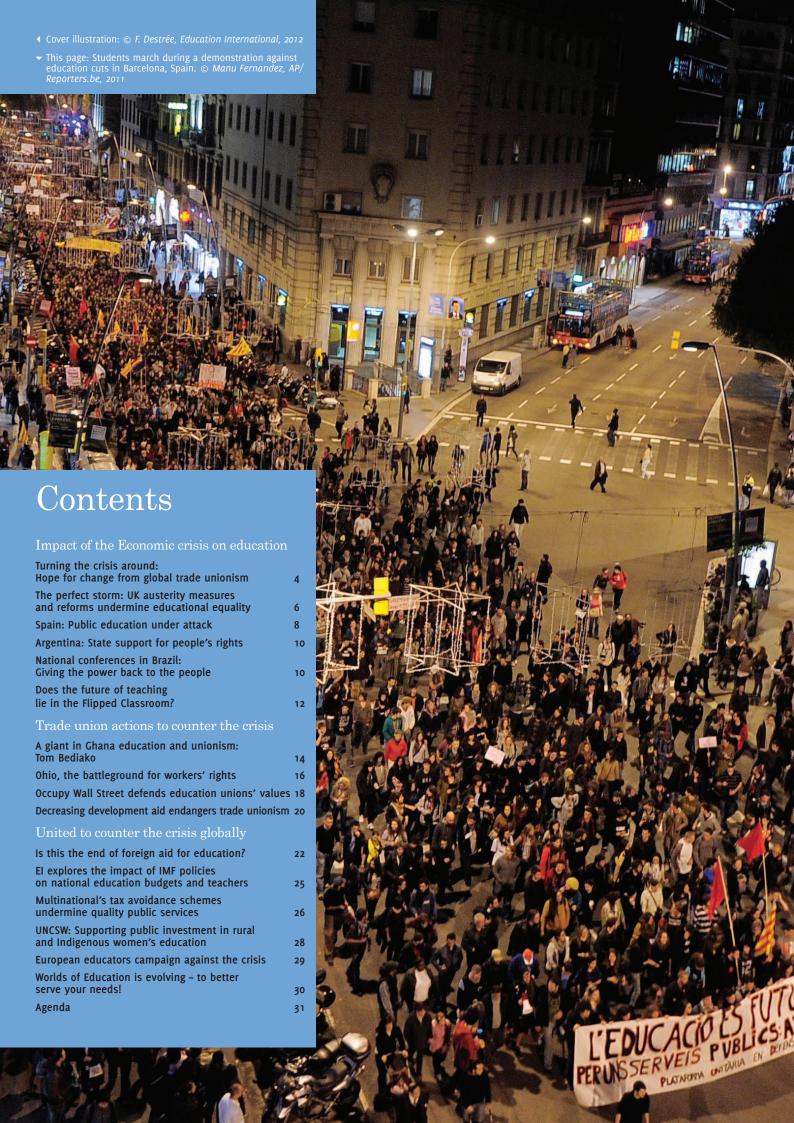




# Worlds of Education







#### Editorial

# Challenging Hostile Ideologies in the Crisis

The economic crisis is being used to justify the complete deregulation and privatisation of public services in order to 'reduce costs'. Widespread cuts in expenditure on public education are damaging both quality and equality of access to education, as well as undermining the status of teachers and teaching.

In reality, these actions are motivated primarily by free market ideologies. In many countries, free market thinking is being widely applied to all aspects of educational policy, from school leadership to curriculum redesign.

At a time when society needs genuine regeneration, facilitated and encouraged through high quality public education, many of the so-called 'reforms' in education seek to portray teachers as simple transmitters of skills, and schools as institutions established to produce made-to-order students for the job market. In this context, families become education consumers, neatly fitting into market segments divided by their socio-economic level.

The original ideal of the public school system – as a social leveller promoting equal opportunities- is being rapidly eroded, for instance, in countries such as the UK and Spain. Are there alternatives?

The examples of Brazil and Argentina show more appropriate ways of providing education are not only possible, but practical and desirable. Brazil is successfully providing opportunities for public participation in education policy development, while Argentina has restored the State's central role as guardian of public education.

Faced with anti-union government legislators focused more on markets than jobs, education unions have been taking strong, coordinated action at local, state and national level to promote and defend public education. They have registered successes through harnessing public support, like in Ohio, USA. Here, a law undermining collective bargaining rights was defeated through dynamic campaigning. In parallel, trade unionists have supported global social movements such as the Indignados in Spain, and Occupy Wall Street in the USA.

At the international level, EI has been promoting alternative and more humane strategies for achieving economic recovery, especially through research and advocacy to counter damaging economic policies adopted by governments, often at the behest of the international financial institutions.

El has also joined forces with the other labour sectors through the Council of Global Unions. This collaboration provides a common front to lobby G8 and G20 governments to initiate a major recovery plan investing in skills, infrastructure and green jobs, with education at its core.

The Global Unions' alternative plan for jobs and recovery would not only stem the crisis, but shape a post-crisis world that is economically, socially and environmentally fair and sustainable.

Fred van Leeuwen, El General Secretary

United to counter the crisis globally

## Turning the crisis around:

## Hope for change from Global Trade Unionism

By Jim Baker, Council of Global Unions

One of the earliest priorities of the trade union movement, dating back to the 19th century in many countries, was free public education. This demand was made in order to provide opportunities for the children of workers. It was part of a fight for equality, a fight that is not yet won.

Quality education remains a central trade union priority for equality between women and men; to provide opportunities for groups on the margins of society; for democracy; and for building a healthy and sustainable society.

National action is no longer sufficient to defend the right to education and to enhance the contributions of education to society. It has become a global struggle and, therefore, a Global Unions priority, with the teachers' union movement, under the leadership of EI, playing a leading role. Nothing could make the global context and dimension of education more apparent than the impact of the Great Recession.

A handful of financial market actors brought the global economy to its knees. Since the end of the 70's, bubbles based on excessive leverage have regularly inflated and burst; with the latest one having the most devastating impact. Governments and global institutions have been irresponsible for decades by deregulating financial markets, motivated by neither reason nor experience, but by blind faith in the virtues of unrestrained market forces combined with effective lobbying by banks and other financial institutions.

Global unions welcomed the apparent willingness of world leaders

and such institutions as the IMF and the OECD, when the shock of the first crisis hit, to examine the fundamentals of the global economy and act to ensure that history would not continue repeating itself. One had the impression that the idea that financial markets should serve the real economy and not the other way around had been rediscovered. Fortunately, the impact of the crisis has not been the same in all countries. Some emerging economies that have followed different policy paths, like Brazil and Argentina, have done relatively better than European and other OECD countries. But, the crisis is a concern of all and its impact is far from over.

Although it may be true that a timely bail-out of banks avoided a global Depression, it was immensely costly. And, that action was not combined with adequate measures to regulate financial markets to avoid a second crisis. And, too little was done to fight growing unemployment.

## The Crisis and Polarisation

We have now entered into a second phase of the crisis where financial market actors including banks and rating agencies like Standard and Poors and Moodys are back in the driver's seat. And, they are imposing strict limits on governments;

something that they utterly failed to do on themselves. This is "punishing" governments for spending money, including the vast expenditures devoted to saving banks. And, their conduct is, in effect, forcing further bail-outs.

The second phase of the crisis was ushered in when governments suddenly decided that public spending and services, so recently considered part of the solution to the crisis, must be abruptly curtailed. Vital spending to maintain or improve public services, to create jobs, and to help maintain strained social protections, was cut. A climate of panic had "crowded out" responsible political leadership.

On the revenue side, growing unemployment has slashed tax income and tax increases have been rare, even for the most privileged citizens and corporations; with declining contributions in recent decades. IMF, ILO, and OECD studies have all shown that growing inequality is not only a social problem, but an economic one as well. They also show that public services contribute to equality and highlight the role of education as pro-equality factors.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See the most recent study from the OECD, "Divided We Stand; why inequality keeps rising" at <u>www.oecd.org/els/social/inequality</u>



#### United We Stand

EI, together with other Global Unions, has supported a number of measures to combat the crisis. It has worked with others to influence the G20, the IMF and the World Bank, the ILO and the OECD and others. Among the Global Unions proposals are:

- Global regulation of financial markets to reduce their dominant role in the global economy and restore them as a support for the real economy and productive investment;
- A broad range of urgent actions for jobs and recovery, including a focus on youth unemployment, in order to create good, secure employment.
- Employment measures, including enhanced education and training, which will ensure the long-term generation of good, sustainable jobs; a central element of the fight against inequality and poverty;
- Responding to the challenges of climate change in a way that has a real, demonstrable impact on carbon emissions, creates green jobs, and strengthens social sustainability;
- Impose fair taxes that would raise greater revenue from the upper income groups and

corporations and fight tax fraud and evasion, close loopholes and crack down on tax havens;

- The Financial Transaction Tax, a measure which would not only generate revenue, but would inhibit rapid financial transactions; making financial markets more stable and less dangerous;
- Fully respect trade union rights and promote strong systems of collective bargaining and social dialogue to help build fairness and democracy; Make social protection more comprehensive including through the creation of a global social protection floor supported by adequate funding;
- Oppose austerity measures and maintain government capacity, so that it can govern effectively, deliver effective services, and be relevant and credible, including with respect to measures to influence and affect the direction of the economy;
- Support quality public services, especially quality education services, as an important means to overcome the crisis, but also as a way to sustain societies, build democracy, and improve the quality of life.

Quality Public Services is a major Global Union priority. They do not only take the visible form of

resisting austerity programmes of governments, but also the form of campaigns to build public support for government services that improve and "add value" to society in a way that private endeavors cannot. Public service values are fundament to decent societies; societies that are about values and not just about prices.

Quality free education and free trade unionism are currently, as well as historically, intertwined. And, we are in the struggle of our lives. Trade unions at national and global levels are up against powerful forces that are determined to defend their control and their privileges. But, solidarity works and its power should never be under-rated.

Our work at national, regional and global levels is linked. Progress at national level is more and more dependent on decisions and/or constraints at regional or global levels. And, change at regional and global levels will not take place without national action. In that mix, education unions are central. Together, if we strengthen our trade union coalition and effectively co-operate with others to mobilise as well as to lobby, we can change the balance of power and weigh in behind human values to change the societies in which we live and work.

## The Perfect Storm:

## UK Austerity Measures and Reforms Undermine Educational Equality

By David Rose, International Educational Advisor

The UK state education sector is facing a 'perfect storm': the triple blow of wide-ranging cuts up to tertiary level, fee increases in higher education and misguided reforms. This threatens equality of provision and promises a regression to the bygone system of quality education being a selective privilege, not a universal right.



Early childhood class taught in the corridor of a school in Coventry because there is no money to repair damaged classrooms © Adam Harnett, Caters News/Reporters, 2011

The Secretary of State for Education in the UK, Michael Gove, claimed in late 2011: "I can confirm that I am able to protect frontline spending on schools, children's centres and 16-19 provision this year".

In stark contrast, according to the report *Trends in Education and Schools Spending* from the Institute for Fiscal Studies published in October 2011, UK Education spending will drop by 14.4% between 2010/11 and 2014/15. Alarmingly, this represents the largest likefor-like fall since the 1950s (table 1).

A parallel study from the Universities and College Union (UCU) estimates cuts to higher education coupled with the government recently tripling university fees to a maximum of £9,000 per year will significantly affect fair access to university education. It predicts students will be forced to directly contribute 47.2% of university funding through tuition fees by 2013/2014. This imposes the highest financial burden on students since the 1890s.

New statistics published by the Universities and Colleges Admissions

Service (UCAS) show a 7.6% decrease in the number of UK-born students applying for university places for 2012. Unsurprisingly, students from lower-income backgrounds are disproportionately affected.

The negative effect of these cuts on equal access to quality education has been widely condemned. Christine Blower, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, explained: "First class education requires proper investment. Cutting funding per pupil is a betrayal of the futures of our children and young people".

Echoing this sentiment, UCU General Secretary Sally Hunt warned: "The scale of the cuts is unprecedented and will have an undeniable impact on students".

## Targeted Cuts further reduce opportunities

As these national budget cuts begin to negatively impact education, a range of specific projects designed to support those most in need are also under threat (table 2).

Sacrificed on the altar of austerity, the reduction or removal of these projects clearly hits the most disadvantaged pupils the hardest, as illustrated by the case of The Education Maintenance Allowance (EMA). In 2011, 76% of the lowest-achieving 16-year olds continuing in education benefitted from EMA grants.

Significantly, ring-fencing or protection of funding for many projects has been removed. Now, instead of being provided directly from central government to individual schools, this money is being passed into schools' general budgets via local education authorities. Consequently, these vital projects face being severely reduced or even scrapped as head teachers struggle with wider budget cuts.

A recent Guardian newspaper survey of school heads highlighted c.6% of schools had already ended or reduced the 'Every Child a Reader' scheme. The scheme's national leader, Julia Douetil of the London Institute of Education, estimates c.30% less pupils will follow scheme in 2011 12 than in 2010-11.

#### 'Academy schools' policy<sup>1</sup> reduces equality

The limiting of educational equality by cuts to national budget and educational support projects is further compounded by misguided educational reform.

The rapid expansion of existing Academy schools - already to over 1,500 in England, representing about 6% of schools - forms the cornerstone of the government's ongoing policy of education reform.

This Academy policy represents a three-fold threat to equal access to quality education.

Firstly, by creating a hierarchical, twotier system. Although the government has invited all primary and secondary schools to convert to Academy status, they are prioritising those judged by education inspectors OFSTED to be "performing well" or "outstanding". This will lead to a minority of schools in often more privileged neighbourhoods disproportionally sucking in experienced teachers thorough better conditions and resources. Schools re-

Age Group	Predicted Cuts
Primary (6-10 years)	75% of schools will face a real terms budget cut in 2012
Secondary (11-16)	90% of schools will face a real terms budget cut in 2012
Sixth Form (16-18)	15.8% reduction in funding between 2011-12 and 2014-15

Table 1: Predicted cuts in state education funding

(Source: Trends in Education and Schools Spending, The Institute for Fiscal Studies, 2011).

Scheme	Purpose	Situation	
Every Child a Reader	Extra teaching support for infant children struggling with literacy	Removal of protected funding in the context of wider cuts risks the reduction or removal of each of these schemes in schools nationwide	
Numbers Count	Extra teaching support for infant children struggling with numeracy		
One-to-One Tuition	Extra one-to-one tuition in Maths and English for 7-16 year olds		
Education Maintenance Allowance	Means-tested grants for 16-18 year olds to raise access to continuing education	£560m scheme has been replaced with a smaller £180m fund.	
Connexions	Careers services in schools and colleges providing one-to-one advice focused on disaffected pupils	Face to face counsellors replaced by telephone and web-based advice	

Table 2: Examples of key educational projects currently under threat

(Source: Guardian Newspaper)

maining under local authority control will be left by default in a 'second tier'.

Secondly, by a hidden agenda of selection. The Teachers' Union NASUWT highlight: "Academies set their own admission policies. Whilst they cannot yet choose intake, there is already some evidence these are non-representative of their local community."

Finally, in terms of indirect costs to parents. Academies are not currently allowed to charge direct fees to pupils' families. However, costs are expected through academies introducing e.g. new school uniforms or charges for certain activities and resources.

Recent research by the NASUWT shows there is no evidence that 'Academy school' status raises standards. In fact, it actually shows they have no better record of educational achievement than any other type of

school with some in fact performing far worse.

Academy schools therefore place barriers to quality education for pupils from lower-income backgrounds based on a divisive system, hidden selection and possible extra indirect costs to parents with no demonstrable improvement in quality of education.

They mark the third and final element of the 'perfect storm': an avoidable, unacceptable regression to an elitist and unfair multi-tier education system.

The storm is already here.

Education unions' members need to be more united than ever - with one clear voice - to resist it. Only in this way can we ensure a fair and equally accessible education system not only for our current but also future generations.

Academy schools are state funded, but free from local authority control with greater powers than state schools over teaching curriculums, pupil admissions as well as staff pay and conditions.

The concept started with the establishment of City Technology Colleges (CTCs) under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government in 1988, modelled on the US 'Charter Schools' opening the same year. Tony Blair's Labour government revived the abandoned concept in 2002 with its rebranded 'City Academies'.

## Spain:

### public education under attack

By Mar Candela, Education International

When he was opposition leader, Mariano Rajoy voiced his support for welfare cuts in the UK. "Cameron's plan seems solid; I would do something similar in my country," stated Rajoy, now President of the Spanish Government. He was referring to the largest cuts to the welfare state in Britain since the Second World War. Indeed, Rajoy has wasted no time in imitating his British counterpart.



Demonstrators protest against the government's recently approved labor reforms in Madrid. © Alberto Di Lolli, AP/Reporters.be, 2012

According to a report by the research department of the teaching union FECC00<sup>1</sup>, the amount invested per student in Spain will be cut by 15 per cent over the next three years. This is due to simultaneous cutbacks and an increase in the number of students, made up mostly of young people who, faced with a lack of employment opportunities, are taking up their studies again.<sup>2</sup>

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)<sup>3</sup> estimates that 44 per cent of the country's students can be categorised as 'vulnerable'. That is, coming from low-income families with a lack of educational attainment, or from first or second-generation immigrant families. The vast majority are enrolled in state schools.

For teachers' unions, an egalitarian education system would aim to strengthen the individualised attention these students need. However, the most devastating cutbacks in education have been to those programmes aimed at students requiring special attention, as well as diversity programmes.

One of the main complaints of teacher unions, which are organising massive opposition to education cutbacks, is state education spending is being cut while private education is receiving public benefits. Nevertheless, it is difficult to speak of a

uniform trend as education standards are set by autonomous regional authorities and the situation can vary greatly from one region to another.

## A disconcerting agreement

Compulsory education in Spain is dominated by so called *educación concertada*, that is, government-subsidised private education. The Roman Catholic Church manages two-thirds of these schools.

The current government proposes to extend this model to pre-university education which, up until now, has been mostly state-run. Juan Martínez, from the research department of FECCOO, warned this would mean at least "a 10 per cent increase of teaching workload, clashing with the current cutbacks and the freeze on the number of teaching posts". Nevertheless, deregulation and the lack of collective bargaining in the subsidised-private sector allows for the hiring of under-qualified teaching staff, willing to work more hours for less pay.

At least four autonomous regions<sup>4</sup> have increased funding to this sector at the expense of State schools in the last two years, by providing funds to create new subsidised- private schools.

There is currently a legal loophole in the subsidised private sector. The existing legal framework is determined by the Royal Decree of Educational Agreements, a set of guidelines that dates back to 1985 and has never been reformed, which gives governments a lot of room to manoeuvre.

"Why is it that, in a time of crisis, public land is leased to build subsidised private schools and no more state schools are being built?" asks one exasperated teacher in response to the leaseback of a public plot, valued at €15 million, to Opus Dei, a Catholic institution, for the construction of a subsidised private school in the Madrid region in 2011.

The President of that region, Esperanza Aguirre, also leased public land to two private companies<sup>5</sup>, for a period of over 50-60 years, at a price of €5,000-6,000 per year. The media has suggested that the government found a way out of the property crisis by allowing private companies access to schools.

Eduardo Sabina, of the FETE-UGT union branch in Madrid, explains how this practice is becoming good business for some: "They let you the land - almost for free -, they give you the clients - thanks to the residences recently built in the surrounding area - and they pay the teaching staff with public funds. The companies run the schools and charge families fees so that the business is profitable. It is a perverse model."

Another worry for the union is the tax deduction available to these families. In regions such as Madrid, such deductions have been applied since 2009 and they are on the increase<sup>7</sup>. to the benefit of those with the highest incomes.

In any case, subsidised private education has not survived the economic crisis unscathed. The overall balance of its budget has been in the negative numbers since 2010, and many of these schools are going through hard economic times.

#### Free market teaching

Beyond the debate over financial models of education, teachers' unions draw attention to the social model this supposes. Defenders of the private

Students march during a demonstration in Madrid. Sticker on post reads: "No to cuts, that's enough blackmail" © Reporters.be, 2011



sector call for the right to 'freedom of choice' for families, while its detractors point out the principle of equal opportunities is then sacrificed.

This idea is perfectly illustrated by the new assessment system, which uses academic performance as the only valid criteria. In January, the Ministry of Education announced its intention to implement systematic testing of academic achievement that will lead to the creation of a ranking system among schools.

It is still not clear if those results will be published. But they will be sent to each family to help them in their choice of school. Furthermore, the 'best' schools will receive incentives, imposing the free market principle of competitiveness on schools.

In Catalonia, an independent entity has been created with full legal capacity8 to direct the assessment process, able to receive donations from public and private companies. "These conditions shed serious doubt on whether their actions will be in response to political and private interests or to the needs of the school system," the USTEC-STEs union stated.

In the Valencia region, the head of education, José Císcar, announced in January that the so-called schoolbusiness model will be introduced, with the aim of aligning both higher and vocational education "directly with the business world." Nonetheless, for this to succeed, it would be necessary to have a training model in place in Spanish companies, something currently lacking that would require a significant investment.

In short, the importance of profitability and productivity are being stressed in education which, as in many other sectors, is now driven by market demands.

"The general trend is to dismantle the public university as a place for critical thought and social creativity," said A. Méndez Rubio, a professor at the University of Valencia, referring to his own experience of teaching. "To survive, we need to do all we can to overcome our fear and pull ourselves out of it. It's not that nothing can be done, it's that everything is at stake."

- <sup>6</sup> Article from Estrella Digital http://go.ei-ie.org/m (in Spanish)
- <sup>7</sup> Between 10 per cent-15per cent, according to **FETE-UGT**
- <sup>8</sup> Agencia d'Avaluació i Prospectiva de l'Educació

<sup>1</sup> Don't cut back our future! The impact of the crisis on Education FECC00, 2011 http://go.ei-ie.org/n (In Spanish)

The unemployment rate among young people reached 43.5 per cent in 2011, compared to the European average of 20.4 per cent, according to Eurostat. According to the ILO, this number is four times the world average

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Education at a glance 2011 http://go.ei-ie.org/o

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Asturias (10 per cent), Murcia (5.6 per cent), Madrid (4 per cent) and La Rioja (2.5 per cent)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> ALCEDEL and GECESA (linked to the Employers' Organisation President in Madrid, Arturo Fernández)

## Argentina:

### State support for people's rights

By Eduardo Pereyra,

Confederación de Trabajadores de la Educación de la República Argentina (CTERA)

In December 2001, Argentina was plunged into a social and economic crisis brought on by more than a decade of neoliberal policies based on the principle of small government, decentralisation, and deregulation in order to benefit a free market economy. When Néstor Kirchner took over as President in 2003, he marked the beginning of a new phase by deciding to use policy to govern the economy, and not the other way round. In viewing the state as a champion and protector of rights, his administration was able to break the pattern of economic greed and unsustainable growth seen up to that point.



Free netbooks given to high school students in Argentina © CTERA, 2011

With regard to education, three key laws were approved that finally met the long-sought-after demands of the teacher unions' confederation, CTERA. Firstly, the Law of Educational Financing brought investment in education up to 6 per cent of GNP – it is now at 6.4 per cent –; Secondly, the Law of Vocational-Technical Education; and thirdly, the new National Law of Education, which repealed the previous law decentralising and privatising the sector, thereby placing the State once again in its role as protector of the right to education.

In addition, President Cristina
Fernández's administration saw the
introduction of the universal child
benefit, which recognises all minors in the country as eligible for
financial assistance by the National
government, not just the children of
employed workers. This is another
great advancement toward the necessary social equality which CTERA has
always championed.

Furthermore, successful union negotiations were able to secure a

minimum wage and better working conditions for teaching professionals nationwide.

More than 1,000 schools have been opened since 2003, though the country is still in need of many more. Free netbooks are given to every secondary-school student, helping to close the gap on educational inequality.

#### No surrender

CTERA General Secretary and EI Executive Board member, Stella Maldonado, perceives some similarities between the crisis in Argentina a decade ago and the current situation in Europe.

For Maldonado, it is thanks to the resistance of the whole country, especially unions and social organisations, that Argentina has now a Government steeped in that struggle and is able to recognise its people's wish for a better life.

"Just as the internal market was driven by active policies developed by the State in 2009, this new crisis of the capitalist system will also be met head on", Maldonado stated.

She added: "Only by responding to the interests of the people, as opposed to the business of speculators, will we have fair, egalitarian, and democratic nations."

Maldonado also offered CETERA's full support to the efforts of workers and their organisations all over the world in their resistance to the harmful cuts on public funds: "There are alternatives to what is being proposed. As the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo say: The only fight that is lost is the one that is abandoned."

## National Conferences in Brazil: giving the power back to the people

By Marcelo Cunha,

Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação (CNTE), Brazil

In 2003, Lula da Silva's government in Brazil undertook a series of key initiatives that would allow for citizen participation in national decisions. The current president, Dilma Rousseff, has carried on with this project of direct democracy.

We interviewed Fatima Aparecida, International Secretary of Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores em Educação (CNTE), to learn more about successful participatory experiences in public policy development.

The National Public Policy Conferences are open spaces of debate between the State and its citizens about matters directly affecting them. What can you tell us about them?

National Conferences help both to strengthen state institutions and demand their accountability. The conferences bring together unions and social movements with elected representatives at different levels of government - district, municipal and provincial - until you get to the federal government. At present, Brazil has over a dozen established conferences connected with ministries and secretaries of the federal government.

#### How has this been applied to education?

The first National Conference of Education took place in 2010. Prior to this, there had already been conferences in specific fields: primary education, professional and technical education and indigenous education.

The main objective of the National Conference was to draft the new National Plan of Education (PNE), which is currently making its way through National Congress. Many resolutions from the Conference were incorporated in the PNE bill sent to National Congress, and others were attached to the bill through parliamentary amendments.

Thanks to the acknowledgment of its legitimacy in the decision making process, the ideas from the Conference of Education became a vital point of reference for public policy proposals.

#### What are the main challenges facing the country today?

Corruption is still embedded in the powers of the state and in the private sector. For this reason, the work of the unions has been to secure citizen participation on supervisory boards of public policy.

For instance, in education there are budget control boards in every administrative area in the country. The real challenge lies in eliminating patronage and the power of local political groups who are unwilling to cede control to the people.

In parallel, Brazil is going through a bitter dispute over the control of its judiciary, stemming from another democratic reform introduced by Lula's administration. The newly created National Justice Council, made up of members of the judiciary as well as

#### National LGBT Conferences

#### 2008

First National LGBT Conference. It recommends implementation of the National Plan for Human Rights and Promotion of the LGBT Community.

- President Lula sets up the National Anti-discrimination Council. The Council is made up of 15 Ministries and 15 citizen organisations, including the CNTE.
- Brazil grants pension payments to lesbian and homosexual couples.
- Second National LGBT Conference of Public Policy and Human Rights:
  - It recommends homophobia be made illegal.
  - CNTE lobbies to challenge homophobia on two fronts:
    - 1. Curricular content and activities in Primary
    - 2. National educational campaigns against homophobia and bullying in schools.

civilians, has been attacked by the leadership of the judiciary, refusing to co-operate with investigations carried out by the Council.

In the Executive Branch. President Dilma has shown no hesitation when it comes to replacing ministers involved in practices that may compromise their responsibilities to the people.

Clearly, all these are crucial and pedagogical measures aiming at advancing democracy in our country.

# Does the Future of Teaching lie in the *Flipped Classroom*?

By Harold Tor, Education International

In times when severe austerity measures and huge budgetary contractions are reducing public expenditure, governments and school authorities generally are anxious to grasp potential solutions offered by multinational technology companies to reduce the high costs of running public education systems.



Children learn to use computers at a school in New Delhi, India, © Saurabh Das, AP/Reporters.be 2010

This new fast-spreading trend is illustrated clearly by the example of the Flipped Classroom, where the teacher's role is being partially supplanted by technology. Does the Flipped Classroom really offer a win-win solution for teachers, pupils, parents, school leaders, and, especially, for school authorities? Of what should teachers and their unions take account, when they seek to balance between advocating for the increasing use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) as a tool to aid teaching and learning and against ICT as a replacement for quality teaching?

Picture this: 15-year old Yuko arrives home after school. She switches on her laptop and surfs to a Youtube video following a link sent by her French-language teacher Monsieur Dumont.

There he is, explaining how to conjugate verbs in the imparfait tense. After watching the twenty-minute video, Yuko still does not quite get that part about conjugating the verbs ending with -ir. She scrolls the video back where a bunch of -ir verbs are magically conjugating themselves in front of the friendly Monsieur Dumont. "Oh I get it!" squeals Yuko triumphantly.

Yuko's learning experience is not unique. This way of following lessons at home through "vodcasting" while engaging with teachers in more interactive work at school is quietly changing the way education works in a movement called "the flipped classroom".

## Why "flip" homework and lesson around?

The most compelling reason is to make full use of precise classroom time for teacher-student interaction. Many teachers find that after giving a new lesson they have very little time left for students to ask questions, and without having fully understood the lesson, students have to do homework on the new knowledge they had not quite acquired. With new technologies, teachers are now liberated from that equation.

This fundamental principle is outlined in the Flipped Class Manifest, coauthored by Jon Bergmann and Aaron Sams, the two teachers who started the flipped classroom movement:

"In most Flipped Classrooms, there is an active and intentional transfer of some of the information delivery to outside of the classroom with the goal of freeing up time to make better use of the face-to-face interaction in school."

The small quiet movement gained momentum when the Khan Academy in California headed by Salman Khan started producing video lessons on a massive scale. Their over 2600 videos covers subjects like K-12 math, science topics and also humanities. These are shared freely and Khan receives significant financial contribution from Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and Google.

thedailyriff.com/articles/the-flipped-classmanifest-823.php

In his March 2011 TED talk<sup>2</sup>, Khan explained how the academy uses technology to the fullest by not only flipping the classroom, but also making students do their work in the classroom supervised by the teacher. On his screen, the teacher checks how each student is coping and helps out when necessary. Because everything is done on computers, every student's learning progress AND the teacher's reactions are logged and analyzed.

Apart from freeing up classroom time for more teacher-student interaction, what are the other advantages of the flipped classroom?

Watching the video lessons allows students to scroll back to the part they did not understand. The freedup classroom time could be turned into more interactive activities that supplement the lessons. Results are encouraging: At the Clintondale High School near Detroit, 50% of their freshmen failed English, 44% failed Maths before they flipped their classroom. They also had 736 discipline cases in one semester. After the flip, the percentage of failures in English fell to 19% and that of Maths to 13%. The number of discipline cases went down to 249 cases.3

## Maybe the flipped classroom *is* the future of education. Maybe not.

Proponents of the flipped classroom often use videos of hard sciences and math to demonstrate the success of the concept. When it comes to humanities, very few are convinced video is the way to go. The division also does not cut across clearly between science and arts. The fact is that the flip does not work for every subject or for every lesson. It is up to the teacher to work out the best approach for a particular lesson.

What is worrying though is the assumption that giving a lesson is a

necessarily unilateral activity. Teachers consider it is a more interactive pedagogical activity where they interact with students to gauge their understanding. Moving all of that onto a video denies teachers that opportunity.

Another criticism of the flipped classroom is directed not so much at the concept itself, but the version promoted by Khan. After flipping the classroom, school time for students means solving problems on a tablet PC where their every move is recorded. In this way, class size is increased as the teacher monitors work on a screen. In times of decreasing resources, this version of the flipped classroom is hailed as the silver bullet for all our economic and educational woes.

#### What's in it for the union?

Some unions in the US are starting to react to how some anti-teacher groups are using this narrow view of the flipped classroom to hire and fire teachers based on their "performance" in students' learning process, recorded in the activity log of the school's computer servers.

The author of the article "Flipping the classroom: Hopes that the internet can improve teaching may at last be bearing fruit"4 in The Economist (September 2011) claims current systems of evaluation are inadequate only because of the lack of accurate information. But "technology can play a part here, because, in essence, evaluation is an information problem", the article says. "[At the Khan Academy] you can follow the progress of each child... You can also view the progress of the entire class. And you could aggregate the information of all the classes taught by one teacher, of an entire school or even district, with data covering a whole year."

Apart from assuming that evaluation is an information problem (Maybe it is. But it is the principle of using student performance to gauge the work and dedication of teachers that education unions oppose.), the author also quotes Kate Walsh, president of

the US National Council on Teacher Quality, saying that unions will eventually "lose this fight" as it is considered "fair game to collect the data [...] and use them to get better teachers in America's classrooms."

Not all proponents of the flipped classroom agree with The Economist and certainly not with Miss Walsh.

The flipped classroom is a broad concept that should not be imposed on all subjects, or all lessons of a subject, or used as a tool to define teacher quality. The teachers who started this movement just wanted to experiment with a different approach of teaching. What the union can do, is to assist teachers obtain effective training in this new pedagogical method. In the long run, it is useful for the union to advocate for substantial training in vodcasting in both pre- and in-service teacher training, among other knowledge like conducting a lesson via social networks.

There is no straightforward answer to the question posed in the title. Maybe the flipped classroom is a passing fad, or it will remain feasible only in areas where both teachers and students come from similarly advantageous socio-economic backgrounds. In any case, the union should take up the issue to advice their members, but most important of all, prevent the concept from being used as a weapon to kill the teaching profession.



#### Get in Touch!

To know more about the flipped class-room, you can join the other practitioners on the Flipped Classroom Ning network (*vodcasting.ning.com*). Follow the two teachers Aaron Sams (*@chemicalsams*) and Jon Bergmann (*@jonbergmann*) who started the movement on Twitter as they continue to discuss their experiences. You can also get in touch with me by email (*harold.tor@ei-ie.org*) if you like to find out more about this and El's other positions on ICT in Education.

www.ted.com/talks/salman\_khan\_let\_s\_use\_ video\_to\_reinvent\_education.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> knewton.com/flipped-classroom

<sup>4</sup> economist.com/node/21529062

Trade union actions to counter the crisis

## A giant in Ghana education and unionism: Tom Bediako

By Wouter van der Schaaf, De Algemene Onderwijsbond (AOb), Netherlands

Ghanaian education leader Tom Bediako has left his footprint on education trade unionism all over Africa, receiving many awards for his work as a teacher and trade unionist for over half a century. Aged 79, Bediako remains sharp and committed. In this interview, he doesn't look back with nostalgia, but shares his vision for the future of education in his continent. In the light of the financial and economic crisis, he underlines, among other issues, the importance of: public investment in education; well-established dialogue mechanisms between trade unions and national authorities; and the importance of building a strong, united trade union movement in education at national and international levels.



#### Invest in educational quality

We have achieved a lot in Africa. Schools have been built all over the continent, even in the smallest, most remote villages. These schools open doors to the world. I consider myself to be the living example of the tremendous importance of making basic education accessible for all in society: rich and poor, in cities and in rural areas. I attended a primary school in my village, and learning encouraged me to keep on learning, to consider studying as a lifestyle. Without that primary school, I would not have been able to go beyond the borders of my village.

We have made progress in access to education. It is, however, sad to note that increased enrolment rates often went hand-in-hand with a decrease in quality. So it is definitely our next challenge to make a leap forward and invest in educational quality. I strongly believe governments should take their responsibility in this respect, ensuring that a public education system is guaranteed and strengthened, and takes into account the student's mind, heart and body.

#### Safeguard public education

We should never give up on the broad tasks of education. I see a growing tendency towards a type of education which is solely focusing on testing and examinations. We should not let that happen. A human being in school is so much more than someone who is focusing on results alone. I see that, in such a narrowminded approach to education, the private schools can flourish well. These schools have no other intention but to prepare the learner for passing exams. These private schools

are mushrooming in Ghana and all over Africa because the public authorities did not address the quality issue adequately. It's time to refocus on quality to safeguard the public system.

#### No debate on key issues

The teacher's role has changed dramatically over the past decades in Africa. Often the teacher was the only literate person in the village. In the early days after African countries gained their independence, teachers lived to teach. In Ghana, in Tanzania, Zambia: all over the continent. There was a strong commitment to build the nation. Nowadays, teachers teach to live. I can't blame them, but they surely work with a different perspective.

It also shows that, these days, teachers and their unions work in a different manner. The unions and the education authorities have established solid bargaining rules and regulations on salaries and working conditions. But look at the professional issues and educational challenges. There is hardly any well-structured debate on the key educational issues. On paper, we have in Ghana the National Education Service Council to discuss these matters. But this consultation mechanism is not being used by educational authorities.

What we need is a well-functioning institutionalised dialogue on educational policies. Too many education unions do not have evidence-based opinions on educational policies. We should work hard on that because, as professionals, we must bring our vast daily teaching experience into the debate.

## Unions should look for unity

When I started working as a teacher, there were about 17 educators' organisations. Today, educators speak with – almost – one voice, with the Ghana National Association of Teachers (GNAT) counting over 160,000 members. And we see this progress towards unity in many countries in Africa, and – obviously – we saw it happen at international level, when

the International Federation of Free Teachers' Unions and the World Organisation of the Teaching Profession merged to form Education International (EI).

But I note that unity also sets conditions and has its own obligations to be met. Unions who have achieved unity and have a monopoly position should not be afraid of diversity. When unity becomes a goal in itself, the union runs the risk of reducing its operations to a ritual dance, of having consensus in advance. I see it happen now. There are unions with too little internal open criticism and in-depth analysis. So, the key question is: how do we generate an internal debate to get the best out of members and the trade union?

I have seen the growth towards political independence on my continent. In the past 50 years, all countries moved from colonies to independent nations. However, this has not led to financial and economic independence. We have grown towards a global village in which there are owners and beggars. I see it as a great challenge for Africa to work hard to attain full self-determination. I see that the trade union movement and educators active in this movement should play a role in this.

## African identity makes us strong

We are part of a global organisation, but it looks like many unions in Africa have given up on taking their destiny in their own hands. I worked so hard to obtain African teachers' unity through the All Africa Teachers' Organisation and the Pan African Teachers' Centre. I deplore that it did not work out the way I hoped for. We did not succeed in combining membership of the global teaching community with the growth of our own African identity. I regret this deeply because I think that it is our African identity which gives us a reference point and makes us strong.

Personally, I am proud that I have been part of the struggle for freedom and liberation in South Africa and the birth of a great educators' union, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union. I was moved that the global educators' community succeeded in gathering various teacher groupings and organisations into one room and having them adopt a joint agenda on the basis of a common platform.

Looking back, I can see that life has given me unpredictable turns and twists. I became a teacher by accident and to exit poverty. Later on, I trained to become a journalist, a training I did not complete to return to teaching. And, through a series of coincidences, I ended up working for the GNAT. And from there to EI. It has been a long journey from my Ghanaian village to the global village. It is not time for me to go back to my village yet though, as there is still a lot to be done.



To know more about GNAT activities,

Trade union actions to counter the crisis

# Ohio: the battleground for workers' rights

Staci Maiers, National Education Association (NEA), USA

Voters in Ohio voted overwhelmingly in November 2011 to reject a controversial bill signed into law by Republican Governor John Kasich. The bill had been rammed through the state legislature earlier that year and was just one of the many attacks on public workers happening around the United States. Voter approval of a referendum on Senate Bill 5 (SB 5) killed an attempt to strip away the collective bargaining rights of public employees in Ohio.

The referendum on SB 5 occurred in the aftermath of a 2010 mid-term election that led to electoral success for a wave of Republicans at the federal level and in numerous state capitals across the country. Even in the early aftermath of the election, it was obvious that the new Republican leadership had an anti-labour agenda, and the immediate result was a power play that unleashed a string of attacks on workers' rights.

Columbus, Ohio – along with Boise, Idaho; Indianapolis, Indiana; and Madison, Wisconsin – became Ground Zero in the fight to protect workers and, ultimately, the middle class.

The repeal of SB 5 resulted from an incredible grass-roots campaign that engaged citizens from all corners of the state. More than 10,000 volunteers collected 1.3 million signatures to place the issue on the ballot, and then worked tirelessly to make sure their families, friends and neighbours understood what was at stake. These volunteers knew that when teachers have a voice in the workplace, they are better advocates for children.

## A direct threat to collective bargaining rights

Ohio's SB 5 would have dramatically weakened the collective bargaining rights of public employees who worked for state, county and local governments, including school districts. It also would have eliminated totally the rights of public college and university faculty. The massive and far-reaching bill sought to end the rights of firefighters and police to resolve their contract bargaining disputes in binding arbitration, as well as the right to strike for all other public employees.

Following the introduction of SB 5, massive protests ensued as the bill worked its way through the legislative process. Two huge demonstrations, each in excess of 15,000 people, focused public attention on the bill's harmful and unfair contents. Lawmakers retaliated by removing legislative members from key committees; locking voters out of the Ohio Statehouse and denying Ohioans their right to testify against the bill.

On the national level, SB 5 constituted a major strategic effort to de-fund

American trade unions, particularly the four largest unions – the National Education Association (NEA), the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), both affiliated to EI, as well as the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), and the American Federation of State County Municipal Employees (AFSCME) – all of which represent public sector unions and comprise supportive resources, both financial and human, for America's Democratic Party.

#### Citizens back unions up

In Ohio, voters reacted to the politically motivated attack by taking matters into their own hands.

They came together and formed "We Are Ohio," a citizen-driven, community-based, bipartisan coalition to stop SB 5. The coalition of activists collected more than a million signatures to trigger a citizen veto process. The referendum, Issue 2, marked the first time in the history of the United States that the issue of protecting collective bargaining rights was posed to voters.

NEA President, Dennis Van Roekel, had said of the anti-labour, anti-

Teachers celebrate the defeat of Issue 2 on 8 November. From left to right: OFT President Sue Taylor, Tamar Gray, OEA President Patricia Frost-Brooks, and Courtney Johnson, who became the "face of the teacher" of the We Are Ohio campaign. © 2011 Staci Maiers/NEA. Courtesy of the NEA.

worker legislation: "The labour movement and working Americans are under attack. It's time to fight back against the coordinated and well-orchestrated effort to destroy collective bargaining and silence the voices of working men and women who fight fires, teach students, clean our schools, care for the elderly and infirm, and keep our streets safe."

Issue 2 suffered an embarrassingly large defeat, losing 61.3 percent to 38.7 percent with a total turnout of approximately 3.5 million registered voters - breaking voter turnout records for an off-year election in recent years. Much of the credit for the defeat goes to organised labour, like OEA, that turned out members, as well as friends, family and neighbours in unprecedented numbers.

#### AFT and NEA grassroots-level work

In addition to pouring more than \$10.2 million into the campaign more than any other union - NEA members defeated Issue 2 by hitting the streets, knocking on doors and phone banking. The Ohio Education Association (OEA), the NEA state affiliate, fielded the largest number of volunteers of any group or organisation working on the campaign, accounting for one out of every four volunteer canvassers. During the final weeks of the intense campaign, NEA deployed 177 staff members and resources from 22 states to help defeat Issue 2.

AFT members were also instrumental in the successful effort. The Ohio Federation of Teachers was a prominent partner in the state-wide coalition working to repeal the law. The phone bank of the Cleveland Teachers Union made well over 300,000 calls.



The campaign message was clear, concise and compelling: Issue 2 is unfair, unsafe and hurts us all.

The fight against Issue 2 proved to be an organising tool that helped to galvanise NEA and AFT members who had never before been involved in politics.

It also has provided a wake-up call and warning to politicians hoping to follow the footsteps of Governor Kasich.

AFT President Randi Weingarten stated: "The vote sends a clear signal that Ohioans will not sit idly by while politicians scapegoat hard-working public employees for an economic crisis they did not create."

Van Roekel underlined: "Politicians will have to think twice before launching politically motivated and unfair attacks on public workers. There is a price to pay for turning your back on the middle class."

NEA President Dennis Van Roekel in Columbus, Ohio, on 7 November. © 2011 Staci Maiers/NEA. Courtesy of the NEA.



For more information on the Ohio Campaign, please visit

www.educationvotes.nea.org/states/ohio, and <a href="http://oh.aft.org">http://oh.aft.org</a>

Trade union actions to counter the crisis

# Occupy Wall Street defends education unions' values

By Claude Carroué, Education International

Occupy Wall Street (OWS) is a protest movement which began on 17 September, 2011 in the Zuccotti Park, located in New York City's Wall Street financial district. The protests are against social and economic inequality, high unemployment, greed, corruption, and the undue influence of corporations, particularly from the financial services sector, on governments.

Immediate prototypes for OWS are the British student protests of 2010, Greece's and Spain's anti-austerity protests of the 'indignados' (indignants), as well as the Middle East's Arab Spring protests. OWS' slogan, 'We are the 99 percent' refers to the growing income and wealth inequality in the U.S. between the wealthiest 1 percent and the rest of the population. It has since been used by similar Occupy protests and movements around the world.

#### Joining OWS marches

Education unions' members were among the most active organisations helping OWS protesters.

On 5 October, World Teachers' Day, teacher unionists joined the tens of thousands of protesters marching through the financial district. The United Federation of Teachers (UFT), a member of EI affiliate American Federation of Teachers (AFT), was well represented.

In Washington, D.C., AFT members were among the crowd of hundreds gathered at McPherson Square on 17 November to support the Occupy D.C. movement. The latter had turned the public park not far from the White House into a tent city, even as other 'Occupy' sites around the country were being dismantled. The AFT contingent brought bags full of winter clothes, blankets and other items to help those camping at the park to stay warm as winter approaches.

AFT President, Randi Weingarten, underlined: "People are scared of the Occupy movement, or they wouldn't be evicting protesters from New York City and other cities around the country. You can't evict an idea. They can't stop this movement, which is about respect and dignity. This is much bigger than tarps, tents and protesters in the

park — this is the beginning of a movement for economic equity, and to hold the one percent accountable for the ever-growing chasm between this country's haves and have-nots."

## Supporting fair taxation Bill

In November 2011, El's other affiliate in the US, the National Education Union (NEA), sent a letter to Senator Harkin and Representative DeFazio supporting their Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act.

The letter states: "We would like to express our support for the Wall Street Trading and Speculators Tax Act. We thank you for your leadership on this legislation and your efforts to ensure that all pay their fair share toward economic recovery."

Urging EI affiliates to seize the momentum, EI President Susan Hopgood called on "education unions to go on supporting citizen movements promoting social justice worldwide. Their goals are our goals. We need to build on their vitality to ensure a better future for our students."





www.occupywallst.org www.occupytogether.org



Brussels © Thierry du Bois, Reporters.be, 2011

Seoul © Park Jin Hee, Caters/Reporters.be, 2012

The Occupy movement, initiated in New York in September 2011 with "Occupy Wall Street", has spread since all over the world.

Activists take the street regularily to protest against the widening wealth gap between the "1%" and the "99%".



Trade union actions to counter the crisis

# Decreasing development aid endangers trade unionism

By Claude Carroué, Education International

The enormous wealth generated by economic globalisation is unevenly spread both among and within countries in the developing world, making the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015 a formidable challenge. Joint efforts through development cooperation are more important than ever to develop international solidarity, and put a human face on the impact of economic globalisation.

Currently faced with fewer available resources, stricter conditions and increased funding competition because of Governments' budget cuts, education unions must renew their commitment to development co-operation activities, and develop new strategies.

The primary objective of development cooperation in the education sector is to empower education unions to grow. It aims to enable them to function as independent, autonomous, sustainable and democratic unions.

El acts mainly as a coordinator and facilitator in partnerships.

## Evaluation is key to development cooperation

The evaluation of programmes' outcomes is a key issue for unions to consider in terms of development cooperation and receiving funding from national, as well as international, authorities and agencies.

"As far as indicators are concerned, El should try to be better at measuring. Evaluation is important but it is related to requests made by national agencies," said El Senior Coordinator Nicolás Richards.
"Education is often not considered as an objective of development cooperation. It is believed that development cooperation should yield economic results, especially in terms of food, security and water supply."

The state of development co-operation differs worldwide, with strong, well-structured unions experiencing financial cuts having to re-think, and sometimes unfortunately stop, activities in this field.

## Building strong and independent unions in Africa

In Africa, El must keep on promoting co-operation to build strong organisations, says Assibi Napoe, Chief Coordinator of El Regional Office in Africa. "There are country-based priorities, but we should align our development co-operation policies with the El one.

"There are major difficulties in West Africa, where we have weak unions and communication issues. We are trying to solve this problem in French-speaking countries, together with DLF/Denmark and Lärarförbundet/Sweden. You have to bear in mind that, in some countries, teachers receive only US\$20 a week. In order to engage in fruitful collective bargaining with governments, we do need to build strong unions."

## Enhancing use of funds in Latin America

In Latin America, sustainability and the use of funding are predominant issues.

"Co-operation development underwent a deep and far-reaching crisis due to the worldwide economic situation, and is less important and not top priority now," says Combertty Rodriguez, the Chief Coordinator of the Latin America El Office.

"El must investigate how it can help unions consolidate and be sustainable, otherwise small trade unions will not survive," says Rodriguez. "It is of utmost importance to focus on trade unions' financial autonomy, developing strategies and clear proposals to solve problems at country level." After a devastating earthquake in Haiti in January 2010, El affiliates' solidarity efforts helped get thousands of children back to schools.

© 2011, Ramon Espinosa, AP/Reporters.be

## Keeping unions' involvement in solidarity activities in Europe

Concerning Europe, Lärarförbundet's International Secretary Paula Engwall says that, in Sweden, "Lärarförbundet's Congress has allocated 1.5% of the membership dues to international cooperation, of which at least half should be allocated to development co-operation.

"Besides that, we apply for Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA) funds."

Detailing her union's financial involvement in development cooperation, she adds, "Lärarförbundet contributes around 10% of the requested funds. The Swedish government does not interfere in the choice of partners, and collaborates with us as long as the programme or project is following the SIDA guidelines. In practice, there is harsh competition for the funds from other parts of civil society, trade and industry."

#### Diversifying funding sources in North America

Barbara MacDonald Moore from the Canadian Teachers' Federation (CTF) echoes Engwall's thoughts that solidarity projects among education unions globally are becoming more difficult to set up, as the funding available for international cooperation decreases.

"Many of our provincial member organisations are facing tough negotiations with their governments," she says. "In the international cooperation area, along with many other Canadian civil society



colleagues, we are frustrated by the lack of decisions on project proposals to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), due in mid-August 2011. We are anxiously awaiting the CIDA decision."

In relation to funds available for international solidarity activities, Ms MacDonald Moore says that 6% of CTF money comes from membership dues, amounting to C\$286,000. "This covers core organisational costs, overseas projects, travel costs and others," she says.

Because CIDA changed its rules, a quick shift was needed for unions to support the core funding and program areas. Unions have to cover administrative costs and core activities, leading to cuts in administrative and salary costs.

When questioned in more detail by the union, the Canadian government argued that CTF could not demonstrate who would run the programs later and that there was no sustainability. CTF decided to go to other foundations to find resources which will enable the union to design projects that can be run self-sustainably.

At a global level, the funding crisis forces unions to give a clearer focus to activities they undertake, diversify sources of funding, and find more efficient ways to use funds allocated to development co-operation. By providing clear evaluation grids to cooperation development programmes, unions will also leave Governments no excuse to cut funds available for external aid and deepen austerity measures.

In 2012 and the coming years, El and its affiliates need to keep on showing educators' solidarity worldwide, developing new strategies to help the weakest unions flourish. Only then can the latter play a crucial role in their communities and countries, take the lead and contribute to setting up socially fair and education-focused policies to exit the crisis. And a considerable step towards the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals will have been taken.



To find out more about El Solidarity and Development work, please go to:

http://go.ei-ie.org/solidaritywork

United to counter the crisis globally

# Is this the end of foreign aid for education?

By Jefferson Berriel Pessi, Education International

World leaders have been struggling to find a comprehensive solution to the lingering economic downturn. Summits and high-level meetings come and go, leaving behind a trail of statements and declarations, but very little concrete progress.

Amid increased concerns about fiscal sustainability of private banks and sovereign states, the measure of choice has been to enhance efforts at fiscal austerity. Rather than regulate the financial system more effectively and impose sanctions on those actually responsible for global economic turmoil, governments are applying budgetary cuts that threaten public services, hampering sustainable recovery in the long run. The effects of such measures on education start to become apparent nationally, as working conditions worsen and investment is reduced, and internationally, as the levels of official development assistance for the sector reaches an all-time low. The public school is being used as the scapegoat for the crisis in advanced economies and developing countries alike. Are the days gone when the international community promised that no country committed to Education for All would fail by lack of resources?

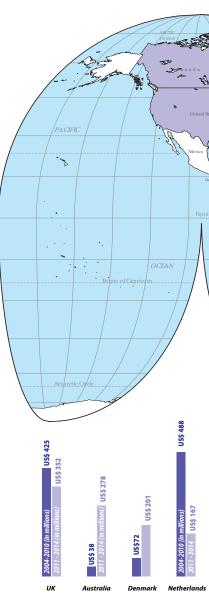
It is true that some countries that have been major providers of aid to education reduced their allocation for programmes in developing countries for the coming years. Others are phasing out or have cancelled their education aid programmes altogether. In the meantime, the World Bank's support for the sector in 2011 was reduced by more than 50% in comparison with

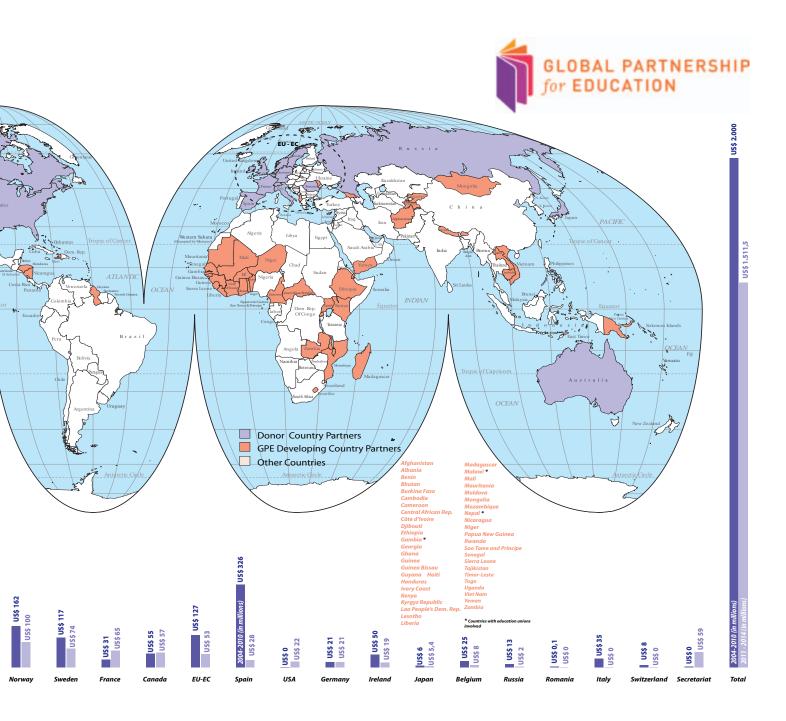
the previous year and the prospects that the Bank will deliver its promised US\$ 750 million for education in the next 5 years are less than encouraging. Knowing that there are some 70 million children out of school, thus most likely condemned to poverty, and that there will be less funding available to provide those that need the most with an opportunity to go to school, one wonders whether the financial crisis means the end of foreign aid for education. Despite the bleak scenario, there are still good opportunities for education out there. The Global Partnership for Education is a concrete example.

## The global fund for Education for All

Formerly known as the Fast Track Initiative, the recently renamed Global Partnership for Education (GPE) is a platform that brings together UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank, the European Commission, Education International, private sector foundations, civil society, donors and 46 developing countries. It provides technical and financial support that enables partners to elaborate and implement national programmes to achieve universal primary education. Between 2004 and 2010, it funded programs worth over US\$ 2.2 billion. To mention some concrete results, the partner-

ship hired over 300,000 teachers, distributed 200 million textbooks, built 30,000 classrooms and set up school meal programs that benefited over 700,000 children. How does it work? Put briefly, developing country governments elaborate a national education plan and submit it to the Partnership along with a funding request. The Board of Directors, which includes EI, as the representative of the teaching profession, eventually approves it and the government receives the funds to implement the programme proposed. The question that arises is whether GPE will continue to deliver





results for education in the current context of changes in priorities for foreign assistance and budget cuts for aid to the sector. There are good reasons to be optimistic.

In November 2011, GPE held its first replenishment conference in Copenhagen, Denmark. The objective was to mobilize donors to replenish the Global Partnership for Education Fund, which will finance national programs, and get developing country governments to commit to increasing investment in education. Needless to say, obtaining firm commitments from governments in

the midst of a financial crisis that has no expiry date on it is not an easy task. Nevertheless, despite the unfavourable scenario, partners stepped up to the plate. Developing countries pledged to increase domestic investment in education by more than US\$ 2 billion. Donor countries contributed nearly US\$ 1.5 billion to the fund for the period 2012-2015. The promises are made. Whether GPE will deliver the expected results depends to a great extent on the active involvement of teachers' organizations with the partnership.

#### Getting foreign aid to fund the right policies

In a world where there is less funding for education, we need to take full advantage of the opportunities we have and ensure the right investments are made. While it is true that many donor countries are no longer funding education because of the economic context, others have changed plans because of the sheer lack of results. In many countries, the government has received substantial amounts of external funding for education for years, devoting most of it to build-

ing the capacity of ministry staff, while teachers' salaries go unpaid for months and in-service training is neglected. There are many examples of misuse of aid for education, just as there are many examples of money invested in the wrong programmes and in the wrong policies, which in the long run are harmful to public education.

How would you feel if your government used GPE funds to hire ex-primary school students as teachers? Should a qualified and trained professional have no contract or guarantees for the future, being paid less than half the salary of a teacher hired under a regular contract? What would you say if there were plans to link your salary raise to the number of words your students can read per minute? These are some concrete examples of policies that have been or will be funded through GPE. That could happen either in your country or with contributions from your

country. That is, your taxes might be financing overseas policies you would not accept at home.

#### The role of teachers unions

As mentioned earlier, EI is the representative of the teaching profession on the partnership's Board of Directors and, accordingly, has the possibility to influence the decisions taken. Clearly, the teaching profession's influence will be greater if exerted also at the national level, both in donor and developing countries. If your country is receiving GPE funds, your organization can be part of the Local Education Group and help decide which policies will be promoted. If your country is contributing financially to the GPE fund, your organization can help lobby the government to ensure that teachers are involved in the decision-making processes and social dialogue is respected. This way we can bridge the gap between international advocacy and the reality at the national level.

All things considered, foreign aid for education, although in decline, is not yet finished. If teachers' organizations play a more active role in GPE, we can ensure transparency and accountability in the use of funds and promote policies that lead to significant improvements in quality and access to education. Our involvement can lead to the results we all expect, even in a context of crisis. In fact, more than a financial crisis, the world is going through a crisis of trust and leadership, to which the only lasting solution is public schools that deliver quality education.



#### Grants approved in 2012 by GPE, in US\$ millions:

Afghanistan will receive \$55.7 million to improve access to education for girls in 40 isolated and impoverished districts. In a challenging post-conflict environment, this new financing will also increase the number of female teachers in areas with high gender disparities.

Cote d'Ivoire's \$41.4 million grant will support the national government's commitment to rehabilitate its education system after 10 years of political instability, including efforts to build and repair classrooms, provide textbooks and launch school feeding programs. The grant will also help the construction of small 'girlfriendly' middle schools in rural areas to improve girls' enrollment in lower secondary education. This is Cote d'Ivoire's first funding request to the Global Partnership.

Guinea-Bissau was allocated \$12 million to concentrate on school construction and equipment rehabilitation. The grant will also help more girls enroll in school.

Mali will receive \$41.7 million to reform its education system and transition to more decentralized education governance. As a part of the reforms, local school committees will assume greater responsibilities in order to expand basic education coverage and quality.

Moldova: \$4.4 million to expand its internationally-recognized pre-school and Early Childhood Development programmes to include more children with special needs and help girls in rural areas gain more access to education.

Mongolia's \$10 million grant to improve access to education for rural and vulnerable children in mostly nomadic areas and bolster its preschool programmes, especially for girls in rural areas.

Timor Leste was allocated \$2.8 million to build on its previous achievements of enrolling more children in primary school, eliminating illiteracy and supporting girls' education.

United to counter the crisis globally

# EI explores impact of IMF policies on national education budgets and teachers

By Guntars Catlaks, Education International

Even before the current global recession triggered by the economic crisis of 2008, the controversial policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had long resulted in national budget austerity and cutbacks in education budgets.

A report, Impacts of IMF Policies on National Education Budgets and Teachers: Exploring Possible Alternatives and Strategies for Advocacy, provides a critical review of how current IMF macro-economic policy conditions and advice impact on the ability of borrowing countries to finance national education budgets, and wages for public sector teachers.

## Possible alternatives to IMF policies

The study was jointly commissioned in 2011 by El and one of its US affiliates, the National Education Association, from an independent researcher, Rick Rowden. It explores how such policies affect the ability of governments to achieve Education for All goals, as well as the progressive realisation of the Right to Education for their citizens.

The report also reviews other alternatives, such as more expansionary fiscal, monetary and financial policy options, allowing greater domestic financial resources to be available for future education budgets.

It examines in-depth three country case studies of current IMF loan programmes in Jamaica, Uganda and Latvia, exploring their shortcomings and the consequences of insufficient domestic resources being allocated to education budgets.

Finally, it proposes national and international advocacy strategies,

as well as a framework to increase public scrutiny of current IMF loan programme conditions.

## Monitoring IMF and underlying neo-liberal policies

The report also explains how the neoliberal ideology behind IMF policies is of much greater concern than IMF formal interventions in countries.

Even countries which are not applying IMF loan programmes subject to neo-liberal conditions are willingly adopting IMF-like policies, such as balanced budgets and a fight against inflation.

The global understanding about macroeconomic policy is narrowly focused on restrictive and short-term macroeconomic stability. It must be challenged by education advocates and their allies. The latter must stimulate broader public discussions about enhancing support for national economic development and increasing public investment in education.

# Linking national investment in education to a broader economic agenda

The report argues public investment in education cannot be separated from the larger context of national economic policies and economic development.

The key to increasing education financing in the future is to enable countries themselves to adopt alternative development policies. This will lead to better mobilisation of domestic resources, while progressively reducing their dependence on foreign aid for education. It is crucial that education advocates contribute to these development policy issues. El calls on them to take into account the broader socio-economic context in their own countries, and not limit themselves to fighting for education. They must get involved in advocacy campaigns against austerity measures which inhibit economic growth and development, and put pressure on decision-making authorities, both at national and international level.



To read the full report, please go to: http://go.ei-ie.org/imfreport

United to counter the crisis globally

## Multinational's tax avoidance schemes undermine quality public services

By Guntars Catlaks, Education International

During recent years, in the context of the financial crisis, unions have been asked to accept cutbacks and austerity measures with the argument there is no money for public services. Nevertheless, the study *Global Corporate Taxation and Resources for Quality Public Services*, commissioned by the EI Research Institute on behalf of the Council of Global Unions, shows there is actually lots of money available!

This money is not being collected through taxation, because multinational corporations (MNCs) have used their global reach to avoid their responsibility to contribute to national and community social needs through fair and responsible taxation.

## Societies lose trillions of U.S. dollars

According to the EI Research Institute's study, offshore deposit holdings in secret-type jurisdictions have expanded at an average of 9% per annum, outpacing the rise of world wealth in the last decade. An estimated 60% of all global trade is

actually routed through tax havens. A similar situation can be found in the European Union: tax evasion is in fact estimated at 2-2.5% of European gross domestic product (GDP).

The study notes the real tax contribution from the corporate world to public finances and society in general is declining in spite of its rising share of profit. Whether through political pressures, or simply via tax evasion, the actual revenue from corporate income tax has fallen from about 4.2% of global GDP in 1985 to about 2.4% of global GDP in 2008. However, over this same period, corporate profits have increased their share of GDP in the

major OECD countries, so that it now represents about 35% of GDP in this geographical area, compared with only about 25% in the early 1980s.

If corporations were still paying at the same effective rate as in 1980, they would be contributing the tax equivalent of about 5% of global GDP. Instead, half of that amount of revenue is lost, and has to be found from other sources.

## Different techniques to avoid taxation

MNCs operate alongside national ones, but often do not pay the same levels of taxation. MNCs may play countries off against each other, moving, or threatening to move, to countries that either have a low tax level or offer them special tax incentives.

Techniques for 'minimisation' of corporate tax, analysed by Global Corporate Taxation and Resources for Quality Public Services, include the use of offshore tax havens, setting up competition between localities and countries for tax advantages ('arbitrage'), and the little-known technique of 'transfer pricing'.

WE WON'T PAY FOR THEIR ERISIS

Tens of thousands protesting before a G20 summit in London, and voicing shared international displeasure at bankers: "We won't pay for their crisis!" © globalisenot.blogspot.com, 2009

To read the study, go to:

http://go.ei-ie.org/globalcorporatetaxation



It is estimated that several trillion U.S. dollars of tax revenues are lost to national budgets annually through the use of such techniques. This is enough to provide the resource needs for the achievement of the UN Millennium Development Goals and the budget requirements for social services in industrialised countries.

## This can and should be corrected!

Even without changing the tax laws, closing just some of these loopholes would make a huge difference to public financial resources.

MNCs themselves use public services provided by the state. They benefit from a state's transportation infrastructure – the roads, railways, airports, and harbours used to receive materials and to move products to market.

MNCs further depend on the public school systems to produce an educated workforce – an especially important role in the information society of the 21st Century. High-quality school systems also help create qualified employees.

#### Steps to be taken

The study also explains that the first step in initiating the necessary paradigm shift would be a global consensus among OECD governments to apply, with the necessary rigour, the OECD guidelines on transfer pricing.

While this would be a step in the right direction, the disconnect between MNCs functioning in a global economy, and national governments, each endeavouring to apply their own rules and procedures to their own advantage, remains an underlying dilemma.

It is not surprising that MNCs will continue to exploit this disconnect in their favour.

Global Corporate Taxation and Resources for Quality Public Services acknowledges eliminating loopholes will require changing mentalities, as well as political will. It means changing the widespread acceptance of tax avoidance as a legitimate goal of MNCs. To close these loopholes is to take a step towards a paradigm change, a change that would take us off the path where ultimately everybody loses, and put us onto a path where most have an opportunity to win. Isn't that what democracies and market economies are all about?

# UNCSW: Supporting public investment in rural and indigenous women's education

By Judy M. Taguiwalo, Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT), Philippines



Judy M. Taguiwalo, a trade union activist who advocates for academic freedom, human rights, and equality, including the rights of peasant women, was one of the union women from around the world participating at the 56th Session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (UNCSW), held in New York between February and March.

© ACT, 2012

Focusing on decent work for rural women, quality public services, social protection and human rights, the trade union delegation, led by Education International (EI), the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC), the International Union of Food Workers (IUF), and Public Services International (PSI), called on governments to ensure that all women enjoy opportunities for economic, social and human development.

## Learning from the veterans of CSW sessions

I attended the 56th UNCSW Session as the Chair of the Women's Committee of the Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) from the Philippines, chosen as one of the four sponsored participants at this meeting. The international trade union delegation, representing 70 million women workers worldwide and 25 countries, was composed of a good mix of sisters who have been raising women unionists' voices at the UNCSW since 2000. About one-third of us were first-time attendees.

I volunteered for the drafting team. Sisters from Canada, Sweden and the USA, with previous experience in proposing amendments to draft "Agreed Conclusions" at past UNCSW sessions, facilitated the process. Our core messages – labour protection and decent work, strengthening of public services, including quality education at all levels – became the main trade union delegation's lobbying points brought to the official session, side events and parallel events and in talks with governmental and non-governmental (NGO) representatives during the UNCSW meeting.

## Presentation at an official meeting

Prior to coming to New York, I had been told by a colleague in the Asia-Pacific women's movement that UNCSW meetings are centred on government delegates' sessions and inputs. Only a limited space is provided to NGO delegates.

I was able to intervene on 1 March to Panel 3 of the official session, discussing "Evaluation of progress in the implementation of the agreed conclusions of CSW 52 on "Financing for gender equality and the empowerment of women: national experiences in implementing the agreed conclusions of CSW 52". I carried the message that education and decent work are key elements in women's empowerment, particularly rural women's empowerment. Nevertheless, without sufficient public investment in education and health, and without economic development

providing decent work and land for women, women's empowerment will remain mere tokenism.

## Reflections on UNCSW experience

The key elements for my fruitful firsttime engagement in a UNCSW session included the advance joint preparations made by the international trade union organisations; bringing trade union concerns into the draft "Agreed Conclusions"; the prior orientation session, the daily early morning briefings and debriefings prior to attending various meetings; the working group on communication who provided updated news to all unionists and allies, the lobby group reached more than 50 countries in their efforts, and the patience shown by the experienced delegation members to the new ones.

I found the international trade union delegation's criticism of governments' reduction of public investment for education, health, and other social services, significant. This furthermore represents a critique of the market-driven development of the neo-liberal globalisation which underpins the financial and economic crises we continue to experience.

The 2013 UNCSW 57 priority theme is the "Elimination and prevention of all forms of violence against women and girls". Next year's delegation will emphasise successful trade union practices and equality measures already negotiated and won.



To learn more about trade union activities at the 56<sup>th</sup> UNCSW, please go to our blog:

http://unioncsw.world-psi.org

# European educators campaign against the crisis

By Claude Carroué, Education International

As the financial and economic crisis impacts severely on many countries in Europe, EI's European region, the European Trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE), has moved the issue right to the top of its agenda. ETUCE has initiated a campaign aimed at drawing the public and governments' attention to the negative impact the economic crisis has on education. It reiterates the importance of investing in education as part of any recovery strategy.

European trade unions demonstrate against austerity measures recently adopted by many European countries. © Lescot Aviva, Reporters.be, 2012

The economic crisis will be a central issue in all Education International (EI) European meetings and activities in the run up to the 2012 European regional conference in November. This was agreed by the 2011 ETUCE Committee Meeting, in accordance with an EI management decision.

An ETUCE campaign will be initiated on the issue to help EI affiliates raise public awareness that the economic crisis was not created by working people and that it is wrong to expect working people alone to pay the bill. It is further targeted towards protecting education, and defending democracy and the European social model, with a view to preserving social dialogue.

## Economy, education, democracy

The action and campaign framework is based on the following triangle: economy, education, and democracy. These are key values for EI/ETUCE affiliates. The framework is based on policy decisions adopted by ETUCE affiliates which are consistent with long-standing EI European policies and strategies

Since the crisis developed in 2008, ETUCE and its member organisations have been actively participating in protests against further austerity measures, such as budget cuts, in the education sector and job losses.

### Direct impact on education

The 2011 ETUCE General Statement on the Economic Crisis took into account the direct impact of the crisis on education. Other ETUCE statements have addressed the greatest threats to education services in some countries, which are caused by their governments' drastic financial austerity measures, particularly in Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Portugal and Romania.

In addition, ETUCE noted the need to explain and promote education unions' views to the public as to who caused the crisis and how credible alternatives to government austerity measures can work. This is consistent with ETUCE's advocacy role and it also illustrates clearly the negative impact of the economic crisis. It also helps to generate the will to change direction among the public and the policy makers.

The campaign will present a more united collective front amongst member organisations against austerity measures generally, as well as crossborder solidarity between member organisations.



#### Diverse actions at European level

Among the many actions to be undertaken under the campaign banner will be decentralised ones organised by affiliates to coincide with the Global Action Week. The latter will be organised by the Global Campaign for Education, of which EI is a founding member, from 23-28 April 2012.

El affiliates have been urged to contribute to the general framework and appoint a contact person for the campaign. ETUCE will also carry out a survey amongst affiliates on the current impact of the crisis on education and working conditions, and organise solidarity campaigns in favour of specific countries where needed.



To learn more about ETUCE activities and campaign against the crisis, please go to:

http://go.ei-ie.org/q

Magazine

# Worlds of Education is evolving – to better serve your needs!

By Timo Linsenmaier, Education International

Around the globe, communications habits change and evolve rapidly. Over the last few years, not only has the pace of interaction and media consumption accelerated, but the manifold communities and interest-groups that have sprung up on the internet are becoming ever more powerful opinion leaders and distributors, transforming the way people consume media. In the light of these developments, we have looked at our flagship magazine in its current form, and are working on an exciting new concept to make Worlds of Education even better.

At the heart of the new instalment of Worlds of Education lies the foundation of an online magazine, creating a dedicated website as a new anchor point for the publication. In a readership survey held about a year ago, a large majority of respondents expressed their wish for a significant on-line presence for the magazine (see graph on opposite page).

And it's true that making maximal use of the internet for the magazine and its content will immediately increase the impact of our work, and enable us to distribute EI's views and opinions more widely and easily. The graph below shows the so-called "Viral Lift" to news items published on the current EI Web Portal. The chart describes the impact of social media sharing of news items, which overall received 83% more clicks than otherwise.

Over the coming months, we will create a dedicated, blog-style website for Worlds of Education, interconnected with the other digital and social communication tools we already possess. Moreover, this format will allow us to add a plethora of additional resources: links to

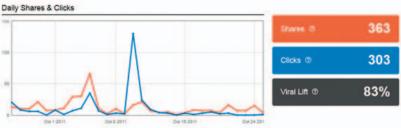
materials and documents, audiovisual media, comments and social media sharing will all add value to the content we produce and allow you, our readers, to thoroughly acquaint yourself with the topics we write about.

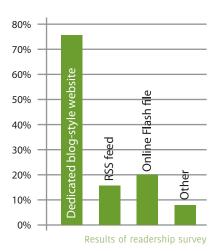
Moreover, the articles published on this new website will be consolidated into a downloadable and printable PDF document, in order not to exclude those who rely on a paper version or simply would like to read the magazine offline. For those, especially in developing countries, that rely on mobile internet access or use less powerful hardware such as smartphones, a specifically customized version of the new website will be created.

The readership survey has also shown that the magazine is regarded as a reference work, and should contain first-hand quality content. To strengthen this aspect of the magazine further, we are also working on a complete overhaul of the editorial line. As an example, this issue of the magazine has concentrated on the impact of the economic crisis on education and on El's response to these challenges.

In a similar fashion, each forthcoming edition will showcase in-depth articles on a theme (such as teacher training, child labour, gender issues, etc.). This will be achieved by balanced long-term planning, distributing coverage over the magazine issues of a four-year period.







Such planning will also enable us to deepen the links with the El regions and you, our affiliates, by highlighting achievements in the areas we cover in the different issues.

The implementation of such a new concept and system and the integration with the existing web portal infrastructure is an intensive process that will require several months' concerted effort. Thus, this fortieth edition of Worlds of Education marks a transition from the traditional paper magazine to an interactive magazine fit for the challenges and developments of the future.

Many of you gave us good advice and ideas through the readership survey and your accompanying comments and suggestions. We are confident that with this new format we will be able to serve you better and more efficiently. We look forward to welcoming you to the new, feature-packed, and interesting magazine in autumn – if you haven't yet subscribed to the electronic newsletter, go to http://go.eiie.org/subscribe/ now to make sure you receive the announcement!

## EI Agenda

#### April 2012

- 11	Second Regional Seminar Recruitment & Retention Project	European trade Union Committee for Education (ETUCE)	Vilnius, Lithuania
16-18	Arab Countries meeting	EI	NC
20	Early Childhood Educa- tion Task Force meeting	EI/ETUCE	Brussels, Belgium
22-28	Global Action Week	EI	worldwide
24-25	Higher Education and Research Standing Com- mittee meeting	ETUCE	Bucharest, Romania
26-27	Bologna Process Ministerial Conference	Bologna Follow-up Group	Bucharest, Romania
26	Third Party Violence Project-First Regional Seminar	ETUCE	Warsaw, Poland

#### May 2012

7-11	El Latin America (EILA) Regional Committee meeting	EILA	
9-10	Peer learning activity Gender Project/ Training Seminar	ETUCE	Brussels, Belgium
14	ETUCE Bureau meeting	ЕТИСЕ	Brussels, Belgium
23-25	School Leadership meeting	EI/ETUCE	Dublin, Ireland

#### June 2012

7	Third Party Violence Project-Second Regional Seminar	ETUCE	Brussels, Belgium
12-14	EI Asia-Pacific (EIAP) Regional Committee meeting	EIAP	Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
26	Social Dialogue Working Group	ETUCE	Brussels, Belgium



Worlds of Education is published by Education International (EI), the global union federation representing 30 million teachers and education workers from pre-school to university in more than 170 countries around the globe.

To learn more about El go to: www.ei-ie.org

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## "The Promise"

"The Promise", from British sculptor Jason de Caires Taylor, portrays a city banker with his head buried in

