



Intercambio

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Global Plans for Education Clash with Local Aspirations Public Education



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INTRODUCTION

Global Plans for Education Clash with Local Aspirations

In mid-2019, the Organization for Economic and Co-operative Development (OECD) unveiled its “learning compass.” Described as a “framework that aims to help students navigate towards future well-being,” the Learning Compass outlined the OECD’s goals for global education over the next decade. The compass was unveiled amid colonial tropes of discovery and conquest but couched in perfunctory references to adapting global priorities to the “local context.” It was also introduced on the eve of the COVID pandemic, offering an enticing promise of a charted path to well-being. Indeed, the OECD is now finalizing a “teaching compass,” extending the reach of its program from curriculum (or what is taught) to pedagogy (or how teaching happens).

However, this vision for education is haunted by many questions. What values are erased when education is rationalized by the demands of global knowledge economies? Whose interests are served by the de-professionalization of the teaching profession, and how are teachers fighting for alternative futures for public education? What knowledges and pedagogical practices can speak back to imperialist cultural assumptions and expectations?

This issue of Intercambio seeks to de-center the global future of education, as articulated by international organizations such as the OECD, by exploring these questions. The issue is organized into two complementary lines of analysis: 1) the interface between a global vision for the future of public education and the realities being lived by teachers and students; and 2) alternative imaginaries for public education that are rooted in local knowledges and ways of being.

The first article, by J.C. Couture, takes up the interface between global discourses and the local context in Alberta, Canada. Engaging with the experience of the provincial teachers’ union in navigating the influence of the OECD on educational policy, the author invites us to critically engage in curriculum and assessment as sites of struggle over whose knowledge counts.

This line of inquiry is continued in the second article, by Sam Sellar, who identifies what he argues is a new form of privatization that has arisen alongside the COVID-19 pandemic: the “uberization” of education. Sellar calls on teachers to better recognize this form of privatization, grounded in the commercialization of education and the digitalization of the EdTech Industry, and seek strategies to counteract its negative impacts on public education.

Likewise, the article by Mauro Jarquín identifies a field of struggle where teachers are fighting to preserve public education amid the incursion of digital capitalism. Jarquín's exploration of teachers' class-based struggle provides an analytic lens for thinking about new challenges being faced by public education amid the unprecedented wave of technology as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Within the context of Brazil, Eblin Farage and Arley Costa reflect on the intense pressure that public post-secondary education has long faced from the capitalist project for education, based on the guidelines of international organizations. The authors explore how, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, these global pressures have intersected with the rise of the extreme right in the Brazilian government, leading to unprecedented levels of privatization in post-secondary education.

The final three articles turn to the second line of inquiry, exploring alternative imaginaries for public education that are rooted in local knowledges and ways of being. Ecuadoran theorist Edgar Isch invites us to consider the place of an emancipatory education in the face of policies that promote the privatization of post-secondary education and impose control over curricula. For Isch, the construction of an emancipatory education can be developed through analysis and interaction with the problems of reality.

Similarly, we find two strategic perspectives from Indigenous educators and activists Sisa Pacari Bacacela and Christine Stewart who share an analysis of the impact of privatization and current educational policy trends have had on the education of indigenous peoples in Ecuador and Canada. Sisa Pacari exposes the consequences the pandemic has had for education in Ecuador. She demonstrates how the government decreed a return to face-to-face attendance in educational institutions but without providing necessary biosecurity conditions in public institutions. Her article reflects on the importance of in-person education due to the role it plays in the formation of community, life and society.

Christine Stewart provides a review of the shifting relationships between indigenous communities and public-school systems in Canada. She explores the shift from federally-run "Indian" Residential Schools that sought to "kill the Indian in the child," to agreements between regional public-school boards and local indigenous communities that open a role for the communities in shaping their children's education. But Stewart also warns of backsliding in recent years, moving away from consultation with indigenous communities in favour of the kind of "efficiency" promoted by the OECD. Stewart also touches on the ambiguous role of standardized provincial-wide assessments and their impact on indigenous students.

And finally, to help place the articles described above in the context of the international struggle for public education, we share the Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education's (CLADE) declaration, "Proposals for the Action Framework for Marrakech, Morocco. "

The OECD and Education 2030: Defuturing the Role of Teachers in Curriculum Making¹

J-C Couture²

**Design is always future-making.
Susan Yelavich, Design as Future-Making**

A wealth of pre-pandemic scholarship demonstrated how the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), through its Education 2030 initiative (OECD, 2015), was attempting to globally orchestrate the reform of education programs (Robertson 2021; Ydesen, 2021). This scholarship was built on a legacy of research that traced the growth of the

OECD as a highly successful educational policy actor that mobilized the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) to advance its particular view of the future (Sellar & Lingard, 2016; Auld & Morris, 2019; Sjøberg, 2019). Most recently in Canada, in the context of the COVID19 pandemic, the British Columbia Teachers' Federation has shown real leadership in engaging its membership in countering the OECD's conceptual tools, such as The Learning Compass, that attempt to 'make use of the future' as a mechanism of anticipatory governance (Gacoin, 2021).

It is against this backdrop that the following outlines

1. Key words: future-making, curriculum design, global competencies, organizational renewal.

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the experience of the Alberta Teachers' Association (ATA) in attempting to navigate the growing influence of the OECD in the Canadian province of Alberta. The intent here is not to revisit established research on the rise of the OECD as a preeminent global educational policy actor. Instead, what follows hopes to signal the need for the teaching profession to critically consider and engage policymaking in key areas such as curriculum and assessment as a project of 'future-making.' This work can be informed by growing scholarship examining how influential policy actors such as the OECD use 'the future' as a construct to leverage both the production of particular privileged visions of human progress while at the same time cancelling or 'defuturing' divergent futures and possibilities (Fry, 1999).

The Case of the Frozen Future of Future Ready Albertans

When a system collapses, language is released from its moorings. Words meant to encapsulate reality hang empty in the air, no longer applicable to anything.

Andri Snaer Magnason, On Time and Water

Speaking at the launch of a two-year consultation process that began in 2008, Alberta's Education Minister Dave Hancock invoked a futures-making imperative echoed by ministers across the OECD including the Council of Ministers of Education (CMEC) in Canada: "We know the world is changing, and that education must change with it to prepare students for a future that none of us can predict." For the province's roughly 600,000 Kindergarten to Grade 12 students, the launch of the government's "transformational" policy framework Inspiring Education in Action (Alberta Education, 2010) heralded the intent to build a "competency based" curriculum.

From 2010 onward, a succession of five ministers enabled by a churn of senior ministry officials embraced the organizing principles of Education 2030, in particular

'competencies' as a conceptual scaffold for operationalizing curriculum renewal. Despite concerns raised by curricular experts in the field (Den Heyer, 2013) regarding their fluid and highly contested meaning, the 10 competencies continue to be positioned as definitive and foundational attributes of student learning. Successive provincial governments since 2010 continue to be drawn by the principles of Education 2030 to "support the development of a competencies-based, student-focused curriculum" that would "transcend subject areas" (Alberta Education, 2010, p. 9). Currently, curriculum redesign continues to be driven by the guiding vision to "inspire and enable students to achieve success and fulfillment as engaged thinkers and ethical citizens with an entrepreneurial spirit within an inclusive education system" (p. 7).

As consultations with education partners unfolded, a pivotal moment came in Fall 2015 with the appointment of 10 "competency managers," with accompanying support staff, to scaffold the design of all the core subjects in each of the K-12 grades. The enterprise of curriculum blueprinting rapidly moved to developing elaborate matrices and flow charts illustrating the 10 competencies in each grade and subject accompanied by indicators of success. Predictably, this led to the development of volumes of spreadsheets with competency indicators to inform assessment, mapped into grade level progressions in an increasingly elaborate curricular architecture. The stated goal in these processes was to build a sense of legitimacy as an array of education partners, including teachers, continued to feed the infrastructure of the ministry's flagship New LearnAlberta [sic] digital platform³ to support a six-year process of curriculum building (Alberta Education, 2016).

In the face of these developments, the ATA called for a reconsideration of the increasingly untenable work being undertaken, highlighting concerns, including how global competence as a linguistic and cultural construct, with historical roots in European colonial

3. See <https://curriculum.learnalberta.ca/home/en>



traditions, constructs and mobilizes a new order of ‘deficits’ for students (Grotluschen, 2017; Cobb and Couch, 2021). In place of the OECD’s Education 2030 design principles grounded on global competencies, the ATA offered a conceptual scaffold for curriculum redesign based on Delors’ four pillars of learning as outlined in UNESCO’s *Learning: The Treasure Within* (UNESCO 1996): learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together. This proposal was a key element of the ATA’s plan for curriculum renewal, a strategic research initiative undertaken over the previous two years involving the province’s teachers, curriculum scholars and policy experts that culminated in the publication of *Renewing Alberta’s Promise* (Alberta Teachers’ Association, 2015).

Based on extensive consultations with the field, including 20 subject area specialist councils and a curriculum symposium in May 2014, the UNESCO pillars were seen to offer possibilities for establishing a curriculum framework to facilitate the renewal process. In a pivotal meeting with senior officials following the symposium, ATA staff were informed that Delors’ pillars were presented as a possible set of organizing principles to a committee of senior government officials and Mem-

bers of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs). As reported by ministry staff at this meeting, included in the outright rejection of this proposal was a dismissive observation from one MLA who, in referring to the learning to be pillar, opined “we don’t do existentialism here.”

Space limitations do not allow for a more detailed description or analysis of the internal discussions that unfolded within the ATA leadership, or further unsuccessful efforts to advocate for changes in policy direction. Suffice it to indicate that following several education ministry refusals to shift direction, the curriculum renewal process in the province has remained mired in controversy and contestation.

What the ATA did not appreciate was the pervasiveness of OECD policy frames, including ‘competencies’ and how they had been taken up within both the political and bureaucratic functions of successive Alberta governments. For example, despite the hope that the newly elected ‘progressive’ New Democratic Party (NDP, a Canadian social democratic party) would consider a new direction in 2016, NDP Education Minister David Eggen reiterated the role of competencies as part of a broader government commitment to create a province that is “Future Ready” – all supported by an



ambitious six-year \$64 million curriculum initiative where additional “material will be developed to teach students financial literacy, climate change, the history of Indigenous people and residential schools, and gender identity” (CBC News, 2018).

Now, in 2022, the promise of creating Future Ready students in Alberta certainly remains as ambiguous as it was compelling. After all, the students who were in kindergarten when *Inspiring Action in Education* was launched twelve years ago are graduating this year – having been denied the ephemeral promise of ‘transformation.’ Despite the efforts of five subsequent ministers of education and their governments, ‘transformation’ of Alberta’s curriculum remains unrealized (Couture, 2021; Peck, 2022).

A call to action

The noted British sociologist Basil Bernstein reminds us that curriculum is one of three key message systems in education alongside pedagogy and assessment (Bernstein, 2000, in Sellar, 2020, para. 2). As a process of futures-making, curriculum continues as one of the

fundamental conditions of practice and the teaching profession and its organizations are deeply implicated in the work of its redesign and renewal. The inability of the profession in Alberta to substantially influence the curriculum redesign process is an example of a larger short-coming: the inability to see how the power and ability to ‘name the future’ positions schools, including students and their teachers, as a policy problem (Biesta, 2016, p. 83).

While it might be tempting for teachers and their organizations to focus primarily on their particular system-level or jurisdictional leaders as the focus for advocacy and member mobilization, the Alberta case suggests the need to better understand the global and provincial level dynamics of how policy guardrails assembled by influential policy actors in the OECD and the education ministry directed curriculum redesign. In these respects, the OECD’s global influence in mobilizing ‘the future’ through a “human capital theory of growth” remains pervasive (Zhao & Gearin, 2017, p. 9). Yet, while the OECD’s work in education has been the subject of much “scholarly attention” there remains

little understanding concerning how its educational programs and activities rose “to the forefront of the OECD’s agenda – at least as seen in terms of publicity and internal growth” (Centeno, 2021, p. 11).

It is important to acknowledge the substantial efforts by the global teachers’ alliance Educational International and its affiliates to navigate and influence the policies of the OECD and how these are mobilized in the name of equity, innovation and educational development (BCTF, 2019; Rogers, 2020; Sellar, 2020; Sorenson, 2020). To give these words material meaning in schools, there are numerous examples of teacher organizations continuing to engage neoliberal global education reforms by building member agency at all levels (Carr and Beckett, 2020; Weiner, 2020). Yet, this work needs to be expanded and integrated into building capacity for strategic foresight and democratizing ‘uses of the future’ (Urry, 2016; Couture, Gottrick & Sellar, 2021). One immediate opportunity is to engage the work of UNESCO’s Futures of Education initiative and its invitation to mobilize responses to its resulting report, *Reimagining our futures together: a new social contract for education* (UNESCO, 2021), in our schools and teacher organizations.

A pre-pandemic study commissioned by Education International (Bascia & Stevenson, 2021) concluded that “organizing around ideas” (p. 2) could be a catalyst of organizational renewal that would also build the capacity of profession. In the context of the post-pandemic after-shocks of our current global crises, perhaps a sustained and strategic effort - to organize around a compelling idea – would be to engage the profession in sustained programs of futures-making initiatives focussed on ‘democratizing the future’ thereby offering alternatives to the OECD’s Education 2030 that will acknowledge the centrality of curriculum as a fundamental condition of teachers’ practice.

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The uberization of education: Privatisation, pandemic and EdTech

Sam Sellar*

In this article I reflect on how the privatisation of education evolved over the period of the COVID-19 pandemic. The closure of schools and universities disrupted the infrastructure of public education to an extent that was hardly imaginable before the pandemic. In some cases, this disruption produced a greater appreciation of teacher's labour and the teaching profession's ability to quickly adapt and respond to unprecedented circumstances. Families schooling children at home became acutely aware of the social and educational benefits of schools and gained an intimate appreciation of teachers' work. However, the pandemic also created new opportunities for the education technology

industry to accelerate the growth of new markets for their products and services, and to embed these in the infrastructure of public education much more rapidly than would have been possible otherwise.

The tension between these two effects of the pandemic has created an important new front for contests over global agendas to privatise education. Of course, the impacts of the pandemic and privatisation agendas have unfolded differently across time and place, but the pandemic has brought debates about the benefits and risks of replacing face-to-face teaching with education technologies into sharper focus.

In this article, I draw on my previous research into the commercialisation of schooling, and my current research into the digitalisation of the higher educa-

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tion industry, to argue that one particular aspect of privatisation now demands careful critical scrutiny. The privatisation of education can occur in at least two ways (Ball & Youdell 2008). First, private sector approaches can be imported into the public sector, to make education more like a business (privatisation of education). Second, the public sector can be opened up to private actors, involving them in the design, management and delivery of different aspects of public education (privatisation in education).

Often these two approaches often go hand in hand. However, in both cases the model of state-sponsored public education remains central. Privatisation in education grows from within this model, while privatisation of education shapes public education from without. At first glance, the Education Technology (EdTech) industry appears to contribute to the privatisation of education. This is certainly the case when schools and governments purchase their products or contract out services to EdTech companies through business-to-business transactions.

However, a specific type of privatisation of education is now emerging, and I would argue that it is sufficiently different to warrant its own description: the uberization of education. Uberization describes the disruption of an existing industry and its business models through the introduction of digital platforms that enable peer-to-peer transactions. Unlike other forms of privatisation, Uberization does not seek to alter the model of public education; rather, private actors aim to break this model by introducing new ways to sell education directly to customers. Uberization is not new, of course, but the disruption that Uber caused to the taxi industry has not yet occurred in education. However, I would argue that it has moved from an industry buzzword to an emergent reality, and it should be of greater concern to the teaching profession.

In 2017, I published a report on commercialisation in schooling for the New South Wales Teachers Federation with my colleagues Bob Lingard, Greg Thompson and Anna Hogan (Lingard et al. 2017). Our report was

based on a large survey of Australian educators, and we asked them to rate their concerns about the increased role of private interests in public schools. Their top two concerns were: (1) the ethics of student data being captured and used by private companies; and (2) public schools being run like businesses. The first concern relates to the privatisation of education and the second to privatisation in education.

The issues of least concern were: (1) the amount of time students spent in out-of-school private tutoring; (2) teacher activities being outsourced to private actors; and (3) the quality of commercial products. Each of these concerns relate to the uberization of education, which involves creating new ways for students to engage with teachers and commercial learning products outside of public education systems. Interestingly, the areas of least concern correlate with major growth areas for the global EdTech industry, particularly over the past twelve months.

Levels of venture capital investment in education have grown dramatically over the past decade and particularly during the pandemic (HolonIQ 2021). \$16 billion US dollars was invested in global EdTech in 2020, which is double the amounts invested in 2018 and 2019. This investment has made a small number of 'start-up' companies very valuable indeed, and these companies are referred to as 'unicorns'.

A 'unicorn' is a start-up company with a valuation over \$1 billion dollars. Unicorns do not include large, listed companies with established markets and so they provide us with a good indication of new emerging markets that investors are willing to bet 'big' on. In 2021 there were 25 EdTech unicorns globally and a third of them provided online tutoring, online alternative schooling, and online curriculum. These three growth areas correlate directly with the areas of least concern for educators in our Australian study.

The unicorns that offer online tutoring services are based in China and India and may seem distant from the concerns of educators in Europe and the Americas. But as the HolonIQ website explains, products in this

category “match tutors with student needs and provide interactive online class spaces for synchronous instruction” (HolonIQ 2021). These platforms are establishing an infrastructure that could potentially compete with the online delivery of public education.

One of the newest additions to the list of unicorns is Outschool, an alternative learning provider that raised \$75 million dollars in April 2021. The HolonIQ website argues that “[a]lternate education providers [like Outschool] ... have always been considered ‘outliers’ ... to the formal education system ... However, in search of better outcomes and frustrated with national systems, alternative providers are gaining traction ...” (HolonIQ 2021). Outschool offers a wide range of small-group classes online. It began as a platform for home schooling but has grown to cater for parents and young people who also want to supplement their schooling, similar to tutoring platforms. It has enrolled nearly 1 million students across 174 countries and teachers on the platform have delivered more than 6 million hours of class time. Outschool is an important example because the company explicitly offers an alternative model of education, rather than aiming to sell products or services to public schools or governments.

In both cases—online tutoring and alternative schooling—EdTech start-ups are building platforms that do exactly what many public educators have been doing over the past twelve months: providing online class space for synchronous teaching and learning, thereby offering an alternative to national education systems.

The private sector can, and does, make valuable contributions to public education (e.g., videoconferencing platforms that enabled teaching and learning to continue online). These contributions can be beneficial if they are transparent and support equitable approaches to sustaining public education for all students. Importantly, these contributions should be shaped by teacher professional judgement and held to the teaching profession’s standards of practice. But this is not the case with many new digital platforms, particularly when the education provided by these platforms is developed

and delivered by instructors who are not qualified. For example, Outschool does not require its teachers to hold formal teaching credentials.

As the recent UNESCO report on Education in a post-COVID world argues that: “Public education cannot be defined and controlled by content and methods built outside of the pedagogical space and outside of the human relationships between teachers and students” (International Commission on the Futures of Education, 2020). This statement draws a line that must be maintained in relation to the privatisation of education, but it does not recognise the growth of pedagogical spaces and relationships between teachers and students outside of public education and the oversight of the teaching profession. The growth of these spaces presents us with new challenges.

So how should the profession respond? The centrality of the model of public education in the first two kinds of privatisation affords a basis for resistance focused on protecting the model from the growth of privatisation from within or the influence of private actors from without. However, the uberization of education does not seek to change public education in the same way; rather, it offers an alternative model in an attempt to break the established one.

Our first response must be to better understand and recognise this form of privatisation and its potential impacts on public education. The second challenge is to counter its negative impacts. We can, of course, look to examples of regulatory mechanisms that have been used to impose standards and restrictions on ride sharing companies like Uber. However, simply inhibiting the growth of new models will not be enough. Indeed, this approach risks playing into the narrative of the EdTech industry and their allies, who frequently present teachers as obstacles to innovation concerned with defending the status quo rather than meeting the changing needs of students and families. Flawed new models of education must be challenged, but existing models of public education must also be reimaged.

In their recent report for Education International on the privatisation of education in the context of COVID, Ben Williamson and Anna Hogan describe how key figures in the tech world have, and I quote, 'been given positions of authority as experts in "reimagining" education for the future' (Williamson & Hogan, 2020, p.2). The uberization of education is a key element in this work of reimagination, and we must develop other imaginaries in which the model of public education cannot simply be sustained but remains more desirable than uberized alternatives.

While the pandemic created fertile conditions for further privatization of education, and for this new form of privatization to gain traction, it has also reminded people of the importance of schools as public spaces and the contribution made to communities and society at large by the teaching profession. So, the pandemic also creates fertile conditions for strengthening recognition of what public education offers that private digital platforms cannot. This recognition can provide a basis for collective efforts not only to repair the disrupted infrastructure of public education, but to enhance and promote its most important qualities at the same time.

As Berlant (2016) writes, 'the reinitializing of a system that has been stalled by a glitch [can] involve local patching or debugging... while not generating

a more robust or resourceful apparatus.' The coming uberization of education suggests the need to build back public education systems in ways that generate a more robust apparatus, keeping in mind emerging threats to public education created by new forms of privatisation. While we must continue to challenge forms of privatization that damage the model of public education from within and without, we must also re-imagine new futures for public education that remain more desirable than growing alternatives.

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Outschool.com as an example of the Uber of education

Outschool is an online platform that matches individuals who want to teach a course (no teacher qualifications needed) with students who sign up to take the course. The teacher designs the class and produces an ad, designating the time it is offered online and the cost. The platform advertises the course, links the student and teacher, and collects the fee online.

Outschool keeps 30% of the fee and sends the rest to the person offering the course. A course may have several sessions, and a fee is generally charged for each session individually. It claims to offer more than 140,000 different classes and encourages schools to sign up students for its courses. Outschool views the teacher as a small-business entrepreneur and students and parents as consumers and customers, rather than learners and citizens.

Education, digital capitalism and the new class struggle*

Mauro Jarquín Ramírez¹

Summary: For several decades, the world's education systems have been conditioned by managerial and accountability-based educational policies (Bonafant, 2013). This has produced a field of struggle in which, in an attempt to preserve the public sphere, teachers have developed class politics. Faced with an unprecedented wave of technological incorporation due to the pandemic, it is important to think about what new disputes the siege of digital capitalism poses for education.

Digital capitalism and the EdTech "solutionist" siege

The concept of digital capitalism was introduced in the 1990s to emphasize the role of digital technologies in economic globalization (de Rivera, 2020). Its

development has enabled other forms of surplus value extraction, in addition to the classic forms of capital enrichment: a) the transformation of human beings into sources of data that are marketable and b) the precarization of labor through the deployment of a so-called "collaborative" economy (Rodríguez, 2020). The change in the relations of production and the commodification of life itself has allowed for a wider sphere of influence of capital over more spaces in society. The main characters in this process have been the digital infrastructures called platforms (Srnicsek, 2018) among which Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft (GAFAM) have emerged as the most important ones. With the COVID-19 pandemic, digital capitalism has landed on the global education sector on a large scale (Williamson and Hogan, 2020) as shown by the expansion of GAFAM's own commercial activities in schools around the world.

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In our sector, the actors behind digital capitalism have imposed a sort of global technological solutionism. Their aim is to sell digital learning as a generic solution to the different problems of education. Because it is technology-related, it is automatically assumed that such learning will provide greater autonomy in terms of the time and space of the educational process (Teräs; Suoranta; Teräs & Churcher, 2020). The products offered by GAFAM, and a global army of start-ups, to solve educational problems include an interesting range of hardware, productivity tools, learning management systems (LMS), professional development content, real-time video communication tools, etc. In addition to "underpinning autonomy" in the learning process, it is assumed that these will contribute to overcoming the standardized learning typical of education systems of previous centuries, to give way to a personalized learning that responds to the specific needs of each student, thanks to AI and data analysis.

EdTech has promoted a new type of common sense around the imperative of incorporating technology into schools for different purposes: a) "modernizing" them by assimilating technological change into the productive sector; b) educating students with the "21st century skills" necessary for succeeding in today's world; and c) improving the productivity and control of teachers' work.

Teachers and class struggle

In his magnum opus, Marx explained that capitalist production is essentially a surplus value creation. Thus, a worker is productive when he produces a surplus for the capitalist or serves for the self-valorization of capital. Thus, a schoolteacher is considered a productive worker when, "besides cultivating children's brains," he works to enrich the owner of the school, who "has invested his capital in a teaching factory, instead of a sausage factory." The teacher is a productive worker

because he is part of a "specifically social" relation of production that gives him a direct means of valuing the capital (Marx, 2009).

Marx's very brief theoretical approach to the teaching profession was developed in a context in which nineteenth-century factory capitalism was gradually permeating school processes. However, the *mutatis mutandis* is extremely useful for thinking about our times, considering certain trends. Not without considerable resistance, teaching work has been linked to multiple gears of the extended process of capital reproduction, such as educational policies aimed at producing human capital in schools, the adoption of market values in public education, the commodification of education and the privatization of supply. Furthermore, there is the current wave of private technology being incorporated into the schools due to the pandemic.

The first two trends relate to the pedagogical interaction of teachers with students through a return to the formal curriculum, as well as the preservation of summative evaluative logics to measure the skills required by the labor market. The next two benefit private capital through its intervention in the educational sector, either through the circulation of educational goods or through investing in "teaching factories". But the last one responds to both dimensions; while digital technology affects the teaching-learning process directly (often through individualistic and consumerist logics), it also creates a potential market made up of teachers, students and families. All of them imply that teaching practice can be carried out under private control, influence or conditioning of the work process, which has implications for the politics of teachers. Although teachers' organizations have responded to this affront with mobilizations and progressive pedagogical proposals, effects such as the atomization of work, competition within the union and the adoption of managerial ideas in some sectors have been felt. In this context, the explosion of EdTech in schools presents an even more complex scenario regarding its impact on the formation of a teaching class.

E.P. Thompson (2012) proposes some elements for analyzing how the relations of production enable class formations. Among other things, he makes an important critique of the mechanistic approach that a class is determined by the distribution and control of the means of production. For him, a class is not a given, historical structure, but a relationship. The conformation of such a class stems from a given state of the relations of production that enables specific experiences. It generates antagonisms and shapes conditions of struggle. In the very development of such a struggle, class formations will end up being shaped, which will give rise to new processes of class struggles. An interesting perspective for approaching problems in teaching.

The gradual arrival of technological solutions in schools has certain objective conditions: the structural imperative of training in the use of technologies, the reorganization of class time, the institutional promotion of an EdTech language and rethinking of the role of teachers. All is presented under a powerful branding that seeks to deepen the commodification of public education.

Since this incursion impacts the individual experience of teachers with a collective history, established practices and a historically consolidated social status, it has produced a contradictory relationship with political and cultural guidelines established both within the teaching profession and educational communities in general. Thus, there are new tensions and antagonisms. The new objective conditions originated by the digital leap of the public school have generated responses at different levels that constitute real expressions of class struggle. Teachers - often supported by families and students - are resisting the new forms of control over their labor. Examples include the discontent of families and unions regarding the arrival of Google in public schools in Spain and the protests carried out in different schools in the United States against the Summit Public Schools virtual platform developed by Facebook engineers, etc.

As digital capitalism continues shaping the conditions of teaching work, new processes of struggle will be sti-



red. They are expressed at the level of the curriculum, the organization of time and forms of labor, the pathway to professionalization, the defense of the public sphere and the defense of sexual diversity. All these are instances in which EdTech entails a narrative established a priori, often focused on the instrumentalization of education, the individualization of learning, the increasing control of teacher work and its de-professionalization, the denial of diverse identities in the digital learning plane and the expansion of market logics.

As teachers take an active position in the face of the new challenges brought by digital capitalism, they are constituting themselves as a class. In this way, we can affirm that a “new” class struggle is already here, among us. The future of technology and digital capitalism in education will depend on its development. And that is why the organization of teachers is imperative.

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HIGHER PUBLIC EDUCATION IN BRAZIL DURING THE PANDEMIC: the trial balloon of emergency remote teaching

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SUMMARY: For more than thirty years, higher public education in Brazil has intensely lived through the pressures of capital's designs for education, according to indications of international organizations. Nevertheless, with the arrival of the pandemic of the new coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2), proposals have accelerated, and emergency remote teaching (ERT) has been used as a "trial balloon" period³ for the imposition and expansion of

privatized and accelerated education. ERT has relied on international guidelines, but has also made use of the rise of the extreme right in the Brazilian government and the adherence of part of the international community to a plan which imposes underfunding of education, authoritarianism and the intervention of technology in the processes of teaching-learning to repurpose Brazilian public university.

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3. "Trial balloon": expression to denominate an attempt to test the public credibility of a measure or policy. (Editor's note in original.).

KEY WORDS: Higher Public Education in Brazil – Emergency Remote Teaching (ERT) – Repurposing of education.

In Brazil, the period of the pandemic, imposed by the new coronavirus variant (SARS-CoV-2), brought about the death of 665 thousand people and infected more than 30 million, misfortunes whose principal factors include the delay on the part of the federal government of President Jair Bolsonaro (elected in 2019) to initiate actions to combat and prevent the pandemic. This delay has been justified by the antiscientific and denialist perspective rooted in the rise of the far right, with fascist aspects, in Brazil. This perspective is not limited to the pandemic, but extends through all the actions of the current government, and has also guided the country's educational policy during this period.

In higher public education in Brazil, religious fundamentalism, an anti-scientific outlook, and the militarization of life are allied symbiotically, and linked to neoliberal policy, now with its ultraneoliberal face. All these have grave repercussions in education.

International organizations such as the World Bank (WB), the World Trade Organization (WTO), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), advocate in their documents an education in Latin America in conformity with a commercial education, at the service of capitalist development and the demands of the reconfiguration of the world of job restructuring, at the expense of the worker. As if these decisions were not enough, many of them, implemented by successive governments in present-day Brazil, come together with conservatism, made explicit in the period of the pandemic, in the normalization of an education mediated by technology.

In the overlap of these aspects of the Brazilian scene, the pandemic and the ERT established themselves in the context of a deep underfunding of higher public education. The magnitude of this lack is shown by the fact that in 2021 the budget of the Federal Universities of Education was the lowest of the last 13 years. In 2021,

the budgetary reduction was combined with the ERT, leaving the financial responsibility of setting up remote work to teachers and administrative technicians, and leaving to students (with few programs to help students of limited means) the responsibility of arranging their own study conditions. In 2022, with the return of in-person learning, the reality of a meager budget makes clear that maintaining the university on a quality level has become inviable.

Based on information made available by the Federal Chamber of Deputies (BRAZIL, 2021) through the program Brazil Budget, with a value updated for the inflation of the period for prices of January of 2022, what one immediately observes in the total budget of federal universities (now numbering only 69⁴ in Brazil), is the explicit stagnation provoked by the CE-95⁵, preventing any policy of expansion of access to public and free higher education.

From 2020 to 2021, the reduction of the overall budget of the federal universities was 34%, reducing staffing expenses by 32%, operating expenses by 45%, and investment expenses by 84%. If in 2020, in the first year of the pandemic, the average of financing per institution was R\$97 million (19 million 449 thousand U.S. dollars), in 2021 that value dropped to R\$ 53 million (10 million 626 thousand U.S. dollars), a cut that verged on 50%, which does not make the existence of higher public education in Brazil inviable, but makes it impossible to maintain the standards of quality inherent in federal universities.

The pandemic ended up accelerating elements marked out initially by the policies of international organizations, such as the expansion of distance education; in-person pre- and post-graduate courses; a

4. In addition to federal public institutions, in Brazil there are public institutions on the state and municipal level, making a total of 302. According to the Brazilian Educational Census of 2019, there were 302 public institutions and 2306 private institutions. (Author's note.)

5. Constitutional Amendment approved in 2018 under Michel Temer (2016-2018), who established a limit on spending in public and social policies, including education.

push toward public-private associations; incentives to sell services to the market; and also the resurgence of authoritarian and conservative aspects which permeated the implantation of the ERT in educational institutions. Accordingly, for Brazilian reality, in addition to the plan of commercialization of education, the reduction of public resources and the disruption of educational institutions from within, the moment of the pandemic also made possible actions that were less democratic, if not openly authoritarian, on the part of managers. Some were even appointed deans or given other posts within the academic community, including those relating to electoral proceedings.

In the same vein, the academic community was left aside in the majority of proceedings of implementation of the ERT. The democratic and participatory requests of educational institutions added little to these deliberations, the budget was restricted to the management of institutions; dialogue-oriented pedagogic practices were neglected, which led to a normalization of education mediated by technologies without time or conditions for teachers and students to adapt to the new conditions. Thus, the form was worn out as an essence of the processes of teaching and learning, necessarily dialogue-oriented, collective and in-person. Remote meetings and the draining of democratic requests of the universities, such as superior and collegiate advice, become natural.

Thus, between the wage seizure provoked by the need of teachers to structure their homes to carry out remote work without having the needed economic support, the lack of support for students, especially those of greater socioeconomic vulnerability, reduction of investments in public education, and emptying education of its in-person and dialogue-based quality, resulted in a new educational level being achieved in Brazil, more precarious and fluid.

Especially in countries with dependent capitalism, such as Brazil, with a history of slavery and patriarchy, the effects of the international structural crisis are overwhelming. The symbiosis between the various dimensions of the crisis are allied to the cycles of the particular situation in Brazil, with repercussions for

education and other public policies conquered by the working class. An expression of this regression is the Reuni Digital project, introduced by the federal government during the pandemic, which envisaged the setting up of a university which would be 100% digital, in which the figure of the teacher is replaced by that of the tutor, and the teaching-research-outreach tripod, provided for in the Brazilian constitution of 1988 for Brazilian education, is emptied.

The analysis of the “opportunity” which this situation brings was completely co-opted by the national sectors of the bourgeoisie and its government representatives. The economic investments of the designs of capital in the joining of the public services, and especially in higher education, are combined with investments in the fields of culture and values. Higher public education, in addition to being impacted by counter-reforms which upset careers, suffers a reduction of salaries and funds, together with conservative plans which seek to despoil education and its critical and dialogue-oriented form. The joining of these elements constitutes a symbiosis of economic and cultural guidelines which reinforce a subordinating and alienating perspective which seeks the control and submission of large segments of the working class.

The alternative to the “trial balloon” which the period of the pandemic became, with major absorption of the designs of capital and the emptying of public education, must open the way on a continental scale, rallying Latin American countries around a project of higher public education, of quality, socially referenced, anti-sexist, anti-racist, anti-capitalist, and anti-LGBT-phobic—an education which is genuinely for everyone. This is the central task of all those who defend an educational project which has human emancipation on the horizon.

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On the Road to Confintea VII:

Proposals for the Marrakesh Framework for Action¹

Platform of regional networks for the education of bicentenarians and adults

This document summarizes the main recommendations for CONFINTEA VII (Seventh International Conference on Adult Education) developed by the Platform of Regional Networks for Education for Young People and Adults (EYPA) of Latin-America and the Caribbean which is made up of ALER (Latin-American Association for Popular Education and Communication), CEAAL (Latin-American Council of Adult Education), CLADE (Latin-American Campaign for the Right to Education), Fe y Alegria foundation, ICAE (International Council for Adult Education) and REPEM (Popular

Education Network Among Women of Latin-America and the Caribbean). The proposal reveals key points to consider in the development of the Marrakesh Framework for Action, to be adopted in June in Morocco, and is the result of debates, regional gatherings and open work groups carried out with broad participation from educators, students and representatives of social organizations in the region.

1. EYPA in current times.

In the current context of a crisis of civilization and a syndemic, which is a biological, economic and social phenomenon, the kind of education for young people

1. Translated by Wendy Santizo.

and adults to be conceived and put in practice must promote citizenship and popular education in, from and for life. A transformative education oriented to the protection of healthcare, decent work, food security, production, appropriation and use of knowledge by the population. An inclusive EYPA that is in harmony with nature, antipatriarchal, decolonizing and anti-racist, that contributes to developing humanity; an EYPA based on solidarity, dialogue, respect for diversities and that contributes to the transformation of people and builds a fair, democratic society with the full exercise of rights by all.

2. EYPA as a fundamental lifelong human right.

Adopt EYPA as a fundamental, enforceable, essential, inseparable and self-determined human right to grow in dignity with full exercise of human rights. To guarantee an EYPA that corresponds to changing contexts and diverse expectations, with alternative modalities, from literacy to postgraduate education where universities take an active role. EYPA is a catalyst for overall human rights, gender equality and the entire 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and must be valued and recognized as such.

3. Governance and new democratic management of EYPA.

The sense of EYPA that we propose demands a new institutionality and comprehensive administration of national education systems with diverse spaces for learning beyond the school, in formal and casual spaces. It requires inter-sectional public policies and inter-ministerial coordination, in alliance with international organisms, local governments, social movements and civil society. It must respond to the expectations of educational, social and productive organizations and those of the participants and promote the construction of networks of popular education and EYPA to facilitate engagement from all in society.

4. Fair and public financing for EYPA.

EYPA and its transformation into the future, demands that states guarantee domestic and public financing for EYPA, dedicating enough protected resources to this educational model. Advancement towards progressive fiscal policies in every country and the definition of necessary budgets for EYPA are indispensable, as well as transparency in the use of resources. International partnership cooperation is also urgently needed to contribute to the education of young people and adults.

5. Inclusion and diversity in EYPA.

EYPA must be inclusive and guarantee the right to education of all people in a permanent manner, with the goal of satisfying their educational needs according to their diversities and realities. It must contribute to overcome educational disadvantages that women have endured for centuries at all levels and educational modalities, as well as impoverished, racialized and marginalized peoples. Create it as an education appropriate to the contexts, communities, cultures, territories and peoples with diversities and specific needs: women, youth, seniors, LGBTIQ+ peoples, black, indigenous, rural campesino workers, persons with disabilities, persons deprived of their liberty, people in reincorporation processes, migrants and refugees, considering the intersectionality of their needs and cultural diversity.

6. Quality intra and inter-cultural EYPA.

EYPA must have an intra and inter-cultural and community orientation where its learning processes value and strengthen the identities, cosmovision and knowledge of indigenous and black communities, as well as interrelation and coexistence in equal opportunities with other cultures, in the framework of epistemic justice and integrated scientific dialogue. Foster coexistence and solidarity among peoples, cooperation and collective development of projects and social processes, autonomy and self-determination of peoples and nations. It is important to equip EYPA with new contents

and pedagogical practices that allow us to successfully confront the current societal retrogression. This implies differentiated and flexible curricula for the diversity of peoples, educational materials and physical conditions that the development of quality learning requires.

7. Productive and technical EYPA.

Responding to one of the main expectations of young people and adults, education for this population must be productive, technical, territorial and diversified, focused on material and intellectual production, on creative and creating work and the revitalizing of popular and solidarity economies in each region. Technical and humanistic diplomas articulated to higher education, in harmonious relation with nature and life systems. At the same time, it must have flexible and adaptable formats that enable students to strike a balance between their learning processes and their work and family activities.

8. EYPA and the right to ICTs (information and communication technologies).

The right to cost-free and universal connectivity to ICTs in the EYPA must be guaranteed, adapting it to popular education methodologies, eliminating barriers in accessibility that increase socio-educational, cultural and communicational inequalities and overcoming its instrumental use and the overvaluation of virtual education with respect to in-person education and the interaction among students, teachers-students, and among educative communities and society in general. Virtual education must be understood as complementary to in-person learning and as a tool to enhance individual and collective learning. Guaranteeing digital rights and developing open source platforms and software as a policy of EYPA are strategies to ensure opportunities and to restrict technological corporations and the increased privatization of knowledge.

9. Recognition and training of educators.

EYPA educators must be recognized with decent working conditions, salaries and career plans. Likewise, their training and professionalization must be prioritized in alliance with universities, other higher education entities and civil society bodies. The formation of educators with thoughtful capacity and permanent action who promote a change of paradigms and who, through training and practice, educate a critical citizenship that integrates ethics of care at the personal level with others and nature, and which promote coexistence based on the common good and Living Well (el Buen Vivir).

10. Production of data, tracking, monitoring and evaluation for EYPA.

To advance in public policies for EYPA it is vital to produce solid quality data with broad and credible analysis, disaggregated rates by gender, ethnic and racial condition, urban and rural zones, among other categories, as well as qualitative information that enables understanding around educational journeys and their challenges. Additionally, information on financing and investment must be accessible and transparent. Prioritize investigation and documentation of experiences to follow up and evaluate national policies, as well as international agreements; document experiences, accountability, be aware of reality, share knowledge, introduce best practices. Rely on different mechanisms, as regional and/or national observers of EYPA, alliances with specialized organisms, commitment from governments, support from international cooperation and universities. Generate an articulation between all actors involved in CONFINTEA VII to advance in the adoption of binding specific legal instruments and mechanisms to monitor compliance with the right to EYPA, such as the creation of a Special Rapporteur and full exercise of democratic citizenship, with local, national and global expressions.

The place of emancipatory education in the face of current changes*

Edgar Isch L.¹

Summary: The purpose of this article is to describe several policies that are driven by the dominant sectors, particularly policies that promote privatization of higher education and attempt to direct curricula. In addition, it provides a much-needed reflection on the construction of a liberating kind of education that presents and develops a connection with real-life problems.

The situation of generalized crisis, the announcement of a “fourth industrial revolution,” and the presence of the Covid-19 pandemic are three overlapping factors, among others, that profoundly influence education on a global scale. Within this reality, under the hegemonic

criteria driven by the dominant sectors, international organizations are promoting a series of policies that threaten public education.

These policies include different types of threats. They promote direct privatization of post-secondary education, where the possibilities for business are greater, as well as forms of indirect privatization at all educational levels. In general, the emphasis is on placing education under the control and interests of the market, an entity which cannot be conceived as abstract, much less impartial, since it’s a case of imposing conditions that have been established by well-known entrepreneurs who become richer as the majorities become poorer.

In many cases, while state ownership of educational institutions is maintained, decision-making is handed

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over to private entities or companies. The growth of business foundations, which can also be a means to evade paying taxes, demonstrates the ever-growing impact that these sectors have on the education world.

“The business sector and business foundations have played a relevant role in the development and strengthening of the social Latin-American sector. The role will increase given the differentiated agenda of this sector (corporate) and the traditional cooperation agenda, as well as international resources.” (RedEAmérica, 2016, p. 16).

Other commentators refer to the increasingly strong curricular orientation, in which STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) is prioritized, although in past years some have added the arts to highlight the creativity that the latter requires; in other words, again from a utilitarian approach and not from a humanizing one. The total abandonment or at least reduction of the humanities can only be understood as a way of guaranteeing a work force servile to productive conditions and

reducing the formation of critical thinking.

The new technologies operate in two ways: on the one hand, to strengthen virtual education, knowing that it is inferior in the formative and holistic purpose of education and, on the other hand, as a mechanism to strengthen software transnationals and exam factories and the consequent standardized tests at the international level. Here the digital gap is broadened and transformed into an educational gap. Education connected to the reality of each country is damaged, as well as respect for their own cultures or sense of belonging, fracturing social fabrics and guiding children and youth to the tastes of the market.

Running alongside this is a strong curricular push to promote the values of the capitalist system through entrepreneurship courses, preparation for precarious jobs and “emotional intelligence” to support everything and avoid conflict, etc. The technological worker is formed and isolated within the logic of working endlessly under the motto of “every man for himself”.

Of course, the “technologization” that the fourth industrial revolution promotes does not present itself in only one way. Although much investment is being made in the information, data and communications sectors, the fabrication of goods for consumption continues to be fundamental. This is easily demonstrated when one observes the growth of the working class worldwide. (Isch, 2022b).

Decisions on education will never be merely technical; they never have been. This is an area of greater confrontation between the sectors and interests present in society, at a national as well as international scale. For this reason, it’s important to also consider governments, particularly those with hegemonic presence in the world. Their representations and control of international organizations allow them to impose their plans in the name of international collaboration, particularly if foreign debt and international directives are used as extortion. (Isch, 2022a).

This is how international policy is propelled. The guidelines of organizations such as the World Bank, IDB (Inter-American Development Bank), OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), Davos Forum and others concretely reflect the interests of a development model that aspires to be global, mandatory, unchangeable and must be accommodated. The fact that this education model allows for

differences in nuance does not change the fact that both the meaning of education and its character as a fundamental human right are at risk. (Bonilla, 2022).

The place of emancipatory education

Faced with a situation like the one presented above, it’s important to ask what the possibility is of promoting an emancipatory school under the current conditions. If we look at history - emancipatory schools, popular education inspired by Freire and alternative proposals from a grassroots perspective - we conclude that conditions have never been easy, that many times not only did the dictatorship of capital have to be confronted but also dictatorial and authoritarian regimes.

Many experiences of emancipatory education have taken place in the context of dictatorships and repression, demonstrating that this is where they have the greatest need to exist since we must struggle for liberation in every sense and change the painful reality. We could say that today is a new moment on that same path and nothing should allow us to abandon our commitment.

Thus, the space in which emancipatory education can develop exists to the degree that it corresponds to reality, especially that of those who need a Freirean “pedagogy of the oppressed” which allows them to understand oppression, identify its actors and develop liberating actions.

We need contextualized knowledge that overcomes standardized learning, humanized education systems that allow holistic formation and not only technological training, democratic educational relations that break with behaviourism based on today’s technology and human relationships which leave no pretext for discrimination such as sexism, racism or ethnocentrism.

Therefore, there must be not one, but multiple kinds of education identified with liberation, through debate and participation among equals, harnessing diversities.

If educational changes are, in the first place, political, it is from that perspective we must begin to analyze reality and develop an educational objective aimed at human emancipation. It is a matter of confronting the positions of hegemonic sectors, exposing the neo-liberal narrative, warning of the threats and posing fundamental alternatives. To each attack on public education, we must respond with arguments, collective action and mobilization. When previously untouchable educational rights are infringed and an attempt is made to leave education in the hands of the market, we must respond with evidence of what that implies.

Although governments do not invite the education community, we must become involved in the discussion of policies, laws and budgets. Equity, sustainability, democratization, deepening and creating educational knowledge will not come from those who continuously and multilaterally damage public education. Achieving

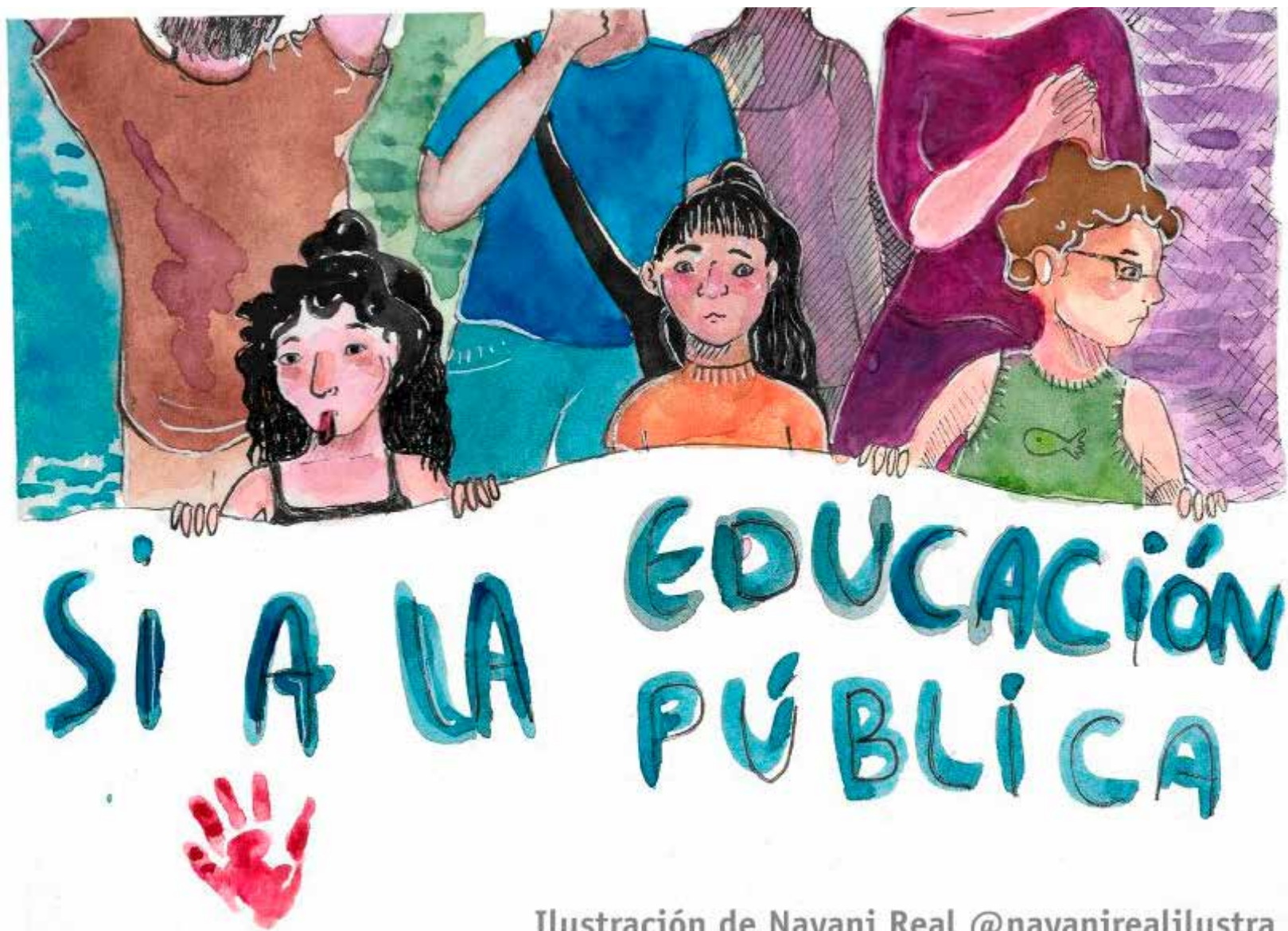


Ilustración de Nayani Real @nayanirealilustra

these goals, with critical thinking as a central point, is a task in the hands of communities, teacher collectives, and education workers' unions.

We don't need to reinvent the wheel. There are many experiences and lessons from those who came before us that are useful in opening new paths. Always in collective participation, always with a firm commitment to developing an education which contributes to the birth of a new society.

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Where are we going with educational inequality?¹

Sisa Pacari Gualan*

Summary: This text discusses the consequences that the pandemic has had for education in Ecuador and reveals the way that the government decreed the end of remote education without providing the necessary health and safety conditions, especially in public schools. It therefore invites us to reflect upon the importance of face-to-face education, and the role it plays in shaping community, life and society.

The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the inequalities and the educational and social crisis that had been going on for decades under neoliberalism. In 2007, there were about 30,000 schools, today there are 15,000. During Correa's 10-year administration, under the banner of defending "educational quality," schools

were closed, and the focus was on white-elephant millennium projects. Due to this policy and the pandemic, the most affected were the public and community bilingual schools.

We faced the pandemic with budget cuts in health, education and, of course, a decrease in teaching staff. There were no technological resources for teachers or students since in rural areas there is no internet service and, due to economic conditions, parents cannot afford a computer or a good cell phone for each of their children who are studying.

In spite of the 6% of the GDP meant for education established by the 2008 Constitution, the state only invested 2.7% during the pandemic years, putting the burden on teachers and families. Of course, there were different reactions, but teachers put their own safety concerns aside and assumed the social responsibility of

1. Translated by Flor Montero.

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continuing teaching, in a very different way. Teachers had to cover all the expenses that go with remote education: internet, electricity, new equipment, cell phones. They also had to work for more than 14 hours a day as the time that a virtual class last doesn't reflect all the working hours that go into it. In addition, the social vulnerability and exclusion of thousands of students from suburban and rural areas increased. International corporations took advantage of this scenario to advance private education and to exert pressure for "the laying of digital networks, the provision of equipment and the sale of software applied to education, which were quickly offered by corporations to national and subnational governments" (Adriana Puiggrós, IEAL: 2021).

Defunding the education system, reducing budgets and liquidating the tools of state regulation, labor and rights all lead us to feel that education is increasingly the privilege of a few.

Maria Brown, a former Correa official, now Lasso's Minister of Education, ordered a "voluntary" return to the schools, as of June 7. Sixty percent of the schools are private (UNE president's statements), with good infrastructure and biosafety. But the public schools, which were already neglected before the pandemic, were in an even worse state after having been abandoned for more than a year and the consequences of the winter season. There is no way to compare maintaining safety and hygiene conditions in overcrowded establishments without ventilation, without auxiliary personnel and sometimes even without running water, with the spacious environments of the private institutions.

The Correa-aligned minister is not interested in the health of the entire educational community (students, teachers and parents) or the community in general, nor in the quality of remote learning. Virtual classrooms can never replace the teacher because students cannot

develop learning skills adequately on their own. Teacher Rafael Riofrío Tacuri (June 11, 2021) rightly points out that "face-to-face teaching is the way in which students learn best. The school is also a democratic space for the shaping of critical awareness, solidarity and a commitment to combat all forms of social injustice, to ensure development and welfare in all other aspects of human life." Schools are like a second family, where students interact with the surrounding environment. Teachers, as well as students, are irreplaceable and that is why face-to-face interaction is important and necessary not only for learning but also for life. However, to return to it safely there must be a guarantee of health and safety measures, without which life is in danger.

On the one hand, education through virtual devices can help improve some educational conditions, but, on the other, it can be a mechanism for the commodification of education. The mercantile logic of the large technology monopolies is to direct education towards

maintaining the dominant patriarchal and repressive state and to destroy the sense of social solidarity in order to benefit global control by an international elite.

It is up to the strength of unions, social movements and indigenous organizations as well as the will and capacity of popular forces and the limits that public policies can place on savage and predatory capitalism. It is urgent that Latin Americans unite to defend free, public and secular education; one that is created and endorsed by the actors and beneficiaries themselves, and not imposed through foreign models.

Against inequality in education, we are working for a liberating, transforming education, forged from the neighborhoods, communities and oppressed peoples. An education that puts Life at the center, and the wellbeing of Mother Earth, in order to restore human health. Otherwise, we march towards a globalizing, totalizing, increasingly violent, exclusionary and polarized society.



Backsliding on including First Nations Communities in Indigenous Students' Education in British Columbia?

Christine Stewart¹

Hello relatives, it is an honour to meet you. My Nisga'a ancestral name is **Galksi-Gibaykwhl Sook'**, and for over forty- five years, I am a visitor on the x^wməθk^wəyəm (Musqueam), sk^wxwú7mesh (Squamish), selílwitulh (Tsleil-Waututh), nations. My teaching career spans over twenty years and I currently work for the British Columbia Teachers' Federation as the Director of the Professional and Social Issues Division (PSID). This article focuses on the British Columbia (BC) Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements (EA). EAs are accords between indigenous² communities and local

school districts to ensure that the needs of Aboriginal communities are reflected within public schools attended by their children.

Before I begin, it is important to provide context on public education systems in Canada and how those systems interact with indigenous students. Canada has no national public education system and no national education minister. Public education is the responsibility of the 10 provincial governments and each has its own

Kindergarten to Grade 12 (K-12) self-identified Aboriginal public school students and families, for whom the Federal Government transfers Aboriginal funding to BC public K to 12 schools. a todos los estudiantes y familias que se auto identifican como indígenas en las escuelas públicas de Columbia Británica (Kinder-grado 12). El Gobierno Federal transfiere un financiamiento a las escuelas públicas (K-12) en la Columbia Británica.

1. Galksi-Gibaykwhl Sook

2. In this article I use a range of Aboriginal terms, including First Nations, Inuit, and Metis, to refer to all British Columbia (BC)

system and its own education minister. Each provincial education system is further divided into school districts governed by locally elected school boards. However, the provision of education for indigenous peoples remains the responsibility of the federal government. For more than a century - from the 1880s until the mid-1990s - the federal government operated “Indian” Residential Schools and “Indian” Day Schools, that favoured the suppression and assimilation of indigenous children over their education. In the second half of the 20th century, as the violence and abuse at these schools became more widely known, the federal government began to phase them out.

When the federal government started to close some Indian Residential Schools and Indian Day Schools³ in the 1950s and 1960s, First Nations in the province of British Columbia began to send their children to the local township school districts. In many cases, students would board with fundamentalist Christian white families to be able to study at the provincial schools. Canada and British Columbia then entered into a bilateral Master Tuition Agreement for the federal government to provide the province with funding for First Nations Students attending provincial public schools. The Master Tuition Agreement ensured that every child in the province could attend school for free. In 1986, following a five-year dialogue, the Master Agreement was cancelled and provisions were put into the BC School Act for local education agreements that directly funded local school districts for indigenous students. This generated concern over funding without service. School districts compiled lists of self-identified Aboriginal students and sent in their funding requests. These students often left school by October⁴, but the school division did not follow up on their absence.

3. In contrast to residential schools where indigenous children forcibly removed from their communities, the day schools took place within the communities and students returned home at the end of the day, but the focus on suppressing indigenous culture, language and values remained the same.

4. The Canadian school year runs from September to June.

The BC Ministry of Education collects data based on registration at the beginning of the school year and if indigenous students leave, the funding claimed by the school districts stays in the general revenue of the school district that submitted the claim.

Shortly after the BC Human Rights Commission (HRC) was established in 1997, several Aboriginal organizations brought forward concerns about the lack of success of Aboriginal students in BC public schools. Research and the complaints to the BC HRC demonstrated that Aboriginal children were being failed by the public system and this led to the creation of Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements.

In 1999, the BC Ministry of Education and BC educational partners created a framework for Aboriginal Education Enhancement Agreements. These Enhancement Agreements aim to improve indigenous students' educational success and contain provisions for accountability; Maintaining relationships with Aboriginal students, family, or guardians; and using various BC Ministry of Education standardized tests to assess how Aboriginal students are doing.

By spring 2002, six Enhancement Agreements were established, and more school districts and Aboriginal communities throughout the province expressed interest in developing their own. By 2016, 47 of the province's 60 regional school districts had signed enhancement agreements with local indigenous communities. The process was different in every school district. Some included the local teacher union, while others did not.

Each Enhancement Agreement is a living agreement between the school district and K to 12 Aboriginal students, their families, guardians and communities. According to BC's Education Ministry:

The EA establishes a collaborative partnership between Indigenous communities and school districts that involves shared decision-making and specific goal setting to meet the educational needs of Indigenous students. EAs highlight the importance of academic performance and more importantly, stress the integral nature of Indige-

nous traditional culture and languages to Indigenous student development and success. Fundamental to EAs is the requirement that school districts provide strong programs on the culture of local Indigenous peoples on whose traditional territories the districts are located.⁵

The EA supports cooperative and collaborative relationships between Aboriginal communities and School Districts and involves shared decision-making. Still, it is not meant to replace the Nation-to-Nation agreements between the federal government and First Nations.

The role of standardized testing in EAs

From 1997-98 the first iteration of the Foundation Skills Assessment (FSA) was implemented. The FSA are annual province-wide tests that assess students' basic skills. It is supposed to provide a snapshot of how well all BC students learn foundational skills in Reading Comprehension, Writing, and Numeracy. They are also used to provide a snapshot of what is happening in school districts for Aboriginal children. The assessment is administered every spring to students in Grade 4 and 7 at public and provincially funded independent⁶ schools. The primary objective of the evaluation is to help the province, school districts, schools, and school planning councils evaluate how well students are achieving basic skills and make plans to improve student achievement. FSA results are returned to districts and schools each fall to help develop school plans for redistribution of current school funds to enhance student learning and to share the results with individual parents and students. But the FSAs, like all standardized tests, are highly critiqued as inherently biased, and the results tend to reflect the socio-economic conditions of the communities in which the children and schools are

5. "Indigenous Education Enhancement Agreements", BC Ministry of Education and Training - <https://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/education-training/k-12/administration/program-management/indigenous-education/enhancement-agreements/school-districts-with-an-enhancement-agreement>

6. Privately run schools that receive state subsidies.

located. The disparities in FSA results reflect the broader social inequalities experienced by students and emerge from complex colonial histories. The tests do nothing to address those inequalities.

Given the wide disparities in results between indigenous and non-indigenous students, the initial few years of the FSA gave all BC public schools a wake-up call. But we no longer need the FSAs to tell us our children need support. It is widely acknowledged that social inequalities impact educational outcomes. And children need to see themselves reflected in their teachers. The FSA provides no extra support for students and enables the government to reinforce low expectations for Aboriginal students. The comparison of results for Indigenous students against non-Aboriginal counterparts only reinforces settler⁷ bias, deficit perspectives and anti-Aboriginal racism.

Aboriginal student dropout rates tell the story of how the BC public education system is failing Aboriginal Children. While graduation rates have improved in the past 20 years, the rate for indigenous students continues to be well below those of the general population. BC high school graduation rates were 71.1% in 2020⁸, compared to 89.9% for the general population, according to BC's Ministry of Education and Training⁹.

Aboriginal parents, communities, and Nations want their children to be successful, productive, self-sufficient, and self-advocates. We want our children to keep their spirits strong and intact, strengthening their Aboriginal identity in school and not to be assimilated into white settler society.

In 2022, the BC Ministry of Education began to shift to an equity "framework" to show accountability for the

7. "Settler," as used in Canada, refers to structures, institutions and cultural practices that have been imposed by the colonizing countries of England and France, or to the descendants of immigrants from those countries.

8. Public school in BC is considered to cover kindergarten to grade 12.

9. "Education by the Numbers," BC Gov News, Victoria, BC, August 18, 2021. Retrieved from Internet, July 19, 2022 - <https://bit.ly/3GYVegu>

Education of Aboriginal students' kindergarten to 12. This form is a clinical checklist and has removed the community meetings, elders, family, and critical school district staff from the relationship. Those connections, so embedded in the Education Enhancement Agreements, are crucial for student success and community self-determination.

In the 1967, Dr. Harry B. Hawthorn published a report commissioned by the Canadian government on indigenous peoples' conditions in Canada. The report, "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies," was highly critical of the federal government's "Indian" residential school system and its impact on indigenous peoples. Hawthorn recommended that the residential school system be dismantled. But Hawthorn identified several goals and conditions to be met prior to Aboriginal students being enrolled in local public schools. The report recommends joint collaboration between indigenous communities and local school districts – exactly the type that the Enhancement Agreements provide. School Districts find it very time consuming, yet it needs to be recognized as crucial. 55 years later, there are still key elements of the Hawthorn Report that would go along way in healing and could interrupt the attempted assimilation of Aboriginal children in BC public schools. Some of the Hawthorn Report's most important recommendations are the following:

(19) Public school facilities be used for the education of Indian children wherever the arrangements appear reasonable and beneficial.

(20) Agreements should not be made where Provincial schools are inferior or where community attitudes are unfavourable for Indian students.

(21) Agreements should not be signed prior to full and, if necessary, lengthy consultation of parents of Indian students and prior to ensuring their full cooperation as well as that of non-Indian parents. Some contact between parents of all school children should occur before final negotiations are undertaken.

(22) Agreements should include formal Indian re-

presentation on a Board where Provincial law allows. In other cases, a Board should agree to accept informal representation. In order to ensure that Indian children are not handicapped by their status, provision should be made for group payments by the Indian Affairs Branch to the Board for required fees and expenditures for such items as textbooks, lunches, lockers and sports.

(24) Provincial Departments of Education should recognize that special facilities and personnel will be required for remedial programs; these should be provided under joint auspices and financing.

(25) The continuation of any joint agreement should be conditional on the school's continuing to provide the Indian child with an improved education

(27) Integration should occur only after the criteria outlined earlier are met.

(39) It is recommended that the Indian Affairs Branch remove all group psychological tests such as IQ and aptitude tests from its schools and that public schools be urged to do likewise. The Indian Affairs Branch is in the best position to alert all school authorities to the finding that such tests are neither valid nor reliable for Indian students.

(40) A liaison officer be appointed by Provincial Departments of Education with the function of coordinating the activities of various agencies and individuals concerned with Indian educational problems at the local level.

(41) That the role of school committees be enlarged in the interest of enlisting the special knowledge possessed by the adults of the reserve.¹⁰

Today, School Districts continue to provide an annual report on how the Aboriginal students are doing, but they mostly use the FSA results to show how they are accountable to the learning outcomes and gradua-

Hawthorn, H.B, Ed. A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, Indian Affairs Branch, Government of Canada, Queen's Printers, Ottawa. Retrieved from the internet July 18, 2022 - https://www.sac-isc.gc.ca/DAM/DAM-ISC-SAC/DAM-CORP/STAGING/texte-text/ai-arp-ls-pubs-sci3_1326997109567_eng.pdf

Durante más de un siglo —desde la década de 1880 hasta mediados de la década de 1990— el gobierno federal dirigió los colegios residenciales y escuelas diurnas "indias", que favorecían la sumisión y la asimilación de los niños indígenas por encima de su educación. En la segunda mitad del siglo xx, al conocerse la violencia y los abusos que se cometían en estas escuelas, el gobierno federal empezó a eliminarlas gradualmente.

tion rates. The British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF) Aboriginal Advisory Committee (AEAC) have repeatedly expressed deep concern with the FSA fundamentalist fury to document how Aboriginal children are learning. The AEAC has documented the pressure on Aboriginal teachers to support administering the test, generating deep shame and humiliation expressed by both students and teachers affected by the results. The BCTF has asked annually for the FSAs to be removed from the accountability agenda. We know that the First Nation Education Steering Committee (FNESC)¹¹ uses the results for their reports to the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. We can agree on many things, but the standardized testing is one where indigenous teachers and FNESC have had to agree to disagree.

After reviewing the 1967 Hawthorn report and reviewing the Enhancement Agreement in the school district where my children attended, it appears at ti-

11. The First Nations Education Steering Committee works on behalf of First Nations in British Columbia to support First Nations students and advance indigenous education in BC.

mes that we are facing full-on assimilation, permitted to practice culture and language on in tiny space, and learning from the land and water. My grandparents wanted us all to get an education, and maintain our traditions, language and culture, but the pressure to assimilate into the settler system is all consuming.

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What is IDEA?

The Initiative for Democratic Education in the Americas (IDEA) is a flexible network that brings together organizations in the Americas that share a commitment to protecting and improving public education, seen as essential to democratic development and the protection of human rights.

The Network works with other civil society organizations concerned about the impact on social rights of "free" trade agreements and other transnational neoliberal policies. The idea for a hemispheric network emerged from a meeting of teachers and students in Mexico City in November 1998. IDEA's structure was broadened and formalized at the Initiative for Democratic Education in the Americas Conference held in October 1999 in Quito, Ecuador.

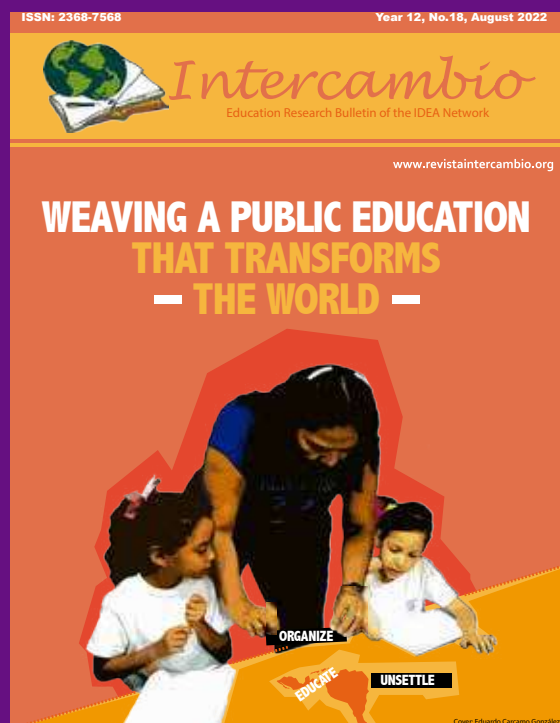
What does IDEA do?

The IDEA network carries out research, establishes communication networks, publishes documents and organizes conferences and seminars related to neoliberalism, trade agreements and the defense and democratic transformation of public education. It also organizes campaigns to defend public education and the defenders of public education.

The objective of these activities is to lay the groundwork for an understanding of the impact of neoliberal policies on education in the Americas and to develop alternatives to ensure inclusive, democratic and quality public education.

IDEA also has two hemispheric subnetworks: the Education Research Network (RIE) and an Indigenous Educators' Network (REI)

The RIE involves researchers working with educator, student and community organizations in collaborative work to produce studies that analyze and compare similar situations and policies in a range of American countries. The REI enables indigenous educators to communicate with their counterparts in regions of the Americas and to share strategies and ideas related to defending culture and autonomy within a publicly funded education system.



Coordinating Committee

The work of IDEA is directed by a Hemispheric Coordinating Committee made up of representatives of the following organizations:

- National Union of Educators (UNE/Ecuador)
- Confederation of Education Workers of the Argentine Republic (CTERA)
- Federation of Central American Teachers' Organizations (FOMCA)
- National Confederation of Education Workers (CNTE/Brazil)
- British Columbia Teachers' Federation (BCTF/Canada)
- Latin American and Caribbean Students' Organization (OCLAE)
- One representative each from the RIE and the REI

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- Send submission proposals by October 28, 2022

For more information: IDEA-RedSepa@outlook.com