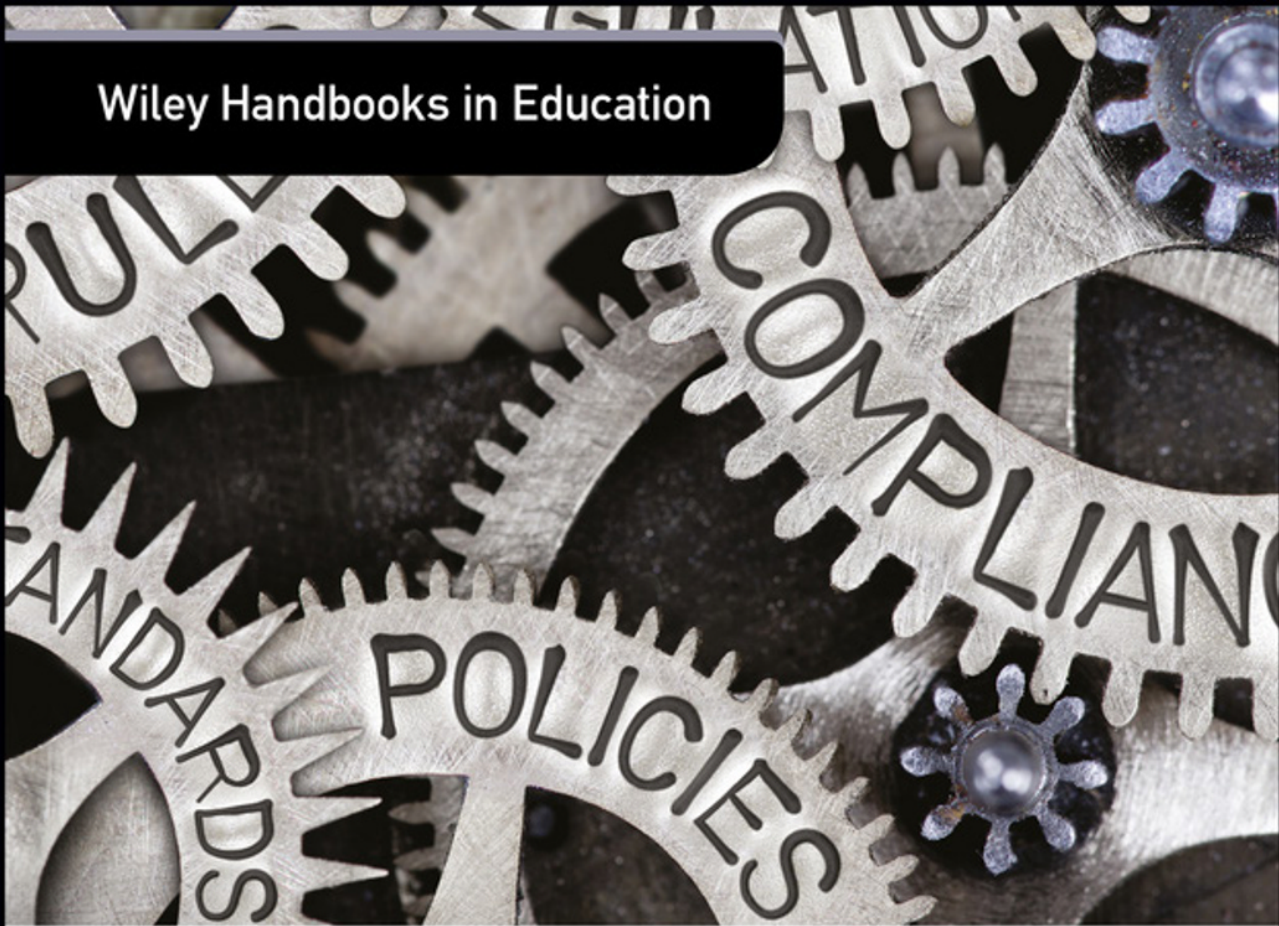


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# THE WILEY HANDBOOK OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY

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Edited by  
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**The Wiley Handbook of Educational Policy**

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# **The Wiley Handbook of Educational Policy**

*Edited by Rosemary Papa and Shadow W. J. Armfield*

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*Editorial Office*

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## Notes on Contributors

**Nahed Abdelrahman** is a third-year doctoral student in Public School Administration at the Department of Educational Administration and Human Resources. In 2011, she received her master's in Public Affairs from the Lyndon Baines Johnson School of Public Affairs in the University of Texas at Austin. Her research interests center on education policy and principal preparation. She was selected as a UCEA Barbara Jackson Scholar from 2015–2017. She authored and co-authored several publications related to education policy such as *Arab Spring and Teacher Professional Development in Egypt*, *A Website Analysis of Mentoring Programs for Latina Faculty at the 25 Top-Ranked National Universities*, *Women and STEM: A Systematic Literature Review of Dissertation in Two Decades (1994–2014)*. She presented her research in conferences including the American Educational Research Association (AERA), University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), Research on Women and Education (RWE), The Universality of Global Education Issues Conference. She plays leadership roles in higher education as she serves as the president of Graduate Representative Advisory Board and a committee member in two committees of the Graduate and Professional Student Council at Texas A&M University: the Award Committee and the Graduate Appeals Panel. She currently serves as the Assistant Editor of the *Mentoring and Tutoring Journal*, *Advancing Women in Leadership*, and *Dual Language Research and Practice*.

**M. David Alexander** is Professor of Educational Leadership, School of Education, College of Liberal Arts and Human Sciences, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, VA. He received his Ed.D. in educational administration from Indiana University in 1969. Professor Alexander's dissertation was selected by the Committee on Educational Finance, National Education Association, for outstanding contributions to the field of educational finance. He joined Virginia Tech in 1972 after having taught at Western Kentucky University. Dr. Alexander was a math teacher, coach, and school board member in the public schools of Kentucky and Virginia. His honors include School of Education International Outreach Award (2009), Virginia Tech Alumni International Outreach Award (2009), the College of Education's Distinguished Service Award, the Leadership Award of the Virginia Association of School Business Officials, Special Contribution to Education Award, Educational Leadership Program, Indiana University (2001), and Phi Beta Delta, Honor Society for International Scholars for his contribution to

International Education. He has served on many university and college committees, as well as the committees and boards of professional organizations, including the American Educational Finance Association, the Education Law Association, Americans United for Separation of Church and State (former board member), Americans for Religious Liberty (National Advisory Board), and the Virginia Association of School Business Officials, serving as president, vice-president, treasurer, and secretary

He is co-author of five books, one of which, *American Public School Law*, currently in the eighth edition, co-authored with Kern Alexander, is a leading graduate textbook graduate education. Another also co-authored with Kern Alexander is *The Law of Schools, Students and Teacher in a Nutshell*, fifth edition, a popular book for practitioners who have legal questions. In 2012 he co-authored *The Challenges to School Policing*. Professor Alexander has also written numerous research reports and articles, many of which have been presented at regional, national, and international meetings. Professor Alexander has had four Fulbright-Hays grants funded for study abroad and has been the principal investigator on numerous other grants. He has been a member of the Education Law Association (ELA—formerly NOLPE) since 1965: board of directors (1982–1985), vice-president (2005), president-elect (2006) and president (2007). He received the Marion A. McGhehey Award in recognition of outstanding service in the field of education law (2007) and in 2014 the Living Legend Award, National Council of Professors of Educational Administrators (NCPEA). Professor Alexander is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (London). His research interests are school law, school finance, policy studies, and international comparative education.

**Dawn M. Armfield**, Associate Editor, is an assistant professor in the Department of English at Minnesota State University, Mankato where she teaches Technical Communication through classes such as usability, user experience, research methods, visual communication in technical communication, emerging technologies in technical communication, and prototyping. In 2013 she joined the *eJournal of Education Policy* as an assistant editor. Her role as assistant editor includes final editing of both articles and book reviews before the journal is posted online. Professor Armfield has published in journals in the rhetoric and composition fields, with emphasis in digital composition, online collaborations, and educational technologies. Her most recent publication was a co-authored chapter, “Minding the Gap: Preparing the Working Class for Success in Academia,” with Dr. Shadow Armfield in the 2017 Springer International Publishing’s *Building for a Sustainable Future in Education: Brick by Brick*.

**Shadow W. J. Armfield**, Editor, is a member of the Educational Technology faculty in the Department of Educational Specialties within the College of Education at Northern Arizona University. His teaching includes technology integration in K-12 environments and graduate research for doctoral students. He has worked on the *eJournal of Education Policy* since 2007, serving first as an assistant editor, and as the editor since the Fall of 2013. Dr. Armfield is responsible for all contact with the authors, organizing the peer review process, and working to ensure that the editions are accessible online.

Dr. Armfield's research interests include technology integration in K-12 environments, technology integration in teacher preparation programs, and online collaborative learning environments. Recent publication include three chapters in the 2015 Springer International Publishing's *Media Rich Instruction: Connecting Curriculum to All Learners*, two chapters in the 2014 *Technology Platform Innovations and Forthcoming Trends in Ubiquitous Learning*, and his most recent publication was a co-authored chapter, "Minding the Gap: Preparing the Working Class for Success in Academia," with Dr. Dawn M. Armfield in the 2017 Springer International Publishing's *Building for a Sustainable Future in Education: Brick by Brick*.

**Nancy E. Barbour**, Ph.D. is a professor of Early Childhood Education in the College of Education at James Madison University and Emerita Professor at Kent State University's College of Education, Health, and Human Services. She recently co-edited a book on international early childhood policy.

**Mark Berends** is a professor of sociology at the University of Notre Dame, where he directs the Center for Research on Educational Opportunity (CREO). He has written and published extensively on educational reform, school choice, the effects of family and school changes on student achievement trends and gaps, and the effects of schools and classrooms on student achievement. His research focuses on how school organization and classroom instruction are related to student outcomes, with special attention to disadvantaged students and school reforms aimed at improving their educational opportunities. Within this agenda, he has applied a variety of quantitative and qualitative methods to understanding the effects of school reforms on teachers and students. Currently, he is conducting several studies on school choice, including an examination of the Indiana Choice Scholarship Program, parent decision-making and satisfaction in a lottery-based study of charter schools, and how school and classroom conditions help explain the conditions under which school choice is effective or not. Professor Berends serves on numerous editorial boards, technical panels, and policy forums. He is a Fellow of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), co-editor of AERA's *American Educational Research Journal*, former editor of AERA's *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, a former vice-president of the AERA's Division L, Educational Policy and Politics; and the AERA Program Chair for the 2014 annual meeting. His recent books include *School Choice and School Improvement* (Harvard Education Press, 2011) and *The Handbook of the Sociology of Education* (Sage, forthcoming).

**Dr. James E. Berry** is a full professor in the Department of Leadership and Counseling at Eastern Michigan University. He has served as an assistant principal, principal, assistant superintendent, department head, and associate dean. He was an American Council on Education fellow in 2001. He presently serves as the Executive Director of the National Council of Professors of Educational Administration. Professor Berry has conducted research and written in the area of K-12 school reform with a focus on change leadership and the use of technology in education.

**Jane Clark Lindle's** research includes the micropolitical influences of educational policy on the practices of school leaders, teachers and their relationships with students, families, and communities. Her work has focused on how those relationships affect students' access to education and school safety. Her emerging work investigates the dynamics of mentoring and coaching on mid-career professionals and non-traditional graduate students' learning. Lindle's work has appeared in *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *Educational Policy*, and *International Journal of Educational Leadership*, and she has published six books and 17 book chapters.

**Concha Delgado Gaitan** is an award-winning professor and researcher in Anthropology and Education. As a professor at the University of California Davis she taught Anthropology and Education as well as Sociocultural Studies in Education. Her research with families, communities, and schools appears in many scholarly publications, among them are eight of her books, *Creating a College Culture for Latino Students*, *Involving Latino Families in the Schools*, *The Power of Community*, *Literacy for Empowerment*, *Creating Culturally Responsive Classrooms*, *Protean Literacy*, *Crossing Cultural Borders*, and *School and Society*. Since leaving her professorship to do more independent work, she has worked in the field of public health education in Latino communities, combining that interest with her dedication to issues of social justice in education. More recently she also began research in the field of aging.

In eight of her books, Delgado Gaitan describes her role as a researcher with marginalized families and communities. In another of her books, *Prickly Cactus*, she turns the lenses inward to appreciate the role of Western and complementary health traditions, family, and community in her own life during a serious health crisis. Her contact website is [www.conchadelgadogaitan.com](http://www.conchadelgadogaitan.com).

**Daniel Eadens** is currently the Assistant Department Chair, International School Coordinator, and Associate Professor of Educational Leadership at Northern Arizona University. He was named 'Runner-Up Teacher of the Year' in his first year of public school teaching, was one of five Florida public school teachers to win a Japan Fulbright, was a secondary special education teacher, and has served as an administrator at several locations. He graduated Magna Cum Laude with a BSME, M.Ed., and Ed.D. from the University of South Florida and is a retired Army Reserve Major with foreign service in Japan and combat tour with Operation Iraqi Freedom. He served as content leader in Sweden learning the education system for the International School Connection. In 2011, he was named the recipient of the Hampton E. Williams 'Research Award' and the Jack Mulcahy Award for 'Best Doctoral Dissertation', presented by the Association for the Advancement of Educational Research. He passionately researches critical issues, special education, brain research, and finance. Dr. Eadens is actively involved in various professional associations and maintains a driven record of scholarly publications. He recently co-edited R. Papa, D. M. Eadens, and D. W. Eadens (2016), *Social Justice Instruction: Empowerment on the Chalkboard*, Springer Publishers. His additional scholarship includes peer-reviewed articles, book chapters, external and internal grants, international and national presentations, online professional publications newsletter, book reviews, published proceedings, editorship of professional

journals with national audience, state conference refereed presentations, and invited keynote address and professional development workshops.

**Dr. Danielle Eadens** is an Associate Professor of Practice at Northern Arizona University. In addition to working on college and University initiatives, she works with the Flagstaff Unified School District and local charter schools as the director of the Praxis partnership, is an elected Board Member of Northland Preparatory Academy, and volunteers her time to work with students, parents, and teachers at another local charter school. She volunteers alongside her children in the community with a local special needs ministry and at a local animal shelter. Her current research is focused around Social Justice Instruction at all levels, special education topics, and foster care initiatives from her perspective as a current foster parent. Recently, she co-edited a book entitled *Social Justice Instruction: Empowerment on the Chalkboard* (2017).

Prior to NAU, Danielle Eadens served as a Professor in the Exceptional Student Education program at St. Petersburg College for nearly ten years. During her tenure there, Dr. Eadens worked on two grant-funded projects from the Florida Department of Education building autism courses and Exceptional Student Education courses for secondary content teachers. Her past research has focused on the use of whole brain teaching techniques for Visual Spatial Learners, technology in instruction, sensory processing disorders, and the perceptions of teachers and parents on the education of students with autism. While in Florida, she was on the board of an arts charter school and volunteered her time to work with the Principal, faculty of the school, parents, and by working directly with the students and won the title of highest recency rate for any professor in the College of Education. For Pinellas County Schools, she served on the ESE advisory board and also as a surrogate parent for ESE students in foster care, serving that role in IEP meetings for students who have no one to represent them.

While working as a teacher, she was involved in Special Olympics, technology training and instruction, the Council for Exceptional Students, instructing journalism/yearbook and was a multiple-year grant winner.

**Fenwick W. English** is currently the R. Wendell Eaves Senior Professor of Educational Leadership in the School of Education at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a position he has held since 2001. Fen is a former public school elementary and middle school teacher; middle school assistant principal and principal in California; assistant superintendent of schools in Florida, and superintendent of schools in New York. He also served as associate executive director of the AASA and a partner in the consulting and accounting firm of Peat, Marwick & Mitchell in Washington, DC. In academic administration he has been a department chair, dean, and vice-chancellor of academic affairs at universities in Ohio and Indiana. He is the author or co-author of more than 35 books on education and 100+ journal articles including publications in *Educational Researcher*, *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *Journal of School Leadership*, *International Journal of Leadership in Education: Theory and Practice*, *Educational Policy*, *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *Journal of Educational Administration* and *Studies in Philosophy and Education*.

He served as the Editor of the 2006 *Sage Encyclopedia of Educational Leadership and Administration* (2 volumes); editor of the 2009 *Sage Library of Educational Thought and Practice: Educational Leadership and Administration* (4 volumes), and editor of the 2011 *sage Handbook of Educational Leadership*, second edition. He was the general editor of the first *Sage Guide for Educational Leaders* released in 2015. He was also the senior author of a book *Bourdieu for Educators*, a book with a colleague in England for Sage released in 2014. He has presented papers at BELMAS in the United Kingdom and CCEAM in the Republic of Cyprus and has completed research in England and Australia. He is the past president of UCEA 2006–2007 and NCPEA 2011–2012. His Ph.D. was earned in 1972 at Arizona State University.

**David R. Garcia** is an Associate Professor in the Mary Lou Fulton Teachers College at Arizona State University. Garcia's professional experience includes extensive work in state and national education policy development and implementation. His research interests include school choice, accountability and the study of factors that facilitate or distort policy implementation in public education. In 2008, he was awarded the National Academy of Education/Spencer Postdoctoral Fellowship and more recently has been recognized nationally as an influential public scholar. Professor Garcia received a Bachelor of Arts and Honors Diploma from Arizona State University. In addition, he holds an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in Education Policy, Research and Institutional Studies. In 2014, he was the Democratic candidate for Arizona Superintendent of Public Instruction.

**Aletha M. Harven** is an assistant professor at California State University, Stanislaus in the Department of Psychology and Child Development, where she teaches on-ground, hybrid, and online classes regarding the cognitive, social, emotional, and physical development of children and adolescents. Professor Harven holds a Ph.D. in Education with an emphasis on Human Development and Psychology from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). Her areas of expertise include human development, K-12 education, adolescents in context, risk and resiliency, psychosocial adjustment, academic motivation and achievement, and social justice teaching. Her current research explores the relation between school-related risk factors and the mental health, academic motivation, and school achievement of underserved students of color. She also explores how psychological factors, such as having a strong racial identity, and social environmental factors, such as having strong parental support, can help students to stay resilient in the face of adversity. Professor Harven has earned various academic honors and awards and has published in journals such as the *Journal of Educational Research* and the *Journal of Science Education and Technology*. Her most recent work can be read in the 2016 Springer International Book, *Social Justice Instruction: Empowerment on the Chalkboard*.

**Ann Hill Duin**, Ph.D., is a professor of Writing Studies at the University of Minnesota and Director of Graduate studies in Scientific and Technical Communication. Having served in senior administrative roles including Vice Provost for University Partnerships and Associate Vice-President for Information Technology at the University of Minnesota, her ongoing goal is to serve as a



catalyst for creating the future of the academy. Professor Hill Duin's commitment to shared leadership has resulted in collective vision and action: a virtual university, a new college, business intelligence/academic analytics initiatives, and numerous inter-institutional partnerships.

**Beverly J. Irby**, Professor, Program Chair, and Associate Department Head for Educational Administration and Human Resource Development, College of Education and Human Development at Texas A&M University, is the Director of the Educational Leadership Research Center. Her primary research interests center on issues of social responsibility, including bilingual and English-as-a-second-language education, administrative structures, curriculum, and instructional strategies. She is the author of more than 200 refereed articles, chapters, books, and curricular materials for Spanish-speaking children. She has had in excess of \$30,000,000 in grants. She was awarded in 2009, the Texas State University System—Regent's Professorship. She has extensive experiences working with undergraduate students in the past 25+ years, and many of these students are underrepresented including first-generation college students, ethnic minority, and economically advantaged, and have obtained doctorates and received research/teaching awards under her mentorship. Professor Irby is the editor of the *Mentoring and Tutoring Journal*, published by Taylor & Francis and the National Council of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA). She also received the Living Legend Award from NCPEA in 2015.

**Mark Johnson** is a graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His research interests include educational politics and policy. Prior to entering his doctoral degree program, Mark was a teacher and a school administrator in North Carolina.

**Cherie Labat** has been an educator and business woman for over 17 years; focusing on student achievement, school culture, and school transformation. Dr. Labat has worked as a teacher, coach, professor, assistant dean, vocational director, assistant principal, principal and currently serves as Assistant Superintendent of Academics and Federal Programs. Prior to becoming an educator, Dr. Labat worked for Abbott Laboratories and Kemper National Insurance Company. Dr. Labat received a Bachelor of Business Administration from Jackson State University, an M.A. from the University of Mississippi, a Ph.D. from the University of Southern Mississippi, and is a graduate of the Harvard Leadership Institute. She has been or currently serves as a board member for Mississippi School for Math and Science, Hancock Community Development Foundation, Habitat for Humanity, and the United Way Fundraising Campaign. Dr. Labat has always supported programs that stimulate academic success, leadership development, and a positive school culture as well as community economic development. She has been recognized as the Hancock County Top Citizen of the Year, Administrator of the Year, and a One Coast Leadership Award recipient.

**Myron Labat** is an assistant professor in the Department of Educational Research and Administration at the University of Southern Mississippi. There he also serves as Program Director for the Master's Program in Educational Administration.

Dr. Labat earned a B.S. degree in Psychology from Jackson State University, a M.Ed. degree in Educational Psychology from the University of Mississippi, and a Ph.D. in Educational Leadership and Research from the University of Southern Mississippi. Dr. Labat's major research areas center around transforming school culture, principal/counselor relations, and school leadership. He has published in a number of journals on this and other topics, and presented his research at local, national, and international conferences. Dr. Labat has also served as a consultant to schools in the region on transforming school culture. Prior to his work at the collegiate level, Dr. Labat spent many years as a school counselor and administrator in P-12 education where his school district ranked the #1 district in the state for almost a full decade. Dr. Labat is a graduate of the Harvard University Art of Leadership Institute, a University of Southern Mississippi Educational Leadership Fellow, and a member of the Board of Trustees for Leadership Gulf Coast.

**Delores B. Lindsey**, Ph.D., retired as Associate Professor of Education at California State University, San Marcos, CA, but did not retire from the education profession. As a former middle grades and high school teacher, assistant principal, principal, and county office of education administrator, her primary focus is developing culturally proficient leadership practices. She helps educational leaders examine their organizations' policies and practices, and their individual beliefs and values about cross-cultural communication. Her message to her audiences focuses on socially just educational practices, culturally proficient leadership practices, and diversity as an asset to be nurtured.

**Randall B. Lindsey**, Ph.D., is Emeritus Professor, California State University, Los Angeles and has a practice centered on educational consulting and issues related to equity and access. Prior to higher education faculty roles, he served as a junior and senior high school history teacher, a district office administrator for school desegregation, and executive director of a non-profit corporation. All of his experiences have been in working with diverse populations and his area of study is the behavior of White people in multicultural settings. It is his belief and experience that too often members of dominant groups are observers of cross-cultural issues rather than personally involved with them. He works with colleagues to design and implement programs for and with schools and community-based organizations to provide access and achievement. Randy and his wife and frequent co-author, Delores, are enjoying this phase of life as grandparents, as educators, and in support of just causes that extend the promises of democracy throughout society in authentic ways.

**Hollie J. Mackey** (Northern Cheyenne) is an Associate Professor of Women's and Gender Studies at the University of Oklahoma. Her research includes women in educational leadership, indigenous education, Title IX and disability law and ethics, and equity literacy. She is the recipient of the 2013 Willower Award for Excellence and the 2014 Jack A. Culbertson Award for outstanding accomplishments as a junior professor of educational leadership.

**Catherine Marshall** is the Eaves Distinguished Professor of Educational Leadership and Policy at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. During

her scholarly career she has published extensively on topics ranging from qualitative research, politics of education, gender, social justice, administrative careers, and feminist critical policy analysis. She has been elected to AERA Division L Vice Presidency, President of Politics of Education Special Interest Group, and founded the Leadership for Social Justice Special Interest Group. Awards include the Willystine Goodsell and the Mary Turner Lane Award, both for scholarship and activism for women and girls, the Stephen Bailey Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Field of Politics of Education, and the University Council for Educational Administration's Roald Campbell Award, for Outstanding Contributions to the field.

**Martha Muñoz**, Ph.D. is an early childhood specialist and higher education consultant in the area of teacher preparation. Dr. Muñoz brings 30 plus years of experience in education as a preschool, Head Start teacher, child care center director, faculty member, and college dean.

**Rosemary Papa** (Ed.D.) (Editor) is the Del and Jewel Lewis Endowed Chair in Learning Centered Leadership and Professor of Educational Leadership in the College of Education at Northern Arizona University, a position held since 2007. As a scholar/practitioner she has held positions as a school principal and superintendent of schools in Nebraska, Founding Chair of the Intersegmental Educational Leadership Doctoral Program with California State University, Fresno and the University of California campuses: UC Los Angeles, UC Davis, UC Santa Barbara, UC Irvine, and UC Riverside, and Vice-Chancellor, Academic Affairs, California State University. She is the former President of the National Council of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA), having served as the first female president. Her research has been reported in national and international academic forums. She edited the 2015 Springer International Media Rich Instruction, the 2016 Springer International Educational Leaders Without Borders, the 2017 Springer International Social Justice Instruction. In 2003, she received the Living Legend Award from NCPEA for her lifetime contribution to the field of educational leadership and in 2015 she received the Willystine Goodsell Award from AERA Sig on Research of Women for her contribution to the field of women and children globally.

**Pamela Powell** is an associate professor of Literacy and Early Childhood and Chair of the Department of Teaching and Learning at Northern Arizona University. She spent over 20 years as an elementary school teacher prior to coming to NAU and is currently involved in the promotion of quality early-learning opportunities for all children. Her research interests include grade retention, school readiness, and the self-efficacy beliefs of teachers.

**Thelma J. Roberson**, Ph.D., is a retired Chair and Associate Professor of Education in the Department of Educational Leadership and School Counseling at the University of Southern Mississippi. Currently, Professor Roberson serves as a curriculum developer and adjunct instructor at Belhaven University. She has also served as the director and principal investigator for the Teacher Leader Institute at the University of Southern Mississippi, for which she continues to serve as an instructor. Professor Roberson holds both doctoral and master's

degrees in educational administration and supervision. Her research interests include educational leadership and school law.

**Marta Sánchez** is an Assistant Professor of Social Foundations at the Donald R. Watson College of Education at the University of North Carolina Wilmington. She is a Concha Delgado Gaitan Presidential Fellow, a Faculty Affiliate at the Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University, a member of Educational Leaders Without Borders, and author of the book, *Fathering Within and Beyond the Failures of the State: The Case of the Mexican Father*. Sánchez conducts educational research in the southeastern United States with teachers and Latino immigrant parents of preK-2 grade dual language learners and is a Co-principal Investigator on a study to address issues of education equity and to increase participation of underrepresented groups in education sciences.

**Dr. Karen Sealander** is a Professor in the Educational Specialties Department at Northern Arizona University, with specialization in assessment and effective instructional and inclusive practices. During a 27-year career which includes teaching in Head Start and elementary special education settings, she has authored and co-authored a variety of articles in attention-deficit disorders, data-based interventions, and inclusive practices. Over the past two decades she has traveled extensively in Europe and Africa to learn more about global educational practices. Additionally, she works with teachers and staff in a number of schools located on the Navaho Nation in northern Arizona.

**Neil Selwyn** is a professor in the Faculty of Education, Monash University in Australia. His research and teaching focuses on the place of digital media in everyday life, and the sociology of technology (non)use in educational settings. Recent books include: *Is Technology Good For Education?* (2016, Polity) and *Everyday Schooling in the Digital Age: High School, High Tech?* (2018, Routledge).

**Arthur Shapiro** has been a teacher, high school principal, director of secondary education, assistant superintendent and superintendent of schools in nationally prominent urban, suburban, and rural districts. He was professor of education at George Peabody College of Vanderbilt, directed the first off-campus doctoral center, University of Tennessee, has been department chair of Leadership and Policy Studies at the University of South Florida (USF) three times. He writes and consults internationally and nationally in policy, leadership, organizational and school analysis, curriculum and supervision. He has decentralized large schools into small learning communities, critiques phony educational reform, was lead consultant for improving the Republic of Macedonia's schools. In his spare time, he is president of the faculty union at USF.

**Laura Sujo-Montes** holds an M.A. in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction (C&I) with emphasis on Learning Technologies from New Mexico State University. Her work includes teaching and researching online learning environments, technology use in teaching ESL students, and online professional development. She is a faculty member at

Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, AZ where she chairs the Educational Specialties department and teaches undergraduate and graduate online courses.

**Jenni Swenson**, Ph.D., has been an Academic Dean at Minnesota State for over ten years, and has served as lead for multiple departments in Business and Industry, STEM, and Liberal Arts and Sciences, as well as student support functions such as libraries, student life activities, and diversity efforts. In addition to her work on understanding ethical concerns in learning analytics, she has completed grant-funded research to identify and address non-academic barriers to academic success.

**Raymond D. Terrell**, Ed. D., is an emeritus professor, School of Education Health and Society, Miami University in Oxford, Ohio. He also served as a professor of Educational Administration and Dean of the School of Education at California State University, Los Angeles. He began his career as a public school teacher, principal and assistant superintendent in the Princeton City School District in Ohio. He has more than 40 years of professional experience with diversity and equity issues in urban and suburban school districts. Ray lives in Cincinnati, Ohio, with his wife Eloise. They are both enjoying reading, writing, traveling, and spoiling adopted grandchildren.

**Mario S. Torres**, Jr. is an Associate Professor in the Educational Administration program at Texas A&M University, College Station. Professor Torres earned his Ph.D. in Educational Administration from Penn State University, University Park in 2003. His research interests include school law, policy, ethics, and organizational inclusion. He has published in the field's premier journals including *The Educational Administration Quarterly*, *Journal of Educational Administration*, *the Journal of School Leadership*, and *Education and Urban Society* and co-authored a book with John Hoyle entitled *Six Steps to Preparing Exemplary Principals and Superintendents: Leadership at its Best* through Rowman and Littlefield Education Press. He has also co-edited two books—*The Principal's Legal Handbook* through the Education Law Association and *Legal Frontiers in Education: Complex Issues for Leaders, Policymaker and Policy Implementers* via Emerald Press. He is a summer faculty member at Teachers College, Columbia University and is a past research fellow with the Mexican American and U.S. Latino Research Center. Professor Torres is currently a Co-PI in a project funded by the Kellogg Foundation evaluating perceptions of inclusion among teachers, leaders, and parents within demographically changing contexts.

**Chih-Hsiung Tu**, Ph.D. is a professor at Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA and an educational/instructional technology consultant with experience in distance education, open network learning, technology training in teacher education, online learning community, learning organization, mobile learning, personal learning environment, and digital lifelong learning. His research interests are distance education, sociocognitive learning, sociocultural learning, online learning community, social media, personal learning environments, and network learning environments.

**Trudy T. Arriaga**, Ed.D., was privileged to serve as the first female superintendent of the Ventura Unified School District for 14 years. Her journey toward the role of superintendent included bilingual para-educator, teacher, principal, and district administrator. Dr. Tuttle Arriaga retired in 2015 and is currently on the faculty at Cal Lutheran University as a Distinguished Educator in Residence. She has focused her life work on the fundamental belief that the educational system has tremendous capability and responsibility to open doors for all students. Her leadership has focused on core values that ensure equity, access, and opportunity for every child and their family. It has been her privilege to work with school districts to align the actions of the organization with their stated values and principles. She and her husband Raymundo are enjoying this grand chapter of life as grandparents to Rayo Mana and Sofia Anuheá.

**D. Reece Wilson** Ed.D. is an assistant professor in the department of Early, Elementary, and Reading Education at James Madison University. He has served as the director of several laboratory schools. His research interests include laboratory schools, project based learning, and play.

**Cherng-Jyh Yen** is an associate professor of Educational Research and Statistics at Old Dominion University. Dr. Yen holds a Ph.D. in Educational Research from the University of Virginia. His research is focused on the predictors of online learning outcomes. He is also interested in applying quantitative research designs and statistical analyses in educational studies. He has made presentations in national conferences, such as the AERA annual conference and AECT annual conference. His papers appear in different peer-reviewed journals, such as the *Quarterly Review of Distance Education, Internet and Higher Education, Educational Technology*, and *Society, and Computers and Education*.

**James H. Young, III**, Ph.D., currently serves as the Dean of Curriculum Development at Belhaven University. He serves as an instructor in the Online Studies program and is a curriculum developer at Belhaven University. Dr. Young also serves as an adjunct instructor of education in the Department of Educational Research and Administration at the University of Southern Mississippi. Additionally, he has served as Technology Development Coordinator and Instructor in the Teacher Leader Institute at the University of Southern Mississippi. His research interests include P-16 education policy, law, finance, and governance.

**Rebekah E. Young**, Ph.D., MPH, CHES currently serves as the Associate Director for the Institute for Disability Studies (IDS) at the University of Southern Mississippi. She also serves as a curriculum developer at Belhaven University. Dr. Young holds a doctorate in Higher Education Administration and a master's in Public Health with a dual emphasis in Health Education and Epidemiology and Biostatistics. She is also a Certified Health Education Specialist. Dr. Young's interests focus on postsecondary educational opportunities for students with intellectual and developmental disabilities, education law, and accessibility of health education and care for vulnerable populations.

Martha Muñoz, PhD is an early childhood specialist and higher education consultant in the area of teacher preparation.

## Foreword

*John M. Heffron*

*Soka University of America*

Whether depicted as a marble cake or picket fences, the nexus of schools, local districts, the state, and the federal government describes a complex parallelogram of jurisdictional forces that in education policy most notably has had something of a reverse effect (Grodzins, 1966; Peters, 2010). Instead of encouraging the play of competing centers of power and influence, what is now an elaborate system of forward and backward linkages—if anything, a diffusion and with it a weakening of power—has pretty much eliminated the competition, a healthy one, altogether. So effective is the system of checks and balances governing inter-governmental relations, so uniform are the political obstacles to consensus among policymakers at the state and national level, not to mention between parents, teachers and administrators around almost anything, and so far removed are we from the original mission of the common school as a democratic leveling force, one in which all children would rise on the same high tide of competency, so endemic are these problems that the challenges to wise and humane education policy and policymaking are of a completely different order today. The multiple authors and chapters of the *Wiley Handbook on Education Policy* have between them a clear understanding and appreciation of the changed nature of these challenges, challenges not merely to the public control of our schools but to the very meaning and substance of democracy itself.

For into the fray have entered extra-governmental forces, amorphous, non-jurisdictional ones that with the imprimatur of the State maintain and promote the illusion of free choice, the tendency to equate democracy with the unregulated flow of consumer goods, including now education. Prey to all the blandishments of a free-enterprise ideology—among them, the empowerment of the autonomous individual and by extension the group, corporate or otherwise; the release of innovation and innovativeness outside of and redefining normal channels of ‘reform’; and access to mass media outlets that permit a maximum of individual self-expression while preserving the appearance of ‘inclusion’—as a result of this and more, the modern public has lost its defining shape, swallowed up now in a pluralism of ethical commitments forged in the name of diversity. What in 1927, on the eve of the Great Depression, Dewey declared as “the eclipse of the public,” by which he meant its fragmentation into “too many publics,” each

with its own mutually exclusive set of attachments, continues to haunt you today nearly a century later in the division of labor over education policymaking and implementation (Dewey, 1954, p. 137). That division, as the authors here effectively show, has prevented a larger public discourse or a common vision around fair and equal educational opportunity. This even when the stakes—the safety and security of our schools, for example—have been studiously low.

In our own time, that division, a division over the fundamental purposes of education, began in 1983 with the release of *A Nation at Risk: The Imperatives of Educational Reform*, the report of Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education. Like Sputnik before it, *A Nation at Risk* unleashed a firestorm of criticism of America's public schools and with it a frenzy of reform efforts the sheer volume of which not even Tyack and Hansot, who at the time worried about "the resurgence of privatism, the newborn faith in the market system...and the desire to cut back on public services and redistributive social programs," could have predicted (Tyack & Hansot, 1982, p. 249). And *A Nation at Risk* was just the opening salvo. The period between 1982 and 1988 alone saw the release of as many as 32 major reports and studies on the public educational problem, viewed now increasingly as a problem of school administration and hence, policy.

Two important reports in the late 1980s, early 1990s, culminating in the 1991 Bush report, *America 2000*, set out the case for a conservative vision of reform later ensconced in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2002, which tied federal school funding to new state assessments of student learning. The first of these documents is "Leaders for America's School: A Report of the National Commission on Excellence in Educational Administration" issued in 1987 by the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA). If administration preparation programs were to model themselves after other professional schools, those in law, business, and medicine, for example, and like these schools "emphasize theoretical and clinical knowledge, applied research, and supervised practice," there would first need to be a radical pruning of current programs, the "terminating," announced the Report, "of at least 300 college and university educational administration programs" (Leaders for America's Schools, 1987, p. 20). To take up the vacuum that this drastic measure would produce, the Commission recommended "continued and increased involvement with the private sector," business, industry, and educational leaders "participating jointly in management training programs" (pp. 33, 35).

Adding further to the confusion of purposes, and to a debate over knowledge base content that to this day is loud and increasingly self-defeating, is the growth and development of public-private partnerships in education since the late 1980s. Following fast on the heels of the 1989 pro-business National Policy Board for Educational Administration (NPBEA) report was the 1991 Bush-inspired *America 2000* initiative, calling upon prominent business leaders and private philanthropists to support the establishment of 535 new model schools of 'choice' and to finance the development of these prototypes for other systems to emulate. *America 2000*, working through the New American Schools Development Corporation, sought to apply a research-and-development model to the educational sector with the aim of improving schools and most important raising



student test scores in five core areas: English, mathematics, science, history, and geography. The report described the new R&D teams as “Partnerships of corporations, universities, think tanks, school innovators, management consultants and others, selected through a competitive process by the New American Schools Development Corporation to receive up to \$30 million each over three years to conceptualize and invent New American Schools (NAS)” (America 2000, 1991 p. 39). By 2001, 3,000 schools, a fivefold increase over the original goal, were using the NAS “whole school reform” model.

As early as 1991, when America 2000 was first released, the writing was already on the wall, represented perhaps most forcefully by one of the founders of critical pedagogy, Henry A. Giroux. Opposed to the bureaucratization of educational reform, a movement “organized around the imperatives of choice, standardized testing, and the re-privatization of public schools” (p. 8), and calling on educational leaders to become “engaged intellectuals,” Giroux wrote at the time quite eloquently:

Administrators and teachers in schools of education and leadership programs need a new language capable of asking new questions and generating more critical spaces open to the process of negotiation, translation, and experimentation. At the very least, educators need a language that is interdisciplinary, that moves skillfully among theory, practice, and politics. This is a language that makes the issues of culture, power, and ethics primary to understanding how schools construct knowledge, identities, and ways of life that promote nurturing and empowering relations. We need a language in our leadership programs that defends schools as democratic public spheres responsible for providing an indispensable public service to the nation; a language that is capable of awakening the moral, political, and civic responsibilities of our youth. (Giroux, 1992, p. 8)

In the last pages of *Managers of Virtue*, Tyack and Hansot make a similar plea for what they call “a new coherence and community of commitment,” one of the greatest obstacles to which was a system of school choice that, in their view, treated education as “more a consumer good than a public one” (Tyack & Hansot, 1982, pp. 249–250).

*The Wiley Handbook of Education Policy*, which brings new urgency (but also new salience) to Giroux’s call 15 years ago, is a long peroration on the fraught nature of the policymaking process, a process rooted in uneasy compromise—between competing values and assumptions, hopes and ideals, fears and concerns, knowledge and experience; as well as between long-term, mid-term, and short-term needs and demands; and finally between local and personal as against global and impersonal forces of change and persistence. The chapters here not only illuminate in consummate fashion the thicket of barriers to enlightened and inclusive education policy and policymaking; they point a way out of the woods.

The book is divided into four separate but related sections with chapters that look at education policy around issues of governance, citizenship, democracy, and the digital revolution, the so-called Googlification of the classroom.

Each chapter begins with key questions and concludes with key ideas, thought-provoking prompts to the ongoing dialog that needs to take place between and among education policymakers, researchers, teachers and administrators, no less than with the objects of those deliberations—parents, children, and the larger community. As might be expected of any such handbook, themes and topics within these four broad areas range widely not only across early childhood, K-12, and tertiary forms of schooling, public as well as private, but also across policy questions and concerns that transcend these distinctions. The research and scholarship is detailed and case-specific, including reviews of the relevant literature. At the end of each chapter, the authors make carefully considered recommendations, not simply for additional research, but for how to improve the current conditions under which education policymakers work, in whatever the arena, pointing to clear and specific potential new directions. But there is more still. An ethical perspective or rather a call for one pervades the *Handbook*, as does the need in education policy to address societal issues, the sea so to speak in which schools and their policies swim. The two foci are closely linked, the English word ‘ethics’ having its root in the Greek *ethos* meaning ‘accustomed place’ or in modern parlance the underlying character or spirit, the animus of a given culture or society. *Ethos* also has the meaning, from ancient rhetoric, of good character, the character of a society reflecting the character or ethics of the individuals that make it up. In a sense, the *Handbook*, without being didactic about it, is a call to return to the classical virtues of courage, temperance, justice, and equity, not as abstract ideals but as the moral arbiters of a system of public accountability for the development of the limitless potential of each child.

The authors here, nevertheless, note the asymmetry of the values, and with them the underlying ethical perspectives, represented in much of what passes today for education policy: often querulous dichotomies between, for example, choice and equity; quality and efficiency; freedom and standardization; professionalism and performativity; excellence and security. Private foundations that masquerade as a type of public charity called a supporting organization, in which by federal law wealthy donors can receive greater tax deductions, abound in the United States, many of them, like the Foundation for a Greater Opportunity set up by activist investor Carl C. Icahn, supporting the establishment of charter schools that epitomize these dichotomies. One district court, in considering the IRC 509(a) (3) regulations for qualifying as a supporting organization, commented, “the Internal Revenue Service has drafted fantastically intricate and detailed regulations to thwart the fantastically intricate and detailed efforts of taxpayers to obtain private benefits from foundations while avoiding the imposition of taxes” (*Windsor Foundation v. United States*, 77-2 U.S. Tax Cas. [CCH] [par.] 9709 [E.D. Va. 1977]). Philanthropic largess, whether private or public, contrasts sharply with the shrinking yet disproportionate level of resources going to public schools from national and state government. These and other ‘value conflicts’ of education policy and policymaking are treated in detail in the *Handbook*, some chapters written in the muckraking tradition at its empirical best, as represented, for example, in the probing works of Upton Sinclair, Lincoln Steffens, and Ida M. Tarbell.

The concluding section of the book, *Trending Education Policy through Technology and Data*, puts to rest the illusion that technology is ethically neutral, a tool that depending on the values of the user can be put to good uses or bad uses. Machines, we are told, exist to serve their masters, the men and women who design them, not the other way around. What this commonplace ignores is just which people in particular design and control our technology, which people are served by it, and which people, on the other hand, stand to lose by the continuing development of this or that technology along its particular lines of development. Thus insulated from political scrutiny, the purveyors of educational technology—in student and institutional assessment, in learning analytics, and in online instruction, for example—are able to carry out their work with impunity and with the full appearance of public support. Notwithstanding long-term efforts to eliminate the ‘human factor’ from production, culminating today in the robotization of whole factories, the jury is still out on the automation of the classroom, not simply because it would eliminate the teacher. Automation has other equally serious, if less drastic, effects. From the perspective of policy, it gives a privileged position to the private sector in deciding how technology is used and adopted in educational circles, subjecting users, not insignificantly, to the vagaries of planned obsolescence, to chasing an ever-receding horizon of the new and the latest. This tyranny of the new and its financial implications would call under normal circumstances for a cost-benefit analysis, but the cultural lag between every new advance and our ability to make sense of it, much less the best use of it, serves as a retardant. There is also the concern that as the IT industry monopolizes the space for public, government-led initiatives in educational technology, the marketing techniques of the former, including considerations of profit and profitability, will increasingly drive the latter, only further removing the public in public policymaking.

The chapters here on Big Data and learning analytics, on policies to prevent students from becoming ‘objectified,’ and on the need for an ‘information ethics’ nevertheless challenge narrow, reductivist views of either the benefits or the dangers of a ‘digital society,’ instead pointing to the wider societal, cultural, and ethical connotations of education policy in this arena. Ultimately, argue these authors, the burden of the proof for the efficacy of any new educational technology or technology policy lies with the schools, who have the responsibility to turn out ‘competent’ and critical digital lifelong learners. At the same time, the very indeterminacy of many of the new technologies, their de-centeredness, leaves greater potential openness to informal, personalized, and flexible styles of learning. Indirect or incidental knowledge, that which we gain without seeking it but which can be no less educative, is a characteristic of open-access learning where the operative terms are ‘customization’ and ‘personalization.’ To help ensure that these terms remain meaningful, and do not simply become new fodder for an IT marketing strategy, the last chapter of the *Handbook* leaves the reader with a useful matrix for understanding ethical considerations, one designed to sensitize future education policymakers and researchers to the dialectics of ‘unequal social power,’ student voice and engagement, and ‘transparency.’

With all this, we live in an age when new threats to democracy, from below no less than from above, are beginning to appear all around us. The *Handbook* and its contents are an important reminder that societal change, no less than self-transformation, requires structural changes in the way we view the world and our place within it. Structural change is at the heart of what education policy, for good or ill, is all about. This is why policy is so critically an important area of research. Put simply, policy can be defined as a preferred future and the things one does to bring it about, a rare alignment of thought and action around the pursuit of an ideal. When the future itself is in question, to which the research here testifies, piecemeal educational reforms, “tinkering toward utopia” in the memorable phrase of Tyack and Cuban (1997), will not do, however. “The time has come,” wrote the Japanese educator Tsunesaburo Makiguchi in 1931, on the cusp of Japan’s full-blown descent into fascism, “when we must rebuild the educational system and improve all the educational organizations in order to carry out value-creating activities by involving all the citizens under the banner of equal opportunities for education, while utilizing the entire living environment as text” (Makiguchi, 1931/1972, p. 187, trans. by Takahashi). But where was one to start? With the establishment, wrote Makiguchi, of a broad and inclusive coalition of the like-minded, “uniting the expertise of personages and scholars, practicing teachers, and educational theorists” (Makiguchi, 1931/1972, p. 229, trans. by author Takahashi) “open to new ways of thinking” (Bethel, 1989, p. 139) and with its eyes “on the horizon of the coming age” (p. 139), for Makiguchi an age when the happiness of the learner was the “raison d’être of education” (p. 150). The publication of the *Wiley Handbook on Education Policy* is an auspicious occasion for the revitalization of education along precisely these lines in what today is an increasingly global, interdependent world, one effect of which, however, is to only magnify the challenges we face.

Given those challenges, it is not perhaps too much to say that the special educational needs of policymakers are the same as they are for those preparing to become educational leaders. In the description of an alternative educational leadership preparation program at the authors’ home institution, one reads: “The educational leader of tomorrow requires a new kind of preparation for a new kind of world, global in scope, all-inclusive in breadth, calling out for meaningful broad-based societal change focused on harnessing the values of peace” (Brainworks, 2016). The postmodern backlash against a knowledge base in educational administration notwithstanding, the question still remains “what is the knowledge most worth having?” for the principal or superintendent whose job has never been more complex or more nuanced, requiring the broadest and most inclusive affective no less than cognitive knowledge, skills, and abilities, in addition to the ‘connoisseurship’ for which there is no specific book or teaching. Jesse H. Newlon, a former superintendent of schools in Denver, Colorado and professor of education and director of the Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia, may have said it best in 1933 when he talked about “the social basis of school administration,” arguing for a strict diet of history and philosophy, the physical and biological sciences, anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, and geography, including a familiarity with “the great classics in these fields” (Newlon, 1934, p. 265)—in other words, a good liberal arts education.

Here was the duty, in the words of the much maligned but oddly relevant Yale Report of 1828, “to give that expansion and balance of the mental powers, those liberal and comprehensive views, and those fine proportions of character, which are not found in him whose ideas are always confined to one particular channel” (Report as cited in Calhoun, 1969, p. 230). The views found here are not confined to one particular channel, are liberal and comprehensive, and, as Makiguchi asserted, have their eyes “on the horizon of the coming age.” Those alike in the business of setting and designing, implementing, studying and critiquing education policy will benefit from them.

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## **Part I**

### **The Policy of Education Governance**





## 1

## A Discursive Analysis of Neoliberal Policies and Practices in Education

*Fenwick W. English and Rosemary Papa*

### Key Questions

- 1 What were the originations of the neoliberal movement in education in the United States.?
- 2 How did wealthy donors and elites fund neoliberal causes and perspectives to create the basis for mounting 'jurisdictional challenges' to public schools and public school support?
- 3 How did the case of *Citizens United* help neoliberals propagate their political views and expand their influence within the political system?
- 4 What was the major flaw as indicated by Alan Greenspan in the neoliberal free market hypotheses?
- 5 How does excessive executive pay promote social inequality and shareholder loss?
- 6 Why are neoliberals so opposed to government regulation?

### Background

Beginning with Milton Friedman's economic shot across the bow in 1962 in his seminal *Capitalism and Freedom*, the rise of neoliberal policies and practices have come to be the dominant and nearly all pervasive discourse of management in elementary and secondary education and increasingly in higher education. The essence of neoliberalism, not a well-known concept outside of academe or the op-ed pages of the more intellectual public media such as *The New York Times*, *Wall St. Journal* or *The Economist* (Porfilio, 2007), can be reduced to the concept that:

The market is the most effective (or least irrational) method of distributing goods and resources, and the role of the state should be limited to the maintenance of necessary order, legality, and stability. (Barker, 2002, p. 369)

At the center of the political view of neoliberalism is the *free market hypothesis*, that is, a belief that markets left alone and unregulated or only minimally regulated, almost always get things right over the long haul. This is the extreme libertarian perspective which rests on the principle that “The individual is the best and only judge of his or her own interests and government and law should do no more than provide a minimal framework of order in which these interests can be pursued” (Barker & Lacey, 2002, p. 311).

Libertarianism holds that the power of government, even to perform the most basic of rudimentary functions, is almost always negative and destructive. The only judge of economy is action of the individual and his or her right to pursue happiness and monetary gains. In other words, selfishness is part and parcel of economic justification and greed is good (Madrick, 2011).

The supreme goddess of this outlook was Ayn Rand, popular novelist and political philosopher, who wrote such works of fiction as *Atlas Shrugged* and preached the extreme virtues of unfettered capitalism and unregulated markets (Burns, 2009). Among her acolytes was Alan Greenspan (Cassidy, 2009, pp. 228–229), who was the Federal Reserve chairman for nearly 20 years (1987–2006) and whose laissez-faire approach to market regulation ultimately became a disaster and helped lead to the collapse of the financial markets in 2007–2008. This was the same Alan Greenspan who had to confess to members of Congress that, “I found a flaw in the model” and by that he was referring to the economic model he had held for over 40 years as inviolate (Smith, 2012, p. 217). In retrospect the chief federal financial guru stood in the financial ruins of his miscalculations that saw huge banks go under and companies such as General Motors tilt on the verge of dissolution. It took a government bailout of \$700 billion to put a band aid on “the flaw” in the model for the financial sector (Patterson, 2010, p. 262). Greenspan’s late enlightenment cost “80 percent of U.S. GDP, some \$12 trillion” (Pittman & Ivry, 2009, as cited in Stiglitz, 2010, p. 110). Greenspan had gotten it wrong. Ayn Rand was mistaken.

## The Ideology and Tenets of Political Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is not a scientific theory, nor is it a philosophy. Rather it is an ideology. Alan Greenspan acknowledged that his view of the financial market was an ideology when he answered Congressman Henry Waxman who asked him if his *ideology* “pushed you to make decisions that you wish you had not made?” (Patterson, 2010, p. 263). Greenspan replied, “To exist you need an ideology. The question is whether it is accurate or not” (Patterson, 2010, p. 263). And what then was wrong with his ideology Greenspan was asked, “A flaw in the model that I perceived is the critical functioning structure that defines how the world works, so to speak” (Patterson, 2010, p. 264).

It is somewhat ironic that the creator of the term *ideology* was none other than Karl Marx who used the term to explain the concept of “false consciousness” that capitalists possessed to explain their beliefs that “...the laws of the competitive market are natural and impersonal, that workers in a competitive market are paid

all that they can be paid, and that the institutions of private property in the means of production are natural and justified" (Sterba, 1999, p. 416).

Popper (1965) defined an ideology as "a convention or a tradition based on faith" (p. 57). Feyerabend (1999) similarly indicated that an ideology was "a worldview illuminated by faith" (p. 120). Boudon (1989) discusses the nature of ideology among rival views in science. Sometimes ideologies have their origin in scientific explorations but later prove to be false. How this occurs is explained by Boudon:

A research scientist is located within a linguistic framework which tradition provides, and which as a general rule the scientist does not question... it is not only a lexical corpus which is inherited, but also a syntax, and at a still higher level of abstraction, might be called a theoretical and methodological perspectives...paradigms. (p. 90)

This total frame or context is a *discourse* and the ideology of neoliberalism has a specific context, both written and oral, as well as a set of prescriptive tenets, that comprise an entire lexical corpus. The definition of a *discourse* involves "the search for the rules or conventions which govern...a well-formed text" (Blakemore, 2003, p. 101). The second definition is that discourse is viewed as the "terms of communicative behavior" where what it does is "to discover the social conventions which determine which utterances may occur and what they may be combined with" (Blakemore, 2003, p. 101). In this chapter we are concerned with the latter, that is, what are the principal tenets and corollary beliefs of the discourse of neoliberalism in the politics of educational management.

The nexus of neoliberalism is economics. Harvey (2009) locates it as such when he indicated that it was a narrative of:

political economic practices that propose that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices. (p. 2)

We now explicate the basic tenets of neoliberalism with examples in education.

### **The Basic Tenets of Neoliberalism**

Here are the tenets of neoliberalism that most often get translated into educational policy and practices:

#### **1. The Twin Components of Economic and Political Freedom Are Conjoined**

Unless there is complete freedom for an individual to select his/her economic options within any given society, political freedom is compromised. Complete freedom means all options are open to select goods and services. In the words of Milton Friedman (1962) "...economic freedom, in and of itself, is an extremely important part of total freedom" (p. 9).

*Educational Implications:* Having only one public school system means that citizens have no options to select anything else. Their political freedom is therefore compromised. The creation of alternatives in the form of charter schools and the installation of parental vouchers create the necessary alternatives to ensure that true political freedom exists because there are alternatives to public schools.

These implications denounce the common good of society approach. Does the nation/state feel the need to teach common elements of good citizenship? Are democratic lessons relating to social justice 'isms' in society encouraged? Protecting the earth by learning the earth's resources are finite is yet another example of a common good society that allows a participatory parity in which all citizens believe they have a fair chance to achieve. This aspiration requires voting rights that encourage citizens to exercise their voice through participation in the democratic process.

## **2. Political Freedom is Compromised by Monopolies**

The greatest danger to political freedom is (a) government restrictions and imposed practices which limit the range of goods and services open for purchase of acquisition such as licensing, regulations, and so on. and which compromise the working of free markets, and; (b) monopolies which impose "a limitation on voluntary exchange through a reduction in the alternatives available to individuals" (Friedman, 1962, p. 120). "Exchange is truly voluntary only when nearly equivalent alternatives exist. Monopoly implies the absence of alternatives and thereby inhibits effective freedom of exchange" (Friedman, 1962, p. 28).

*Educational Implications:* All forms of licensing must be abolished because it leads to monopoly and therefore restricts voluntary exchange. Friedman (1962) observed that, "The efficient way to get control over the number in a profession is therefore to get control of entry into professional schools" (p. 151). Drives to de-license teachers from professional preparation in schools of education and to erase state imposed licensure requirements to be school leaders such as principals and superintendents would lead to more options for consumers to select different teachers and leaders than only those sanctioned by any licensure system.

This posture leads to encouraging its citizens to be undereducated if they are poor and cannot afford to send their children to schools that have licensed teachers and certified school administrators. The deregulation abandons its citizens as it does not support parity, justice, nor fairness, while increasing the 'haves' and 'have nots' within its citizens, in defiance of a democracy that exists to protect all of its citizens.

## **3. Unions and Professional Schools Restrict Voluntary Exchange**

Trade unions and professional schools work to restrict access to goods and services by functioning as a means to disempower individual voluntary exchange in a free market. They are forms of monopoly. "Licensure therefore frequently establishes essentially the medieval guild kind of regulation in which the state assigns power to the members of a profession" (Friedman, 1962, p. 141).

*Educational Implications:* Political initiatives to de-professionalize educational preparation on university campuses would work towards de-establishing state

supported monopolies. The de-coupling of the acquisition of master's degrees for teachers from obtaining salary advancement is a strategy behind this initiative (Banchero, 2013). Neoliberal think tanks have also sent salvos of derisive op-ed articles on the idea that leadership requires a license, even as licensing in other professions, including business, are a regular feature of the work environment (Hess, 2003).

The loss of tax dollar support of schools and universities has not led to a deregulation from the politicians. Instead, more regulation with very little tax support has crushed the meaning of 'public.' Worker protections have been devalued as corporate decisions and commodification of the worker destabilizes a democracy as it no longer sustains the majority of its citizenry. A democracy that is focused on the production of happiness in its citizens, shows care in the common working class.

#### **4. The Role of Government Is to Foster Competitive Markets**

"The scope of government must be limited" (Friedman, 1962, p. 2). The purpose of government is to "protect our freedom...; to protect law and order, to enforce private contracts, to foster competitive markets" (Friedman, 1962, p. 2). "Competition—between individuals, between firms, between territorial entities (cities, regions, nations, regional groupings)—is held to be primary virtue... Privatization and deregulation combined with competition, it is claimed, eliminate bureaucratic red tape, increase efficiency and productivity, improve quality, and reduce costs..." (Harvey, 2009, p. 65).

*Educational Implications:* Governmental power must be used to curb monopoly, de-license, and de-regulate the production of goods and services available to citizens to promote maximum voluntary exchange. Centralized power must be used to de-centralize restrictions. Recently, Tea Party advocates and Libertarians in Kansas have taken to calling public schools "government schools" (Bosman, 2016, p. 10). The purpose is to try and rebrand public education in a light of calculated scorn and public schools as a form of governmental imposition.

The use of the term 'government schools' is part of a broad education agenda that includes restraining costs. The far-right and libertarian wings of the Republican Party are pushing the state to loosen its laws to allow more charter schools. They oppose programs that offer free or reduced-price breakfasts and lunches, believing that schools have become part of the 'nanny state'—another charged term—and are usurping the role of parents. (Bosman, 2016, p. 10)

#### **5. Government Interference Works Against Creativity and Progress**

Governmental actions work towards mediocrity and stifle individual initiative because "government can never duplicate the variety and diversity of individual action" (Friedman, 1962, p. 4). Governmental action works towards replacing "progress by stagnation..." (Friedman, 1962, p. 4).

*Educational Implications:* The government should stay out of any and all actions to improve the lot of individual citizens through the imposition of

regulations, laws, or standards. Government cannot create the new technologies and ideas that abound in the private sector. Government should simply stay out of the way. Writing on the op-ed page of *The Wall Street Journal* Charles Koch (2016) struck a familiar neoliberal theme:

Government, which often has strong incentives to stifle the revolutionary advances that could transform lives, may be the most dangerous. The state often claims to keep its citizens safe, when it is actually inhibiting increased individual well-being.... unleashing innovation, no matter what form it takes, is the essential component of truly helping people improve their lives. (p. A13).

Mariana Mazzucato (2014) calls Charles Koch's neoliberal tenet *a myth*. She dismantles the prevailing neoliberal claim that the withdrawal of the state will render the economy "more dynamic, competitive and innovation. Business is accepted as the innovative, while the State is cast as the inertial one..." (p. 1). She presents compelling testimony that

...most of the radical, revolutionary innovations that have fueled the dynamics of capitalism—from railroads to the Internet, to modern-day nanotechnology and pharmaceuticals—trace the most courageous early and capital-intensive 'entrepreneurial' investments back to the state. (p. 3)

Then in a telling exposition Mazzucato (2014) explains that when it comes to what is considered a breakthrough technological feat, that of the Apple iPhone and what made it so 'smart'...

were government funded (Internet, GPS, touch-screen display and the recent SIRI voice activated personal assistant)—did not come about due to the presence of venture capitalists, nor of 'garage tinkerers.' It was the visible hand of the State which made these innovations happen. (p. 3)

She warns that "had we waited for the 'market' and business to do it alone—...[it] would not have come about" (p. 3).

The predatory behavior of Apple in stealing innovation from government funded research recently concluded when a federal jury ordered the producer of iPhones and iPads "to pay the University of Wisconsin \$234 million dollars for illegally using the university's technology in its processors" (Nicas, 2015, p. B4). Mazzucato (2014) caps her extensively researched argument regarding the entrepreneurial state by noting, "Despite the perception of the US as the epitome of private sector-led wealth creation, in reality it is the State that has been engaged on a massive scale in entrepreneurial risk taking to spur innovation" (p. 73).

## 6. Change Will Entail 'Creative Destruction' of Current Institutional Frameworks

The neoliberal position is that "social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human

action into the domain of the market” (Harvey, 2009, p. 3). This approach will work to change current institutional arrangements, various forms of state supported or defined activities, existing social arrangements, welfare support, “technological mixes, ways of life and habits of the heart” (Harvey, 2009, p. 3).

*Educational Implications:* Those advancing the neoliberal perspective see themselves as engaging in ‘interruptive’ activities. They see crises as an opportunity to alter existing arrangements and to install the forces of the market place as a substitute. In the words of Pierre Bourdieu (1998):

That state nobility, which preaches the withering away of the state and the undivided reign of the market and the consumer, the commercial substitute for the citizen, has kidnapped the state; it has made the public good a private good, has made the ‘public thing’, *res publica*, the Republic, its own thing. What is at stake now is winning back democracy from technocracy. (pp. 25–26)

Bourdieu also spoke of the ‘left hand’ and the ‘right hand’ of the state (1993). The ‘left hand’ represented public officials, teachers, and social workers while the ‘right hand’ represented bankers, business people, politicians, technocrats, and right-wing think tank pundits. Over time the ‘creative destruction’ of the ‘left hand’ of the state has resulted in the ‘hollowing out’ of a whole range of social services for the destitute, the elderly, the mentally ill, and the children of the poor (see Giroux, 2004) and something which Kimber and Ehrich (2011) identified as the ‘democratic deficit’ characterized by “the removal of public goods and services from the public sector and the reduction of citizens to customers or clients” (p. 180).

Mullen, Samier, Brindley, English & Carr (2012) argue that:

the instruments of neoliberalism—the market model, commercialization, and globalization—work against the largest mass of people; that neoliberalism is, in the main, a strategy of domination and subordination of the few over the many. Neoliberalism is thus its own theodicy of social privilege and economic hegemony. (p. 3)

## **Paid Handmaidens of Neoliberal Views: The Rise of Neoliberal Foundations And Think Tanks**

The assault on government and the policies of its ‘left hand’ did not happen overnight. Harvey (2016) indicates that the rise of neoliberalism happened ‘bit by bit’ over a nearly 40-year period. He called it a ‘political project’ aimed primarily at stopping the labor movement and curbing its power. Harvey (2016) comments:

...trade unions had produced a Democratic Congress that was quite radical in its intent. In the early 1970s they, along with other social movements, forced a slew of reforms and reformist initiatives which were

anti-corporate: The Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, consumer protections, and a whole set of things around empower labor even more than it had been empowered before. (p. 3)

Several important events occurred in the 1970s which galvanized a loose confederation of neoliberal, neoconservative, and libertarian thinkers, backed by corporate donations, to revise and reform a political activist attack on government and what they perceived as anti-corporate interests, regulations, and laws. First was what came to be called ‘the Powell Memorandum’ written by Lewis Powell, a prominent Southern conservative lawyer from Richmond, Virginia, and a future U.S. Supreme Court judge, who was chair of the Education Committee of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

The ‘Powell Memorandum’ became a call to arms for business, business interests such as the Business Roundtable and corporate moguls to stem the tide of democratic legislation endorsed by labor. ‘The Powell Memorandum’ became a political battle plan for how business was to ‘take back’ the political initiative. Powell, in addition to serving on the Richmond, Virginia Board of Education 1952–1961 (Van Doren, 1984, p. 842), not only enjoyed a lucrative corporate law practice but he “held seats on the boards of over a dozen of the largest companies in the country, including the cigarette maker Philip Morris” (Mayer, 2016, p. 72).

One of the persons who read the “Powell Memorandum” was beer magnate Joseph Coors who was deeply impacted by its contents. “A supporter of the John Birch Society, Joseph Coors regarded organized labor, the civil rights movement, federal social programs, and the counterculture of the 1960s as existential threats to the way of life that had enabled him and his forebears to succeed” (Mayer, 2016, p. 78). What followed was a donation to two former congressional aides, Paul Weyrich and Edwin Feulner Jr., who were establishing what became known as the Heritage Foundation, the first of the right-wing, neoliberal think tanks. The policy papers produced by these organizations are designed to be partisan, brief, and easy to read. The policy perspectives take biased positions at the outset. There is no pretense about trying to weigh both sides of an argument or an issue. The ‘facts’ almost always are tailored to support the position taken. And it is no secret that the policy briefs adhere to the biases of the wealthy donors who support these organizations.

A partial list of the ideological right-wing think tanks are shown below:

- 1) The Heritage Foundation
- 2) The American Enterprise Institute
- 3) Cato Institute
- 4) Center for Strategic and International Studies
- 5) Hoover Institution
- 6) Lexington Institute
- 7) Manhattan Institute (Skinner, 2012, p. 233).

Other neoliberal think tanks would be the Thomas B. Fordham Institute and Broad Foundation; The Bush Institute of Texas; Students First; the Reason Foundation; Friedman Foundation; Progressive Policy Institute; Gates



Foundation; Heartland Institute and Education Trust; the Bradley Foundation, the Olin Foundation and the Brookings Institution. There are also other more regional and local foundations and neoliberal think tanks that are also advocacy groups to promote a neoliberal change agenda. To provide a glimpse of the magnitude of the operations of these partisan organizations, an interview with Arthur Brooks the President of the American Enterprise Institute revealed that “In the six years since he took over as president, annual donations have nearly doubled, to \$40 million today from roughly \$22 million in 2009...There are more people too—225 full-time scholars and staff, up from 145” (Mcgurn, 2015, p. A9).

The forms of advocacy adopted by these neoliberal think tanks take on the mantle of open policy briefs and more lately the sponsorship of so-called ‘research’ on issues, actions, and concepts backed by the specific policy agendas of each. There have been so many such ‘research’ reports released that a special center has been established at the School of Education at the University of Colorado at Boulder to evaluate and issue independent commentary about the adequacy and accuracy of these reports. The National Education Policy Center is supported by the Great Lakes Center for Education Research and it employs a broad cross section of well-known researchers to independently assess thinktank research.

A quote from Kevin Welner, a professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder indicated that, “Across the nation, think tanks are churning out a steady stream of often low-quality reports that use weak research methods, offer biased analyses, and make recommendations that do not fit the data” (EPIC, 2010, p. 1). Alex Molnar, a professor at Arizona State University also commented about the nature of think tank reports when he observed that, “...in the political process, the influence of a report often has little relation to its quality. As a result, new school policies and reform proposals frequently are based on research of questionable value” (EPIC, 2010, p. 1).

These neoliberal think tank ‘research reports’ are rarely, if ever, vetted at academic research conferences, nor do they appear in blind reviewed, referred academic journals. They simply could not pass muster. Rather they are sent to newspapers and topical magazines whose editorial staff lacks the methodological and conceptual sophistication to know good research from mediocre and bad research. To the unsophisticated editors of most op-ed pages ‘research is research is research.’ And when the results match the editorial biases of newspapers such as *The Wall Street Journal*, such research is guaranteed to be cited as though it was credible and reliable. That the neoliberal think tanks only publish research which reinforces their biases and that of their sponsors is rarely the basis for editorial skepticism.

The sponsors of the neoliberal think tanks include some of the wealthiest individuals in the top 1% of the nation’s layered social class structure. In addition to beer baron Joseph Coors, the Heritage Foundation was also sponsored by the Sarah Mellon Scaife Foundation, the Bradleys (Lynde and Harry) of Milwaukee funded the Bradley Foundation and backed think tanks who were the spearhead of the movement to break public employee unions in Wisconsin (Mayer, 2016, p. 308); the Smith Richardson Foundation (of Vick’s vapor rub brand and other cold remedies fame) and the Koch Brothers (Charles and David) who have invested millions into the Cato Institute and other agencies, and institutions

sympathetic to their libertarian causes. The Koch network is so lavishly funded and extensive that it has been called “The Kochtopus” (Mayer, 2016, pp.141–158) and they have built “a political machine that in size, scope, sophistication, and fundraising prowess rivals the Republican Party itself” (Schulman, 2014, p. 21).

David Brock (2004) has indicated that the Philanthropy Roundtable is a group that coordinates the work of these family foundations and develops the ideas and battle plans for the multi-headed agenda of neoliberal activism. He quotes Grover Norquist, one of the leaders as saying, “Our goal is to cut government in half as a percentage of the economy over twenty-five years, so that we can get it down to the size where we can drown it in the bathtub” (p. 50).

Neoliberal funds have also been donated to some of the leading universities in the nation, sometimes with strings attached. A prime example is that of George Mason University in Northern Virginia, a large-scale recipient from the Koch Brothers who “...pumped nearly \$50 million into George Mason from 2011 to 2014, according to an analysis of tax forms conducted by the Associated Press” (Stripling, 2016, p. A27). George Mason’s indebtedness to Koch money began in 1980 when they funded the Mercatus Center. This Center operates as a private, non-profit research center but at least one insider within Koch industries has called it “a lobbying group disguised as a disinterested academic program” (Stripling, 2016, p. A28).

The Mercatus Center also supplements the salaries of some professors as well as financial support for graduate students, largely in economics. The economics department tilts heavily toward limited government from the libertarian perspective. The entire row over the role of the Koch Brothers at George Mason was sparked by a gift of \$10 million dollars to the law school which would be renamed The Antonin Scalia School of Law. The proposal drew faculty criticism when the deal became public.

Koch funds have also been channeled to other U.S. universities such as Brown University, Ohio State, Northwestern University School of Law, Texas A&M University, Baylor University, the University of Arizona, George Washington University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Clemson University, West Virginia University, New York University, Oklahoma State University, Florida State University, and Utah State University (Mayer, 2016). The transformation of neoliberal ideology into the university setting has also been accompanied by state legislatures and cutbacks in public funding. Budget stringencies are another form of deregulation. David Harvey trenchantly noted that, “I think now we’ve reach a point where you don’t need something like the Heritage Foundation anymore. Universities have pretty much been taken over by the neoliberal projects surrounding them” (2016, p. 4).

## **Follow the Money: Who is Funding Whom about What?**

In politics it has become more and more difficult to follow neoliberal money from its source to its true destination. The U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Citizens United* made it easy for large donors to conceal their cash contributions to idiosyncratic causes and political projects. The Court’s decision made it

convenient to hide millions of dollars when super rich donors could give funds to foundations and other non-profit organizations that could, in turn, keep their donors' names secret. These super political slush funds became known as "dark money" (Mayer, 2016, p. 229). They have become the tools of corruption of democracy by shifting "the balance of power from parties built on broad consensus to individuals who were wealthy and zealous enough to spend millions of dollars from their own funds. By definition, this empowered a tiny atypical minority of the population (Mayer, 2016, p. 239). In an editorial in *The Washington Post* (The Editorial Board, 2015) it was noted when it comes to elections, "... candidates are becoming dependent on a small pool of wealthy Americans. The analysis found that about 130 families and their businesses provided more than half the money raised through June by the Republican candidates and their super PACs" (p. A16). In pointing out the danger with this trend towards oligarchy, "The nation has often been ruled by elites, and rued it. But the potential to warp the political system is ever-present when such large sums are poured into politics" (p. A16).

Reckhow and Synder. (2014) were able to collect data from grants from the 15 largest K-12 philanthropic grant-makers for 2000, 2005, and 2010 and examine the data to observe funding targets and trends. They examined a data base for 2000 which consisted of 1,200 grants totaling over \$486 million; in 2005 the database was 1,600 grants totaling \$738 million, and for 2010 a base of 2,600 grants comprising over \$843 million. They identified two distinct trends in philanthropic funding. The first was increasing support for "jurisdictional challenges" to the educational establishment. These challenges "provide organizational replacements and alternate routes for teacher and principal training/credentialing, production of knowledge and research in education, as well as schools and school systems" (p. 187). These initiatives were comprised of two approaches. The first regarded funding for "organizations that provide alternative modes of running schools, primarily charter schools [and] organizations that provide alternative sources of human capital in education, primarily alternative certification of teachers" (p. 190).

The second trend was the enhanced role of the federal government in promoting neoliberal ideas chiefly through *No Child Left Behind* and the most recent Secretary of Education Arne Duncan's *Race to the Top* initiative. The importance of the second trend is that venture philanthropies have turned to a national focus to promote their ideologies instead of trying to influence policy and practice in the 50 states and/or thousands of local school districts. Six of the largest groups were the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Walton Family Foundation, Michael & Susan Dell Foundation, Robertson Foundation, Eli & Edythe Broad Foundation and the Doris & Donald Fisher Fund. As Reckhow and Snyder observe, "Collectively, these six benefactors each made their fortunes as business entrepreneurs—two in technology (Gates, Dell), two in real estate (Walton, Fisher), and two in investment businesses (Robertson, Broad)" (p. 188).

The groups that received most of the money for policy advocacy, "are typically professionalized organizations that produce reports and policy recommendations, maintain a paid staff, and have a presence in Washington, DC" (p. 188). Among the think tanks receiving support were the New America Foundation,

Brookings Institution, and the American Enterprise Institute. Among other groups receiving neoliberal largesse were Teach for America, Leadership for Educational Equity, Stand for Children Leadership Center, and Students First headed by former DC school superintendent Michelle Rhee who uses funds from the venture philanthropists to fight against teacher tenure and support political candidates who support her neoliberal agenda (Delbanco, 2013, p. 4).

Reckhow and Synder (2014) conclude their report by noting, “Major foundations in education have simultaneously shifted away from funding traditional institutions towards support for organizations that could create competition for the public sector” (p. 190).

## The Rise of Neoliberal Corporate Managerialism in Educational Administration

Another aspect of neoliberal thinking in education concerns the form and spirit of the kind of leadership that is employed to improve educational organizations. We can derive some idea of what that is from prescriptive texts produced by neoliberal writers in think tanks who engage in criticisms of existing arrangements, and from descriptions of actual practices by neoliberal educational administrators.

To make this distinction as clear as possible we begin with a picture from the corporate world where much of what is recommended for educational organizations emanates (English, 2013). The *Wall Street Journal* ran a story of the new CEO, Hans Van Bylen, of the German Company Henkel and the issues he faces coming into his new position. First new CEO Van Bylen was following a leader who had “Americanized” Henkel, a company that manufactures industrial and household products. An external observer to Henkel characterized the previous Henkel leader’s approach as one which cut costs, established measurable targets, “moved German administrative jobs to lower-cost countries, closed plants, and shed 800 of Henkel’s 1,000 brands. Between 2008 and 2015, the workforce fell roughly 10%” (Jervell, 2016, p. B4). In addition, the old CEO eliminated the annual Christmas party in order to cut costs, and he “stopped attending the annual workers’ council meeting, a break with tradition that irked workers here” (Jervell, 2016, p. B4).

He also changed the company’s motto from ‘A Brand Like a Friend’ to ‘Excellence is our Passion’ because ‘you want to win ... and being friendly is not winning.’ (Jervell, 2016, p. B4)

The old CEO oversaw some veterans in the company being pushed out while others had increased workloads and had to work more hours. If they complained, they were encouraged to take buyouts of their contracts.

This “Americanized” version of corporate management in education was similarly put into place in Washington, DC by Michelle Rhee, a former Teach for America candidate who became Chancellor of the district at age 37 without any prior school administrative experience or training. “She refused to believe she

needed to build consensus, seek community input or involvement, or in any way inspire or rally the professionals who do the daily work of making school improvements” (Pitt, 2011). She admitted her solitary view of leadership when she told a *Wall Street Journal* editorial writer, “this is a onetime gig for me so I can make every single decision in a way in which I think is in the best interests of the kids—without the politics, without owing people, just with that in mind” (Levy, 2007, p. A11).

In 2008 she “dismissed thirty-six principals, twenty-two assistant principals, and before she was done, nearly three hundred teachers” ... she even “invited the camera crew of a PBS documentary to film her in the act of firing a principal ...” (Delbanco, 2013, p. 4). As with the Henkel story, Michelle Rhee’s personal philosophy of leadership is centered in the virtues of competition which Delbanco (2013) calls “... what is fast becoming the national education dogma” (p. 6) which “boils down to a single theme, (1) students should compete for test scores and their teachers’ approval, (2) teachers should compete for ‘merit’ rewards from their principal, (3) schools should compete for funding within their district, (4) school districts should compete for budgetary allocations within their state, (5) states should compete for federal funds” (p. 6). The virtues of competition are linked to the neoliberal ideology that economies are only possible with competition provided by the existence of alternatives. Michelle Rhee underscored that when she said, “I’m a huge proponent of choice, but I’m also an unbelievably competitive person, and my goal is ... to create schools within the system that I believe are the most compelling choices” (Levy, 2007, p. A11).

There is a Darwinesque specter to such approaches to management which is averse to consensus building within a less dog-eat-dog culture. When the DC mayor, Adrian Fenty went down to electoral defeat, Rhee lost her political support and resigned. Her stormy tenure echoes other tales of business leaders who think they can run school systems or universities like businesses. Today, Rhee runs Students First, a multi-million-dollar political advocacy group funded by the Walton and Broad Foundations among others (Reckhow & Snyder, 2014, p. 189) which is opposed to teacher tenure and teacher unions and engages in political support of neoliberal ideas and candidates in education.

The authoritarian management style of business practitioners has run more than one would-be educational administrator into the weeds. For example, Paul Vallas, a non-educator who has been superintendent of schools in Chicago and New Orleans ran amuck with his management approach to change in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Hernandez (2013) reported on his difficulties in Bridgeport:

Parents are upset over his plans to increase the use of student testing, Union officials have denounced his insistence that administrators frequently visit classrooms to evaluate teachers, as well as his history of enthusiastic support for charter schools. And community activists argue that he consistently shuts out dissenting voices. (p. A1)

As with Michelle Rhee in Washington, DC, neoliberal education leaders want greater centralized control and see teacher tenure and teacher unions as enemies

of their ‘reform’ education agenda. They also push for the abolition of school boards to be replaced by mayoral control in the big cities.

Among the most heralded fiasco of business leaders in education was the very short tenure of Cathie Black, an alleged superstar of magazine publishing, to the role of Chancellor of the New York City Schools. A non-educator without any experience in education she lasted all of 95 days on the job before being fired by Mayor Michael Bloomberg when an exodus of top level education leaders quit or left the school system (Martinez & Saul, 2011, p. A3).

Business leaders who have been appointed college or university presidents also suffer from the same flaws as those entering elementary and secondary education, a lack of understanding that an educational institution is not a business and is not about making a profit. Academic leaders must be consultative, especially with faculty. The uprising at the University of Missouri-Columbia over matters of race were only part of the problem there. The president, Tim Wolfe, a former computer software executive made the mistake of cutting funds which subsidized the University of Missouri’s Press. After 5,000 people signed a petition in protest Mr. Wolfe returned the subsidy “admitting to miscalculating the importance of the press and conceding he should have vetted the idea with faculty first” (Korn, Peters, & Belkin, 2015, p. A3).

Another business oriented president, Scott Scarborough at the University of Akron resigned less than two years after he assumed the office. His style and approach did not mesh with an academic, consultative approach required to work with the faculty which had “voted repeatedly and overwhelmingly to express no confidence in him” (Basken, 2016, p. A11).

Hunter Rawlings, president of the Association of American Universities, spoke about the disturbing trend in replacing academic leadership with neoliberal, business oriented perspectives:

... too many politicians and their board appointees want ... to shape them as their ideology sees fit. This often means treating universities as businesses in which productivity and efficiency are the primary goals, and the academic and research principles that have been so important to our country’s leadership in talent and innovation are sacrificed to utilitarianism. ‘Accountability’ is the watchword—everything that can be counted is counted, and everything that cannot be counted doesn’t count. (Rawlings, 2014, p. A25)

## Neoliberal Largesse and Self-aggrandizement—The Issue of Executive Pay

There is one clear area where neoliberal tenets work towards self-aggrandizement and that concerns executive pay. In Ayn Rand’s book *The Virtue of Selfishness* (1964) she exclaimed, “A right does not include the material implementation of that right by other men; it includes only the freedom to earn that implementation by one’s own effort” (Burns, 2009, p. 211).

The skyrocketing ascent of executive pay has assumed astronomical proportions and has been the subject of shareholder discontent. Krantz (2015) indicates that, “While the average CEO is paid 216 times more than workers now, they were paid just 20 times more on average in the 1950s” (p. 1B). Nine CEOs in the Standard & Poor’s 500 were paid 800 times more than their workers (Krantz, 2015, p. 1B).

*The Economist* (2016) reported that the ratio of average CEO pay to workers’ pay of listed companies in selected countries, 2011–2012, showed that the United States had the largest discrepancy of the nine nations cited. The list included Germany, Japan, France, Australia, Sweden, and Britain among others (p. 53).

Lublin (2015) indicated that the median compensation of 300 CEOs was \$13.6 million (p. B1). The justification for such huge discrepancies between workers and bosses continues to be the subject of great debate, except in the nation’s business communities where they are insulated from them. The rationale that such salaries are the result of the level of duties and the results obtained from their leadership does not hold up to the facts. A study by MSCI, a corporate-governance research firm studied the pay of 800 CEOs at 429 companies at the end of 2014. The study examined the return on shareholder investment during this time.

MSCI found that \$100 invested in the 20% of companies with the highest-paid CEOs would have grown to \$265 over 10 years. The same amount invested with the lowest-paid CEOs would have grown to \$367 ... The highest paid had the worst performance by a significant margin. (Francis, 2016, p. B1)

Six years earlier Carl Icahn (2013), a well-known million-dollar investor himself, wrote in *The Wall Street Journal*:

Is it fair that CEOs make 700 times what the average workers makes, even if the chief executive is doing a terrible job and thousands of workers are laid off? Why do CEOs get awarded huge bonuses by friendly boards when the share prices are down by double digits and then get their options reset to lower levels as an ‘incentive’? (p. A19)

An editorial in *The New York Times* (The Editorial Board, 2016a) also cast doubt on the value of high executive pay as benefiting shareholders. In contradicting the common rationale for high pay for CEOs *The New York Times* wrote, “... beginning around the 1970s and becoming increasingly common in the leverage-buyout era of the 80s, the defining characteristic of pay for performance has been an explosion in chief executive pay that exceeds the value that any human being who isn’t Midas could reasonably be credited with producing” (p. A26). But *The New York Times* also noted that not only has excessive executive pay led to rising inequality as worker pay has flattened out, but that it has become a drag on shareholder income as well.

## The International Context of Neoliberalism and An Alternative Movement

Jacques (2016, August 26) recently wrote in *The Guardian* that the crisis in Western politics shouts the unravelling of neoliberalism. Since the late 1970s and marked by the Reagan and Thatcher partnership where the gifts to the world were global free markets in commodities and especially, services, saw the beginning of bank deregulation, first established during the Great Depression. “The hyper-globalization era has been systematically stacked in favor of capital against labor: international trading agreements, drawn up in great secrecy, with business on the inside and the unions and citizens excluded” (Jacques, 2016, p. 1). Examples of the behind-closed-doors politics and economic maldistribution are the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) which led the “politico-legal attack on the unions; the encouragement of large-scale immigration in both the United States and Europe...to undermine the bargaining power of the domestic workforce; and the failure to retrain displaced workers” (Jacques, 2016, p. 2).

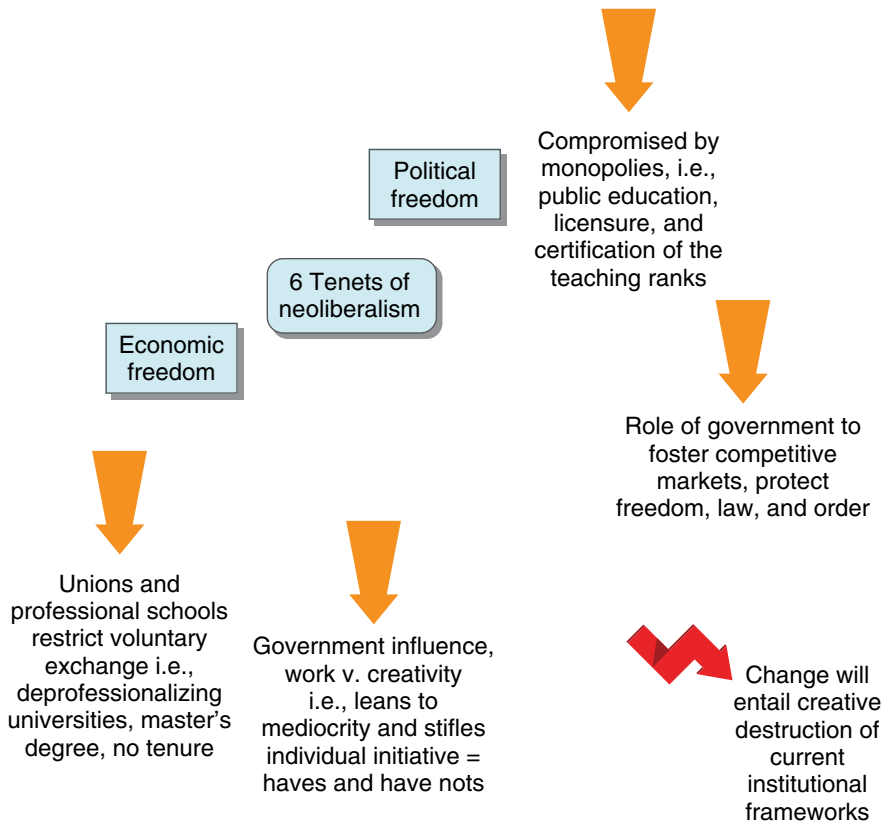
As we posit in this chapter, the six basic tenets when seen through the perspective of Nancy Fraser’s three dimensions, the reality of those who have scorned inequality becomes real. Her three dimensions (2007, 1996) are: (1) economic defined as the distribution, maldistribution, and redistribution of goods; (2) cultural as recognition and misrecognition of social inequities; and, (3) the political frame from which Fraser insists all three dimensions must be present for participatory parity to exist. We agree with her sociopolitical theory. The ‘isms’ for example, sexism, racism, classism, and so on, demand a theory of justice inclusive of both the individual distinctions and the common moral and ethical sense of humanity (Papa, 2016a, 2017).

The six tenets, when conjoined with the Fraser dimensions explicitly focused on social justice, present a dialectic dimension between the tension of the individual human being and the common good of humanity. When only the cultural dimension and the economic dimension are joined, the result is social inequality unfortunately common in today’s world: a world of increasing ‘have’ and ‘have nots.’ The political dimension for participatory parity can ensure equal respect for all participants and opportunity for equal attainment for social esteem expressed in democratic citizens. The neoliberal tenets delimit the role of human beings as Bourdieu (1998) noted the transfer of public goods into private ownership.

In Figure 1.1, our discussion of international trading of services and goods has led to the where we are today: the destruction of many lives while exacerbating the reality of billions. We contend we must change from neoliberalism: creative destruction of the tenets.

The failure of transnational globalization has led to much human suffering worldwide. Despair and hopelessness among the working classes in the United States whose growth between the years of 1948–1972 was marked by “sizeable increases in their standard of living” (Jacques, 2016, p. 2), while in the United States, “the median real income for full-time male workers is now lower than it was four decades ago: the income of the bottom 90% of the population has





**Figure 1.1** The Need for Change from Neoliberalism

stagnated for over 30 years” (Jacques, 2016, p. 2). Similarly, the U.K revolt. is evident in the Brexit vote, for similar reasons as in the United Staes where “social and economic chaos and the threat of a surge of migrants were alarming” (Burk, 2016, p. 16).

Within a multinational capitalistic country, it moves steadily towards inequality and what has been called the “democratic deficit” where more and more citizens are moved to the expanding economic bottom and have less and less to say about their lives. We see this in the shocking statistic of maternal mortality where the United States has steadily increased in deaths from pregnancy and delivery during this last decade. The cause is the inequalities built into “America’s health care system. The 2010 Affordable Care Act made health insurance available, but millions of families still cannot afford the care they need” (The Editorial Board, 2016b, p. 8). The increase in racism, misogyny, sexual orientation, environmentalism, global warming, when compared to classism, has been uneven in its outcomes leading to the working-class revolt as noted by the rise of Trumpism and Sanderism in the U.S. presidential election of 2016.

And, what of the initiatives to foster all children going to school? The World Bank is a powerful symbol of the commodification of education in poor countries.

Gevirtz described the World Bank and UN Sustainability Development Goals (Gevirtz, 2015, May 26) as:

The bank said it would spend \$5 billion by 2030—double its spending of the previous five years—in an bid to reach more than 120 million children who are out of school and some 250 million more who cannot read or write despite attending school ... *The truth is that most education systems are not serving the poorest children well*, Kim said in a statement. *With nearly a billion people remaining trapped in extreme poverty today, sustained efforts to improve learning for children will unlock huge amounts of human potential for years to come.* The World Bank, which aims to end extreme poverty by 2030, has spent \$40 billion on education since 2000 and describes itself as the world's largest international education funder. (Gevirtz, 2015, p. 1)

The World Bank president Jim Yong Kim believes in continuing to cite the failing of public education as the scapegoat to unparalleled capital growth. His solution is to adopt a results-based financing system where countries will only get money if they meet agreed performance targets.

Public universities are not primarily supported by taxpayer money, given their governors and state legislators in their zealous drive of 'no new taxes' has led to increased tuition costs placing the burden on students. This again encourages an undereducated citizenship in the 21st century that demands a retooled workforce for digital automation in service industries, while for universities philanthropy must be relied on as is the application of business approaches to science and research with external funding limiting research to what the corporate interests are. Given this direction how have the global organizations, such as UNESCO, supported children not in school?

UNESCO (2015, June 7) using the latest data maintains that the number of children not attending school has risen as aid to certain countries has fallen from the 2010 levels. As aid falls, girls are the first to be excluded. Yet, as noted in *Bloomberg*, economists know that when a country improves education for girls, its overall per capita income increases (Matsui, 2013).

According to UIS (UNESCO Institute for Statistics) estimates, 24 million children will never enter a classroom. Half of all out-of-school children in sub-Saharan Africa will never enroll. Girls are the most disadvantaged, particularly in South and West Asia, where 80% of out-of-school girls are unlikely to start school, compared to just 16% for boys. (UNESCO, 2015, June 7, para. 3)

In addition, 1 out of 6 adolescents is not in school, totaling 65 million in 2013. One third of these live in South and West Asia, another third in sub-Saharan Africa, where there are more adolescents out of school today than in 2000. (UNESCO, 2015, June 7, para. 4)

Military activity has increasingly become a major barrier to children in conflict regions attending school. The civil war in Syria has devastated the education of its nations' children. "Before the conflict, nearly every Syrian child was enrolled in primary school but by 2013 about 1.8 million children and adolescents were out of school. It took just two years of civil war to erase all education progress made since the start of the century" (UNESCO, 2015, June 7, para. 5). These numbers do not represent the refugee Syrian children in Turkey or dispersed across Greece and the rest of Europe. Those numbers are shocking as well given the inability of these nations to understand how to best deal with refugees coming in from conflict regions.

UNESCO (2015, June 7) notes the cost of educating children in all countries needs "an extra \$40 billion to provide 12 years of education to everyone in low and lower-middle income countries" (para. 7). We can ask then, how this shortfall will be addressed. "Donor countries must increase their aid to education by 600%. Instead, they are placing education lower on their list of priorities: half of donor countries decreased their aid to basic education from 2008–2010 and 2011–2013" (para 7). And, now part of the 2030 standard to attain requires results that politicians have designed, not educators.

Eisner (2005) described his perception of standards as implying "high expectations, rigor, things of substance" (p. 163) as well the illusion that without standards is to not know what is expected.

Uniformity in curriculum content is a virtue *if* one's aim is to be able to compare students in one part of the country with students in others. Uniformity is a virtue when the aspiration is to compare the performance of American students with students in Korea, Japan and Germany. By why should we wish to make such comparisons? To give up the idea that there needs to be one standard for all students in each field of study is not to give up the aspiration to seek high levels of educational quality in both pedagogical practices and educational outcomes. Together, the desire to compare and the recognition of individuality create one of the dilemmas of a social meritocracy: the richness of a culture rests not only on the prospect of cultivating a set of common commitments, but also on the prospect of cultivating those individual talents through which the culture at large is enriched. (Eisner, 2005, p. 166)

This international dilemma of expecting results from children not in school, especially girls, bears the sin of neoliberal policies that exacerbates the realities of global corporate greed and monopolization of banking practices. What hope in the fight against despair are children offered if they are abandoned before they are able to read? In the absence of the nation/state to solve these problems we believe a small group of educators can change the world by elevating the discussion, bringing awareness, and inspiring global educators to act locally while thinking globally.

### **Educational Leaders Without Borders: An Alternative Movement**

Educational Leaders Without Borders (ELWB) is an organization of global scholars, students, teachers, NGOs, and professional organizations that firmly rejects the neoliberal mantra that has rejected humanity in pursuit of the commodification of education and pursue the human right of all children to go to school. ELWB does not believe in the efficiency drive through standards that has encouraged a relentless and astonishing need to focus on the perceived weaknesses of American schools “that we have underestimated the diversity and hence the complexity that exists” (Eisner, 2005, p. 170).

ELWB is raising awareness of the ills of neoliberalism that has impacted schools around the world. ELWB promises to continue to challenge neoliberalism with the intention of ending the era of greed and its denouncement of contextualized differences that are denying social justice to all children in the world.

The underestimating of children in U.S. schools needs to stop and also the severe focus on standards which lives among the false presumptions that all children are the same. As we see in the greater society, inequality is rampant with mainly White undereducated males in open revolt over loss of jobs and wages. The need to build infrastructure that will retrain these workers is required. By providing this help to those unfranchised workers to overcome their misogynistic, racist, anti-immigration, and the inward drive to isolate the United States, is yet to be seen. This raises Eisner’s question to the same level: Can our education system[s] flourish without losers (p. 171)? Can our society become more equal to all while acknowledging the contextual diversity as an enrichment to schooling strategies and not as purely a commodification of winners and losers?

Ibrahim (2014) citing Makiguchi said, “Ten million young people forced to endure the agonies of cutthroat competition, the difficulty of getting into good schools, the ‘examination hell’ and the struggle for jobs after graduation...” (p. 109) sounds like the 21st century and not the 1930s when it was written.

ELWBs believe education is a basic human right, where

- 1) All children have a right to go to school;
- 2) Education should draw out of humans the potentialities of a progressive humanity which is inclusive and respectful of difference;
- 3) Schools are a leveraging institutional force for greater equality and opportunity; and,
- 4) Educational leaders can and must become emboldened to step out of the school/state nexus so that we can become true educational leaders without borders.

We recognize that the goals of humanity and its well-being may be in conflict with the nation/state’s agenda of economic dominance. We also believe that some problems of schooling girls and rural children are not solvable by any one nation state. And, the realities of knotting together the economic, cultural, and political elements that can be focused not on knowledge itself as a commodity, but as Makiguchi stated “to encourage the joy and excitement of learning that arises from learning” (Ibrahim 2014, p. 104) is what ELWBs understand.

Let us recommit ourselves to “social justice and schools as levers of social change... [that does not] hold poor people responsible for their choices that arise directly from the relatively limited set of options that poverty...gives rise to in the market [of neoliberalism greed]” (Barry, 2007, p. 87).

## Conclusions

This chapter has sketched out the development and 40-year expansion and domination of neoliberal thinking in the private and public sectors in the United States and indeed around the globe and its impact on social and education policies and practices. The combination of neoliberal assumptions and tenets do not rest on any scientific theory. Nor are they scientific. They are, as Harvey (2016) notes a purely ‘political project’ camouflaged in the makeup of liberation, freedom, individualism, and choice which Bourdieu (1998) labeled “a very smart and very modern repackaging of the oldest ideas of the oldest capitalists” (p. 34) which portended a “return to a kind of radical capitalism, with no other law than that of maximum profit, an unfettered capitalism without any disguise, but rationalized, pushed to the limit of its economic efficacy...” (p. 35).

Chakraborty (2016) has quoted an article in the IMF (International Monetary Fund) flagship publication by three of the group’s top economists that are sounding the alarm about the continued growth and implementation of neoliberalism indicating that “more and more states have remade their social and political institutions into pale copies of the market” (p. 48).

The results, the IMF researchers concede, have been terrible. Neoliberalism hasn’t delivered economic growth. It has only made a few people a lot better off. It causes epic crashes that leave behind human wreckage and cost billions to clean up ... economists don’t talk like novelists, more’s the pity, but what you’re witnessing amid all the graphs and technical language is the start of the long death of an ideology. (p. 48)

One can only hope that the announcement of the demise of neoliberalism, especially in education policies and practices, is not premature and it occurs before it is impossible to return to policies and practices which actually reduce inequalities that threaten the life of democratic government and non-authoritarian forms of educational management in the schools.

ELWB seeks to shape the conversation away from neoliberal greed to refocus on the strengths of a diverse humanity and human beings are considered first, to unshackle the negativity that uber-globalization has flourished under neoliberalism. Clearly, the Democratic party in the United States and the Labour party of the United Kingdom must now renegotiate the fragmentation that affects both due to their embrace of the tenets which we have written about in other books and chapters (English, 2013, 2016; Papa, 2016b, 2016c, 2017). The Democratic party must reestablish itself as a defender of those that have been harmed by the juggernaut of neoliberalism. ELWB will continue to contest and challenge the tenets outlined and we hope you join us through your research, scholarship, and especially, your actions: *act locally and think globally*.

## Key Ideas

- 1) Neoliberalism is not science nor is it based on a scientific theory; rather it is a political movement anchored in economic determinism;
- 2) While using the language of individualism, freedom, and liberty, neoliberalism is about benefiting only a privileged few in our society and therefore it will continue to be a force for greater economic inequality to persist in the nation;
- 3) Neoliberal educational agendas are re-segregating the nation's public schools and behind the reduction of public financial support for public education at all levels;
- 4) The dominant form of managerial practice employed by neoliberal leaders is anchored in virulent anti-unionism and forms of governance which expand top-down managerial control of schools and institutions. Any form of dissent is viewed as a heresy to neoliberal convictions.

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## 2

## The History of Educational Policy and Governance: Fundamental Questions About Citizens' Rights, Roles, and Futures

*Jane Clark Lindle*

### Key Questions

- 1 How are education's values (choice, efficiency, equity, excellence, and security) selected, balanced, or omitted in the development of education policies?
- 2 Which people and groups participate, or do not participate, in determining education policy development and implementation responses?
- 3 How do jurisdictional politics and political culture affect policy development and implementation?
- 4 What are the purposes and goals of education; who should benefit; and who should pay for it?
- 5 What knowledge is worth formal education and who should teach it?

### Introduction

In any nation, formal education is a political instrument. The United States' approach to education as a civic institution particularly politicized schooling through a decentralized and multi-jurisdictional governance system (Berkman & Plutzer, 2005; Cibulka, Fusarelli, & Cooper, 2008). The politics in education across nations focuses on the countries' social and economic interests accruing from their education systems (Devos et al., 2012; Lingard, Rawolle, & Taylor, 2005; Lingard & Sellar, 2013; Rivzi & Lingard, 2010). In the United States, schooling's focus not only includes concerns about social and economic interests, such focus also encompasses contests over rights to decide educational policy (Kirst, 1984; Mehta, 2013a, 2013b; Wirt & Kirst, 1989). Owing to these combined political contests in the United States, education governance affects education policy and conversely, education policy influences educational governance (Fowler, 2013).

This chapter describes policy contests along with the various policy processes and governance structures ranging from authorities and formal deliberative bodies to the interest groups and advocates who influence policy development (Berkman & Plutzer, 2005; Cibulka, 2001; Ehrensals & First, 2008; Mawhinney, 2001; Scott, 2009). The formal intended governance structures and processes include classical descriptions of the policy process (Birkland, 2001; Cooper, Fusarelli, & Randall, 2004; Fowler, 2013; Kingdon, 2003). The political debates about policy are framed within Lasswell's (1965) traditional political analysis of who benefits, at what point and how, but also with a critical lens about who is silenced and who loses (Lakes & Carter, 2011; Marshall & Oliva, 2010; Marshall, Ryan, & Uhlenberg, 2015; Mehta, 2013a, 2013b). Given the jurisdictional differences in moderating education policy, this chapter also provides notes about political cultures and those influences on education policy decisions, and implementation (Devos et al., 2012; Elazar, 1970, 1972, 1994; Febey & Louis, 2008; Lingard et al., 2005; Lingard & Sellar, 2013; Rivzi & Lingard, 2010).

### **What are Typical Education Policy Contests?**

Nation building involves economic development and considerations about citizens' social development and participation. Stout, Tallerico, and Scribner (1995) listed these five questions:

- Who should go to school?
- What should the purpose of schooling be?
- What should children [or students of any age] be taught?
- Who should decide the issues of school direction and policy?
- Who should pay for schools? (Stout, Tallerico, & Scribner, 1995, p. 5)

More recently, Zhao (2014) explained the sustained absence of simple solutions to these basic questions:

such as what should be included in the curriculum, what kind of knowledge is worth transmitting, what should be taught and untaught, and what hidden curriculum is meant to be delivered, even the fundamental questions of the purpose and goals of public education—what we desire to achieve in public education—are all heatedly contested. (p. 1)

Among the reasons these matters remain contested in democratically inclined nations are fundamental notions of citizens' rights and privileges. Fowler (2013) enumerated the challenges of balancing social interests with self-interests over economic benefits, distribution of power, choices, and civic order. Marshall and Gerstl-Pepin (2005) synthesized five decades of value conflicts underlying education policy into four recurring positions: (a) choice, (b) efficiency, (c) equity, and (d) excellence or quality. Cobb and DeMitchell (2006) added a fifth education policy value of security. All of these values pit individual benefits against the collective good (Labaree, 1997, 2012). Each of these values implicates education policy development.

## Choice

Choice has political and economic dimensions for education policy. As a fundamental value for many citizens, the exercise of choice is essential and synonymous with the exercise of freedom (Fowler, 2013). Individuals seek the right to choose, while policy may place boundaries on individuals' or groups' scope of choices (Birkland, 2001; Kirp, 1982). In education, many policies defer to the discretion of elites, deemed as such due to training or licensing, such as, professional teachers and administrators (Kingdon, 2003). Such elite professionals have authority and knowledge to address issues of student development and deportment; yet, parents/guardians, students, and other educational stakeholders often assert their rights and challenge elites' decisions as well as authority to make decisions (Kirp, 1982; Plank & Boyd, 1994).

The differentiation of choice in educational policy spans basic differences between economic perspectives and political perspectives (West, 2009). Economists study choice as primarily a function of each person's self-interests (Fowler, 2013; West, 2009). In contrast, especially surrounding investigations of education policy, political scientists seek understanding of interest convergence over the common good (Baber, 2015; Plank & Boyd, 1994; Schneider & Ingram, 1993; West, 2009; Winton & Gonzalez, 2014). Although some understand coalition building as a means to maximize a variety of policy agendas (e.g., Mawhinney, 2001; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999), interest convergence serves to protect dominant groups' interests (Baber, 2015; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Schneider & Ingram, 1993). The more diverse the coalition, the more ambiguous the policy agenda and participants exercise tactical delays in policymaking until an outcome advantages the dominant forces (Baber, 2015; Opfer, Young & Fusarelli, 2008; Schneider & Ingram, 1993). For school policy, an economic perspective about choice has dominated for several decades with various initiatives promoting school choice.

School choice typically refers to a market-driven set of options ostensibly intended to improve school quality through competition by dismantling a government-driven monopoly (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Sugarman & Coons, 1980). However, a countering perspective is the relegation of schooling to a commodity rather than a public service (Cooper et al., 2004; Scott, 2009; Starratt, 2004; West, 2009). Proponents of school choice recommend a range of selection from public magnet and charter schools to private schools funded by taxpayer-supported tuition vouchers (Chubb & Moe, 1990; McCarthy, 1997; Thompson Dorsey & Plucker, 2016). The political rhetoric about school choice policies' success and inefficiencies persists among both proponents and opponents (Henig, 2008; West, 2009). For many students and their proxies (parents/guardians), choices represent the freedom of personalizing their education (Lubienski, 2006). The politics of scarce resources and competition with other policy values such as efficiency, equity, and quality complicate matters of choice in education (Lubienski, 2006; Reese & Lindle, 2014). As a fundamental value conflict, the notion of choice sets up a clash among all of Stout et al.'s (1995) questions about who goes to school and why, what should they learn, who gets to decide, and who pays for it?