## Chapter 1 : THE CHALLENGES OF NATIONS BUILDING: THE CASE OF NIGERIA

*This new edition of The Political Dynamics of American Education is a major revision of the most widely used text in the politics of calendrierdelascience.com authors have devised an original conceptual framework to organize and chart the increasingly complex political web of American education.*

Universities Understanding contemporary schools requires examining their purposes, evolution, structure, and political dynamics. Ordinary ideas of how schools operate are clouded by a number of misconceptions and assumptions. People often think that schools only teach skills and content, such as reading, writing, and math; or history, English, and social studies. They also think about extracurricular activities, such as football, proms, and childhood peer groups. When visualizing schools, people think of buildings like the elementary, secondary, or tertiary ones they attended. Further, given how politicians talk about their "education agendas," people assume that most control and funding of schools comes from the state or national government. However, schools do much more than just teach content, and encompass more than individual buildings. Regardless of their size or complexity, schools fulfill a wide range of overt and less obvious functions. Schools are embedded within districts established by communities to provide both educational and extracurricular activities for young people and a center for social, political, and cultural community events. Moreover, in the United States, schools are preeminently local, not national. They are controlled by locally elected officials and their appointed superintendents, and are largely funded by local property taxes. Thus, what is described here is only typical of schools and districts in the United States, where pressures for democratic localism conduce to an almost radical decentralizationâ€"at least compared to schools in other countries. American Public Schools in Context In most other countries, a national ministry or office controls curricula, instructional methods, teacher qualifications and salaries, and individual school budgets. In the United States, however, the Constitution specifies that education must be provided by the individual states, which in turn have delegated responsibility for schooling to local communities. While funding for and control over schools in other countries is often shared by the national government and the established church, the U. Constitution mandates a marked separation between secular and religious affairsâ€"a mandate with which public schools comply. While strong systems of parochial schools exist in some communitiesâ€"particularly ones with large Catholic populationsâ€"and while private schools, semi-private charter schools, and home-schooling have become increasingly popular, these enroll only a small minority of U. Local controlâ€"a response to both constitutional silence and to deep-seated cultural aversion in the United States to centralizationâ€"is one of the most unique characteristics of American public schools. Nowhere else are public schools so explicitly run by locally elected school boards. This means that those most active in educational affairs are often business and professional persons, since they are more likely than working and middle-class individuals to have the time and money to run for elected office. The United States also differs from other countries in that more than half of all revenue for schools comes from the local community. The federal government, in fact, contributes only about 7 percent of all educational revenues, and only for specific programs such as school lunches; vocational training; impact aid to districts located on military bases or Indian reservations, which generate no property taxes; entitlement programs to educate disabled and language minority students; and compensatory educational programs for children in economically disadvantaged communities. These patterns of governance and funding make U. Schools and school districts must be understood and analyzed on many academic and organizational levels and in terms of often conflicting demands for their services. Contradictions of goals, purposes, control, and functioning complicate a clear understanding of how schools, broadly defined, really workâ€"in general, and in different communities. Differences in demographic characteristics; economic resource bases; proximity to urban centers; specific constituencies such as labor unions, religious groups, and industries; and historical factors make each school district, and each school within districts, unique. The Purposes of Schooling Schools have multiple purposes,

and each of these purposes has its own constituency or advocacy group, and each affects the goals and organization of schools. Since the goals of advocacy groups may contradict one another, schools face important dilemmas that can complicate their organizational structure and goals. As will become clear, schools are called upon to provide solutions to a variety of social problems, including poverty, disability, and illness of students, and the fraying of civic culture. American society asks schools simultaneously to provide job training for children who will not go to college and college preparatory training for those who will. Historically, these two types of training were provided in separate institutions. Public schools initially were established in the mid-nineteenth century to provide primary school training in reading, writing, computation, and, sometimes, citizenship to the children of poor and working-class families who could not, or would not, educate their children themselves. Public elementary schools supplanted earlier programs of apprenticeship, in which poor and working-class children were apprenticed out to learn a trade, and the masters they worked for were required to teach them basic literacy skills. Maintaining public elementary training for the lower classes and private secondary academic training for the wealthy reinforced the social class structure, even though private academies offered scholarships to some deserving and needy children. This system gave working-class children sufficient literacy for citizenship and the labor market, and provided advantaged children the academic training, cultural knowledge, and contacts needed to assume positions of leadership in society. The comprehensive public high school that evolved to eliminate this dichotomy has not resolved the tension between these two types of schooling. Resnick and Lauren B. Resnick argue that by the beginning of the twentieth century the labor market demanded higher levels of literacy and numeracy for greater numbers of people. However, private academies were too expensive for the masses and insufficient in number to fulfill an increased demand for more schooling. It was for this reason that the American comprehensive high school developedâ€”to provide free secondary education to all children. The result has been an uneasyâ€"and often invidiousâ€"system of streaming, or tracking, in which the same school offers vocational, and often remedial, training; a terminal general education; and an elite college prep program. Since each stream often serves quite different groups of children, the effect is to house separate institutions within the same building. This purpose is unambiguous in a homogenous society, but difficult in the polyglot, multicultural United States. Initially, public elementary schools were given the task of Americanizing or assimilating immigrant children to the English language, a northwestern European cultural heritage, and the desirable habits of industry, hygiene, thrift, and obedience to the laws. As moral or civic education evolved into social studies in high schools, its focus changed somewhat to emphasize studies of the American government and economic system and appropriate ways for citizens to vote and participate in legitimate political activity. The overall purpose, however, remains: To create a culturally uniform, English-speaking, and law-abiding citizenryâ€"an increasingly problematic task as the United States has become more culturally, linguistically, religiously, and ethnically diverse. This support service sector has added many more levels of organization to schools. Some ethnic groups resist being assimilated to what they perceive to be a white, western European, Christian, middle-class culture, arguing that schools should equally celebrate their own origins, experiences, and heritage. These goals pose a dilemma: Do schools continue to promote assimilation to a uniform version of American life, or do they promote diversity and multiculturalism? If diversity is to be promoted, how is it to be done? What impact would it have on school structures, curricula, and instruction? Parents of ethnic and language minority children and parents of disabled children form one of the strongest and most vocal advocacy groups in the educational system. Their claims are backed up by constitutional guarantees for "equal protection" and "equal access" under the law. These federal guarantees, however, are left to the individual states and local communities to enforce. These claims, and the services they require, complicate the goals of schools and add yet more departments and staff members to them. Schools as centers for social life. Academic instruction aside, friendship groups and the social activities they participate in are a significant aspect of school life for children. In part, schools must teach children to maintain healthy social relationships. They also have created a wide range of extracurricular activities to motivate students who otherwise underachieve

academically. School activities such as drama, music, and competitive athletics also entertain the entire community, while adding departments and sometimes diverting resources from instruction. Athletics in particular is a significant consumer of school space, time, money, and staff energy. Defining Organizations and Bureaucracies Schools are usually described as organizations or bureaucracies. These terms have technical meanings that often conflict with popular understandings. Social scientists define organizations as social structures that a possess a distinct set of goals agreed upon by their members, b operate under uniform rules and stable patterns of interaction, c are governed by a system of authority, d recruit members and resources to implement their purposes, and e maintain autonomy in decision-making. Bureaucracies, or complex organizations, have goals and operations large and complex enough to require a staff division of labor or specialization, and to create rational and standardized sets of procedures for employees to do their work. These procedures include standardsâ€"such as job descriptionsâ€"for carrying out specific tasks or occupying specific positions. Authority and decision making in bureaucracies is hierarchical, governed with each staff member held accountable to those in higher positions. Superiors hold their positions because they have demonstrated that they are competent to do so. Bureaucracies resemble a typical hierarchical organizational chart, and most businesses, government agencies, social services agencies and schools are bureaucratized. The bureaucratic model assumes clear-cut and unambiguous goals and authority structures, consistent systems of accountability, operations based on exercise of professional judgment and rational logic, clear and fair operating rules, and the capacity to generate sufficient resources to carry out necessary tasks. If a superior gives orders, it is assumed the subordinate will follow them or risk sanctions. If funds are needed to operate, they can be generated and controlled. While these assumptions may well characterize most businesses, they do not typify schools. This is problematic, since the business people who often are key players on schools boards may have difficulty discerning differences between how schools and the businesses with which they are more familiar operate. This causes strain between expectations for, and assumptions about, what schools should do and what they can actually deliver. In addition, American culture values business-like models more over diffuse structures such as those in schoolsâ€"so much so that many systems in schools, including supervisory patterns, age-grading, fifty-minute periods, systems of accountability, and ergonomic desks, all derive from the Scientific Management movement of the s. This movement, which revolutionized industrial practice, was enthusiastically applied to educational institutions as well. Organization and Funding of Schools and Districts School districts generally encompass the elementary grades, which include kindergarten through grades 5 or 6; middle grades 6 through 8 or junior high schools grades 7 through 9 , and high schools grades 9 or 10 through Some districts also include preschools and a two-year community college. Elementary schools are relatively small to 1, students and located in relatively homogenous neighborhoods. Middle schools and junior high schools are larger, and usually include the enrollments of several elementary schools. High schools are larger still; many communities have only one. Schools also group within grade levels by ability for ease of instruction. Most elementary classrooms divide children into high-, middle-, and low-ability groups for basic subjects such as reading and math. Tracking begins in middle school or high school as students are grouped by ability and occupational destinations into college preparatory, general, and vocational curricula. These tracks tend to divide the academically able students from those who are not. Because vocational training does not prepare students for college and vice versa , it becomes more and more difficult to change tracks as a student progresses further in school. Thus, early tracking has serious consequences for children, as small initial differences in skills learned are magnified with each successive year. Instructional functions are carried out in the individual school buildings, each of which is administered by a principal. Middle schools and high schools also have several assistant principals and secretarial staff. The central office, under the leadership of the appointed superintendent, provides overall supervision of the individual schools, coordination of all instructional and support services, and staff development for teachers and administrators. The central office also houses offices for school board members; legal, personnel, and financial departmentsâ€"and departments for research, evaluation, testing, and accountability; grants development; and enumeration and monitoring of

student attendance. Central office staff are geographically located at some distance from individual schools, which can make close surveillance of activities in them difficult. The structure of schools. Schools are divided into levels according to the age of students. Elementary teachers generally teach all subjects to one group of students in the same classroom year-round. They usually are assisted by resource teachers for disabled and language minority children, and, where resources allow, by special teachers for instruction in physical education, art, music, and computers.

## Chapter 2 : The Theory of Citizen Involvement

*Understanding contemporary schools requires examining their purposes, evolution, structure, and political dynamics. Ordinary ideas of how schools operate are clouded by a number of misconceptions and assumptions.*

The Theory of Citizen Participation Introduction Citizen participation is a process which provides private individuals an opportunity to influence public decisions and has long been a component of the democratic decision-making process. The roots of citizen participation can be traced to ancient Greece and Colonial New England. Before the s, governmental processes and procedures were designed to facilitate "external" participation. Public involvement is means to ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decisions. The terms "citizen" and "public," and "involvement" and "participation" are often used interchangeably. While both are generally used to indicate a process through which citizens have a voice in public policy decisions, both have distinctively different meanings and convey little insight into the process they seek to describe. Many agencies or individuals choose to exclude or minimize public participation in planning efforts claiming citizen participation is too expensive and time consuming. Yet, many citizen participation programs are initiated in response to public reaction to a proposed project or action. However, there are tangible benefits that can be derived from an effective citizen involvement program. Cogan and Sharpe , p. Information and ideas on public issues; Public Support for planning decisions; Avoidance of protracted conflicts and costly delays; Reservoir of good will which can carry over to future decisions; and Spirit of cooperation and trust between the agency and the public. All of these benefits are important to the Forest Service in its planning efforts, particularly the last three. Recent forest management decisions have led to prolonged court cases and a general lack of trust among many people with respect to the Forest Service. Decision-making Structures In discussing the theory of public participation, it is useful to review broad theories of decision-making structures. They conclude that public decisions are increasingly being influenced by technology. Two broad decision-making structures are defined and analyzed: Technocracy or the technocratic approach is defined as the application of technical knowledge, expertise, techniques, and methods to problem solving. Democracy, as defined by DeSario and Langton, refers to citizen involvement activities in relation to government planning and policy making DeSario and Langton, p. These approaches are described in more detail below. Technocratic Decision Making The technocratic approach to decision-making has historically been applied in most Forest Service decisions. Strong arguments can be made in favor of a technocratic decision approach. A key argument is that trained staff "experts" are best suited to make complex technical decisions. Experts are increasingly becoming a part of our decision-making structures in both the public and private sectors DeSario and Langton, However, Nelkin concluded that scientific and technocratic approaches "not only failed to solve social problems but often contributed to them" Nelkin, The notion that the "cure is often worse than the disease" becomes increasingly important as the technology provides alternative solutions to public policy issues. Techniques and methods applied by experts are most effective when considering technical decisions as opposed to value or mixed, decisions. Kantrowitz identified three separate types of policy decisions: Technical decisions rely on scientific techniques and extrapolations to determine the potential of "what is". Value issues involve normative determinations of "what should be". Although scientific information can provide guidance with respect to value decisions, it is rarely the sole determinant DeSario and Langton, Natural resource management decisions frequently affect social values. The technocratic approach to decision making is difficult to apply successfully to social problems because social goals are often complex, conflicting and unclear DeSario and Langton, p. A growing number of Americans are becoming more skeptical of technology and its experts. One result of this skepticism is a heightened demand for greater citizen participation with respect to technological decisions DeSario and Langton, p. As a result, technological progress will face increased public scrutiny as the deficiencies of technology and experts become more apparent. The integration of the technocratic and democratic approaches, particularly in natural resource management, has led to an

increasing sense of frustration and futility for both the public and the government agencies involved Kaplan and Kaplan, Democratic Decision Making Democratic decision-making, in contrast to bureaucratic or technocratic decision making, is based on the assumption that all who are affected by a given decision have the right to participate in the making of that decision. Participation can be direct in the classical democratic sense, or can be through representatives for their point of view in a pluralist-republican model Kweit and Kweit, p. Public Participation In Rational Policy Making Many "rational" policy decisions are made using the policy analysis process. According to Lang, a decision is rational to the extent that it is shown empirically to match the best available means of achieving a given end Lang, Traditional rational planning and policy analysis processes typically have five or six steps. Patton and Sawicki outline six steps in the policy analysis process: Kweit and Kweit suggest that policy analysis tends concentrate power in the hands of a few experts and that policy analysis is most compatible with bureaucratic decision-making which is "antithetical to citizen participation" Kweit and Kweit, p. Because the policy analysis process relies on specialized techniques, expertise is an inherent component of policy analysis. As such, the role of citizen participation in the traditional policy analysis process is minimized. Citizens often lack technical expertise and can be emotionally involved in issues of concern rather that being detached and rational Kweit and Kweit, p. For a number of reasons, a purely rational decision-making process is difficult. One major limitation inherent in the process is the lack of comprehensive information. However, input from citizen groups outside organizational boundaries can help provide more comprehensive information on all aspects of the policy analysis process. Kweit and Kweit state: In a democracy, it is the public that determines where it wants to go, and the role of its representatives and bureaucratic staff is to get them there. In other works, ends should be chosen democratically even though the means are chosen technocratically Kweit and Kweit, p. The existing policy structure within the agency mandates that targets or the ends , which are tied directly to funding, are set by Congress. This would imply that the ends are chosen democratically. The targets are implemented on the Forest and District level. Thus, traditionally the means are developed and chosen technocratically. Congress, as elected representatives, theoretically represents the public interest in setting targets. Recent issues with respect to forest management i. On its face, this may seem to imply that the Forest Service should apply a purely technocratic decision-making process. However, it is unlikely that a purely technocratic top-down approach will continue to be appropriate given the number and diversity of public interests who have a stake in forest management decisions. Lang, suggests that traditional comprehensive and strategic planning processes are insufficient for current resource management planning and advocates a more interactive approach to planning. An integrated approach to resource planning must provide for interaction with the stakeholders in the search for relevant information, shared values, consensus, and ultimately, proposed action that is both feasible and acceptable Lang, p The emphasis is on data collection and analysis as the means for finding the best solutions to problems and developing a technically sound plan. The implicit assumption is that better information leads to better decisions. Success in conventional planning is measured by the extent to which the objectives of the plan are achieved Lang, p According to Lang, interactive planning is based on the assumption that open, participative processes lead to better decisions. The planner engages directly with stakeholders to gain support, build consensus, identify acceptable solutions, and secure implementation. Success in interactive planning is measured by the extent to which balance can be achieved among competing interests and consensus is reached on appropriate actions Lang, p Table provides a comparison of interactive versus conventional planning. These are organizational, political, and personal Lang, p Lang notes that "multiple perspectives comprise an essential feature of integrated resource planning. This increased level of scrutiny suggests that the agency will be held more accountable for decisions by interested publics. Further, the conflicts inherent in resource management decisions make an interactive approach to planning and decision-making an attractive alternative to the existing decision-making structure. Principles Of Citizen Participation A great deal of literature exists on the subject of citizen participation. A review of this literature indicates there are some commonly accepted principles that can be applied in the development and

implementation of a citizen participation program. Cogan, Sharpe and Hertberg, in the book The Practice of State and Regional Planning provide a concise overview of citizen participation in the planning process So, et al, p. Following is a summary of their discussion. Perceptions of Stakeholders and Planners The perceptions of stakeholders and planners is an important consideration in the development and implementation of any public participation program. Public participation is often a requirement for planners, however, it is always optional for citizens. Citizens choose to participate because they expect a satisfying experience and hope to influence the planning process. These can be intrinsic to the involvement through the very act of participation or instrumental resulting from the opportunity to contribute to public policy. Well-planned citizen involvement programs relate the expectations of both the citizens and the planner. If expectations are different, conflict is probable. The Ladder of Citizen Participation Clearly, citizen participation programs can increase costs and the amount of time a project takes. Further, as discussed above, there is a certain level of risk associated with citizen participation programs. However, Cogan suggests that citizen participation programs can make the planning process and planners more effective by: Reducing isolation of the planner from the public; Generating a spirit of cooperation and trust; Providing opportunities to disseminate information; Identifying additional dimensions of inquiry and research; Assisting in identifying alternative solutions; Providing legitimacy to the planning effort and political credibility of the agency; and Increasing public support. Further, in certain polarized issues an effective public participation program may actually save time and money by insuring that the proposed solution is acceptable to all of the interested stakeholders. Techniques of Citizen Participation There are a variety of techniques available to planners to solicit public input in the planning process. These range from basic open meetings to more sophisticated techniques such as the Delphi and Nominal Group techniques see Appendix B for a more detailed description of these techniques. Cogan states "with few exceptions, a successful public involvement program incorporates several techniques" Cogan, et al. These techniques can be graphically presented as a continuum that ranges from passive involvement to active involvement Figure A Cogan provides the following description of each of the forms of public involvement follows Cogan, et al. They are most effective when combined with feedback mechanisms which inform participants of the extent to which their input has influenced ultimate decisions. When these techniques are effectively utilized, each participant has the opportunity to express his or her views, respond to the ideas of others, and work toward consensus. Not all techniques fit exclusively into one category. For example, a public meeting may provide opportunities for education and interaction. A key point Cogan makes is that the number of citizens who can be involved is inversely related to the level of active involvement. For example, public relations efforts can reach a larger number of citizens, while public partnership limits participation to a few Cogan, et al.

## Chapter 3 : How Racially Diverse Schools and Classrooms Can Benefit All Students

*The Politics of State Higher Education Funding David A. Tandberg The Pennsylvania State University An analysis of the theoretical and empirical connections between state funding for public higher education as a share of the total state general fund budget and various political attributes (e.g., interest groups, political ideology, voter turnout) of the U.S. states is presented in this article.*

This chapter explores the public and political arenas within which the U. This chapter explores ways that key outside forces can interact with components of the education systemâ€"and with nationally developed standards. Publicly supported education is a mainstay of U. Investigating the Influence of Standards: The National Academies Press. Decision making within the education system is, in large part, a political process, involving a number of key players. And, since the s, governors have acquired increasing authority and influence regarding governance of state-level education systems Fuhrman and Elmore, ; Stricherz, Elected leaders and other governmental officials make decisions within the context of the political realities in which they operate. Candidates campaign on education platforms they believe will gain voter approval, and newcomers may be elected by constituents dissatisfied with decisions of previous office holders. Sometimes public officials use their position to influence others and advance particular reforms, as Governor Hunt did in persuading the North Carolina legislature to establish incentives and rewards for teachers seeking NBPTS certification North Carolina Public Schools, Elected officials also listen to constituents, as a Congressional subcommittee did in hearing testimony from mathematics professor David Klein, who objected to the process used by the U. Page 73 Share Cite Suggested Citation: Some influential leaders who view education as the key to a stronger economic future have promoted new accountability initiatives and provided incentives to stimulate improvements in schools. Similarly, corporations and their representatives have become involved in influencing education policy at local, state, and federal levels, in their pursuit of employees who possess the skills and knowledge needed by a productive workforce. Individually and through organizations such as the Business Roundtable, businesses offer advice to elected officials regarding educational policies. Educational concerns may motivate professional organizations, parents, and others to work toward particular goals. For example, education and professional associations and their government relations representatives lobby federal and state lawmakers regarding policy decisions, including financial allocations. Teachers and administrators may use information from national associations to encourage local school officials to limit the sizes of classes assigned to laboratory rooms, select particular textbooks or curricular programs, or increase funding for instructional technology. In particular, concerns regarding equity, stemming from efforts of organized groups, federal legislation, and court orders, may affect decisions about resource allocations, testing accommodations, and curricular offerings. Civil rights groups may lobby state legislators for changes in education funding to ensure that all children have access to high-quality teachers and learning opportunities. Education-related decisions of officeholders and other policy makers are also influenced by media that convey information and shape public perceptions. Those messages played a role in spurring new actions intended to improve U. At the local level, news stories and editorials centering on the lack of textbooks and laboratory facilities in urban schools may heighten public awareness of inequities in the U. Outside Forces Affecting Components Within the Education System In addition to exerting influence through the political system, some businesses, education and professional organizations, and others have acted to influence the education system directly. Major chemical, pharmaceutical, technology, and aerospace firms have invested in science education reform for many yearsâ€"for example, some corporate officials work with educators to help school districts develop and implement local strategic plans to provide inquiry-centered science programs for all students National Science Resources Center, Organizations supported by corporations have also intervened directly. Some informal educational institutions, such as science centers and museums, and some professional societies, such as the American Chemical Society, also create and publish curriculum materials and provide elementary and

secondary teachers with professional development opportunities. If the standards are influencing individuals and groups external to the education system as intended, decisions enacted by elected officials and policy makers would show support for standards-based reforms. Professional associations in the forefront of the development of national standards for mathematics, science, and technology would lead national and local efforts to implement the standards, as well as work with elected officials and leaders to build a consensus in support of institutionalizing standards-based reforms. Page 76 Share Cite Suggested Citation: The public would be informed of standards-based progress and supportive of continuing efforts. Attempts to weaken or dismantle standards-based educationâ€"whether to de-emphasize the place of mathematics, science, or technology in the curriculum; to limit assessment solely to skill development; or to reduce funding for professional development focused on standards-based instructionâ€"would be met with vocal public criticism and opposed by policy makers. On the other hand, standards may generate resistance and opposition by individuals and groups outside the system. Such groups would work to influence views of policy makers or the public at large, affecting decisions and actions within the education system. Opponents would encourage funding or programmatic decisions regarding curriculum, professional development, and accountability practices that inhibit implementation of the nationally developed standards, working to convince legislators, governors, and school boards that the fiscal, resource, or political costs associated with changes urged by the standards are inappropriate. Page 77 Share Cite Suggested Citation:

Chapter 4 : Social and Political Influences on Education and Curriculum by Sarah Whitten on Prezi

*CHAPTER 6 THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF SCHOOL CHOICE: LESSONS LEARNED In his classic study of state politics and policymaking in the South, V. calendrierdelascience.com observed that, ultimately, politics boils down to a fundaÂ-.*

Learn how to gain public support for addressing community health and development issues. What do we mean by gaining public support for addressing community health and development issues? Why do you need public support for addressing these issues? Whose support do you need? When should you try to gain support? How do you gain public support for addressing community health and development issues? Public support is often the crucial factor in bringing about changes in local conditions. For many issues, the weight of public approval plays a large role in community improvements. This section is about how to gain public support in order to ensure that an issue is addressed. Additionally, this section discusses how to get issues onto the public agenda, where policy change occurs. Real public support is more than people understanding the issue , or even than a number of people being willing to show up and be vocal at a rally or public meeting. What are we waiting for? You have to make sure that the community knows the issue exists. You have to educate community members about the issue, and help them understand its importance. Why should you gain public support for addressing community health and development issues? Many initiatives or organizations seem to feel that their cause is so obviously just and logical that people will support it automatically. Public support is important for a number of reasons: Public support lends credibility to your campaign for community change. As Everett Rogers points out, in Diffusion of Innovations, once a certain critical mass of adoption of a new idea is reached, that idea becomes the norm. Once your public support reaches that critical mass, your issue will be, as one perceptive human service provider used to say, "like the fire department. You need support for any action you take. The more public support you have, the more your action seems not only reasonable, but appropriate. Public support means that you can apply more pressure to politicians and officials, and that your pressure is perceived as coming from the mainstream, not from the political fringe. Public support means that the community has taken ownership of the issue, making it more likely not only that it will be dealt with, but that it will continue to be dealt with over the long term. When we refer to "public support," just whose support are we talking about? The ideal, of course, is that of everyone in the community, but there are some particular individuals and groups to aim at. The better you know your community and your issue, the more effectively you can target the people and organizations whose support is important to your effort. On the local level, that translates to a mention by the mayor or city council, or an article in the local newspaper. As Dearing and Rogers illustrate, "In the case of AIDS in the s, President Reagan helped delay the rise of the epidemic on the media agenda simply by ignoring it" So in your work to gain public support, pay special attention to the following: Community leaders and other influential individuals. Clergy, business leaders, people known for service to the community, local sports heroes or media personalities, and citizens with high levels of community credibility all fall into this category. Once you get them on board, many others will follow. The power of the media to further your cause is obvious. If you can enlist some key journalists or media executives , your job will be much easier. People most affected by the issue. They can help you keep the issue in the public eye, and their support will gain you that of their supporters as well. Those who involve themselves in community issues often have a constituency, and know how to make their voices heard. In Diffusion of Innovations, Everett Rogers describes these as people who are among the first to try new things or adopt new ideas, and who influence the opinions of others. The more of these forerunners you can attract, the better. Gaining public support for your issue is an ongoing process, but there are in fact times and circumstances when a push to gain support can be particularly productive. A historic landmark is about to be torn down; the funding for a desperately-needed community health clinic has just been discontinued; the loggers are already starting to clear-cut a patch of virgin forest. Situations like these unfortunately present opportunities for gathering public

support. When homeless people are freezing to death in doorways because there are no shelter beds available, or when the number of AIDS cases skyrockets, people are more willing to endorse efforts to address the issues involved. When the number of people affected by the issue reaches critical mass. At the point where nearly everyone knows, or knows about, someone affected, the public is generally more than ready to champion attempts to deal with the issue. When new information calls attention to the issue. When a publication, or a media story not initiated by you, highlights the issue. A new book or an investigative report can raise public consciousness about your issue, and gain you a larger following. In , The Other America: Harrington brought to the fore an issue that most people had ignored or been unaware of, and changed the political climate to create general acceptance for an anti-poverty campaign. When a crucial event makes your issue more visible. An event that is not directly related to the issue may nonetheless provide an opportunity for building public support. With the formation of the European Union came international workplace and product standards. Some American manufacturers realized that they might not be able to compete in the international marketplace unless they addressed the basic skills of their workers. Adult literacy advocates seized the opportunity to gain backing for workplace education. As a result, many manufacturers formed collaborations with adult literacy organizations or others to provide workplace classes in English as a Second or Other Language ESOL and reading, writing, and math to workers. The classes benefited workers individually, but also benefited employers by creating a workforce that could better understand and maintain safety and product standards, and could be more adaptable and productive. When the political time is right. An approaching election, pressure on politicians or officials to address the issue, or a referendum all might make it a good time to build public support. Achieving that will lead both to officials changing laws and policy, and to individuals changing their behavior to address the issue. Two types of change Most changes in the community require a change in official or unofficial policy; others require individual change; and some require both. A few corporations and developers pay attention to environmental considerations, for instance, because they are genuinely concerned about them, and because they see environmental responsibility as part of their responsibility to the community. In such cases, laws or regulations are needed to safeguard the public and community resources. Quitting smoking, adopting preventive health practices, and making a commitment to buying organic produce are three examples of actions individuals can take that may result in larger changes in the community. Usually, however, it takes both policy change and individual change to create change in the community. But it also needs community policies that make it possible - and, even better, easy - to recycle. A parent who abuses her child has to come to terms with her anger and learn how to relate to the child in more appropriate ways; but there also has to be a legal mechanism to keep the child from being abused until that happens, if it happens. Frame the issue properly. Framing the issue means defining it and its context. You want to cast the issue in a light that will make the largest number of people willing to support it. Frame the issue as mainstream, not extreme or radical, and define it clearly. Political battles about issues are often over the framing of them. Michael Dukakis lost the U. Presidential election at least in part because he allowed his opponent to define the major issue of the campaign as one of Liberal vs. Conservative, and to define Liberal as "wanting bigger taxes, soft on crime, and with no respect for the middle class and its values. Whether or not they use corporal punishment on their own children, they may consider the "any hitting is abuse" stance too extreme to accept. While you should never make unsupported claims, there are exceptions to the other half of this rule. Many individuals and communities find it "common sense" that sex education in the schools gives teens permission to be sexually active. In reality, study after study shows that sex education almost always reduces the level of teen sexual activity, as well as increasing safe sex practices and reducing teen pregnancy. Studies have also shown that "just say no" campaigns against teen sex and drugs are almost totally ineffective. Where possible, emphasize common ground and universal or near-universal values. The list of potential spokespersons is long, and similar to that of those whose support your need, given earlier, with a few additions: Clergy and other faith community leaders Business leaders Activists Local entertainment and sports figures Respected community members. These can include people who have no official position, but who are known for their

wisdom, dedication to community service, or other good attributes. Elected or appointed officials who are generally believed to put the public good before their own advancement. Opinion leaders Those affected by the issue, either directly victims of youth violence or indirectly emergency room physicians who treat victims of youth violence. Recognized authorities on the issue - researchers, academics, professionals, etc. Make common cause with other groups. Try to draw in other groups that share your concerns about the issue, or that can be convinced that they should. Communities of faith and clergy associations. Neighborhood organizations and other grassroots groups. Agencies or initiatives with purposes or goals similar to yours. Professional organizations concerned with the issue. Always do your homework, and be able to counter arguments against your effort. Is some of your thinking inaccurate? Take advantage of opportunities. When those events that we discussed above in "When should you try to gain support? Point out how they demonstrate the need to address the issue. Employ your knowledge and status as an expert to show people what could be done to change the situation.

## Chapter 5 : Project MUSE - The Political Dynamics of Higher Education Policy

*likely to support a version of the current U.S. system of public, private non-profit, and private for-profit universities. 2 In this case, public fund- ing would be coupled with private sources of support for students.*

It gives me great pleasure to have this opportunity to address this distinguished audience and I thank Justice Akanbi and the Mustapha Akanbi Foundation for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts with you on this important topic 1. When I was approached to deliver this talk, I readily agreed for three important reasons. Firstly, to honour Honourable Justice Mustapha Akanbi, a distinguished jurist, and an outstanding public servant who has served this country well as a classroom teacher, judge and the Chair of ICPC. As I intend to argue in my presentation, nations are built by exemplary men and women and sustained by institutions that promote good governance and thus socio-economic development. Justice Akanbi is a shining example of one such a person and he was a pioneer head of a sensitive public institution. My most important reason, however, for accepting this invitation has to do with the subject matter for discussion. We need to reflect on our journey so far, so we can do better in the future and leave a better legacy for posterity II. Nations are an important part of modern society. If we go back into history, we see that the world used to be divided into empires and kingdoms. In the modern period, however, nations or nation states have replaced empires as the basic unit of human political organization. I myself have had the privilege of close association with the United Nations, an organization set up to ensure the peaceful coexistence and the social economic development of the worlds numerous nations. As an integral part of the modern world, therefore, Nigerians are rightly concerned about nation-building. Nation-building is therefore the product of conscious statecraft, not happenstance. Nation-building is always a work-in-progress; a dynamic process in constant need of nurturing and re-invention. Nation-building never stops and true nation-builder never rest because all nations are constantly facing up to new challenges. Nation-building has many important aspects. Firstly, it is about building a political entity which corresponds to a given territory, based on some generally accepted rules, norms, and principles, and a common citizenship. Secondly, it is also about building institutions which symbolize the political entity â€" institutions such as a bureaucracy, an economy, the judiciary, universities, a civil service, and civil society organizations. Above all else, however, nation-building is about building a common sense of purpose, a sense of shared destiny, a collective imagination of belonging. Nation-building is therefore about building the tangible and intangible threads that hold a political entity together and gives it a sense of purpose. Even in these days of globalization and rapid international flows of people and ideas, having a viable nation remains synonymous with achieving modernity. It is about building the institutions and values which sustain the collective community in these modern times. I shall return to the imperatives of institution-building later in this presentation. This is an ascriptive perspective. We are seen as giants not necessarily because of the quality of our national institutions and values, but simply by virtue of our large population and oil wealth. But in reality, the greatness of a nation has to be earned and is not determined just by the size of its population or the abundance of its natural resources. China and India have the largest populations in the world, but they are only now rising as important global players. On the other hand, Japan has few natural resources, but has long managed to turn itself into a global economic powerhouse. Not even the possession of the nuclear bomb is enough to make a nation great without reference to the industriousness and creativity of its citizens. Since the time of Adam Smith, every serious nationalist and politician has come to know that the wealth of a nation is not based on the wealth and opulence of its rulers, but on the productivity and industriousness of its citizenry. The real question is why has the task of nation-building been so difficult in Nigeria, and the fruits so patchy, despite our enormous human and natural resources? I suggest that we should look for the answer in three critical areas: We need to understand the environment for nation-building in Nigeria, so we can clearly identify our strengths, weaknesses, and core challenges. We also need to evolve a system of leadership selection and accountability which produces the sort of leaders that will confront the challenges of the

environment in a way that is beneficial for nation-building. As I have argued at the beginning, nations are a product of the human will and imagination and the institutions that sustain their collective efforts. Challenges before Nigerian Nation-building: Nigeria faces five main nation-building challenges: In our quest for nation-building, we have recorded some successes, such as keeping the country together in the face of many challenges. But these challenges continue to keep us from achieving our full potential. It is to these challenges that I devote the rest of my presentation. The Challenge of History The historical legacies of colonial rule create some challenges for nation-building in Nigeria. Colonial rule divided Nigeria into North and South with different land tenure systems, local government administration, educational systems, and judicial systems. While large British colonies like India and the Sudan had a single administrative system, Nigeria had two, one for the North and one for the South. It was almost as if these were two separate countries, held together only by a shared currency and transportation system. Many members of the Nigerian elite class in the s and s had their education and world outlook moulded by the regional institutions. Some had little or no understanding of their neighbouring regions. Under these conditions, it was easy for prejudice and fear to thrive. During the period of the decolonization struggle, Nigerian nationalists from different regions fought each other as much as they fought the British colonialists. Instead, each region threw up its own champions. From this historical legacy, therefore, regionalism has been a major challenge to nation-building in Nigeria. To their credit, however, the founding fathers of our nation tried to deal with this challenge by adopting federalism and advocating a policy of unity-in-diversity. Unfortunately, the lack of consolidation of Nigerian federalism around commonly shared values and positions means that this challenge of divisive historical legacy continues to undermine our efforts at nation-building. This division has been a source of domestic tension and undermined our efforts at creating a common nationhood. While we should learn from history so as not to repeat its mistakes, we must never see ourselves simmply as victims of our history; it is our responsibility to overcome the challenges posed by our history. The Challenge of Socio-Economic Inequalities An important aspect of nation-building is the building of a common citizenship. But how can we have a common citizenship when the person in Ilorin has a radically different quality of life from the person in Yenagoa? Or when the woman in Gusau is more likely to die in childbirth than the woman in Ibadan? Through the development of the economy and equal opportunities for all, or through the development of social welfare safety nets, mature nations try to establish a base-line of social and economic rights which all members of the national community must enjoy. Not to enjoy these socio-economic rights means that the people involved are marginalized from national life. In Nigeria, however, not only are many of our citizens denied basic rights such as the right to education and health, there is also serious variation in the enjoyment of these rights across the country. As a consequence, the citizen is not motivated to support the state and society, because he or she does not feel that the society is adequately concerned about their welfare. Secondly socio-economic inequalities across the country fuels fears and suspicious which keep our people divided. Let me draw your attention to some of these socio-economic inequalities. If we take the level of immunization of children against dangerous childhood diseases, we note that while the South-East has  Firstly, high levels of socio-economic inequalities mean that different Nigerians live different lives in different parts of the country. Your chances of surviving child-birth, of surviving childhood, of receiving education and skills, all vary across the country. If different parts of Nigeria were separate countries, some parts will be middle income countries, while others will be poorer than the poorest countries in the world! A common nationhood cannot be achieved while citizens are living such parallel lives. Inequalities are a threat to a common citizenship. Secondly, even in those parts of the country that are relatively better off, the level of social provision and protection is still low by world standards. We therefore need a Social Contract between the people on the one hand, and the state and nation on the other. The state and nation must put meeting the needs of the disadvantaged as a key objective of public policy. Such an approach can make possible a common experience of life by Nigerians living in different parts of the country and elicit their commitment to the nation. Instead of resorting to the divisive politics of indigene against settler as a means of accessing resources, a generalized commitment to social citizenship will create a

civic structure of rights that will unite people around shared rights and goals. A largely marginalized citizenry, increasingly crippled by poverty and the lack of basic needs, can hardly be expected to play its proper role in the development of the nation. Nations are built by healthy and skilled citizens. On grounds of both equity and efficiency, we need to promote the access of the bulk of the Nigerian population to basic education, health, and housing. Nigeria needs a social contract with its citizens as a basis for demanding their loyalty and support. The Constitutional Challenge Since its independence, the country has been facing the challenge of crafting a constitutional arrangement that has the backing of an overwhelming majority of Nigerians. In the s and s, our founding fathers battled with this problem. In the end, they arrived at the principle of federalism as a foundation for our nation. But federalism has faced stiff challenges over the years from those wanting a unitary form of government on the one hand, and from those wanting a confederal arrangement, on the other. To my mind, the worst enemies of Nigerian federalism are those who speak of federalism, but act in a unitary fashion by brushing aside all the divisions of powers between different levels of our federation. Related to the problem of federalism is the question of fiscal federalism. What is the appropriate and just basis for sharing revenue? Should the federal government have the right to deduct monies due to states without their permission? Should state governments continue to control local government allocations? These are all fundamental principles on which we have no clear consensus. While we all agree that Nigeria must be a federation, we have no clear consensus on the nature of that federation, on whether we should have territorially defined states or ethnically defined states as some are demanding. We also do not have a consensus on the number of states or federating units we should have. While some are satisfied with the current 36 states, others are calling for more states for their own groups. On the other hand, yet others are arguing that the number of states should be reduced to 6. Here again, there is little by way of consensus. Another constitutional challenge relates to the nature of our democracy. While most Nigerians support the principles of democracy such as the forming of government based on the will of the majority, respect for the rule of law, and respect for basic freedoms of citizens, the fact remains that in practice, we have tended to have either military rule or defective civilian governments. Either in terms of accountability, or respect for the rule of law, or the holding of elections, our conduct in the recent past has been far from democratic. Therefore, while most of us now agree that we do not want military rule, our visions and practice of democracy are not uniform, showing a fundamental lack of consensus on this important question as well. Moreover, our political parties should need to become little more than vehicles to deliver power to the highest bidders at local, state and federal levels. A third and final area of constitutional challenge which I want to share with you is about the principles for sharing power at the different levels of government.

*Despite the growing demand for higher education in the United States, there has been a steady decrease in public financial support as a share of states' income, as a policy priority, and as a share of overall institutional costs (Toutkoushian, ).*

Download While there are a handful of studies that challenge the link between school desegregation policy and positive academic outcomes, they represent only a small slice of the literature. Furthermore, these positive academic outcomes, particularly the closing of the achievement gap, make sense given that integrating schools leads to more equitable access to important resources such as structural facilities, highly qualified teachers, challenging courses, private and public funding, and social and cultural capital. The gap in SAT scores between black and white students is larger in segregated districts, and one study showed that change from complete segregation to complete integration in a district would reduce as much as one quarter of the SAT score disparity. This can be largely connected to an overall improved school climate in racially integrated schools. There has been no distinction drawn as to how different student outcomes were related to the various ways in which students experienced desegregation in their schools and communities. Thus, the degree to which all students were treated equally or had teachers with high expectations for them was not a factor, despite the impact of such factors on student achievement data. Further, this early literature failed to calculate the prevalence of segregation within individual schools via tracking, or the extent to which black and white students were exposed to the same curriculum. A growing body of research suggests that the benefits of Kâ€"12 school diversity indeed flow in all directionsâ€"to white and middle-class students as well as to minority and low-income pupils. For instance, we know that diverse classrooms, in which students learn cooperatively alongside those whose perspectives and backgrounds are different from their own, are beneficial to all students, including middle-class white students, because they promote creativity, motivation, deeper learning, critical thinking, and problem-solving skills. It allows for positive academic outcomes for all students exposed to these diverse viewpoints. For instance, evidence on how the persistence of implicit bias toward members of minority racial groups can interfere with the educational process by disrupting cognitive functioning for members of both the majority and minority could certainly apply to elementary and secondary students as well. In short, the better overall learning outcomes that take place in diverse classroomsâ€"for example, critical thinking, perspective-takingâ€"would no doubt apply in high schools as well. It showed that while racial segregation and isolation can perpetuate racial fear, prejudice, and stereotypes, intergroup contact and critical cross-racial dialogue can help to ameliorate these problems. Still, as with the higher education research, we need to more fully explore not only the what of Kâ€"12 school diversity, but also the howâ€"how do elementary and secondary school educators create classrooms that facilitate the development of these educational benefits of diversity for all students? To answer this critical question, we need to look at yet another body of Kâ€"12 research from the desegregation era and beyond. How Public Schools Can Help Foster the Educational Benefit of Diversity Perhaps the ultimate irony of the current lack of focus on the educational benefits of diversity within racially and ethnically diverse public schools is that prior to the rise of the accountability movement in Kâ€"12 education, there had been an intentional focus on multicultural education that explored curricular improvements and teaching issues within racially diverse schools. They raised important issues about how school desegregation policies should be implemented to create successful desegregated schools. This research was also methodologically distinctâ€"consisting mainly of qualitative, in-depth case studies that focused on the process of school desegregation and the context in which it unfolded. Public schools, therefore, are the natural setting in which such contact can occur. Few other institutions have the potential to bring students together across racial, ethnic, and social class lines to facilitate active learning to reduce prejudice. They tend to be inconclusive , because they imply a relationship between the particular conditions established within racially mixed schools and the ways in which children come to see themselves

vis-a-vis students of other racial groups. Tracking and ability grouping in desegregated schools often perpetuated within-school segregation across race and class lines. Again, identified as second-generation desegregation issues, this was starting to be addressed in schools across the country and drawing more attention from researchers by the s and early s. That came from yet another body of related work in the area of multicultural education. Multicultural Education and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy: Critical work on the democratic goals of education echoes not only the concept of multicultural education, but also issues of democracy and pedagogy on racially diverse college campuses. Research documents positive academic outcomes for students exposed to these diverse viewpoints. While CRP does focus on the importance of culture in schooling, it always focuses directly on race, in part, perhaps, because it is so often adapted in all-black, one-race schools and classrooms. Another critique of CRP is that its more recent application is far from what was theorized early at its inception. In fact, some scholars have advocated for different pedagogical models since the inception of CRP that seek to address social and cultural factors in classrooms. Many of these models focus on the home-to-school connection as CRP does, while others expand on the application of even earlier concepts of critical pedagogy aimed at promoting concepts such as civic consciousness and identity formation. The next step in utilizing these more culturally based understandings of schools and curricula is to apply this thinking to diverse schools and classrooms more specifically. Educators in schools across the countryâ€"some isolated in single classrooms and some working on a school-wide set of pedagogical reformsâ€"are starting to grapple with these issues in racially and ethnically diverse classrooms. But as we highlight in Figure 1, there are several reasons why issues related to the educational benefits of diversity appear to have fallen off the Kâ€"12 research radar screen in the last twenty-five years. This includes, most notably, a highly fragmented and segregated Kâ€"12 educational system of entrenched between-district segregation that cannot be easily addressed after Milliken v. Meanwhile, this fragmented and segregated educational system is governed by accountability and legal mandates that give no credence to the educational benefits of learning in diverse contexts. As noted above, several areas of research on the sociocultural issues related to teaching students of different racial and ethnic backgrounds that could help inform our understanding of the pedagogical approaches that foster educational benefits of diversity in the Kâ€"12 system are disconnected, often designed to address the needs of students in the racially segregated school system they attend. In this section, we highlight the demographic, educational, and political forces that we think may have the potential to shift the system in that direction. Even more notably, this transition is happening much more quickly amid our younger population. Rapid growth in the Hispanic and Asian populations, coupled with a black population that has remained constant and a decline in the percentage of whites, has led to a total Kâ€"12 enrollment of 49 percent white, 26 percent Hispanic, 15 percent black; and 5 percent Asian for the â€"15 school year. Download Coinciding with the changing racial makeup of the country and our public schools is a profound shift in who lives where. In many contexts, our post-World War II paradigm of all-white suburbs and cities as the places where blacks and Hispanics live has been turned on its head. Black suburbanization rates were even lowerâ€"about 12â€"15 percentâ€"in the Northeast. Beginning slowly in the s and increasing in the s and s, when federal policies and regulations or lack thereof promoted home ownership among moderate-income families, growing numbers of black, Latino, and Asian families were moving to suburbs such as Ferguson, Missouri see Figure 5. By , nearly 40 percent of blacks were living in the suburbs. Suburbanization has also increased among immigrant familiesâ€"mostly Latino and Asianâ€"and by , 48 percent of immigrants were residing in suburban areas. Download In the s, journalists and researchers were increasingly reporting on the growing number of distressed suburbs that were coming to resemble poor inner-city communities. But the author was quick to note that declining suburban neighborhoods did not begin with the mortgage crisis, and they would not end with it as more people with high incomes move into the cities. The percentage of whites in Manhattan increased 28 percent between and , while it declined in nearby suburban Nassau County. During the same six-year period, the Hispanic population declined by 2 percent in Manhattan, but increased by 20 percent in Nassau. In fact, today, in the fifty-largest

metropolitan areas, 44 percent of residents live in racially and ethnically diverse suburbs, defined as between 20 and 60 percent non-white. Indeed, it is increasingly clear that contemporary urban and suburban communities each contain pockets of both poverty and affluence, often functioning as racially and ethnically distinct spaces. In fact, by , one million more poor people lived in suburban compared to urban area s. In Brooklyn, New York, for instance, a growing number of communities that were, only ten years ago, almost entirely minority and low-income are now becoming or have already become predominantly white and affluent. Ironically, in in-depth interviews we are conducting, white gentrifiers state that one reason they moved into the city was to live in neighborhoods more diverse than the homogeneous suburbs where many grew up. Similarly, they note that they want their children to attend public schools with other children of different backgrounds. There is much hard work to be done at the school level to assure that all students enrolled have the opportunity to achieve to high levels. In public schools with a growing population of more affluent students, educators often seek assistance in meeting the needs of a wide range of students. In the last decade, a small but growing body of literature has documented the impact of urban gentrification on the enrollment and culture in public schools. There is also an emerging focus on the impact of changing demographics on suburban public schools. In other suburbs, further from the New York City boundary, the white, non-Hispanic population has stabilized at about 50 percent. In both contexts, educators and students are grappling with racial, ethnic, and cultural differences that many of them had not encountered before. When we think of education policies and practices to support and sustain the increasingly diverse public schools in both urban and suburban contexts, it is clear that Kâ€"12 educators and educational researchers have much to learn from the higher education research on the educational benefits of diversity in efforts to both close racial and socioeconomic achievement gaps while helping all students succeed. And just as fair-housing advocacy has increasingly prioritized the stabilization and sustainability of diverse communities, education policy needs to follow suit. Unfortunately, too few policy makers see the need for such programs, even as a growing number of educators in diverse schools are clamoring for help to close those gaps and teach diverse groups of students. The current mismatch between the policies and the needs of an increasingly racially and ethnically diverse society inspire us to fill the void with compelling success stories of public schools working toward a greater public good.