after hockey practice—they did not want the women hockey players to hit on them. Prejudice, discrimination and oppression of homosexual women negatively impact us all, and there is much to be done to effect change in Canadian sport society. “It is the experience of oppression that authorizes someone to speak about it, and to lead the struggle for change. The personal is the political.” (McCaskell, 2007, p. 36)

Note

¹ Name has been changed.

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The Sociopolitical Vessel of Black Student Life

An Examination of How Context Influenced the Emergence of the Extracurriculum

Andre Perry, Rashida Govan, & Christine Clark

The commercial success of the Denzel Washington-directed film, *The Great Debaters* (2007) [produced by Oprah Winfrey's Harpo Films], should inspire additional historical examinations of co-curricular or extracurricular activities in the first Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).¹ While scholars in higher education who pay particular attention to HBCUs have responded mightily to issues involving curriculum (Anderson, 1988; Dunn, 1993; Jarmon, 2003), Little (2002) posited that the scant scholarly attention paid to America's first black collegians' extracurricular experiences ultimately limits our understanding of black education.

The dominant framework for studying the emergence of extracurricular activities suggests that literary societies and fraternities leaked out of extremely tight curricula, which were bound by rigid religious protocols and parochial ideas of what made a "man of letters" (Church & Sedlak, 1976). "The fraternities offered an escape from the monotony, dreariness, and unpleasantness of the collegiate regimen which began with prayers before dawn and ended with prayers after dark" (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990b, p. 146). While the emergence of the extracurriculum at black colleges bears a slight resemblance to the first of these activities at colonial and American colleges, student life at black colleges came out of a much different sociopolitical context, thus offering a distinctive story as to how student life at black colleges emerged. Peeps (1981) wrote, "To understand both progressive and repressive developments in the black college movement after the Civil War it is important that these developments be placed within context of that divisive historical era." Moreover, educational histo-

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rians have challenged the predominate view of the birth of the extracurriculum and its usefulness as a critical pedagogical device (Saslaw, 1979).

Hollywood scripts may be more likely to focus on explicit scenes of racial segregation and discrimination than on the less noticeable development of the extracurriculum. Nevertheless, the sociopolitical context surrounding *The Great Debaters*' Wiley College and other HBCUs at the turn of the 20th century forces historians to reconsider the birth of the extracurriculum (Fisher, 2003; Franklin, 2003). In this article, the following questions are explored: Can the predominant view of the emergence of extracurricular activities at colonial and American colleges be used to explain the birth of extracurricular activities at HBCUs? What inspired college students to act out of the day-to-day doldrums of early college schedules based on their standing in a highly racialized sociopolitical environments? And, how was a debate team viewed as a "break" from a rigid curriculum when placed within an overtly contentious sociopolitical environment? In engaging these questions, this article reveals that race, class, social standing, and school type must be considered in order to craft a robust understanding and description of the emergence of college extracurricular activities.

Goals

An understanding of black colleges' extracurricular activities must first be placed in an historical stew whose main ingredients are slavery, the abolitionist movement, Reconstruction, white supremacy, interdenominational and community resistance, economic hardship, as well as Southern culture. Thus, the primary purpose of this article is to uncover the context that gave birth to extracurriculum at early black colleges so that more accurate future comparisons can be made to the rise of extracurricular activities at colonial colleges.

Frederick Chambers (1972), whose analyses preceded Little's, encouraged historiographers to study the developments of individual colleges and universities and avoid the practice of studying institutions collectively (Chambers, 1972). The benefits of this approach provide audiences with rich nuances, which can lead to broader inductive generalizations and analyses. Therefore, the secondary purpose of this article is to examine Straight University² and the contextual factors that led to the emergence of the extracurriculum there so that future research will be better equipped to pose comparisons of the quality of student activities in relation to their institutional contexts.

Accordingly, this article is divided into seven sections. The first section, *Founding Fathers*, introduces the predominant view of how the extracurriculum developed at colonial colleges. Section two, *Denominational Giving and the Emergence of Black Colleges*, reveals the parallel beginnings of black colleges and early colonial colleges. The third section, *American Missionary Association's Evolving Mission*, continues the discussion on the general similarities of black and colonial colleges, but introduces

an important distinguishing feature in the discussion of evangelicals who sought to educate American Indians, and missionaries who sought to undo the harms of slavery. Section four, *Parallels and Contrasts to Black Institutions*, expands upon section three by providing additional distinguishing factors between black and colonial colleges related to their settings. In the fifth section, *Legal and Social Context*, an analysis of the Straight University setting is offered. Section six, *Regional Tensions*, discusses the challenges Northern education-focused organizations faced in the South. And, finally, in the seventh section, *Black National Discourse on Athletics*, the potential impact of intraracial discourse on extracurricular activities is presented.

Founding Fathers of the Extracurriculum

Denominational giving fertilized the growth of American Higher Education. English religious donors may not have possessed primary interest in endowing colleges, but they did invest in evangelical programs designed to deliver American Indians from “savagery” (Thelin, 2004). Taking advantage of the messianic zeal of British evangelicals, colonists created schemes to funnel money—intended to convert “heathens” to Christians—to help finance Oxford- and Cambridge-like institutions in the colonies (Wright, 2006). Wright demonstrated that much of the seed money dedicated to educating and converting Indians to Christians was actually used to benefit white males. For example, the first sentence of The Harvard Charter of 1650 announced the dedication of financial resources “for all accommodations of buildings and all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this Country in knowledge and godliness” (Dudley, 1650). The founding architects of Harvard accentuated its religious mission relative to the Christianization of “Indian youth” in order to rally political and economic resources, but with the concomitant mention of “English youth” decision makers could exercise discretion as to where those resources would ultimately be directed.

In addition to the international support from English evangelical sponsors, early colonial towns solicited the development of institutions of higher education to help grow budding urban centers. Colleges were seen as necessary to transition urbane, homogeneously religious towns into progressive metropolitan cities (Boorstin, 1965; Church & Sedlak, 1976). This transitioning notwithstanding, municipal leaders assumed that founders of mid-eighteenth century colleges would ascribe to the religious expectations of the settlement. And though colony residents and their leaders expected “reasonable” amounts of religious diversity especially among the populations attracted by the colleges, they also presumed that religion would provide a common thread across the various organizational entities that comprised the town. “As understood in the colonies, toleration meant the tacit recognition that the dominant church in each province was the established ecclesiastical authority” (Herbst, 1976). Clearly, colonial colleges were perceived to be cultural and religious extensions of host towns’ “mainstream” inhabitants. Still, early urban

planners recruited higher educational leaders, usually from outside the host towns, and generally supported them in their work.

Religion also influenced college curriculum content and pedagogy (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990a; Wright, 2006). Grounding college students in the basic tenets of the Protestant faith through a rigidly classic liberal curriculum was a high priority for community founders and, therefore, for the leaders of each colonial college (Klassen, 1962). Harvard, for instance, built a curriculum around three distinctively religiously rooted academic exercises—the lecture, the declamation, and the disputation (Cremin, 1970). Cremin describes: (1) lectures as oral textbooks, which students transcribed verbatim; (2) declamations as student speeches with an emphasis on grace and style; and (3) disputations as highly organized debates in which students critiqued each other's logic, content, and presentation. Even though older liberal curricula eventually made way for the Scottish influences of science and practical subjects like world languages and algebra, this new knowledge entered pre-existing curricula only with due deference to discipline, subservience, and piety. Thus, colonial colleges generally embraced a liberal educational model that weighted religious training over intellectual inquiry. Amherst President Herman Humphrey, reflected a common sentiment of the time, that “to have prayed well is to have studied well” (Le Duc, 1946, p. 22). Resultantly, early American higher education placed a greater emphasis on molding character than producing scholars (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990a). From sun up to sun down for approximately three years, students received lectures, orated, and argued in Greek, Latin, logic, ethics, and religious content again reflecting the English penchants for verbal acuity and religious training. It wasn't until the Eighteenth Century, when administrators' sanctimonious demands came into conflict with students' demands for freedom, that the extracurricular movement began (Moore, 1976).

Higher education scholars generally agree that the rigid curriculum inclusive of the extensive workday forged an intense desire among students to find alternative modes of intellectual and social expression. The first break from the rigorous religious training curriculum manifest in debate teams and literary societies. (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990b). These organizations emerged from the rich sociocultural, sociohistorical, and sociopolitical contexts out of which the colonies grew and, thus, focused their intellectual and social exchanges on topics that mirrored actual ethical complexities of the time, often played out in courtrooms and newspapers. Commonly male dominated, these extracurricular spaces enabled students to apply intellect and reason to controversial current events of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries. Questions such as “Ought freedom of thought be granted to all men?” were avidly engaged, providing students the opportunity to express themselves in a more animated manner (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990a, p. 141). It is important to note, however, that the discussion of these contentious issues even in these extracurricular contexts emphasized developing and refining arguments *about* the issues, not direct political discourse *of* them. Further, debating sides of an issue did not necessarily

lead to empathic or critical awareness (Westbrook, 2002), rather, it merely provided "...a protected arena for the discussion of political, philosophical, religious, and historical topics" (Saslaw, 1979) outside of the suffocating obedience of the formal curricula.

The surfacing of extracurricular activities in early American colleges signaled a shift in the intellectual and social culture on campus. Not surprisingly, it was met with resistance from administrators and host community observers. These activities were perceived to threaten the carefully guarded way of life that promoted only discipline, subservience, piety, and, ultimately, religious obedience. In the development of beginning American colleges Rudolph writes, "The fall from grace was facilitated by the recognition that the fraternity movement gave way to secular values, to good friendship, good looks, good clothes, good family, and good income...For in the end polished manners were necessary for success in this world, and not the next" (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990b, p. 149). By the mid-Nineteenth Century the disdain of college administrators towards the replacement of religious values with secular ones was well known, but did not stop the progression.

Denominational Giving and the Emergence of Black Colleges

While English denominations assumed early colonial colleges would use their granted seed money to educate the "infidel" Native population, Northern mission societies sought to undo the harms of slavery to Blacks through education (Wright, 2006). The American Missionary Association (AMA), The Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, The American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS), The Presbyterian Board of Missions, and the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church opened dozens of "black-friendly" postsecondary institutions throughout the United States (Anderson, 1988).

The abolitionist and eventual egalitarian cause of the AMA in particular led to the founding of Straight University. A brief analysis of the AMA reveals the religious (and philosophical) motivations that framed the curricular milieu of Straight University. In addition, an historical examination of the progression of development of the AMA provides insight into the political tensions that led to the opening of a college in the post-bellum Deep South.

American Missionary Association's Evolving Mission

In July of 1839, a group of fifty-three enslaved Blacks, natives of the Mendi tribe for Sierra Leone West Africa, were placed on the schooner *La Amistad* for transport to their registered owner's land in Cuba. The captured Africans, led by a man named Cinque, organized a revolt. They killed the captain, cook, and some crewmembers, commandeered the ship, and attempted to force its remaining defeated crew to sail back to Africa. Unbeknownst to the now liberated Africans, the

crew sailed East by day and North and Northwest at night. This circuitous zigzag route resulted in a sixty-three day trip to New England. Once along the Connecticut coast, the U.S. Coast Guard intervened, boarding the *La Amistad* and ultimately bringing it ashore. One of the surviving crewmembers appealed to the Coast Guard for protection, revealing the details of the revolt. The Africans argued the original crewmembers captured and enslaved them illegally, justifying their mutiny. The U.S. District Court subsequently charged the Africans for murder on the high seas and jailed them in New Haven pending trial.

Several organizations sought to support the defense of the *La Amistad* Mendi men at trial. The Amistad Committee was formed to garner funds to assemble a prestigious legal defense team to represent these men. Lawyers, including John Quincy Adams and Roger S. Baldwin, argued on behalf of the now jailed Africans. After a two year legal battle, the Supreme Court ruled that the Portuguese slavers illegally captured these Mendi tribe members, so their killing of the captain, cook, and crewmembers was an act of self-defense.

A group of five missionaries accompanied the Mendi men back to Africa. This and other anti-slave missions were organized to express opposition to the both international and domestic slave trading (as well as to caste systems, polygamy, and liquor). These missions eventually focused their efforts exclusively on opposing slavery in United States under the auspices of the American Missionary Association. "The American Missionary Association was formed to promote the cause of Christian abolitionism in the U.S." (Robinson, 1996, p. 5). After emancipation, the mission of the AMA quickly evolved into shifting national culture from one organized around a racial hierarchy to one that acculturated Blacks into mainstream society. Education, specifically postsecondary education, became the main vehicle through which the AMA sought to accomplish this acculturation.

Reverend L. C. Lockwood, a member of the American Missionary Association, writes, "Yesterday I opened a Sabbath school [for Blacks] in Ex-President Tyler's house. Little did [Tyler] think it would ever be used for such a purpose. [The Blacks] felt that it was the beginning of better days for them and for their children" (Beard, 1909, p. 121). But, the AMA believed elementary and even secondary education to be insufficient in the upliftment of Blacks.

There must be long looks forward, for it was evident that millions of people whose antecedents were barbarism and centuries of slavery could not be upraised to Christian civilization and privilege by ever so much mere elementary education...No race can be permanently dependent upon another race for its ultimate development. This Negro race must be taught to save itself and how to do it; to work out its own future with its own teachers and educators. (Beard, 1909, pp. 146-147)

Accordingly, five years after emancipation, the Sabbath school evolved into the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, currently known as Hampton University. The founding of Hampton reflects the abolitionist group's shift in focus

from freeing slaves to establishing schools that were dedicated to the advancement of Blacks.

For decades prior, education laws in the South prohibited teaching Blacks how to read and write. Such laws fomented white resistance to the establishment of black schools. Consequently, the AMA was heavily criticized for erecting colleges for the “uneducable.” The AMA countered this argument with its strict brand of evangelical egalitarianism:

[C]olleges certainly are needed, and we must set the standards for the education of the race now! Thorough training, large knowledge, and the best culture possible are needed to invigorate, direct, purify, and broaden life; needed for the wise administration of citizenship, the duties of which are as sure to come as the sun is to shine, though to-day or to-morrow may be cloudy; needed to overcome narrowness, one-sidedness, and incompleteness. . . . Therefore, they said, educate, educate, educate! In all ways, from the lowest to the highest, for whatever is possible for a full-orbed manhood and womanhood. (Beard, 1909, pp. 149-150)

And so the AMA joined the missionary movement to open postsecondary institutions for Blacks. As a first step in this direction, the AMA purchased the “Little Scotland” estate, which was dedicated to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute after its Academic Hall was erected in 1870 (Beard, 1909). With this dedication, the AMA sought to establish a permanent institution of higher learning that combined “practical schoolroom education with mental and moral uplift of industrial training and self-help” (p. 126). In 1869, through the financial support of the Congregational Church, the AMA opened the doors of Straight University. The University was named for the wealthy cheese manufacturer from Ohio, Seymour Straight, who provided the University with its initial endowment gift.

The proliferation of normal schools and colleges was at the center of the AMA’s strategy for achieving their goal of black self-sufficiency. By providing training to Blacks to help other Blacks, the AMA assumed that black teachers could and would adopt and promote the white values and related skills sets that it felt Blacks needed to advance in society.

Parallels and Contrasts to Black Institutions

Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, New Jersey, King’s, Philadelphia, Rhode Island, Queen’s, and Dartmouth colleges opened before 1770 (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990b). Colleges frequented by a majority of black students emerged approximately one hundred years after the start of these first American colleges that were primarily attended by white males. Thus, to examine any aspect of black colleges (and academies) during Reconstruction and shortly thereafter is to study them in their infancy, whereas many white colleges were already well past their institutional adolescence.

While Cheyney University (founded in 1837 as the Institute for Colored Youth), the first to open as an institution explicitly devoted to the postsecondary education

of Blacks, was established prior to the Civil War, most black colleges emerged after the Civil War (Beard, 1909). Like their white counterpart institutions, black colleges' religiosity disfavored extracurricular activities. Thus, these budding institutions focused on establishing core curricular programs (and did so for some time, long before they had the inclination, much less the means, to establish school sponsored extracurricular activities).

The link between the religious sponsorship of higher education, the liberal arts curriculum missionary societies promoted, and missionary beliefs around the educability of blacks is not incidental (Peeps, 1981). While many denominations of Christianity professed the belief that that Blacks could learn as well as Whites, they sought to prove this belief only by exposing Blacks to education predicated upon a strict religious/liberal arts curriculum (Willie & Edmonds, 1978). "Yale University, which lately celebrated its two hundredth birthday, began when half a dozen ministers of the gospel brought together a few books and said, 'we will give these for the founding of a college... The true method is to show the colored people the possibilities of their own race, and inspire in them, by visible and living examples, a noble ambition... These leaders must be trained. For this, Christian colleges are needful'" (Beard, 1909, pp. 155-156).

Religion's profound influence on both white and black student life can also easily be seen in the founding mission and goals, as well as the ceremonial practices, of colleges. The tenets of the denomination and/or the host community sponsoring the college provided a framework that set general expectations for campus life. And, the clergy-like robes that college officials and student alike wore for graduation further conveyed higher education's kinship with religious organizations. The first American colleges embraced holiness and faith over intellect and reason (Newman & Svaglic, 1982; Rudolph & Thelin, 1990b). Further, these college's liberal arts curricula provided training for religious membership. Accordingly, the missionary societies that supported black colleges pushed black students to adopt religiosity over logic, and to pursue the same religiously rigorous liberal arts curricula espoused by the country's founding colleges. In fact, the AMA predicated its sponsorship of normal schools and colleges on the condition that they prepare freedmen for citizenship primarily through Christian education (Holmes, 1969).

Despite the obvious similarities between many colonial and black colleges, Straight University interacted with its host community much differently than especially its colonial college predecessors did. Northern carpetbaggers and other interlopers, including Christian missionaries, found establishing relationships in the rural South difficult. As a result, the AMA initially struggled with how to gain the political support it needed to establish and sustain a liberal arts college in the rural, agricultural South. However, the establishment of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (more commonly know as the Freedmen's Bureau) by Congress in 1865, created safe zones from which Northern missionaries worked to build and maintain more than 4000 free schools, among them Straight

University. These unique legal and social circumstances surrounding the founding of Straight University inspired similarly unique circumstances leading to the emergence of its extracurriculum (Beard, 1909).

Legal and Social Context

The citizenship status of Blacks continuously evolved and changed from the time of the earliest establishments of French, Spanish, and English colonies, through the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, after the Civil War in 1865, during Reconstruction, and until *Plessey v. Ferguson*. The benefits and burdens of this status afforded certain educational rights and imposed certain educational prohibitions.

While the literature on the emergence of extracurricular activities at early colonial colleges reveals that white students sought freedom from confining curricular demands, black collegians wanted freedom from the larger sociopolitical realities that prevented them from being recognized as citizens. The architects of early black colleges used the confining curricula from early colonial colleges to educate black students as white students were educated. Resultantly, black students at Straight University had to negotiate being Black (the sociopolitical reality) and being black students (confined not only by curricula but white curricula) in New Orleans (Funke, 1920).

The multiple conceptualizations and related traditions of race in New Orleans requires different understandings of blackness and citizenship than in other states (Funke, 1920). Louisiana in general and New Orleans in particular embodies a unique combination of African, French, Spanish, and British cultural, religious, social, and legal traditions, and, therefore, differs significantly from the more narrow Anglo Saxon-only customs found in other parts of the United States.

Meanings of race can be attributed to two specific nationalistic and/or ethnic systems of slavery impacting New Orleans. The English created a widespread system of chattel slavery that gave owners complete dominion. Enslaved blacks could not own goods because they themselves were exclusive property. As a French colony however, Louisiana, and specifically New Orleans, followed the “Code Noir” which mandated, among other things that were ultimately beneficial to Blacks (though not unilaterally), that: the enslaved be baptized into and educated in the Catholic faith tradition; enslaved women could gain freedom through marriage to a white owner; and that the formerly enslaved (freed Blacks) had the same rights as persons born free (Funke, 1920). Resultantly, by 1836 in New Orleans, 855 freed Blacks owned 620 slaves and other property valued at \$2,462,470 (Funke, 1920). Property ownership generally correlated with higher levels of literacy among Blacks.

The development of these disparate educational levels among various black sub-groups in the New Orleans region prior to the erection of Straight University may have played a significant role in shaping the character and nature of its extra-

curricular activities later. Free Blacks in New Orleans established schools across Louisiana. In contrast, English systems not only discouraged Blacks from developing literacy skills, they also discouraged conversion of Blacks to Christianity because it was not customary to enslave Christians in English territories. Thus, when benevolent missionary societies and industrialists explored introducing higher education into the Deep South, Louisiana was a logical starting ground. Although the overwhelming majority of Blacks in New Orleans (as well as Whites) could not read and write throughout the 19th century, free Blacks were more likely to be literate in New Orleans than in other far Southern cities (Funke, 1920). Critics of the missionary schools argued that these schools' curricula were detached from the poverty stricken realities with which many black students were presented during the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras (Fairclough, 2000). School texts seldom represented, much less accurately portrayed, the experiences of formerly enslaved or free Blacks in describing Blacks in the South. It is hard to say for sure if these critics were sincere in their advocacy for what could be described as an early iteration of culturally responsive education, or if they were covert supporters of the English system.

By the middle 1800s, slavery fueled a global economic engine that strongly discouraged educating the enslaved. Throughout the South, high demand for commodities such as tobacco, cotton, and sugar reinforced sociocultural and socioeconomic systems of racial hierarchy, division, and control. These systems permeated major governmental, educational, and religious institutions around the world, but had the greatest impact in regions that used slave labor to produce and distribute avidly sought commodities. Although admitted into the Union as a slave state in 1812, prior to the arrival of the Civil War to Louisiana's borders in 1864, the Louisiana State constitution did not delineate slavery as an institution, nor did it use the word, "Negro" (Kunkel, 1959). It did explicate restricted activities for "free white males," including as members of the state legislature (Louisiana Constitution, 1812a, Article 2, Sections 4 & 12; Louisiana Constitution, 1845a, Title III, Articles 6 & 18) and as having the right to bear arms (Louisiana Constitution, 1812b, Article 3, Section 22; Louisiana Constitution, 1845b, Title III, Article 60; Louisiana Constitution, 1852, Title IV, Article 59). Unfortunately, this did not mean the state was less repressive; it still used forced black labor in the production of tobacco, cotton, and sugar. Nevertheless, the presence of literate and free people of color in the state made New Orleans fertile ground for the establishment of postsecondary institutions.

While the country debated and challenged the merits of Reconstruction, abolitionists, as well as the black intellectual community, placed access to postsecondary institutions and attainment of postsecondary education high on the "race uplift" agenda. Academies and colleges figured prominently in these education reformers' plans. Between 1866 and 1910, approximately 230 academies and colleges were established through missionary and industrialist giving, and federal grant programs. Historians and other scholars who study this period speak to the importance these

new academic centers played in movements for racial advancement and acculturation (Ware, 1913).

Denominational giving at both colonial colleges and HBCU's shared similar early purposes. Initial donors generally wanted postsecondary institutions to assimilate people of color into existing society. Despite these donors' intentions, their denominational giving may not have actually influenced colonial colleges to make sincere efforts to educate these populations, but their initial gifts did at least usher in liberal arts curricula, akin to the religiously influenced curricula in postsecondary institutions of Europe.

Regional Tensions

Questions remain as to how, if at all, denominational giving influenced extracurricular activities. A brief examination of North-South tensions related to educational proliferation, especially for Blacks, in colonial and post-bellum contexts may suggest answers.

In importing their brand of theology to the South, the AMA and other missionary societies were able to carefully craft the impact that regional ideology or provincialism had on the curricula and extracurricula in the schools they established in the South. These specific religious orientations served as the basis for regionally-specific abolitionist and social uplift practices.

As the president of Atlanta University, Edward T. Ware, described, "Northern philanthropy took the Negro by the hand and said, 'I know that you have the ability to learn,' and then opened before him the door of opportunity" (Ware, 1913, p. 216). Ware argues further that as a result of these practices, white Southerners' appreciation for the educational needs of Blacks grew. Black intellectual, W.E.B. Du Bois, himself a product of AMA's Fisk University, eschewed the logic justifying the vocational training of Blacks promoted in the South, over, or at least ahead of, New England's liberal arts training. "This was the gift of New England to the freed Negro...The teachers in these institutions came not to keep the Negroes in their place, but to raise them out of the defilement of the places where slavery had wallowed them" (Du Bois, 1989, p. 70).

But much of the South was reluctant to swallow these social remedies prescribed by Northern institutions (Peeps, 1981). While the end of the Civil War dismantled the economic engine of slavery, thereby creating opportunities for missionary groups, government programs, and carpetbaggers to take root throughout the South, the social order rooted in slavery proved more difficult to erode. This became even more the case as the legislative fight for Southern sovereignty gained strength as it built towards its climax in the *Plessey v. Ferguson* decision of 1896.

Still, legislative actions undertaken by the Freedmen's Bureau, including the desegregation of Southern schools and the establishment of Northern-style colleges shaped the movement to uplift blacks. As a result, this movement acted as both a

sort of political and cultural occupation of the South. Accordingly, Southern black colleges became home-away-from-home bases for Northern interests. Against the backdrop of these constantly shifting regional political, economic, and social tensions and related interests, the AMA erected their schools; a sharp contrast to how colleges and universities were established in Northern denominational towns where the establishment of these institutions was actively sought by town leaders as a vehicle to advance and promote the more stable and singular political, economic, and social interests of town residents.

By the dawn of the twentieth century, some white Southerners initiated a widespread effort to organize education in their region (Anderson, 1978). State legislatures changed laws to facilitate the growth of education. Louisiana prohibited the establishment of separate schools in 1867; this encouraged Northern missionary societies' and industrialists to sponsor the development of schools in New Orleans. Later, state superintendent Thomas W. Conway laid the legal and policy framework for desegregating schools; this led to the very rapid expansion of black education in New Orleans (Harlan, 1962).

Ensuing political battles over Northern educational influences in the South accelerated the growth of education for Whites and Blacks in the region (Harlan, 1962). The American Missionary Association, the Freedmen's Bureau and other like foundation, and "carpet-bag" governments, were responsible for establishing dozens of Southern colleges, and normal and primary schools. This Southern education movement of sorts plowed the political soil so that schools could plant themselves in various communities throughout the region (Anderson, 1978).

Northern educational sponsors and Southern educational practitioners agreed that Blacks should have some level of education, but the AMA's beliefs in educational egalitarianism for Blacks, including at the postsecondary level, did not mesh with the segregationist leanings of many industrialists and foundations (Anderson, 1978). As a result, only weak linkages existed between Northern missionary societies and these industrialists and foundations.

Faced with black flight to Northern cities, Southern industrialists promoted their vocational education under the auspices that it was more congruent with the economic goals of the region. Accordingly, these industrialists aimed to educate Blacks so they could adapt to their "natural environment" (Anderson, 1978, p. 377). Initially, these interests may have encouraged a North-South educational "coalition" to form around what was initially perceived as a common goal of increasing educational opportunities in the South. However, missionary societies' and black civil rights activists' desire for racial equality revealed key industrialist and foundation desires to maintain a racial political and social hierarchy (including segregated schools) to foster regional economic competitiveness.

George F. Peabody established America's first wholly education-focused foundation in 1867. Initially, the Peabody Foundation sought to establish non-sectarian, public, desegregated schools. However, Peabody's general agent, Barnas Sears, did

not want to interfere with states' position on mixed schools. As a result, desegregated (and Negro) schools received limited funding in New Orleans because Sears could not find among them any with the infrastructure to meet the conditions stipulated for funding during his post-Civil War visits to the region (West, 1966). Thus, the Peabody Foundation came to support the expansion of exclusively black, public industrial education at the primary and secondary levels (Peeps, 1981; West, 1966).

Soon thereafter, not wanting to preside over racially mixed schools, Robert M. Lusher resigned his post as the Louisiana state superintendent to serve as the state agent for the Peabody Foundation (Harlan, 1962; West, 1966). Lusher's more extremist separatist views eventually led to the funneling of Peabody Foundation funds to private schools causing Sears to terminate the Peabody program in Louisiana shortly thereafter.

The John F. Slater Fund and the General Education Board also funded educational projects in the New Orleans region that encouraged segregated schools (Harlan, 1962; West, 1966). Nevertheless, New Orleans public schools were still desegregated through the efforts of the Freedmen's Bureau, coupled with the support of various philanthropic and grassroots organizations. For six and a half years, Blacks attended formerly all white schools such as the Dunning School, and Lower Girls and Central Boys' High (Harlan, 1962; West, 1966). Unfortunately, this desegregation movement was ended by school race riots in December of 1874, prior to the *Plessey v. Ferguson* decision. For decades thereafter, a political battle ensued between Northern abolitionists, missionaries, and other whites for control of the Freedmen's schools and colleges (McPherson, 1970).

This regional history highlights the complexities that local milieu brought to the texture of college student life during this period, and, more specifically, how interracial political battles likely impacted the nature of extracurricular activities on campus.

Black National Discourse on Athletics

By the time many AMA colleges opened their doors, white schools had firmly established athletic teams and leagues. AMA college leaders and students alike saw the positive impact of athletics on campus culture. However, like their white counterparts, first attempts to institutionalize athletics were met with "hostility and indifference." While some members of the college community felt that physical fitness was an important attribute of an educated person, others saw such as a distraction from the character development in "a man of science" (Rudolph & Thelin, 1990b).

At the turn of the century, black leadership began to measure the merits of athletics within their conceptualizations of higher education and racial upliftment (Miller, 1995). Many leaders in the Black Diaspora believed that athletic victories helped to dissolve stereotypes. Victories by black college and university teams were

viewed as *literally* leveling the playing field during Jim Crow. Athletics were also seen as unifying humanity; thus, athletic events were thought to accentuate human potential. But these notions did not proliferate uncontested. Du Bois, historian William Pickens, and others felt that athletic contests would distract black (and white) students from making traditional gains in academics and even promoted stereotypes of exaggerated physical prowess in Blacks (Miller, 1995).

While increasingly esoteric debates on the educational value of athletics swirled in black newspapers and among black educational leaders, administrators of nascent black colleges sought athletics out as effective mechanisms in helping their institutions grow. Student pride in their institutions inspired early black collegians to champion campus sport teams and covet the name recognition their campuses gained in athletic competitions.

Unfortunately, while college administrators wanted the rewards athletics brought to their institutions, at least initially, they did not want the costs. In the initial years of black college establishment, limited extracurricular activities were supported and funded. As a result, black student athletes often had to make or purchase their own equipment.

Despite doubts about the merits of college sports and institutional financial hardships, black colleges were not dissuaded from starting athletic programs. By the 1920s, most colleges fielded teams in football, baseball, basketball and track and field (Miller, 1995). Miller asserts that this marks the period when students started to have significant impact on campus life and culture. While sports in early black colleges were more impetus for this form of student empowerment than the debate clubs and literary societies were in early white colleges, the larger social contextual factors must, once again, be carefully considered in this examination of the overarching development of extracurricular activities in early black colleges.

Conclusion

If the underlying assumption that context influenced the growth of extracurricular activities on campus is accepted, then the examination of the broader sociopolitical context in which the education of black students in the South took place is certainly warranted. The AMA invested in schools to advance racial equality and promote a culture of self-sufficiency among black people. The towns and cities in which these schools were located sought to use them primarily for regional advancement. These competing agendas resulted in limited educational experiences for black students. Despite these limitations, an examination of the quality of the extracurricular activities at Straight reveal the important impact social contexts had on the development of these activities.

Placed in precarious sociopolitical and religious contexts, the nature of the extracurricular activities in these schools was altered. If the school community was

at odds or out of sync with the host community's social and economic network, then opportunities for political advancement or financial sponsorship lessened.

Schools were not social forts that protected students from the outside socio-political forces of the time. Particularly in the South, black students experienced face-to-face resistance that reflected the political and related policy challenges of the time. Of note, the AMA "fell heir" to the end of the Freedmen's Bureau and the withdrawal of benevolent societies from the South after the war (Holmes, 1969). This, in particular, may explain the hardship of many missionary schools' ability to maintain extracurricular activities (Miller, 1995).

The larger social context surrounding the Straight College student experience tells a much different story than does the dominant narrative regarding the emergence of extracurricular activities at colonial colleges. In Straight University's early years the extracurriculum was similar to as that in colonial colleges. But, the emergence of the extracurriculum at Straight University began as an extension of the university's mission and classroom learning deriving therefrom, and, therefore, evolved into a more holistic program emphasizing the development of the "whole student" (Beard, 1909).

Straight University's religious mission also influenced its earliest extracurricular activities. Its first record of out-of-class activities were religious worship and Sabbath School (AMA Archives, 1821). Both of these activities, much like those at their colonial college peer institutions, were wholly dedicated to instilling religious piety in students. Students even urged the university to hold revivals to broaden their experiences outside of the classroom, further substantiating the influence of the religious mission on them. Notably, the two most dominant social organizations on campus during this period were the Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations, both of which occupied high status at the institution (Straight College, 1926, p. 13 & 1927, third page; Straight University, 1900-1901).

New Orleans' rich musical legacy may have made the Straight University choir an integral and popular component of the extracurriculum. Resultantly, choir members played "ambassador" roles by further supporting the religious mission of the institution as they regularly performed hymnals and spirituals for the campus and local communities (Straight College, 1926, pp. 49-50 & 1927, sixth page; Straight University, 1918). As the choir's popularity soared, the establishment of an academic music program at Straight ensued. This program further evolved the eventually very active extracurriculum by broadening the student organization base to include a Glee Club and several small choirs, and fostering a campus culture in which regular musical recitals were given by students (Straight University, 1870-1934).

As early as 1895, students at Straight University enjoyed weekly socials (DeSpelder, 1895). Participation in lecture, debate, and literary society activities was also popular at Straight, as was the case at colonial colleges (Beard, 1909; Straight College, 1926, p. 32 & 1927, second page; Straight University, 1918 & 1921; Westbrook 2002.). Highly competitive, gender-based literary societies also

provided opportunities for additional skill enhancement during the summer months for the top ten students at the institution (Straight University, 1908-1909).

Departmental student leagues (currently known as pre-professional organizations), aiming to advance students' applied knowledge in their respective fields, were first noted in the 1929-1930 *Straight University Catalog* (Straight University, 1929-1930). Their presence begins to reveal connections with the larger social context.

Finally, athletics, the merits of which for students were initially highly debated, quickly became a source of pride for Straight University, leading to the development of athletic programs for both men and women; women at Straight even participated in classical Japanese Fan Dancing (AMA Archives, 1895-1943; Straight University, 1912-1913). Beyond these formal athletic programs, all Straight students were actively encouraged to exercise.

Note

¹ The term "extracurriculum" as opposed to "co-curriculum" is applied throughout this paper primarily because of its historical usage.

² Straight University became Straight College in 1915. Straight College merged with New Orleans University (formerly Union Normal School) to form Dillard University in 1930.

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Teaching and Learning from an Anti-Fragile Perspective

Bretton Polowy

John Cleese once famously quipped: *You don't need to be the Dalai Lama to tell people that life is about change.* This is reassuring, because I am not the Dalai Lama and I do intend to make the case that life and the skills needed to succeed at change are about emergence. As a father of two children and an educator with hundreds more entrusted to my care, I am increasingly concerned about equipping all of them for a future I cannot anticipate. In this article, I argue that complexity science, living systems theory, and self-organizing networks of community practice must become an essential part of every child's school experience if we are to attain a sustainable future. Moreover, I suggest that an anti-fragile teaching and learning perspective has the potential to shift human endeavor in a more sustainable direction and prepare the leaders of tomorrow for the challenges of the world around them.

Learning to Thrive in a Complex World

It doesn't take a philosopher-king to recognize that the world is complex and difficult to understand. For millennia, humans sought to make sense of their surroundings through proofs, heuristics, or theories. In the interlinked post-industrial realities of the information-age, these tools have become formidable in the scope of their focus and the depth of their predictive field. The reassuring authority of numbers surrounds us. I find it curious, however, that the depth and scope of the interlinking challenges faced by modern society have also intensified and deepened. While it is generally fair to say that more economic, scientific, and historical information is readily available than at any other point in human history, the panoramic view of the 21st century belies the fact that the full scope of the consequence of

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any given event remains obscured from view. Engineered systems for conveying information, or conducting the basic operations of human enterprise, have become so intertwined with one another that they are increasingly vulnerable to the cascading effects of disruptive episodes. As a result, no matter how attempts are made to offset the ripple of these shocks to the system as they bounce from interconnected node to interconnected node, the number of potential outcomes appears to grow exponentially, making them all but impossible to anticipate and avoid.

I love clocks and watches. Their tiny gears and precise movements fascinate me and tie deeply into an abiding interest in all things mechanical. Similarly, the metaphor of systems as mechanical devices, in which component pieces play defined roles, has a rather rationally-seductive quality about it, making it extremely popular in organizational theory. The metaphor is neat, tidy, and fits well with the schema of general common sense.

However, the universe is nothing like a watch. It is not a sealed steady-state system, free from external influence. Component pieces do not play fixed or rigidly-defined roles; nor are they subject to random events. Unlike springs and gears, they are influenced by the interplay of their proximity to one another in ways difficult to predict. Emergent advances in the field of scientific complexity theory suggest that the universe is not like a hierarchical organizational chart either. Its relationships are neither linear nor do they follow strict horizontal or vertical axes. There is no balanced ledger of cosmic inputs and outputs. In fact, it doesn't seem to operate at all like any of the models or metaphors we have tried to impose upon it for most of modern human history.

These ill-fitting mental schemas put the citizens of the 21st century at a disadvantage in the face of growing collective perils such as climate change and exponential population growth, and suggest that humanity needs to look elsewhere for an example that works. What do we do when the *going gets tough*? In recent years the idea of resiliency or robustness, as displayed by entire systems or by individual actors, has gained considerable traction. These concepts suggest that it is desirable to spring back or return to a normative state in the face of hardship or adversity and/or it is valuable to be cognitively bunkered in some sense, into a fortified position that has protective properties in the face of danger. Examples are drawn from concentration camps, football fields, hospital wards, and corporate boardrooms to reassure children in schools and affirm that they can make their way through whatever may lie ahead if they have the right combination of resolve, toughness, and elasticity. That is to say: *hunker down and, when the storm is over, come out of the foxhole and rebuild what existed before.*

Unfortunately, resolve, toughness, and elasticity may not be enough to prevail when the going really does get *unpredictably tough*, particularly in the face of repeated shocks to the individual or the collective system or when a return to the norm is simply no longer a possibility. As Austrian psychiatrist Viktor Frankl noted of his time as a prisoner in Auschwitz: "We have come back...we know the best

of us did not return” (Coutu, 2002, p. 9). The notion that, as Maurice Vanderpol (as cited in Coutu, 2002) suggests, someone has a *plastic shield* or is possessed of nerves of steel belies the fact that, under repeated stressors, material fatigue will set-in and result in structural failure. The metaphor of plastic elasticity or steely resilience is as problematic as it is pervasive: it implies an artificiality that does not reflect the challenges found in nature. Complex living systems alter and adapt when under stress, unlike non-living systems that falter, decline, or wear out. These systems routinely coalesce around key attractors, undergo dispersal in the face of instability, and then coalesce around new emergent attractors again (Morcol, 2006). This process of bifurcation and recombination is often messy and unpredictable, but it ultimately strengthens the agents involved because it casts off what has failed and builds upon what works. It is emergent, continuous, and moves with the flow of time. It is not about just getting back on-track; it is about perpetually building and re-building a new and improved path in concert with others.

The Search for Meaning, Critical Flexibility, and Personal Agency

If PK–12 schools really are to help the students in their quest for personal meaning and purpose, they must re-imagine themselves to provide authentic learning experiences for their children. To begin with, PK–12 educational policy makers must come to terms with the reality that purpose is not dictated to us by others, but is found within ourselves. Purpose is shaped and informed by direct life-experience and helps both individuals and groups find the opportunities embedded within the actual challenges they must confront and overcome. This suggests a shift from imparting essentialist or reductionist knowledge towards a focus on building/adding cognitive tools to the student’s intellectual toolkit. As much as possible, each individual should strive, as the poet W.E. Henley (1875) advises, to be the *master of our fate and the captain of our soul*. This change implies that the process of social replication, often robed in the guise of citizenship, is insufficient in and of itself to safeguard humanity against potential future hazards. Humans are, or must become, rational actors who intentionally equip themselves to thrive in the face of emergent challenges. Future opportunities will be found by women and men possessed of a profound sense of personal agency, under which they shape and inform their own choices through critical analysis, adjustment, and transformation over time (Yanchar & Gabbitas, 2010).

Moving Beyond the Limitations of Resiliency

Life is lived under uncertain conditions, with emergent challenges and opportunities. The dynamic nature of the human experience requires us to exercise a degree of personal agency and critical flexibility, which are quite simply not found in traditional models of resiliency. When an event has reached the catastrophic threshold, it is not enough to respond and restore an *a priori* order. Although I am

reluctant to draw parallels between the worlds of business and education as their core purposes differ, Diane Coutu's analysis of investment giant Morgan Stanley's robust and resilient response to the attack on the New York World Trade Center in 2001 serves as a useful case in point. The attack itself might be best described as a "Black Swan"—a devastating event whose capricious consequences expose the weaknesses of both historical and predictive analytical defense systems (Taleb, 2010). According to Coutu (2002), Morgan Stanley had procedures and redundant systems in place that allowed it to get back to business and normalize its operations faster than most of its competitors. In lieu of genuine critical analysis, adjustment, and transformation it defaulted to a preset linear template and undertook to return to normative operations as swiftly as possible. Coutu (2002) celebrated Morgan Stanley's robustness, cited it as an excellent exemplar of the virtues of resiliency and said there was much to learn from their way of doing things.

I would argue that Morgan Stanley also serves as an excellent exemplar of the vices of resiliency as well. Oblivious to the effects of *causal opacity*, the state-of-the-art systems of traditional statistical analysis employed by Morgan Stanley and other large investment banks, combined with the robust comforts of past experience, allowed these institutions to plunge head-long into a second devastating "Black Swan" in the form of the sub-prime mortgage crisis of 2007, almost completely stalling the entire global economy in the process (Taleb, 2012). Morgan Stanley was stripped of over 80% of its market value, was compelled to convert to a traditional bank-holding company to access \$10 billion from the Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP), and sold a 21% ownership stake to the Mitsubishi UFJ Financial Group to obtain an additional \$9 billion in emergency capital (Kudla, 2013). Morgan Stanley and many other titanic American finance and manufacturing companies *shattered* under the strain of a sub-prime manufactured "Black Swan" and would have failed to survive, save for the unprecedented intervention of the United States government.

It is important to understand that this event is situated in the context of the emergent realities of the global economy and was the direct result of the cumulative effects of routine, interlocked, and fragilized decision-making practices employed by the banking and investment sector (Taleb, 2012). It is no small irony that Morgan Stanley had to stop pretending it could predict the outcomes of high-risk ventures and establish a solid business core that limited its exposure to risk and interdependent frailty, while facilitating effective, sustainable growth to survive. Their action is the very thing all organisms must do to thrive and prosper in a complex universe.

Teaching and Learning from an Anti-fragile Perspective

I would argue that, as early 21st century citizens, we don't go nearly far enough to equip our children to meet the challenges they will face in the near-present and, by doing so, inadvertently imperil our collective future in the process. I propose that parents and educators begin (or perhaps rediscover how) to teach our children from

an *anti-fragile* perspective more in keeping with the emergent and adaptive nature of the universe (Taleb, 2012). I believe learning should take place in an environment that is safe, supportive, rigorous, and allows the possibility of transformative failure (Davis & Sumarra, 2012). Activities should be scaffolded; formative feedback should be looped; and powerful questions should guide the learning process (Friesen et al., 2013). The anti-fragile classroom is active, not passive, and is centered on building adaptive knowledge, not transmitting fixed facts.

As a parent, I believe my children's formative experiences should mimic the coalescent and bifurcative patterns of the universe, making them stronger, better, and more adaptive in the face of adversity. I want my children to develop a sense of agency and have opportunities to practice various forms of self-organization in shaping the multiple learning environments in which they find themselves (Dolan et al, 2013). They must be exposed to appropriate levels of *randomness, volatility, and acute stress* so they learn to improvise and adapt as needs dictate (Taleb, 2012). They must be made aware that, although the past is instructive, it does not perfectly predict the future. They must also come to understand that, although narratives can be immensely powerful in guiding our individual experiences, they are subject to a continuous cycle of reflective reinterpretation and/or *dimension reduction* which can be misleading, particularly when guided by others for their own purposes (Taleb, 2010, p. 71).

My children love judo and have been practicing it at our local YMCA for about three years. During that time I have come to realize that the judo dojo in many respects exemplifies an anti-fragile learning environment. The instruction is largely *flipped* (both in a literal and figurative sense) in that most of the class is spent doing, rather than listening or absorbing information. The environment, though safe and supportive, is tough and demanding. Students are taught to convert the punishing forces of momentum and gravity into elegant arcs and rolls. Aggression is channeled into discipline and competitiveness is tempered with mutual respect. Through the mechanisms of transformative failure and the self-strengthening properties of *Wolff's Law*, bones become denser, muscles become stronger, appropriate responses become reflexive, and thinking becomes improvisational and adaptive to the realities of each new circumstance (Taleb, 2012, p. 54). The curriculum of throws, break-falls, and holds is infinitely adapted in real time to meet the needs of the moment in an ever-emergent stream of improvisation. When my children are dramatically (if not heart-stoppingly) thrown to the mat and get back up, they are not merely resilient. They are made stronger; smarter; more adaptable. In that moment they have become anti-fragile.

It is important educators understand that, despite its adaptive rhetoric, resiliency promotes a return to the comfortable set point of familiarity as soon as possible, thereby causing systems and people to be brittle and inflexible, particularly in the face of unknowable repetitive stressors. Unlike all naturally occurring complex systems, resiliency doesn't inherently strengthen the actors involved. Its sunny

disposition belies a hidden hardscrabble meanness that was alluded to by Frankel: "...the best of us did not return" (Coutu, 2002, p. 10). Moreover, the linearity of resilient systems and their reliance on statistical modeling and its related predictive tools obscure the fact that the future is largely opaque, thereby exacerbating the effects of a range of "Black Swans" including: the organic-formation of a constellation of Jihadist terrorist cells, the death of up to 15,000 people at the hands of Ebola in western Africa, and the release of tons of radioactive material into the Pacific Ocean after the destruction of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant (Miles, 2014; Taleb, 2012; Wheatley, 2007). Each of these events has had an unforeseen cascading effect on a range of interconnected nodes of human endeavor, resulting in a widespread loss of life, undue physical and psychological hardship for the individuals involved, and the unanticipated expenditure or loss of billions of dollars of public and private resources. In these instances, the system in which the examples were embedded was *fragile* and shattered when the *going got unpredictably tough*. All this begs the question: why would schools promote the schema of resiliency within which, *the best of us* are likely to perish?

The complex natural systems that abound throughout the universe require that educators impress a *complexified* understanding of the emergent nature of the world around us to exercise the personal agency required to dig out the opportunity embedded within each challenge. If one accepts that the future is largely opaque and unknowable, it becomes clear that humanity must reorganize itself along lines free from the fragility of resilient and robust defensive systems. We must, as Taleb (2012) suggests, become *anti-fragile*. This requires a complexified reconceptualization of the skill-sets needed to thrive and grow stronger in the face of adversity, which extends out well beyond the theoretical models implied by resiliency. It suggests a curriculum which sidesteps the potential perils of what Bertrand Russell called the *problem of inductive knowledge*, by recognizing that experience may actually take on a negative value in that what worked in the past may suddenly become irrelevant or viciously misleading by imposing a false map of stability on the likelihood of events (Taleb, 2010, p. 40).

In the absence of a genuine ability to foresee the future, methods must be found by which the effects of a "Black Swan" can be mitigated or turned to positive effect. Teaching and learning from an anti-fragile perspective would require that educational planners consider the *silent cemetery* of flora and fauna that departed the Earth without leaving traces in the form of fossils, suggesting that the existing record of biological winners is greatly outweighed by an extinction rate of up to 99.5% (Taleb, 2010, p. 108). Children need to be made aware that the human race has been *very lucky* and should try its best to conserve what has been gained largely through random chance (Taleb, 2010, p. 117).

Meeting the Challenges of an Uncertain Future

As parents and educators, we must equip children to be citizens of a future world

we cannot anticipate, by providing them with the best philosophical and cognitive tools possible. I don't want my son or daughter to build Vanderpol's *plastic shield* and attempt to deflect unpredictable Black Swans with it. I want them to build a spider's web: an emergent, elegantly-adaptive work in progress that is five-times stronger than steel and stands ever-ready to trap opportunities, both great and small, that come its way (North Carolina Museum of Natural Sciences, n.d.). The human race will need to confront the direct effects of environmental climate change and population growth in the near-immediate future. It does not serve our interest to continue to enter into low-return/high loss-potential scenarios, which are akin to "collecting nickels in the path of a steamroller" (Taleb, 2010, p. 204). Complexity science, living systems theory, and self-organizing networks of community practice are essential tools and must be considered an indispensable part of every child's school experience if we are ever to attain a sustainable future. An anti-fragile teaching and learning perspective has the potential to shift human endeavor. Anything less will fail to prepare students for the challenges of the real world around them.

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Teaching Jewish Holidays in Early Childhood Education in Israel Critical Feminist Pedagogy Perspective

Haggith Gor Ziv

Abstract

Teaching Jewish holidays in secular kindergartens in Israel is a major part of the early childhood education curriculum and often revolves around myths of heroism. The telling of these stories frequently evokes strong nationalist feelings of identification with fighting as they describe survival wars and conflicts in which the heroes are mostly male fighters and Jewish victory over the enemy is celebrated. Thus the teaching of the holidays hidden agenda strengthens ceremonial, patriarchal and national ideas. This paper proposes a number of educational alternatives in accordance with critical feminist pedagogy and Jewish values of social justice. The article focuses on three major holidays: Hanukah, Purim and Passover. It shows in each one of them the conventional reading of the holiday which is the traditional way it is being taught in secular kindergartens, the holiday through a critical feminist pedagogy lens and application in early childhood classrooms.

Introduction

Early childhood teachers in Israel begin to teach a rich program in advance of each Jewish holiday with variety of repetitive activities such as storytelling, drama, and creative play. They also offer a mainstream explanation of the holiday, which lacks any critical perspective or adaptation to the modern context. Although teachers' colleges require a high level in-depth course discussing the holidays, which may be critical, it does not connect with the practice in the early childhood classes and does not suggest any alternatives.

During the many years of preparing early childhood teachers, I have been

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increasingly concerned with the messages that the teaching of the holidays transmits to young children. As a critical feminist pedagogue, I see a need to challenge the hegemonic ideas regarding the woman's place in society, social justice, wars and violence as a way to solve conflicts that are conveyed through the teaching of holidays. I see a great need for a critical reading of texts connected to the holidays, analysis of the existing practices and search for alternatives.

This article describes the ways Jewish holidays are taught in Israeli secular preschools and kindergartens through the perspective of critical feminist pedagogy. It focuses on how current teaching practices promote a mind-set that feeds on concepts of intolerance and enmity towards otherness. This article in contrast suggests educational alternatives based on critical feminist pedagogy and Jewish values of social justice that should be offered as a way of preparing early childhood educators for teaching Jewish holidays, emphasizing social equality and peace education. This article demonstrates how teaching Jewish holidays through the lens of critical feminist pedagogy could offer meaningful options that are both fitting in our times and to the formation of a world view based on human rights and Jewish human values.

Principles of Critical Feminist Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy represents a school of thought that focuses on the way capitalist society stratifies children into the social classes, which they were born by means of education. Critical pedagogy also examines the power relationships between different groups in society and how a school's knowledge conveyed through educational programs reinforces it rather than creating a more egalitarian opportunity for learning. Critical pedagogy investigates the ways which knowledge is induced and constructs human consciousness through education. By highlighting the effect of knowledge, critical pedagogy shows the pedagogical means to affect political awareness, and accordingly change and educate students towards critical reading of the world, using creative thinking to propel them towards equality and justice for all (Shor, 1992).

Feminist critical pedagogy more specifically highlights the construction of gender inequality in a patriarchal society through education. Feminist pedagogy views gender issues as dominating factors that create inequality between people (Gore, 1992). Conventional education tracks girls to lower positions through both hidden and overt messages embedded in the curriculum through constructed knowledge and educational practices (Middleton, 1992).

Critical pedagogy overlaps feminist pedagogy by aiming to expose the mechanism that tracks children to the margins of society, striving to give a voice to disempowered groups, raise societal awareness, initiate social change and promote equality to all segments of society through education. Critical feminist pedagogy provides a lens to view society and education, and interpret and act to humanize them (Gor, 2013). Moreover, it promulgates that educational philosophy and its praxis are inseparable in education (Freire, 1971).

Rethinking Teaching Jewish Holidays with the Lens of Critical Pedagogy

Jewish holidays are celebrated in all preschools and kindergarten in Israel with the exception of Arab educational programs. These celebrations constitute a major part of the early childhood curriculum. Two or three weeks before each holiday are dedicated to various related activities. Some holidays (Hanukkah, Purim, Passover, Independence Day, and Lag Baomer) tell stories of survival, wars and conflicts, in which we commemorate victory over an enemy and we crown male fighters as heroes. Jewish secular early childhood teachings of these holidays emphasize themes of heroism and bravery demonstrated in wars while often neglecting other values that the holidays include. This way of narrating the holidays typically portrays women as less important or absent from shared celebration.

Hanukah—Conventional Reading of the Story

Before Hanukkah, which is celebrated in December, I asked my student teachers what they knew about Hanukkah, mainly whether they knew about the celebration and origin. The answers I received were representative of how Hanukkah is traditionally taught in the secular education. By and large they reported a diluted story of the Zionist version of the holiday; a story of national war against the Greeks, (a foreign occupier of the land of Israel) where Jews were the victims who fought back and outsmarted the enemy. They told the story of the oil jug that lit the *menorah* in the depleted Temple; often confusing the Greeks with the Romans. The most common response and of greatest importance according to the, was Israeli victory over the Greeks. This, for them, was both the highlight of the story and the cause of the celebration. They listed motives of courageous fighting of the “few against the many,” and “the weak against the mighty” as a basic recurrent narrative of David and Goliath. Students from religious backgrounds also evoked the religious oppression under the Greek occupation and the story of Hanna who sacrificed her sons and kept her devotion to God. They remember the festival of lights, donuts, dreidels, Hanukkah *gelt* and songs such as *Banu Hoshech legares* (*We came to chase away darkness*).

My students received an assignment to observe how their trainer-teacher narrated the story and to report on it. They were then to provide a detailed account of what they experienced in our class: There were children’s coloured paper shaped as menorahs, dreidels and jugs, prepared latkes and an Hanukah festive atmosphere.

The students described the way in which for many kindergartens the narrative of war becomes a fun game for the children, who play with swords and shields made from cardboard, decorated with a *Magen David* (the Star of David). The students informed us of the majority male attraction to war games—with boys being more likely to enact violent games that are otherwise forbidden in early childhood classes. Female students, however, were more likely to create a social, dramatic play using donuts and latkes.

The students listen to their kindergarten teachers who narrate the Hanukkah legend as a war between the “good guys” and the “bad guys.” The protagonists were the Hashmonaim, the Jews who preserved Jewish traditions, and the antagonists were the Hellenized Jews or Mityavanim, the Jews who were influenced by Greek culture. The story is told in black and white, with no complexity, general political background or circumstances.

Retelling Hanukkah’s Story with Critical Pedagogy Lens

There are various sources of the holiday which give different perspectives regarding the development of the holiday, in various periods of history. I will begin with the Talmudic text explaining Hanukkah as a festival of light¹:

Adam, the first, when he saw that each day of the week became shortened, cried:
Woe is to me, the world becomes dark to me because of my sin, and it seems to be returned to chaos and ruin. And this is my death which was decreed by heaven.
He arose and fasted and prayed eight days.

From this passage one may conclude that Hanukkah has a pagan origin which stems from Adam’s (man’s) fear of the shortening days and the prolongation of the nights in December. Unable to explain these natural phenomena, early humans conceived darkness as a punishment for their sins, and prayed for eight days to appease the gods. Today we continue to celebrate the return of light and hope.

Bringing this Talmudic source to the forefront enables us to position Hanukkah, as a commonly shared holiday that appears in various forms in other cultures and nations. This gives us the opportunity to discuss multiculturalism, viewing Judaism as a subculture, which is different from but equal to, rather than superior to, others. In my teaching, I show a colorful PowerPoint presentation of other light festivals which include Christmas, Diwali (in India), Loi Krathong (in Thailand), St. Lucia (in Sweden) and the Lantern festival in China. This exercise helps to include any Arab students in class, as I can ask them about Christmas or the meaning of the Islamic *Fanus* during the Ramadan.

The acceptance of different cultures and acknowledging the different ways of experiencing the world represents one of the ideas of critical feminist pedagogy (Sleeter & McLaren, 1995). Multiculturalism promotes understanding of differences, legitimizing diversity as a societal strength. Often I would teach about Christmas even if there were no Christian students in class, so as to lay the groundwork for acceptance of children with diverse background in the future

After asserting the period of the historical events of Hanukkah and the major players as the Hellenized Greeks (*Yevanim*) (not the Romans) I asked the students what they knew about Greece and Greek culture. This question confused many of the students as they did not immediately associate the Greeks of the Hanukkah’s narrative with the Greeks whom they study about in the fifth grade, under the topic of “Greece—The Cradle of Culture.”

The Hanukkah narrative, as told in kindergarten, demonizes the Greeks as a cruel, oppressive enemy; while the historical theme of “The Cradle of Culture” teaches in a nonbiased way about the Greeks who wrote literature and philosophy and created democracy. The students often fail to realize that the Greeks of Hanukah are the same people coming from the ‘grand’ Greek culture. This failed connection is often the result of the stark contrast in the teaching of world history versus that of Jewish history in our education system.

When discussing with the students what they knew about the achievements of ancient Greek culture, most spoke about democracy, Olympics games, sculpture, architecture, philosophy, gymnasium, and mathematics. They named famous philosophers such as Plato, Socrates, Sophocles, Pythagoras. They mentioned great epos like the *Odyssey*. We talked about Greek words embedded in the Hebrew language and about Greek heroes and mythology. We also talked about the limitation of Greek democracy, which did not include women, slaves and plebs as full humans and prohibited them from voting or having any rights.

We collectively attempted to connect our knowledge about Greek culture to the Hanukkah narrative and the possibility of breaking away from dichotomy between the two ethos. Talking about the innovative culture of the Greek Empire created a more sophisticated comprehension of the story of Hannukka. Rereading history and world experience in critical feminist pedagogy aims to connect between the departmentalized knowledge the students acquire and humanize the “other.” I conducted the lesson in a dialogical way that included the students’ knowledge and respect for it. At the same time, I strived to enable them to see new perspectives and observe what they know from another angle that adds new meanings and new dimensions to the story.

The narrative told in schools portrays the Jews who were influenced by the Greek culture in a negative way, naming them “Hellenized” (*Mityavnim*) which carries the connotation of being a traitor or betraying the Jewish tradition. I attempted to provoke the students with applying these concepts to our contemporary scene by asking questions such as: Are we Hellenized? Americanized? Or Westernized? Is it bad? What are the advantages and disadvantages? We look for contemporary parallels such as Jewish groups who oppose new technology and secular knowledge and those who do not have TV internet or electronic games at home. We talk about the tensions between preserving one’s own identity and tradition while opening up to other cultures, for example, what we choose to adopt and what to reject and how such dilemmas manifest themselves in other cultures with which we are familiar.

While implementing critical feminist pedagogy, I use the means of juxtaposition to question and doubt constructed knowledge (Bahruth & Steiner, 2000). Actualization of ancient history and examination in light of today’s knowledge and values illuminates Hanukkah and our teaching of the holiday with complexity. We investigated the economic and cultural relationships of the story’s protagonists and related it to the role of power and powerlessness, of ruling and being ruled, and of

dominating and being in dominated communities. A central question was who was in the periphery, left outside of spheres of power at that time, and who was in power. In contemplating the similarity of our present situation particularly in relations concerning centre/periphery, rich/poor, men/women in a democratic society; we were able to compare this to the Jewish priestly rule under the Hellenist occupation.

Political and economic power struggles have characterized many major events in history. In the case of the Hanukkah story, the ruling elite conducted fierce battles to gain leadership. Jason, who descended from Cohanim (a priestly family) bought his powerful position from Antiochus. Jason led a Hellenist reform and canceled the previous rights given by the Saluki kingdom to live according to the forefathers' tradition. He introduced Greek reforms and established a gymnasium, high schools for sport and art, and a phabium, para-military sport preparatory schools. Menelaus, the high priest who ruled Judea after him, doubled the amount of money offered by Jason to Antiochus and in return received the reign. Many Jews hated Menelaus; while they objected to Jason's reforms, they despised the corruptive way both Jason and Menelaus gained the rule by depleting the Temple treasury. Jason organized a military attack in order to regain power. It failed when Antiochus came to protect Menelaus and he massacred the rebels. The anger toward Menelaus involved class clashes as he symbolized the exploitation of the ruling elite and abuse of power. For his own ends, he plundered the Temple treasures to which each Jew was coerced to pay half a shekel each year. The Hashmonaim uprising against Menelaus ended in a surprising victory and eventually, they inaugurated the purified and sanctified Temple (Schwartz, 2004).

I asked my students to think about the triumphant elevating spirit of the Hanukah story's victory and to contemplate also about the pain of loss of young lives. I asked them to visualize the toll of men killed in war, to imagine the grief, the suffering, the agony and destruction of war; and picture what it must have looked like.

The miraculous story of the "oil jug" keeping the menorah of the Temple lit for eight days appeared at a much later time in the Talmud Bavli (Talmud, Shabbat, 21). Spreading the story of the revolt against the Greeks became risky after the occupation of the Roman Empire and the Bar Kochbah uprising (132–136 CE) which ended in a total disaster. Evoking the victory over the Greeks 300 years earlier and celebrating an earlier successful war could encourage another rebellion that might lead to a national catastrophe. Eventually the later version of the oil jug story of Hanukkah served to maintain the spiritual acceptance of the *din malchut*, the authority of the ruler of country wherever Jews lived after the destruction of Judea. This new narrative gave the credit of the victory entirely to the miraculous power of God rather than to human initiative. The *Bar Kokhba* uprising ended in the destruction of the Jewish communities in Judea.

Choosing to tell the spiritual, divinized version as the origin of the holiday of Hanukah conveys the message that "all is in God's hands." The philosopher Leiboviz claims that the sources of Jewish admiration of military power does not

exist as a value in its own right, that Judaism does not glorify military heroism and fighting but rather admires learning of Torah and observation of *mitzvot*. He claims that Hanukkah became a holiday to celebrate the rescue of the Torah rather than memorializing a military victory (Leibovitz, 1995).

Discussing the development of Hanukkah exposes the students to the transformation of the holiday through different periods of time. It shows them how leaders appropriate knowledge as power through history and how it influences reality. Howard Zinn talks about the many “histories” encompassing the hegemonic story and the ones left unwritten in books but told from different points of view (Zinn, 2011).

The main motif of the historical narrative of the Hashmonaim’s revolt as told by Josephus Flavius in *The Wars of the Jews* (Hebrew, 1961) revolves around resistance to religious coercion and the value of freedom to observe religious practices and beliefs. During the 20th Century, the Zionist movement turned Hanukkah into a national holiday and a celebration of national bravery. Prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, the Zionist institutions decided to emphasize the importance of Hanukkah as a symbol for the new Jewish national revival in its homeland. Identifying with the Maccabeus rebels and their military victory, served to create solidarity and national spirit in fighting the enemies of the newly born state. Thus, the holiday was transformed into a celebration of a national revolt for independence rather than resistance to religious coercion or a celebration of God’s miracle. The Zionist version perceived the celebrated victory over the Greeks as a national triumph gained in war for freedom and independence. It obscured issues of corruption, internal rivalry and conflicts among the Jewish leaders, the exploitation of the poor by the rich, greed and the struggle for power. The Zionist movement played down the motif of the divine miracle, turning it into a symbol that glorifies military combat. Hence, fighting the Arabs became a replay of the Maccabeus heroism.

A parallel drawn between the Greeks and the British who ruled Palestine served as a historical analogy that connects the contemporary establishment of Israel to the myths of ancient times. Thus, the verse chanted while lightening the Hanukia “*Bayamim hahem bazman haze*” renewed its meaning in reference to the Arab Israeli conflict. Aharon Ze’ev’s song, “*We carry torches*” (*Anu nNoseem Lapidim*) expresses well the Zionist interpretation of the holiday. The Hanukkah song, “*Nes lo kara lanu pach shemen lo mazano*” (*We did not have a miracle, we did not find an oil jug*), expresses clearly this theme: a celebration of national independence without divine intervention (Ze’ev, 1932).

The use of the Maccabees as a metaphor for the revival of the Jewish people appeared earlier before this song. Theodore Herzl’s book, *The State of the Jews*, ends with referring to the new state as the revival of the Maccabees generation (Herzl, 1896).

Therefore, I believe that a wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence.
The Maccabeans will rise again.

Bialik, the national poet whose poems are taught in all Israeli schools, called upon the Maccabees to assist the people in his famous poem “*Lamitnadvim ba’am.*” In “*Ir ha’hariga*” he mocks the sons of the Maccabees who ran away from the pogrom in Kishinev like mice.

In addition, my own father who fought in the Jewish British Brigade against the Nazis in 1944 wrote about an encounter he had with Jews in Italy on Hanukkah in this spirit. He described how the Jewish soldiers of the British Brigade lit the menorah on spears with a heightened atmosphere towards the national revival and historical connection to the Maccabees.

Application in the Early Childhood Classroom

Presenting to my students different narratives of Hanukkah allows them to choose what messages they wish to emphasize and convey to the children in teaching the holiday. They need to clarify for themselves their own values, their view of Israeli social reality (past and present) and their philosophy of education. Thus, they may choose the messages they want to convey to the children in an informed way, rather than automatically reteaching the knowledge that they acquired as children.

Knowledge is power (Apple, 2000). Most kindergartens celebrate the Zionist militant version of the holiday lacking awareness of its historical development. Examining the transformation of the holiday’s messages over the years gives us the opportunity to emphasize more democratic values, rather than praise resolutions of conflicts by military force, and give a more complex picture of the historical events.

From the perspective of critical feminist pedagogy, one may use the opportunity that holidays bring to show the complex aspects of war, destruction and human agony. A teacher may choose to emphasize the aspect of religious freedom as part of democratic values or the importance of social equality and economical fairness. War stories foster the mind-set that takes our political situation for granted, as if it is natural to fight wars. Since we do not wish children to conceive of wars as a normative reality, we need to understand how holidays influence people’s mind-set and political consciousness.

Conventional education in Israel forces children learn to view the world diametrically in black and white, good and bad, us and them, men and women; such dichotomies create a distorted undesirable view of reality. Children do not learn to question or cast doubt. Teachers who choose to teach such depictions of Hanukkah should ask who benefits from war: Who loses? Was a war the only option to choose against Menelaus? They may choose to show the Hellenist culture in a more complex way allowing the children to face the dilemma between self-identity and influence of new ideas of foreign culture. A teacher may make connections between the advantages and disadvantages of the Hellenist culture, and juxtapose the dilemmas of the past with similar problems of our present days.

Purim—The Conventional Reading of the Story

As Purim approaches, I ask my students to recall the major protagonists of the story as they remember it and I write the list on the whiteboard. I also ask them to list the common attributes describing each protagonist. The picture usually looks as follows: Vashti—bad, disobedient and impudent; Achshverosh—hedonist and stupid; Mordechai—wise, pious and just, a Zadik; Esther—kind, beautiful and devoted to her people. Haman—wicked and evil.

Their recollections resemble the way teachers in preschools and kindergarten tell the story, in a simplistic, black and white manner. Teachers read the story in a tone that directly influences the children's sense of "right and wrong" without space for any doubt or criticism. The children understand that Haman was bad because he was against us; Mordechai was good because he was one of us; Esther was beautiful and resourceful, and she saved us. Without great effort the children transfer the oversimplified messages to other historical contexts; Haman is also Pharaoh, the Greeks, the Arabs, Hitler and Ahmadinejad.

The teaching and celebration of Purim within Israeli early childhood frameworks often strengthen similar values to those which children have learned about Hanukkah. In both holidays the main characters in the narratives appear in dichotomies of good and bad, us vs. them, and men and women. The messages conveyed in early childhood, Purim's celebrations tend unfortunately to be chauvinist and nationalist.

Twenty five hundred years after the events in Shushan, teachers teach particularistic perspectives of what is good or bad for the Jews as a people, rather than universal narratives that consecrate comprehensive ethics and morals. This leads to superficial conclusions derived by most teachers which delineates what constitutes a 'good Jew,' a 'bad gentile,' a bad woman who refuses to obey men and a good woman who obeys men. Female teachers convey messages oppressive to women and they continue to nurture chauvinist and militaristic values in the young minds. Thus, they transfer to a new generation of children the unjust concepts that they have internalized in their own childhood.

My students have observed kindergartens in which the teacher reenacted a beauty contest where all the boys of the class were role-playing Achashveros, choosing the most beautiful queen amongst the girls who paraded in front of them. They observed the role-playing of the story in which the boy dressed as Achashveros shamefully expelled a girl dressed as Vashti from the palace and chose another girl over her. They also observe the gendered Purim costumes where most of the girls are dressed as queens, princesses, fairies, and the boys are Supermen, Spiderman, Ninja policemen etc.

Retelling of the Story with a Critical Pedagogy Lens

In class, with open Bibles, we critically read together the *Megila*, The Scroll of Esther. We check what the text actually says and we compare it to the way it is narrated in early childhood education. We raise questions and look for other

possible interpretations of the Megillah. We realize that Queen Vashti did not obey the command to appear at the all-male king's banquet because she was busy in her own party at that time. Achashveros wanted to boast of her beauty before his male guests while she refused. Perhaps she was not bad but rather independent, committed to her own guests and pleasures, standing up for her rights, a decisive, rebellious, self-confident woman. For this refusal she was punished and dethroned. Her punishment was intended to teach all women a lesson, not to "*despise their husbands*" (Esther 1:17). Disciplining the queen sent a threat to all women so they would continue to duly serve their men and "*give honor to their husbands*" (Esther 1:20). The obvious moral implication of the story is clear to all: a woman who dares to refuse a man is bad and will be punished. If a woman holds to her own opinions and wishes, she will be expelled from the palace and have no king of her own. We question the relevancy of this message to our time and whether we should continue to uncritically transfer it to young children.

Queen Vashti's expulsion from the palace did not spoil Achashverosh's hedonistic life style. Virgins refilled his harem as ever before. Each maiden had to prepare herself for a whole year for the night she would spend with the king. "*Six months with myrrh oil, and six months with perfume*" (Esther 2:12). The proof of her value took place in the king's bed: "*In the evening she would go, and in the morning she would return*" (Esther 2:14)

Esther was an orphan and her name was Hadassa before her benefactor cousin, Mordechai, altered it to a Persian name to conceal her unfortunate Jewish origin. As a well-educated girl she obeyed her cousin's instructions as she was taken to the king's harem. Mordechai wanted to protect her for he probably understood that her beauty would enhance his interests. She had beautified herself for a whole year for the night with the king and passed the test successfully. The king crowned her. A lesson to all girls: be sweet, beautiful and obedient to succeed in life. A wedding is an accomplishment of a beautiful girl.

The rest of the story is well known: Two guards conspired to murder the king. Mordechai reported them and scored points in the king's memoirs book. However, dear cousin Mordechai, a pious Jew, refused to bow down to Minister Haman because Jewish identity and religious principles were very important to him. As far as his uncle's daughter was concerned, he advised her to conceal her Jewish identity, change her name and get married to a gentile, but he, himself, could not avoid a confrontation with Minister Haman, as he refused to bow to him as was the custom of the time. He could have prevented the persecution of the Jews had he adopted his own advice to his cousin Hadassa by hiding his Judaism and conforming to the Persian norms of conduct.

Haman advised king Achashverosh to persecute all Jews. He had rational reasons to justify it for they served as the ultimate "Others" of that time: "*their laws differ from [those of] every people and they do not keep the king's laws*" (Esther 3:5). It looked reasonable to King Achashverosh. He approved Haman's initiative

and gave Haman the means to execute the decree with a free hand to carry out his plan. He could not think of a more humane solution and hurried to send messengers to legitimize a massacre all over his kingdom. One may realize, then, how the simplistic characterizing of the protagonist does not match the complexity of the text which portrays Achashversosh as not just stupid, nor Haman as the only one responsible for the decree. Additionally, Mordechai appears to be more than just a 'white dove.'

Esther mastered well the court's feminine diplomacy. She learned how to approach the king being aware of the accepted manners, as well as her risks. By the merits of her beauty and feminine wisdom she organized parties (Esther 5:5) and succeeded in reaching the king's heart. She changed the situation drastically and the Jews were saved. She used the limited powers that women had at that time in a resourceful way. Yet, she asked permission for more revenge: killing more people, was that necessary? Was it moral to kill thousands of people? What for?

Reality in Shushan, the capital of Persia, was more complex than the narrative we tell children. Achashverosh was not that stupid as presented in the children's version of the story. He agreed to Haman's idea to kill the Jews understanding the benefits that would increase his treasury or the popularity he would gain (3:9). He authorized Haman to carry out the mission. Eventually Achashverosh should be accountable for this crime, as his unaccountability is greater than Queen Vashti's misbehaviour. By today's standards he could join the list of great tyrants and criminals of mass murder. What is the source of the Jewish tolerance toward him? He turned over the decree (Esther 8:8) and permitted the massacre of "others" instead of the Jews, or is it because he was a family member, belonging to the warm Jewish kinship by marriage to Hadassa? The Jews weren't the real victims of this story. The story is more intricate. After Achashverosh changed the decree against the Jews, they themselves massacred the "Others." *"In Shushan, the capital, the Jews slew and destroyed five hundred men"* (Esther 9:12). Esther used beauty and sexuality to save her people. After executing revenge on 500 people, she asked for more: *"And Esther said, 'If it please the king, let tomorrow too be granted to the Jews to do as today's decree, and let them hang Haman's ten sons on the gallows.'" (9:13).* The Jews in Shushan did not celebrate with plastic hammers, costumes and water pistols as Jews do today: *"They slew in Shushan three hundred men, but upon the spoils they did not lay their hands"* (9:15). *"And the rest of the Jews who were in the king's provinces assembled and protected themselves and had rest from their enemies and slew their foes, seventy-five thousand, but upon the spoil they did not lay their hands"* (9:16). Should we consider the slaughter of seventy five thousand self-defense?

Haman was not the only wicked one in this story. As the minority group, the Jews might have been frightened by the King's decree but they were not *just* victims. In revenge they killed 75,000 people, 800 in Shushan and ten of Haman's children—which they celebrated

When we examine this perspective of the text in class, these accounts surprise my students. They are unfamiliar it because they have never read the whole scroll. Secular schools in Israel rarely teach this part of the story as they try to avoid the moral issues this poses. Interestingly, however, students from religious background are familiar with this ending since they hear the Scroll of Esther read at synagogue every year.

Application in Early Childhood Classroom

My students and I search for alternatives ways of teaching the Purim's story, such as juxtaposing monarchy or any non-democratic rule with a democracy that secures human rights. One may also choose a universal interpretation of the story, rather than a particularistic reading that views only the Jews as victims. We often emphasize how treating women as sexual objects, measured by their beauty and sexuality, violate their human rights. It is also necessary to engage topics of spending public money on extravagant parties and lusty lavish banquets made by the wealthy ruling elite. We could talk about majority - minority relationships and the need to safeguard their rights. We could talk about how fickle a dictator can be and how power corrupts. We may relate to the question of revenge and killing as an illegal means of solving problems at any time. Through the story we may point out that only elected government based upon democratic principles, such as equal rights and equal opportunity for all its citizens, guarantees protection to everyone. Where human rights are maintained, no one, not even the ruler, may conspire against a minority for its national origin, religion or gender. We can explain that in a democratic country everyone is entitled to live with respect, including all minorities, people with different languages, race, culture, nationality or religion, ability or disability. Through the retelling of Purim we may talk about the evil of dictatorships. We may discuss the need for gender equality. We may lay the foundation for understanding of human rights and the obligation of a constitution to protect marginalized people.

Critical feminist pedagogy looks at power relationships. Through the Purim story, we may emphasize gender issues, minority-majority relationships, and awareness of human rights, thus, helping to transform consciousness. We may try to understand the gap between the interpretive way a narrative is told and a text and induce a sense of complex reality, through teaching a pedagogy of questions and dilemmas rather than a pedagogy of dictated answers and preconceived notions.

The following example shows a creative implementation of the principles of critical pedagogy in the teaching of the holidays. Before Purim two of my students dressed up as Queen Vashti and King Achashverosh and organized two parties at different corners of the kindergarten where they taught. They brought costumes, music, decoration and food to create a setting of a grand Persian banquet. The children dressed up, danced and had a lot of fun. At a certain point of the celebration, the student who was acting as King Achashverosh sent one of the children to call the other student who was acting as Queen Vashti. She refused to show up. King

Achashverosh pretended to be offended and demanded obedience. Queen Vashti objected and explained her needs and rights. At that point they started to consult the children asking them to voice their opinions. They left the solution for this conflict of interests open and the children, who already felt involved, argued and debated whether Queen Vashti should obey the king or whether she had a right to decide for herself.

This example demonstrates many options for implementation of critical pedagogy in early childhood. The lesson not only fun but also engaging, age-appropriate, and critically inductive. It left an open question for the children to think about, evaluate and argue. The dilemma with which the children were posed had to do with basic rights of girls and women and gender equality. This was an actualization of the biblical story, made relevant to their own lives and world experience. The children played an active role in the learning process. They were not treated like passive consumers of knowledge, but as critical readers of the world who were able to use their own world knowledge to solve a problem. The teachers (my students) and the children were both simultaneously learners and producers of knowledge (Lee, Menkart, & Okazawa-Rey, 1998).

This exercise demonstrates the creativity that springs from the critical analysis of the text and the empowerment that the students have experienced through critical feminist pedagogy. Raising issues of minority versus majority through the story of Purim might also give children a chance to grapple with issues that are relevant to them and essential to our democratic society. Exposing children to complexity, rather than transferring simplified nationalist, chauvinist messages, helps to foster critical and active thinking in children.

Passover—Conventional Reading of the Story

Early childhood educators narrate the Passover account in a similar way to the Purim and Hanukah stories. This time the “goodies” are the Hebrews and the “baddies” are the Egyptians. Since every child knows that the Egyptians are Arabs they easily connect the story to the contemporary Arab-Jewish conflict. Children at this developmental stage have no concept of historical time. They cannot differentiate well between remote past and present, then and now. Similar to other holidays, Passover conveys a message that we are the victims. Most kindergarten teachers do not tell the story of the midwives, nor do they emphasize the plight of the women who rebelled against the male ruler, the Pharaoh.

Retelling of the Story with Critical Pedagogy Lens

The Israelites immigrated to Egypt at time of famine in the land of Canaan. Hunger drove them to seek a better place to provide for their families. Like many of today’s refugees and migrant workers, they walked through the desert hoping to be treated humanely and find work for their livelihood. They did this for a long time—until a new king came into power. The new Pharaoh violated the basic human

rights of the migrating Israelites by enslaving them. The concepts of human rights or social labour rules and women's equality did not exist at that time. Enslaving a foreigner was common practice. Pharaoh knew that people sought freedom and decent humane conditions, so he feared the Israelite slaves would rebel against him. In order to break their spirit and mind, he initiated a terrible decree to kill all male babies. As a chauvinist, sexist man he feared other males like himself. He could not imagine that women would resist and defy him.

The oppressive system under which the midwives Shiphrah and Puah lived probably included all kinds of violence, both physical and structural.² Being the first refuseniks (conscientious objectors) in Jewish history, Shiphrah and Puah probably weighed and contemplated their decision before acting. They considered the complexity of their lives and the possible consequences of their act of resistance. They struggled with the dilemma and fear in choosing to kill the babies and live with their consciousness or dodge the order and risk their lives and maybe the lives of their family members. They stood in front of the king claiming the groundless argument that the Hebrew women give birth so fast that they failed to help them deliver and therefore could not kill their newborn babies. I try to visualize what was in their minds when they chose to die rather than become murderers of babies. Disobeying the king at that time was an act of heroism that vividly illustrates the limits of obedience.

One may consider the midwives, Shiphrah and Puah, as the first Jewish dissidents who refused to follow a blatantly illegal and inhuman order. Yocheved and Miriam who put baby Moses in wicker basket covered with tar and pitch and hid it in the reeds of the River Nile joined the midwives' defiance, as did Pharaoh's daughter. Pharaoh's daughter knew that Moses was a slave's child. She opposed her father, brought Moses into the palace and invited his own mother to nurse him. Parenting this youngster in the palace as the princess' son was a feminine expression of objection to patriarchal domination through daily small acts of resistance. Women of the palace warmed the baby's food, changed his diapers, played with him, and enjoyed his newly developing language.

I imagine how they revealed to him the secret of his origin when he was old enough: how they described to him their refusal to obey the king's order and saved his life, continuing to cherish him, giving him good education and privileged living conditions. Perhaps they sensitized him to the evil of different oppressive manifestations and taught him ethics and morals. Their daily acts of resistance encompassed cooperation between women of high and low classes, a princess and enslaved women infiltrated his consciousness. Together, they challenged the king's authority, crossed all social boundaries of nationality, religion and class to save the life of a small child. It took a lot of courage and an extraordinary alliance between these women from opposite ends of society.

Application in Early Childhood Classroom

The refusal of the midwives to kill the babies born to the Israelites slaves was an act of conscientious objection that should be taught as an example of a moral courageous action. Saving Baby Moses by Yocheved, Miriam and Pharaoh's daughter should be taught with the emphasis on their extraordinary alliance as another example of conscientious objection. Schools and kindergartens should tell this amazing story of women's sisterhood and female bravery. At the Seder, all participants no matter how little or entirely engaged in reading the Hagadah (translate) should praise the women's courage.

It is my recommendation to emphasize the bravery, heroism, as well as the cross-national and class alliance of the women rather than the national divide, the victimization of the slaves and hostility. The story of the courageous Egyptian and Hebrew women who challenged Pharaoh's authority and cooperated together crossed all boundaries of religion, nationality, class and education, is worth telling in every class and in every Seder.

The story of women's resistance is like a pedagogical poem that could serve as a symbol for critical reading of reality, moral judgment and action. We must convey it to our daughters and sons. It should be highlighted in every university and teachers' college. Through the story, we can see what happens when we take a poor slave's child and give him a royal education: he grows to be a national leader and a law-giver. We should endow such good education to all our children—a royal education, regardless of a child's origin, class or gender.

The educational morals that stem out of this wonderful story should be the basis of educational policies. A good 'high-class' education can lay the foundations for egalitarian education for all. The women who defied Pharaoh and objected to his brutal oppression of slaves understood the possibility of a slave's son who has the living conditions and education of a prince could become a prince and leader. They had no stereotypical notions and prejudices regarding differences of nationality, religion, or class. They knew he might reach as high as he wished in society, even leading his people through hardship of the desert into a promised land.

The story teaches that good education, love and alliances across divides may precipitate a revolution. This is a Jewish critical feminist education at its best. Passover is the festival of liberation. Education may liberate people if we strive toward equality and freedom of mind and ideas.

Conclusion

Jewish heritage encourages multifaceted interpretations of its sources. In Judaism one may find contradicting views of peace and war, of mercy and revenge. As educators our pedagogic and curricular choices convey the messages we value for our students. I believe that teaching the holidays in early childhood may generate critical thinking and deep values of peace, tolerance, love and acceptance. Holidays

unite us around ancient traditions and moral standards. Critical feminist pedagogy wrestles with issues of race, class, gender and (dis)ability equality. This article leads the way to illuminate ideas of human rights and gender equality through our holidays through different interpretations and positioning of moral questions for critical examination. The application of critical feminist pedagogy to the Jewish teaching of the holidays in early childhood education complements and reinforces our Jewish tradition of Midrash, exegesis questioning, interpreting and arguing over the meaning of texts. It may also enrich our education and the lives of our young children.

Notes

¹ Tractate Avoda Zara, 8, 71.

² Structural violence refers to a form of violence caused by social order that harm people. Racism, sexism, ageism are some examples for a form of violence that prevents people from having their basic needs and rights met and embedded in our deep social structure. Galtung, Johan. "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research." *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1969), pp. 167-191.

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Book Review

The Prize: Who's in Charge of America's Schools?

By Dale Russakoff

Reviewed by Tifanie Pulley & Melinda Jackson

Dale Russakoff's *The Prize: Who's In Charge of America's Schools?* is nothing short of a sensational journalistic lens to America's education system in keeping with her more than 28 years of experience as a reporter at the *Washington Post*. Russakoff's stake in this timely piece is owed to her work as a journalist and the public policy developments surrounding a troubled and failing Newark Public School system. While recognizing the author's ability to keep the reader engaged with provocative chapter titles and thick descriptions of the major players within the Newark Public Schools, this book provides a very salient description of America's commodification of education. Russakoff does a phenomenal job in unmasking the Education Reform Industry (ERI) as she invites the readers to see what happens when Republican Governor Chris Christie and Democratic mayor Corey Booker make a *pact* for the "Reform Plan" of Newark's Public Schools.

Central to this entire work is the omnipresence of the state's power. Despite a billion dollar bounty controlled by the state to operate Newark's schools, troubles with failing test scores, violence, dilapidated building structures, ineffective teachers, corrupt school board members persisted. Clearly, the explicit nature of Newark's problems rests within monetary gain as "the problem of education" is framed as the lack of students' ability to perform. Arguably, the lack of performance conceals the exploitation of the urban poor. Remove all things equal to value and create the inverse effect of social, cultural, human, and economic capital. Newark Public Schools represented "all things reform" according to Ivy League educated Newark mayor Corey Booker. The author provides a consistent ebb and flow of one of the most elusive school reform plans to hit a national stage infused with more than \$200 million dollars' worth of philanthropic support.

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Russakoff spends an extensive amount of time throughout the entire book identifying the who's who of philanthropic support linked to school reform. Chapter 2: "Seduction in Sun Valley" gives us the entrée of this commitment as the author places her audience at the scene of a ritual mixing at Sun Valley Resort. At the ritual, Booker had his attention set on twenty-six-year-old Mark Zuckerberg to fund his and Christie's strategy to reform Newark schools. Russakoff offers a close-up view of Zuckerberg and his wife, Priscilla Chan, as they decide to fund the \$100 million dollar pledge with hopes of making teaching in urban schools one of the most important jobs in America. Whether a scholar is reading this story or someone with a general interest in public policy and education, Russakoff's strength is in constantly questioning, "Is the aim for the children or a well thought out plan for a young mayor to catapult himself to the forefront at the expense of the poorest and most underserved children in Newark?" Furthermore, the behind the scenes power plays "overshadow" the message of truly saving the kids. Money, reform, who's in leadership, who will be the next big thing in "education reform" are the prescriptive for serious ideological and pedagogical strategies of how to better serve America's poor, notwithstanding the Newark Public Schools debacle.

Another important strength of the book is its ability to place the reader with contrasting ideas or a different perspective to the normal shared narrative. Chapter 3: "The View from Avon Avenue" is the reverse of the big business and pleasure demonstrated at Sun Valley. Russakoff's takes the readers to the site of Avon Avenue, which is one of the worst schools in Newark's poorest neighborhoods. An important feature of Russakoff's work is her use of the testimonies of the protagonists, of the teachers, children, and parents, principals, from district and charter schools, which turns the narration of education reform into a vivid description of facts. The contrast that is demonstrated throughout these narratives further strengthens the need to have a conversation that bridges the gap between top-down and bottom-up resolutions to failing schools; overhaul, tear them down, close them, and start new ones, is not the answer.

The book does suffer from some weakness. It focuses on the top-down structures, almost to the exclusion of the strength of those from the bottom-up. On the one hand, the author does identify prominent leaders of color, women, and community activists, but always preceded with their lineage of education and family background in contrast to their perceived opponents on the side of the Christie, Booker, and Zuckerberg reform plan. On a more practical note, the presence of one chapter dedicated to one case study to illustrate the power of teaching and support of a chronically failing student is a major omission. Statistics followed in the end, but no resolution emerged amidst all the infusion of philanthropic support. The author leaves the reader with a narrative of a fragmented school district filled with hybrid schools clearly delineated by economic, social, cultural, and human capital. The children remain in the balance as education is commodified within a free-market system.

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