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William T. Pink • George W. Noblit  
Editors

# Second International Handbook of Urban Education

Volume I

 Springer

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As of March 1, 2014, she is an associate editor of the international journal *Intercultural Education*, which is part of the Nordic Center for Excellence in Education, and is honorary member of the European Educational Research Association, where she collaborates with the networks “Social Justice and Intercultural Education” and “Ethnography.” She is also an elected member of the International Association for Intercultural Education.

After graduating from the University of Padova, she studied at the University of California, Berkeley. She was a Fulbright grantee (1969) and visiting scholar at UC Berkeley (1995) and Harvard University (2001) and will be a visiting professor at Masaryk University in Brno in spring of 2016. She is on the editorial boards of international journals, has published extensively in Italian and English, and has participated in Comenius projects.

She had studied contemporary educational issues from a comparative and interdisciplinary perspective, combining educational theory with cultural anthropology and anthropology of education so as to problematize and widen the discourse and research on intercultural education. She carried out ethnographic research among Italy’s “internal minorities” such as the occupational minority of traveling fair-ground and circus people in Veneto. She is presently researching the culture of cooking in nursery and childhood schools of Padua.

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*Ethnographic Practice in Classrooms* (with Gordon, T.; Holland, J.; and Lahelma, E., 2005) and *Collective Ethnography, Joint Experiences and Individual Pathways* (with Gordon, T.; Hynninen, P.; Lahelma, E.; Metso, T.; and Palmu T., 2006). She was leader of the project *Cultural and Material Formation of Social Class Within Families* of the University of Helsinki. Her current research focuses on marginalization of young people. Elina Lahelma and Tuula Gordon were her doctoral supervisors, and she would like to dedicate this chapter to them.

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Her scientific research activity is realized through national and international projects. She led the project Education for Entrepreneurship, supported by the relevant ministry. In cooperation with the South East European Centre for Entrepreneurial Learning (SEECCEL), she led the pilot project Entrepreneurial Learning. She was an associate in two Tempus joint projects, EU Management and Counselling in European Education and Modernizing Teacher Education in European Context, funded by the EU. Today she runs the project School Principal: Profession and Qualification, not a Function, co-financed by the European Social Fund.

She continuously upgraded her scientific and professional work in Croatia and abroad – at the Department of Anthropology, University of Berkeley, California, USA, Danish Institute for Educational Training of Vocational Teachers (DEL), Politechnik Jyväskylä in Finland, Portoroz in Slovenia, and Scottish Qualifications Authority in Glasgow.

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# Globalized Urban Education: Tracking Change

It is all too common for people to see globalization as relatively recent and largely tied to the shifts in the global economy of the past 50 years. Yet it is also known that globalization is as old as human migration, as old as famine, as old as the wars that brought civilizations against each other in antiquity, and as old as patterns of exchange that moved goods across communities and wider land masses. The Western hubris of the term the Age of Discovery was seen to mark the primacy of Europe and initiation of modern forms of colonialism but in reality only signaled Europe's ethnocentrism and its consequent blindness to how people and goods had been traveling all along. There were no "new" lands—only lands that belonged to someone else that when conquered could be exploited for the victors. The wider view of globalization links migration, claims to land, exchange, war, and exploitation. The recent assertions of globalization do little to change this, adding only the dazzling scale of international connectedness, the dominance of global capital, and the speed of the Internet. Globalization is faster and more intrusive now but it is not all that new.

Urbanization is also a phenomenon that suffers from a truncated view of its history. All too often, it is linked to industrialization and the consequent need for localized centralization and concentration of workers. But as with globalization, this truncated view of history missed much. Urbanization has a much longer history and bound up in issues of security and protection from both beasts and warring neighbors. It is bound up in exchange. In villages, people could trade and devote themselves to developing skills and products that could be exchanged for needed food and products. Urbanization is also bound up in issues of land ownership as well. For many agrarian people, even today, one lives in a town and works the fields surrounding it. Sometimes this is for security but sometimes this is also the vestige of feudalism and/or plantation economies, where lords or masters owned the land and farmers (serfs, slaves, and freemen and women) worked it. Cities grew into commercial centers, distributing goods and services and creating new occupations to facilitate this—and needs for new skills and more widely spread knowledge. While people have raised their children and educated them in various ways for the length of human history, it was in cities that schools arose with such fervor to enable a popu-

lace to be spiritually and morally informed, to work in the constantly developing industries, to participate in governance, and to enable the full development of capitalism and its patterns of exploitation and wealth centralization.

There is, of course, much more to the above. Such generalized assertions miss as much as they reveal. There are great differences across the world in globalization, in urbanization, in economy, and in education. The above however is to point to the longer histories of these phenomena and to undercut claims to “newness.” It is to signal the interconnectedness of migration, war, cities, capitalism, and education. It is to highlight that to understand urban education anywhere, all this and more must be accounted for. In this *Second International Handbook of Urban Education*, the editors and authors have taken on the challenge to understand how urban education is embedded in historical processes, in international relations, in economic affairs, and in the desires of peoples to be knowledgeable and skilled, enabling them to participate in the affairs that govern their lives.

The *Second International Handbook of Urban Education* builds on our first attempt (Pink and Noblit 2007) in important ways. First and foremost, the content of this volume is completely new. We learned in our last effort that urban education, while deeply historically embedded, is always shifting. Urban education in this way can be seen as an artifact of both local and global changes. It marks the winds of change as much as it is an engine of development. However, there are other reasons for seeking new content, including the fact that, even with the extensive scope of large volumes such as this *Handbook*, there is no way to deal with all the facets of urban education. Volumes that are more national in scope may be able to come close, but even volumes that examine specific regions of the world cannot do all the issues justice. Thus, new content also allows this *Second Handbook* to expand on what was covered in the first volume.

Second, we found it exceedingly difficult to identify appropriate scholars in some areas of the globe as we developed the first volume. With this *Second Handbook*, we have made significant progress in reaching areas of the world we could not before, most notably India and Eastern Europe. It is important to note, moreover, that regions themselves are not stable geographies. The Asia Pacific is a good example. This was how the section was conceived in the first volume. Yet James Ladwig convinced us that how nations in the South Pacific identified with each other was shifting and offered “Oceania” as the alternative. Xue Rong agreed to take on Asia in this volume as a separate section. Similarly, we have a new section on Nordic nations which in the last volume was included in Europe. While this was a tough decision, it followed the realization that these nations have distinguished themselves in international comparisons and are increasingly regarded as offering lessons for other nations. Let us be clear, however, that we have not achieved any sense of total representation of the world. We have reached into new regions and nations and reconfigured some regions. We have also have found talented researchers and scholars who enable this volume to expand the knowledge base dramatically, but the result is still a partial accomplishment. We would want future volumes to dig deeper into the Middle East and Central Asia. We would want more nations to be covered in each region as well. Indeed, we would argue that it is important to

reach inside nations to see differences within as well. In this volume, we experimented with this by including India as its own section. Clearly, India is geographically large and thus in scale may be seen to approximate a region. India had not been covered in the first *Handbook* so it could be argued that such an intensive treatment is warranted. Nevertheless, we were experimenting with digging deeper into large and complex nations. We have concluded (and we believe others will concur) that this effort enabled unparalleled depth of understanding. We encourage readers to compare the India section with the compelling, but single, chapter on India in the Asia section. We purposely included that chapter in Asia to signal that India is also regionally situated. Such a comparison makes it clear that delving deeper into single nations is productive. We would argue that future volumes may find it useful to consider which nations at which times deserve extensive treatment and that, as the volumes accumulate, a better record of what urban education has entailed across the globe can be assembled. This is important as a historical record, marking where and when particular issues have salience. It can also enable a better tracing of where new ideas and practices are emerging and how these may travel the world.

Third, this volume has been written largely by new scholars as well. This was both by plan and by necessity. Scholars have specialties and long-standing research programs and thankfully so inasmuch as the current state of world presses for rapid results and shifting attentions. In this world, academicians serve a valuable role in staying the course, in digging deeply, and in tracking developments over time. Yet, for the production of new content, we were concerned that to return fully to the editors and authors of the prior volume would have likely returned to themes raised in the initial volume simply because of the authors' specialties and maybe not because these themes are especially relevant now. Sulochini Pather, as the new editor of the Africa section, argued that inclusion was an especially salient theme for Africa now and worked to organize the section around this theme. We will return to what this section reveals later in this chapter, but the point here is that new scholars led to new content. We, of course, did not abandon all who wrote and edited before. Belmira Bueno edited the Latin American section again, for example, and sought out new scholars and topics for this volume. Elisabet Ohrn and Gaby Weiner also are repeat editors (but now of the Nordic section) who solicited new chapters. Gaby Weiner was an author in the first *Handbook* but returns as a section co-editor. The result of all this has made it clear to us that shifting who was included in this volume and seeking new content has made this *Second Handbook* a fresh addition to the literature on urban education across the globe.

While a fresh addition to the literature, this *Second Handbook* also reveals that there are enduring themes in post-twentieth-century global urban education. In the last handbook, we suggested the reader approach, the daunting task of reading such an extensive volume through a set of "analytic lenses" (Noblit and Pink 2007, p. xviii) that included multiplicity, power, difference, capital, intersectionality, and change. Now, however, we are clearer now that the term "lens" should be replaced with "prism." As we read the draft chapters for this *Second Handbook*, we found that several of these terms were still generally useful and are worthy of inclusion here. However, we think this volume requires a full reconsideration of the list. We

ended up keeping multiplicity and power but speak differently about them here. We dropped change entirely, not because it is not applicable but because it is embedded in the others. We renamed two. Difference becomes inclusion/difference to emphasize positive efforts at change. Capital becomes global capital because recent scholarship has signaled an end to the linkage of economic growth to social mobility. This requires a wholly new image of urban education. In addition, we have done a light reordering of their salience. Most importantly, though, our shift is to see through the *refractive* elements, given the use of *prism* under as overarching strategy for reading these chapters.

We wish to emphasize that we are not asking the reader to use these prisms to reduce the following chapters to a list of similarities and differences and/or to seek generalizations. These all-too-common practices violate all that have been learned about global urban education. Context (region, nation, peoples, cities, development, economy, etc.) is all important. Similar practices in different contexts can have quite different meanings. As importantly, however, reading these chapters to reduce them to similarities and differences and/or generalization is akin to an act of symbolic violence (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977). We say this because acts of generalization, for example, serve the interests of states and policy processes. Following Scott (1998), “seeing like a state” requires making what are accurate portrayals of local processes or situations into patterns that can be recognized by the state. Once the patterns are made legible by the state, then they can be made further subject to the state via policies that enable the state (and less so everyday life). For the reader here, this can be avoided by reading in order to understand “particularities” (Noblit 1999, 2). Each chapter in this volume is a unique contribution and deserves to be understood as the contribution it alone is. It is true that the chapters are in dialogue with one another, but this dialogue can only be understood adequately by first recognizing the particularities of each case in each chapter. The prisms we offer below then are not to be taken as crosscutting themes or as reductions. Again, they are offered not to reduce the readers’ search for understanding but rather to complicate that search. This is what prisms do—instead of offering a singular focus, they refract into a rainbow of possibility. As such, they speak against efforts to “see like a state” and instead valorize particularities.

## Multiplicity

We argue that one enduring prism of post-twentieth-century global urban education is multiplicity. In the previous *Handbook*, we argued that this prism (then “lens”) led to at least three questions the reader may wish to consider:

1. How is it that there are multiple forms of urban education, multiple interpretations, multiple arenas, and multiple actors?
2. What can we learn about our own settings from seeing a wide variety of settings?
3. What strategies enable us to consider multiplicity as an asset for change and empowerment? (Pink and Noblit 2007, xix)

We do not wish to predetermine the types of answers the reader may develop in considering this volume. Thus we will be cautious in our discussion. In this, we must highlight that, as readers, we add to the multiplicity by bringing our own interests into our reading. As two scholars who have studied education and school reform in major cities and who have recently completed a new book, *Education, Equity, Economy* (Noblitt and Pink 2016) (and a new book series with Springer of the same title), we of course read the draft chapters asking how they could inform our understanding of these concepts. We were drawn to this many chapters, but we will point to only a few here (and will do the same in the discussion of each prism) so that we can illustrate the approach we encourage to reading with multiplicity in mind.

In the India section, Rao examines the economic transformation of the city of Kota. All too briefly, Kota had suffered from rapid deindustrialization in the late twentieth century. Yet Kota transformed its identity into an education economy. It would be easy to succumb to the desire to identify similarities/differences and/or generalize lessons for cities working the new economies, but we would push for reading and thinking about this chapter differently. Using the prism of multiplicity, we wonder how much of the Kota case is a particular instance of globalization and thus cannot be easily compared to urban areas in the West that are promoting the “creative economy” (Florida 2002). True, they may be linked but maybe as cases of dependency as much as similarity. This in turn makes us wonder about efforts in the United States, where we both live, to mimic cities that have made such transitions. Kota has been a “model” for other Indian cities, but the prism of multiplicity leads us to wonder if mimicry is actually an invitation to dependency, as Illich (1971) argued was the case when education in Latin America was trying to assume the education patterns of the United States and other Western nations. In turn, then, the prism of multiplicity leads us to read the case of Kota both for what it offers us and, critically, for the assumptions that undergird its experience as well as the logic of mimicry in development.

The chapter by da Silva and Abrantes highlights the Portuguese poor in suburban areas, reflecting our earlier comments about poverty in cities being not always in the urban core. In these settings, so much is multiple: the shifts in demographics, the multiple privations and stigmas, and even who is recognized as poor in the public discourse as compared to the historically poor.

Multiplicity is also evident in the many perspectives you find in this volume, including postcolonial, multicultural, culturally responsive, world systems, critical race, and so on. Yet perspectives also work within cases as well. Singh reveals, for example, that in the South Pacific, there are four interrelated ways to think about urban education—depending on one’s imagination, one’s connections with the nations within and beyond the region, one’s role in the forces at work, and the view of using South Pacific intellectual resources. He argues that these all are constitutive of urban education in this region. Lappalainen found that in Finland the health and social services curriculum is largely neoliberal but the female-dominated cultural practices in that field are complex, ambivalent, and resistant. Vican examined different perspectives in Croatia on the problem of education and curriculum changes in pre-tertiary level—teachers, pupils, parents, professional associates, and

school founders—finding a surprising unanimity on the issue of pupil motivation. Students live in multiple worlds as well that education is often hard pressed to respect. In multiethnic Croatia, there are 20 official languages, and the chapter by Mestric finds in part that hybrid multilingual identities are often performed as a hidden practice in closed communities and are frequently perceived as an asset outside of Croatia and also as a form of resistance.

## Power

It is now well known that the concept of power is less definitive than it once was. Power seems ubiquitous in life and certainly in education, but exactly what power is and how it works is more elusive. For example, in much of the literature on education, power is conceived of as hierarchical. Power is seen as constitutive of superior/subordinate relations. Power is sometimes seen as “informal” contrasted to “formal” authority that is legitimated by existing organizational and institutional processes. Yet there are many conceptions of power. Foucault’s (1980) famous declaration that power circulates is but one example. In this conception, he is decoupling it in key ways from the persons seen as holding power and enables a more discursive view of power.

Anyone with a background in urban education is well aware that power plays through all of its affairs. Yet power is socially constructed and situated in key ways. One can read urban education less as a provision of services and more as a regime—or alternately as a mechanism for governmentality. But power does not always deliver. For example, Peko and Varga in their chapter on Croatia note both the failure of the state to actually implement modernization policies which has left students a relatively passive role in their education. It is equally important to read in what ways policy can actually emerge as rather powerless. Whitty’s chapter in the United Kingdom section, for example, notes that the all-too-limited reductions in the student achievement gap are best explained by demographic shifts rather than policy accomplishments.

Public education was first constructed as a colonial mechanism to make indigenous people into malleable functionaries for colonial regimes (Willinsky 1998). In the first *Handbook* (Pink and Noblit 2007), we approached power in terms of the imposition of a linear history of progress. This, of course, is still a worthy prism to read the chapters that follow. However, as we read the chapters for this *Second Handbook*, we were taken with the complexity of power. On the one hand, there is a continuing faith in educational policy as a mechanism for providing adequate educational services. Nxumalo, in the Africa section, for example, emphasizes the policy moves in Swaziland to instantiate inclusive education. There are many other chapters that focus on policy as well, as is to be expected. Educational policy is, after all, the primary state mechanism that governs issues of access, equity, quality, and the forms and purposes of urban education. Yet thinking of power as a prism leads us to wonder about the degree to which citizens, practitioners, politicians, and

scholars are limited by the centrality of policy in our thinking. Clearly, Nxumalo is pointing to policy and finance as moments of possibility. Inclusion is being brought into existence in Swaziland—and this is a good thing. However, reading through the prism of power, we suggest, asks the reader to look for when policy is a problem: as when it enables schools to legitimately deny services, as was the case in Yuan, Noblit, and Rong’s chapter on migration education in China.

Finally, reading power through a prism would also lead directly to an analysis of when policy is a problem: this perspective surfaces when policy is rendered powerless and thus is reduced to nothing but an overreach. Cox, Beca, and Cerri’s chapter discusses policies around the teaching profession in Latin America and was read by us partly in this way. Riviere and Kosunen discuss how different conceptions of market and school choice affect the socialization of children.

Power, of course, is too important a prism to be limited only to centralized and official educational policy. Kavua notes that in Kenya, for example, “nonformal” schools are providing access to education where centralized/official policies have not been able to deliver. For us, this signals that urban education must be read broadly, which means that we must systematically twist our prism to look more analytically at public pedagogies. Families, communities, and local institutions, such as libraries and museums, must all be brought into view through this reconceptualized prism of power.

## Inclusion/Difference

As noted in the first *Handbook* (Pink and Noblit 2007), the meaning of urban education is greatly dependent on the context. In the United States, for example, urban education is conceived to be about problems—problems of poverty and race, primarily. For the wealthy, though, urban signals a cosmopolitan (Merton 1968) lifestyle, filled with promise, with the arts, and with financial gain. But, of course, in these locations, the wealthy do not use the public, urban schools. Rather, they have access to high-status, fee-paying private schools and to class-specific suburban schools, which Kozol (1991) found to be bastions of privilege, self-righteousness, and exclusion. Graduation from these private schools is highly correlated with subsequent status and success in the capitalistic economy. In Europe, by contrast, residential patterns often lead to suburbs being characterized as lower class, immigrant, and racially different. In what has been called the Global South, urban settings are often destinations for those who migrate to seek out access to education, work, and social mobility. Evidence suggests, however, that migration to these urban centers results in arenas of denial and despair for many. This *Second Handbook* speaks to these patterns of experience. Some examples include Vaid’s chapter on women in Delhi and James’ chapter on “the urban” as an educational resource in England. Many of the chapters in this volume view both urban and urban education as a phenomenon that is always caught up in the production of difference: be that as a



function of factors such as race, class, gender, religion, immigrant status, and language—and their various intersections.

While we used difference as a lens in the first *Handbook* (Pink and Noblit 2007), we noted earlier that our reading of the chapters that follow in this *Second Handbook* is better done through the prism of inclusion/difference. It is telling that we used difference before as a term to signal the multiplicity of inequities that characterize urban education. Another such term currently in vogue is social justice, which points to a goal in which many forms of differences can be included. But note how we end that sentence—included. There are no doubt limitations to using a prism of inclusion/difference to read this volume, including the fact that it has been most tightly associated with special education. But it is important to note that the field of special education itself is trying to escape how it has been caught as a form of difference. Thus, we argue that it is worth our time to explore what the prism of inclusion/difference might allow.

First and importantly, the refraction of inclusion/difference does highlight special education as a particular focus in urban education. Many have pointed out how the phenomenon termed “disproportionality” (Skiba et al. 2005), where students who have denigrated statuses assigned to their race, class, gender, immigration status, and language are systematically subjected to the classification of “special needs,” was read all too often by the school as inability or disability. This results, of course, in assignment to special classes and/or low tracks, which constrict life and occupational options. This asymmetry of denigrations is notable globally, and we will return to this in more detail when we discuss the prism of intersectionality.

For now, we encourage the reader to be sensitive to how well inclusion works to expand efforts to serve all students well. We, in particular, point to Crespi, Larringa, and Lodi’s chapter on deaf education in two Latin American countries as well as the whole Africa section, which is dedicated to the elaboration of inclusion in a variety of contexts. In this latter section, we read inclusion to bring a fuller focus on all that children need in addition to the specific more traditional educational services. Health and nutrition, for example, are essential for learning but are all too often not addressed in the practice of urban education or in the literature on urban education. Inclusion can also prompt expansion of access to educational opportunities: Krawczyk and Taira, for example, examine the inclusion of secondary education as a right in Brazil. Inclusion/difference signals the belief that everyone is equally deserving. Finally, the Africa section highlights inclusion as an international effort in part facilitated by the United Nations. We argue that the reading surfacing here is that inclusion also pulls nations together. In this instance, Africa then joins, and is joined with, others in a global effort to bring education to all.

We are also sensitive to the fact that this prism of inclusion/difference also refracts all the possible ways education acts on difference, including assimilation. The Global South joins the Global North when it assumes the ways of the Global North. Difference is suppressed as the powerful nations insist that their ways of education are the right ways. It is thus possible to read almost all the chapters from North America, the United Kingdom, the Nordic countries, and Europe as documenting the many and varied failures of urban education policies in the Global



North. If one follows this by reading the chapters in the Global South, it becomes very evident the degree to which these all-too-fallible policies are now being taken up and imposed via education/official policy in the Global South. There are many chapters in this volume which illustrate this pattern of development in urban education: one might start with reading Crozier on the redefinition of race/racism and “British values” in the United Kingdom section or Lunhahl on the development of marketization in Sweden or Maguire on austerity politics in London—and then follow it with Donoso-Díaz and Castro-Paredes’ chapter on Chile in the Latin American section or with Asher’s chapter in India (in the Asia section) or with Majumdar’s chapter in the India section. As this view through the inclusion/difference prism highlights, globalization loses its sheen in the tragic parallels that emerge across the world.

In a similar vein, inclusion/difference can, of course, be read either as assimilation or as tokenism. This is to say that inclusion inevitably fights an uphill battle, especially when trying to preserve difference as it also works to insure equity. We read three of the chapters in the Asia section, for example, as working this territory. Okano addresses the issue of immigration and education for integration in Japan. Chang shows how multicultural education in South Korea can have multiple meanings over time but still be mired in an assimilation logic (Noblit et al. 2001). Jo, in elaborating the case of South Korea, dives deeply into this issue, examining the ideological underpinnings of multicultural education. Finally, Goodwin and Ling unpack the case of Singapore as an urban nation that has embraced achieving equity amidst diversity with lessons that may help advance a less assimilative approach to inclusion. All of this work serves to challenge current definitions of inclusion as either assimilation and/or tokenism while preserving a set of well-established values and practices.

The analytical power of the prism to inclusion/difference also refracts the issues of opportunity (see Menon on Delhi), access (Prasad on Vijayawada, South India), as well as social class (Arnesen on Norwegian urban education; Tolonen on Helsinki, Finland), religion (Andrade and Teixeira in the case of Brazil), and history (Manjreker on the progressive princely state of Baroda in India; McCulloch on the evolution of urban education in the United Kingdom). In short, this prismatic orientation reveals that inclusion always battles difference on many fronts and that efforts at inclusion are frequently compromised by powerful social forces both in and beyond education. In this, difference seems to triumph.

## Intersectionality

Critical race theory has been especially productive in terms of clarifying the ubiquity of racism in the West and unfortunately across the globe. It has also proved to be important in driving an intellectual agenda for scholars of color. The concept of intersectionality advanced by Crenshaw (1995) is a key part of this agenda, practically and intellectually. In the North America section, several chapters build on

critical race theory to advance our understanding of urban education. Evans, Cardenas, and Dixon's chapter, for example, argue that Obama's election spawned racial retrenchment, underscoring the need for a critical race theory approach to understanding urban education.

Conceptually, intersectionality is a focus on multiple marginalizations. It situates analysis and critique in the multiplicity we discussed above and focuses on the complexity of difference that efforts for inclusion must address. This perspective is evident in many chapters in this *Second Handbook*. Mariscal, Velasquez, Agüero, and Urrieta examine intersectional violence in Latina urban education. Lawrence and Emong reveal how gender and disability intersect to double the disadvantage in Uganda. Gobbo reveals how the intersection of teaching nursery school and gender in Italy requires male educators to draw deeply on their experiences to enact care. Notably, the collective wom.an.ed (Giorgis, Pescarmona, Sansoe, Sartore, and Setti in the Western Europe section) explore several intersections, beginning with difference and diversity. However, it is the intersection of difference with identity (also defined intersectionally) that they see framing and hindering the development of individual potential. They argue that the asymmetry of power has dramatic effects on such things as multicultural competence.

While analyses and critique reveal the ubiquity of racism and other oppressions, many scholars actively work against these by focusing on the cultural strengths. Clemons, Price, and Clemons in their chapter in the North America section discuss a culturally responsive pedagogy based in hip-hop. Hollis and Goings, also in the North America section, propose a model, CARE, that incorporates (C) culturally relevant pedagogy, (A) attachment to school, (R) regulating emotions (mental health), and (E) expectations of teachers. Sernhede in the Nordic section examines a young adult suburban mobilization, the Panthers for the Restoration of the Suburb, for its lessons about knowledge and learning and consequently for schooling.

As we read the draft chapters, though, we were stuck by the potential for a fuller prism of intersectionality. This is not to minimize in any way how critical race theory has used intersectionality. Indeed we are indebted to this line of analysis for sharpening our focus in this direction. Rather, as we read the chapters, we saw that the concept refracted a variety of ways that multiplicity worked against the interests of the full range of residents in cities. Elites, it has been argued, in many ways make the world malleable to their interests (Elliott 2016), while the rest of us (the non-elites/marginalized) inherit these constructions as "facts of life." As noted above, power plays out through policy as well as through the economy (as will be discussed below). A sharper focus on the impact of multiple marginalizations, then, can teach us about both the world views of the powerful and reveal the complex processes of subjugation that stratify the social world.

As a result of this perspective, we encourage you, the reader, to read chapters for what they say but also for the hidden messages of the elites that are implied. Looking as intersectionality as elite strategy is enlightening. For example, Lassnigg's chapter on Austria pushes intersectionality into the multiple political forces that lead to the topic of urban education being repressed and rural education driving educational policy. Bereményi's chapter on the Roma in Spain demonstrates how different pol-

icy contexts intersect with the often denigrated Roma people. Intersectionality, then, is a highly productive and provocative prism.

## Migration

Humans have migrated the globe forever, either in need of new foodstuffs and land to work or simply because of the lure of exploration. Thus, urban education itself is heavily situated in migration and always has been. Agriculture is necessary for human survival but has always been threatened by infestations, crop failures, war, and depredation. Urban areas are tied to rural areas for food but also have historically served as places of both protection and refuge. Urban areas have also served places of last resort. When crops fail and when war threatens, rural people either die in place or move to new lands, often cities. Migration feeds the population of cities and often overloads the rather fixed residential spaces of cities as we see in squatter camps and favelas. These areas are often considered temporary and limited, or non-existent provision of services, from water to schooling, is thus justified as not needed. Yet, in actuality, they are frequently permanent settlements, and residents are permanently deprived of rights as well as services. The emergence of favelas reveals the limits of governments in the management of the population inasmuch as the migration and the settlements are often illegal or extralegal, as we see, for example, in the chapters on China in the Asia section. Yuan, Noblit, and Rong's chapter, for example, details both the educational dilemmas caused by migration and the complex failures of government from national to local to prevent or respond effectively. Recent legislative changes are moves in the right direction, but it can be argued to be too little and too late. Lui, in turn, examines the dilemmas created for local education authorities when China's internal migration hits up against policies of compulsory education.

Adam and Mazukatow reveal how Turkish migration to Germany and a transnational Muslim education initiative have combined to feed strategies of civic positioning in Berlin, including using Muslim private schools as vehicles for social mobility. Devine's chapter on Ireland argues that a conditional valuing of immigrant children undermines the rights of these children and sets the stage for wider injustices. Urban problems also lead to migration to suburbs and, as Rowe's chapter on Australia shows, efforts by the middle class to lobby for educational services.

The global economy, of course, feeds on mobile capital and increasingly mobile labor. A mobile labor force is dependent on global capital, a topic we will take up in the next section, and thus has little bargaining power. In the West, wages have been suppressed and labor unions undercut, as trade agreements have allowed global capital to increasingly dictate the rules of the economy. What is evident is that trade agreements benefit global capital more than workers and accelerated economic growth more than national development. Mobility, both within a country or region and cross nationally, increases the demands on urban education while also assigning marginalization of the migrant to education itself.

We invite you the reader to use the prism of migration to refract the stresses on urban schools and to discern the wider forces at play. The prism of migration may also be used to refract the lack of will of governments to protect all members of the population as it seeks to embrace in the Global South neoliberal reforms that have failed in the Global North.

## Global Capital

In the first *International Handbook of Urban Education* (Pink and Noblit 2007), we argued that readers would find the lens of capital helpful in reading the volume: we emphasized that this was an underdeveloped line of analysis in the mainstream of scholarship on schools. We argued at that time that the lens pointed to capital accumulation, the idea of education as a market in itself, and highlighted Bourdieu's (1986) concepts of social, cultural, economic, and symbolic capital. However, the chapters in this *Second Handbook* lead us to argue that this volume can best be read through the prism of global capital. All the previous topics, of course, continue to be relevant. But capital, following Piketty (2014), after a century of being associated with growth and some minor level of social mobility, is shifting to patrimonial capital, which is characterized by a small cadre of elite families controlling the vast majority of wealth, along with a fixed rate of return. Economic growth, in the traditional sense, is clearly at an end.

This massive and insightful work by Piketty signals an end to many things that were taken for granted, including the myth of unrestricted social mobility, the myth that education “pays off,” and, perhaps most damning, the myth that aligning education with the economy is desirable. The recent rise of the influence of global capital has brought on some truly scary times. As we have seen in many countries around the world, it also may lead to social unrest and revolt. We noted earlier that several failed educational policies in the Global North have been exported to the Global South in ways that suggest a new form of what may be termed *capital colonialism*. The failed policies of the Global North pushed public monies into private gain and can be read to be doing the same in Global South. Put directly, our focus as scholars and citizens on improving urban education, when understood through a prism of global capital, refracts into not better education but rather increased capital accumulation: schooling, through practices such as privatization and charter schools, for example, has resulted in generating profits for the current elites and no gains in achievement for marginalized students. Griffiths notes that in Oceania urban education is deeply embedded in the colonial histories of extraction and cheap labor which, in turn, maintains the lows of global capital accumulation.

We suggest then that it may help to read the chapters in this *Second Handbook* less literally. Reading through the prism of global capital asks what is behind these accounts. It calls for a discerning *cui bono* (who benefits). It calls for imagining a future that is not like the past century. Parekh and Gaztambide-Fernández, for example, using the case to Toronto, argue that the current Canadian educational

system for all its efforts at equity reinscribes a dual system that serves the elites rather differently than other students.

The first *Handbook* ended with a set of dystopias because the section editors were overwhelmed with a sense that the future of urban areas, of education, and of society was bleak. We encourage the reader to return to them, not because they were especially propitious but rather because they give a sense of the possible futures—if *we do not make a different future*. In this *Second Handbook*, we suggest that the reader look toward a future that is not dystopic but rather a future marked by fulfillment and well-being, if not as tightly linked to global capital.

We argue that the prism of global capital refracts a future that builds on relations already developed and is less dependent on capitalism itself as the primary economy. It seems unlikely that capitalism will disappear as an economic system, but two other factors make it likely that the average citizen can be less subject to its whims.

First, there is a lot more to the economy than capitalism per se. Gibson-Graham (2006a) note there are other economies in play that are less apparent or visible because the prevalence language of the economy is tied to the market economy: they state that "... not all markets are where capitalist commodities are exchanged and not all commodities transacted in formal markets are produced by capitalist firms" (Gibson-Graham 2006a: 62). One such "nonmarket" (Gibson-Graham 2006a: 61) is unpaid household labor, which according to some estimates accounts for some 30–50% of all economy activity in nations. This economy is largely staffed by women, and, while often discounted, it is a form of work and an essential exchange relation. Other examples of nonmarket transactions are state allocations and appropriations, gift giving, indigenous exchanges, gleaning, gathering, hunting, fishing, and indeed theft and poaching. There are also "alternative market transactions" (Gibson-Graham 2006a: 61) such as alternative currencies and credit, co-op exchanges, local trading systems, sales of public goods, barter, informal markets, and so on. In like fashion, labor does not have to be wage labor. Nonmarket transactions often involve nonmonetary compensation, and in alternative markets, one finds cooperative, in-kind, and reciprocal compensation. If global capital growth will no longer be the basis of social mobility, then these economies can be expanded and contribute more to well-being and sustainability.

Second, the current response to the devastating effects of fast capitalism has been to oppose it, and there is good reason for this. However, this can be coupled with another strategy—recognizing that capitalism responds as well as dominates (Slater and Griggs 2015). The "autonomous" argument is that capital does not fully constrain action and moreover changes in response to actions of people. So that if a "diverse economy" (Gibson-Graham 2006b: xiv) is more fully developed, capitalism must change as well. For example, early in the last century, there was a major political shift in the United States to protect American and European democracies while allowing capitalism to continue (Rosanvallon 2013). The "grand bargain" "originated in the widespread apprehension that the rapidly growing power of robber barons, national corporations and banks (like J. P. Morgan's) was undermining fundamental American values and threatening democracy" (Keyassar 2011).

Given the unchecked power of corporations and increasing inequalities in Western societies, many felt that capitalism needed to be replaced with a “cooperative commonwealth.” While highly contested, over time, a grand bargain was fashioned. On the one hand, capitalism would be allowed to survive and nations would promote private business. On the other, regulations would limit the power of corporations; government would intercede to protect citizens from the rapacity of the market; unions would be allowed; and social security and other forms of social insurance would be created.

There is much more to this argument (see Noblit and Pink 2016), but the point is that in our reading of the chapters, there is a strong sense that global capitalism is deterministic. Case after case shows how neoliberalism, the political/policy domain of fast capitalism, is shaping the world. This view permeated the first *Handbook*, which led to the set of dystopias that ended the volume. With this second volume of scholarship, it is now time to read more imaginatively. We must ask a number of critical questions to shape this future: “Where in here are other forms of relations that could be maximized, that could supplant elements of capitalism, and that would sustain all of us rather than a few?” And “In what ways can we imagine forms of urban education that are decoupled from an economy that is no longer able to sustain a myth of social mobility?” There are economists arguing for a de-emphasis on economic growth, arguing that the economy should be asked to deliver well-being instead (Boston Consulting Group 2012). We should ask the same of urban education.

## Looking Ahead

We have suggested here that the future of both urban education and the global economy is not set in stone. Rather it can be constructed in a variety of ways. Both of us have spent our lives trying to impact this future through teaching, conducting research, writing, and engaging in different kinds of interventions in schools and policy-making circles. We have had some modest impact but not near enough. Thus, we see this *Second Handbook* as a tool for stimulating conversations about the desired future(s) for both urban education and the global economy: we see the prismatic analysis outlined here to be a powerful tool for generating an understanding of the multiple factors which work together to limit the realization of equity and social justice in countries around the globe. Again, a strength of this broad international focus possible within the scope of a handbook is the ability to recognize both similarity and difference of factors that impact the development of urban schooling: again, this serves to underscore the limitation of looking for a single model for school effectiveness while also pointing up the importance of the local context. While we urge you the reader to use these analytic prisms laid out above to reconsider the implications of current urban education practice, we also urge you to reconsider your role as a social activist in bringing about the needed changes both in schools and the society. Such change, of course, requires knowledge about how

things actually work, and it is our hope that this *Second Handbook* can make a real contribution to that knowledge base. Change also requires the development of effective change strategies: knowing how to make things happen at the local, national, and international levels is important knowledge that must be coupled with the knowledge about how things actually work. Our sense is that such needed changes can only come about as a result of an orchestrated social movement of well-informed citizens working from a bottom-up playbook. As the scholarship in this volume demonstrates, we know a great deal about how things work. The task ahead is to disseminate this knowledge more widely and to play an active role in bringing about those changes in our schools and society that realize both equity and social justice for all students.

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