GLOBAL TEACHING

Southern Perspectives on Teachers Working with Diversity

Edited by
CAROL REID & JAE MAJOR

Education Dialogues with/in the Global South

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Carol Reid • Jae Major
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Global Teaching

Southern Perspectives on Teachers Working with Diversity

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Books by Carol Reid

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CHAPTER 1

Introducing Global Teaching and Southern Perspectives

Carol Reid and Jae Major

Introduction

At a time when social, cultural and linguistic diversity have become a characteristic of education systems around the world, and with the need to attend to the super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) within and in front of classrooms, it is timely to consider how education and educators are responding to these developments in the context of increased mobilities within and across national boundaries. Critically, at this moment in time, we are witnessing the movement of large numbers of people; in particular refugees dispossessed by violence and increasing economic uncertainty. While the need to rethink the frameworks we have used for working with diversity is increasingly urgent, this issue has always been with us, especially for those in the "new world" where Indigenous populations have been colonized. Large swathes of the planet have been subjected to waves of physical and symbolic violence in the name of capital accumulation and notions of progress. Education was often the vehicle through which this

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was achieved because although it brought knowledge, it also attempted to erase knowledge. But unlike previous centuries, we now have a different set of conditions shaping our lives. Technoscapes, mediascapes, ideoscapes, ethnoscapes and finanscapes (Appadurai 1996) are transforming our lives so that the "national container", or what has been called methodological nationalism (Chernilo 2006), framing our analysis and practice is also be transformed. This presents opportunities for knowledge exchange.

However, while diversity, in all its forms, has become ubiquitous in schooling populations, teaching populations around the world remain largely representative of the cultural and linguistic majority although this is also slowly changing due to the mobility of teachers as part of migration and the ever-growing English language market (Reid, Collins and Singh 2014; Stanley 2012). The fact that teaching populations and their knowledge represent majoritarian positions is because, despite increasing diversity, responses are constrained by multiple tensions, contradictions and paradoxes due to the pervasive and hegemonic influence of globalization (e.g., the homogenization of knowledge and pedagogies, the international assessment and ranking regimes) and neoliberalism that have colonized education systems around the world and drive policy and practice in ways that tend to reproduce inherent inequities. The challenge for education systems is to find a new language, new practices and new theories for teachers and teacher educators to engage with the challenges and opportunities that emerge.

Whilst diversity covers a range of elements—culture, language, ability, race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, socio-economic status—in this book we focus on cultural, race/ethnic and linguistic diversity specifically. In what follows, we outline broad trends in educational responses to cultural and linguistic diversity, before discussing Southern Theory and its applications for education and teacher education in relation to diversity and difference. From this framework we then outline the chapters in the book and discuss the kinds of conversations that we see emerging from the chapters.

Responses to Diversity

Responses to cultural and linguistic diversity in education systems internationally have varied in scope, focus and name. Referred to variously as multicultural education, anti-bias and anti-racist education, critical multiculturalism, and more recently culturally responsive/relevant pedagogies and intercultural education, the shifts reflect changing theory and geopolitical context. In the

European context, Aman (2015a) describes the rise of interculturality and intercultural education in the European Union as a rejection of multiculturalism. He suggests that multiculturalism has come to mean different things in different socio-political contexts and, thus, has become "an empty signifier, a conceptual void" (Aman 2015a, 152) with too many meanings to be useful. Critiques of multiculturalism target its focus on culture as a static identity to be preserved in tolerant pluralist societies. The move to the term "intercultural" is an attempt to take account of the notion that "cultures are endlessly evolving in a society, with the potential to be exchanged and modified" (153). Throughout the European Union, intercultural education has become part of the curriculum in both schooling and higher education, and is framed "as what both *we* and *they* need to know in order to eradicate the borders between *us*" (Aman 2015b, 521). According to UNESCO (2006, 37),

> intercultural education provides all learners with cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills that enable them to contribute to respect, understanding and solidarity among individuals, ethnic, social, cultural and religious groups and nations.

In other words, intercultural education will develop "the skills and knowledge to bridge otherness". (Aman 2015b, 521)

In North America, multiculturalism has developed into culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay 2013; Villegas 1991; Villegas and Lucas 2002, 2007) and culturally relevant teaching (Ladson-Billings 1995; 2014). Since their introduction, these two terms have become widespread across the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Foundational to both are notions of cultural competence and developing critical consciousness in order to "challenge the status quo of the current social order" (Ladson-Billings 1995, 160). Villegas and Lucas (2002) identify six characteristics of culturally responsive teachers. Such teachers understand how learners construct knowledge, learn about their students' lives, are socio-culturally conscious, hold affirming views about diversity, advocate for all students and use appropriate instructional strategies. Culturally responsive/relevant teaching is an attempt to move teaching and learning away from deficit thinking and teaching practices that persist amongst majority culture teachers working with culturally and linguistically diverse students. It has a well-developed theoretical framework grounded in teacher knowledge about students' cultures that informs pedagogical practices that promote

knowing about culture to achieve a "closer fit between students' home cultures and the culture of the school" (Brown 2007, 57). It is an approach that has been taken up in the multicultural nations of Canada, the USA, Australia and New Zealand, and as can be seen in the chapters in this volume, has been further developed for Indigenous and urban contexts.

One of the challenges of both intercultural education and culturally responsive pedagogies is that neither approach can escape the traditions from which they arise—Western enlightenment thought and epistemologies, including constructivist pedagogical paradigms. They are from and of 'the North' despite their social justice goals of achieving empowering and liberating educational outcomes for communities of 'the South'. The tensions and contradictions that arise as a result are part of a conversation that we see the chapters in this book contributing to.

Southern Theory

The series, in which this book is located, draws on Connell's (2007) *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science* to contribute to the reimagining of education. This edited collection speaks to the series through teaching, in a range of contexts and nations, that all share in some sense a "southern perspective". Connell argues that social science, in particular sociology, was developed through and in specific relations of power and therefore that the systems of knowledge that emerged explained particular views of the world. This was no more evident than "in the contrast between metropolitan and colonized societies" (2007, 10) and is one of the reasons that in this collection it was considered important to have a dialogue with Indigenous analyses of how these kinds of philosophies shape education.

Why not postcolonial or anti-colonial theory? There is some tension here because in many ways postcolonial theorists have been critical to deconstructing the ongoing impact of colonization on Indigenous peoples and the continuing impact on racialized groups within nation states (Asher 2009, Hickling-Hudson et al. 2004). The recognition of subjugated knowledges was an important retort to colonizers who constructed the colonized as child-like or lacking any knowledge system at all. However, Connell has argued, drawing on Hountondji (2002, 1997 [1994]), that just opposing Western knowledge systems can lead to a focus on stereotypical claims to traditional knowledge. Discussing Hountondji's rejection of ethnophilosophy and ethnoscience, which emerged in different places in Africa from around the 1930s and continued into the 1980s,

Connell says he argued that this kind of approach reproduced the colonial gaze. Paraphrasing Hountondji, Connell writes:

> What was needed … was a realistic approach to local knowledges that allowed them to be seen in relation to other knowledges, criticised and reappropriated in forms relevant to the development of African societies.

In a similar vein, Dabashi (2015) calls for moving beyond postcolonialism, arguing that it is important not to fetishize any particular period or episode because in the colonial and imperial languages are the seeds of resistance and defiance. He argues that just as we do not see jazz as a distorted Beethoven, we ought not to read all knowledge back into our own language, but ought to encounter them in their own idiomaticities.

The "South" or "southern" perspective is therefore not just a matter of geography, although clearly the northern hemisphere dominates. For Connell, the South can be in the North and the North can also be the South. Australia, Canada and New Zealand are southern nations compared to the powerful countries in Europe, the UK, and the USA, but they are the North relative to their Indigenous populations within. Connell (2007, 231) suggests a multi-centred social science to enable mutual learning while Dabashi (Shackle 2015) argues for epistemic and philosophical heteroglossia.

Southern theory does not directly address teachers' work in education but the sociology of knowledge is of course central. There is a growing body of work seeking to make links, and scholars in the postcolonial field are among those. Hickling-Hudson (2009) has a focus on the connections Connell makes to marginalized knowledges and argues that the failure of ethnophilosophy and ethnoscience was due to internal divisions. In her paper, there is clear support for anti-colonial struggles and a continued deconstruction of the colonial imprint. These different readings of Connell's work are part of the dialogue with which this book engages.

Overview of the Book

From a southern theory perspective, the "global North" (or metropole) continues to produce knowledge, theory and methodologies that the "South" (or periphery) is expected to take up and apply (Connell 2014, 211). It is in this fluid and contested space that this edited collection is positioned as it draws together the work of scholars from a range of urban, rural and national contexts from the global South and North, who

are interested in engaging in dialogue about diversity in response to and preparation for these conditions. The chapters focus on the macro level dynamics (policy, theory, global governance) as well as meso (institutional practices) and micro dimensions (professional identities, cultural, and identity transformation). The authors explore these dynamics and dimensions through mobilities of teachers, cosmopolitan theory, Indigenous education, language ecology, professional standards policy discourses and critical analyses of frameworks, including anti-racism, multiculturalism and culturally responsive and relevant pedagogical approaches.

The chapters in this book can be understood as opening a conversation about relationships between the "global North" and "global South" in the context of education and teacher education. They do this by representing a range of theoretical standpoints in relation to the North and the South, and suggesting directions and developments in education and teacher education in diverse spaces. The authors take differing approaches to acknowledging southern perspectives. Some discuss from the point of view of transformation through cosmopolitanism, southern theory and a community-referenced approach, while others use critical race theory and readings of knowledge through the lens of post and anti-colonialism. These differing approaches reveal the complexities of the discourses used in education to examine issues of equity and diversity.

We have arranged the chapters into three parts that create clusters of related approaches, interests and ideas. These are outlined below.

Part One includes authors located in the global North-Canada, the Netherlands and Scotland—but who have strong connections to the 'South' in their research and writing through what could be described as a focus on the "South within the North". By this we mean that these authors are concerned with minority and marginalized language and cultural groups located within nations of the global North and the ways these groups continue to be disadvantaged, devalued and disenfranchised within education systems, despite policies and programs designed to address and ameliorate their disadvantage.

In Chap. 2—*Whither Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Education in the Netherlands?*—Yvonne Leeman plots changes in education policy in the Netherlands which have occurred in response to changing international politics, security and social concerns in the European context. In particular, the chapter describes the move from intercultural education in the Netherlands' curriculum to global citizenship. Based on the experiences of four schools in a project to design citizenship learning activities

for diverse student populations, Leeman concludes that the reluctance of school leaders to engage with contentious or difficult knowledges and issues meant that citizenship education became narrowly framed and operationalized. Attempts to incorporate the experiences of minority 'southern' students in the curriculum were limited, and Leeman sees little hope of long-term change or widespread benefit from a global citizenship approach to issues of diversity and equity.

Moving from Northern Europe to North America, Carl James in Chap. 3—*Marginalized Students in Urban Canada*—also traces policy developments in education, as influenced by changing theoretical and ideological positions from the 1970s. He describes the development from multiculturalism, with its message of inclusion and tolerance which led to the tokenism of multicultural days and African History Month, to anti-racism, to critical race theory and most recently to culturally responsive pedagogies. Building on this last position, James offers a further model specifically for urban contexts which promotes a process of community engagement by schools. The community-referenced approach to education (CRAE) ensures that schooling is based on and responsive to the cultures and lived realities of students, and is driven by the community itself. The aim is to achieve an education which "pushes back against the neoliberal tendency and the marginalization and racialization of individuals" this volume, xx by promoting identity and relations of power as part of a critically informed curriculum.

In Chap. 4—*Learning to be a Culturally Responsive Teacher in the Global North*—Ninetta Santoro considers culturally responsive teaching as part of teacher preparation. She insists that culturally responsive teachers must engage with understandings not only about the 'other' but also about the 'self'. That is, student teachers need to know their own values, beliefs and epistemologies and understand "the socio-cultural discourses in which they, as individuals and members of a professional collective, are embedded" this volume, xx. Santoro recommends a teacher education curriculum embedded in critical approaches to develop the reflexivity needed to achieve these understandings. She also promotes the need for research that investigates the experiences of teachers and teacher educators from the global south, in education contexts located geographically and/or epistemologically in the global North.

Part Two takes up this challenge with authors who bring an Indigenous, and inherently "southern", perspective to issues of teacher education—for both majority culture teachers and Indigenous and minority culture

teachers. Sereana Naepi, Sharon Stein, Cash Ahenakew and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti use Chap. 5—*A Cartography of Higher Education Attempts at Inclusion and Insights from Pasifika Scholarship*—to challenge the Eurocentric epistemologies of higher education and the reproduction of whiteness through diversity and integration processes. They critique the continued marginalization of perspectives other than those of "the North" and use social cartography to suggest that those working in higher education interrogate their own positioning and ask hard questions about ongoing systemic institutional racism with the aim of fundamentally changing practices at all levels. They suggest that rather than considering diversity as a layer or element that is added or "allowed' by the dominant majority, there needs to be a recognition that higher education (and indeed society in general) is already and always diverse. This chapter suggests ways to decentre northern epistemologies, ontologies, practices and processes, and to incorporate southern knowledges and ontologies into the academy in more than tokenistic ways.

Chapter 6—*Culturally Responsive Practice for Indigenous Contexts: Provenance to Potential* by Letitia Fickel, Angus Macfarlane and Sonja Macfarlane—revisits the notion and approach of culturally responsive pedagogies. The ongoing issue of poor performance and inequitable experiences of education for Indigenous young people is the core focus as the authors interrogate culturally responsive practices (CRP) as a "pedagogical framework for creating positive learning contexts" to overcome the inequities that continue in many education systems. They identify teacher cultural competence as central to the uptake of CRP. The authors suggest that in order for CRP to be effective for Indigenous contexts, it needs to take account of five constructs of particular importance for Indigenous peoples: sovereignty and self-determination, colonization, racism and white supremacy, cultural and language revitalization/preservation, and Indigenous epistemologies. Using examples from Alaska and Aotearoa New Zealand, to illustrate, the authors discuss how CRP might look if these constructs were incorporated. They conclude with a model to develop cultural competence amongst teachers that takes account of the particular characteristics of Indigenous contexts.

Chapter 7—*Cosmopolitan Theory and Aboriginal Teachers' Professional Identities* by Carol Reid and Donna-Maree Stephens—is located in Australia and uses cosmopolitan theory to explore professional identities of Aboriginal teachers. A key platform in this chapter is the rejection of cultural essentialism of Indigenous peoples, and a recognition

that Australian Aboriginals, through long-established practices of trade, intermarriage and, more recently, colonization, are bicultural and frequently multilingual. Rather than seeing Aboriginal peoples as victims of cultural loss, a cosmopolitan analysis allows the process of intercultural contact to be seen as a transformative process. The authors argue that Aboriginal teachers can be seen as cosmopolitan workers, who work with multiple epistemologies and inhabit Aboriginal hybrid identities. This means that they have much to offer education in the twenty-first century in terms of engagement with new forms of knowledge and connections to place and people. They are an example of existing practical stances of vernacular cosmopolitanism.

In Chap. 8—*Trilingual Education in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region: Challenges and Threats or Mongolian identity*—Yayuan Yi and Bob Adamson describe the attempts of three schools in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous region (IMAR) of the People's Republic of China to facilitate trilingual education. The teaching and place of Mongolian, Chinese and English in each school and its community is discussed using models developed by Adamson and Feng (2015). Of particular interest is the place of Mongolian (as a minority language) in each location and its changing position in each school as a subject of study and medium of instruction. While education policy supports minority languages, the lack of adequate resourcing, increased migration of Han Chinese into IMAR, and changing cultural and linguistic landscapes in each location create challenges for the long-term ecology of minority group languages such as Mongolian.

Part Three chapters explore ways in which teachers positioned as "from the North" engage with the South through international teaching experiences. Both the chapters in this section come from Australia, which can be understood as both North and South. Through processes of colonization, Australia's major institutions and systems are based on and reflect northern ontologies, epistemologies and ideologies, even though it is still frequently treated as peripheral by those from northern institutions. Teachers in Australia, as in many parts of the Western world, are largely representative of the White, middle-class, monocultural majority, and as such they may be seen as embedded in "northern" ways of knowing, doing and being.

Chapter 9 takes up these ideas with a postcolonial analysis and critique by the authors of *Preparing Teachers through International Experiences: A Collaborative Critical Analysis of Four Australian Programs.* John Buchanan, Jae Major, Lesley Harbon and Sean Kearney begin from

a position of acknowledging the need to ensure that international experiences, which often are conducted by institutions located epistemologically and pedagogically in the "global North" in contexts and locations in the "global South", do not simply reinforce stereotypes and deficit theorizing. In order to achieve this, the authors describe characteristics that they conclude are important for international experiences to be effective in developing intercultural competence amongst pre-service teachers.

In Chap. 10—*Beyond 'Little Miss International': Exploring the Imaginaries of Mobile Educators*—Ruth Arber and Penelope Pitt also explore the experiences of teachers in international contexts. The authors discuss the tensions and contradictions in the ways two Australian teachers positioned the education systems and teachers of their international context as "southern", meaning deficit in terms of progress and development towards an implied enlightened "northern" educational ideal. With increasing numbers of teachers living and working internationally, the authors suggest that teacher education could productively take up discussions that explore student teachers' taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching and learning practices in international spaces.

In concluding Chap. 11—*Conclusion: Learning the Humility of Teaching Others-Preparing Teachers for Culturally Complex Classrooms*—Jo-Anne Reid takes up the notion of a conversation with the previous chapters. She acknowledges the contradictions and complexities of preparing teachers for culturally diverse classrooms and suggests that graduates from teacher education programs need to understand and "accept that their job is predicated on a *lack* of knowledge". This means that teachers must continually learn and relearn about students' and their communities' ways of knowing, being and doing. It takes humility to accept one's ignorance and commit to this process. Reid offers important insights that draw on all works in the collection, and considers ways in which teacher education might engage with Southern perspectives to better prepare teachers for the culturally complex classrooms of the twenty-first century.

Conversations

The meaning that readers make from this volume will, to a large extent, depend on the knowledges and experiences they bring to each reading. Our own discussions about each of the chapters in this volume revealed our individual taken-for-granted knowledge that we each brought to the meaning and intent of different terms used and approaches taken by the

authors. What we hope is that the works herein contribute to readjusting "the asymmetry between us and the Other" (Breidlid 2013, 30), between Northern epistemologies and the South. An important move in achieving this is to challenge binary logics that set Western epistemologies in opposition to Other/Indigenous epistemologies. Instead, we join with other scholars (Breidlid 2013; Odora Hoppers 2002) to propose "some sort of co-existence between the two epistemological positions" (Breidlid 2013, 32) and promote dialogue that gives voice to non-hegemonic Indigenous epistemologies.

A clarification of what is meant by Indigenous is needed. In some contexts, such as Europe, Indigenous is used to name the majority population and not the minority. In Europe therefore it is thus used to name those with power to define what is included in terms of knowledge and practice. The United Nations' definition (United Nations 2004, p. 2) defines Indigenous peoples as those who are part of the non-dominant sector of a society and who existed pre-invasion or pre-colonization. However, Breidlid (2013, 31) argues that this definition fails to account for majority population groups in Africa, Asia and Latin America whose epistemologies differ from hegemonic Western ones. As this book draws on "southern perspectives", it seems fitting that this latter definition is closer to what is central to the series this book is located in. However, some caution is necessary since Asia, for example, may just as well include China and in terms of one of the chapters in this book China is not southern, but marginalized groups within China are. This is because the very term Asia means different things depending on where you are standing. Breidlid, writing from the global North in Oslo, *may* be referring to the subcontinent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), which is commonly used by the British, and this usage seems hegemonic in that part of the world. Those of us in the geographic global South see Asia as China and Japan with those geographically south of these as South-East Asia. In other nations there are non-English terms that reveal historical differences as in Leeman's chapter. For example, the Dutch word *autochtoon* is associated with the majority and is seen as equivalent to "indigenous" in meaning (from this place and insider), while *allochtoon* (originating from another place) is applied to immigrants. However, it is important to understand that the government in the Netherlands differentiates between Western and non-Western *allochtonen* (plural form of *allochtoon*). So rather than adhere to static constructions of the Indigenous, this book locates the usage of the

term from the perspective of the contributors. It just so happens that in this book the United Nations' definition applies in most cases.

To conclude, this book is a dialogue with equity in education at the core. A fundamental shift from nation-centric understandings of teachers' work is upon us because we have all felt the cascading impact of globalizing policy on national systems and local institutions. In 2013, Sara Motta made what she described as "an urgent call to critical scholars" (80) to politicize education in an effort to push back against the neoliberalization of higher education. In the context of social justice, she suggests that while academics are "often complicit in the reproduction of the neoliberal university", situating their practice (and that of teachers in schooling) as political may also create spaces of "possibility of other ways of making knowledge, understanding the world and creating ourselves and our society" (80). The authors in this collection situate themselves and their work as political, and attempt to create spaces in which social justice aspirations and outcomes can develop and thrive. The chapters in this collection are part of the dialogue between North and South, and this is evident in the ways the authors grapple with the inherent tensions between different world views as they attempt to hold open spaces for dialogue and other ways of knowing. We hope that readers will invest in the potential dialogues between chapters as the viewpoints and understandings from one are brought to bear on the reading of others. We see this as a strength and hope that the works here challenge readers and "open transgressive spaces of affective and intellectual possibilities of imagining and being "other"" (Motta 2013, 81).

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PART I

Southern Perspectives from the Global North

CHAPTER 2

Whither Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Education in the Netherlands?

Yvonne Leeman

Introduction

It is almost a decade since Carol Reid and I compared the constructions of multicultural education in Australia and intercultural education in the Netherlands (Leeman and Reid 2006). Our comparison presented a contextualized picture of issues that informed our understanding of social justice and cultural diversity in education. Using a critical multicultural framework (May 1999), we highlighted both the commonalities and context-bound differences in the two countries. The composition of the population of each country and the dimensions of power and difference proved to relate in a different way to legacies of colonialism, the dynamics of (im)migration and to issues of social justice. However, culturalism, defined as "a set of ideas and practices that frame identity in such a way as to identify those of particular ethnic groups as the same and to assign characteristics that are considered by the namers as innate" (Leeman and Reid 2006, 58), was consistent across both contexts. Dichotomies of Christian/Muslim and immigrant "other"/"real" Dutch or Australian

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gave, in a nutshell, a description of the dichotomy of power and difference in both countries. Specific to Australia was the exclusion of Indigenous Australians. By examining critical areas at the level of the classroom, we found a strong culturalist tendency in the understanding of problematic behavior and underachievement and in the representation of immigrants and Indigenous peoples in the content of curriculum materials. The relative silence of first and second generations of immigrants in the Netherlands toward this culturalism was in sharp contrast with the resistance of Aboriginal students in Australia. Besides culturalism we found a tendency toward individualism in which there was a focus on the acknowledgment of individual differences of taste, lifestyle and religious orientation and on learning competencies such as empathy, perspective-taking and communication skills. These could be used in order to understand and thus deal with difference. Accordingly, students in teacher education were provided with general recipes to cope with difference, leaving the political, such as issues of nationality and ethnic, religious and social identity, and the structures of society unexamined. This meant dealing with the symptoms but not addressing the causes of ongoing inequities.

In this chapter I revisit these ideas in today's context of increased mobilities across national boundaries. In particular I examine current developments in the construction of intercultural education in the Netherlands. Did it become more than managing ethnic and cultural diversity? Did it become part of an educational response to globalization? I contextualize the analysis within the Dutch political climate and the situatedness of Dutch education within the context of the European Union (EU). Educational policies and education at classroom level will be taken into account, followed by some recommendations for teacher education.

Dutch Context

Movements and Identities

Nowadays many people move across national borders for business, jihad, safety, food, work, retirement at a pleasant coast, study, or for living together with family and friends in the former or alternative "homeland". These movements add to the ethnic, racial, cultural, religious, social and linguistic diversity of many places in the world. In the course of the last

decade, "superdiversity" (Vertovec 2007) has developed in the larger cities of the Netherlands. For example, Amsterdam residents represent more than 150 nationalities. In the new millennium, refugees from Africa, Afghanistan and the Middle East, workers from the east of Europe, international students, and wealthy expats have come and are coming to the Netherlands to stay for a longer or shorter period of time and with different intentions. Their rights to settle permanently in the Netherlands differ, with the wealthy and well educated having an advantage. Newcomers add their diversity and multiple identities to the first, second and third generations of immigrants from the Dutch former colonies, and to migrant workers who entered the Netherlands in the second half of the last century. These immigrants have developed, co-influenced by developments in their countries of origin, all kinds of racial, religious, ethnic, and cultural identities in the context of European and Dutch cultural politics and legislation on immigration.

To live temporarily or permanently as "the cultural other" in a certain place is becoming an experience, a state of mind, of a growing number of people. Inevitably this experience influences feelings of belonging and not-belonging and one's identity development. Writer Jhumpa Lahiri, daughter of Bengali immigrants to the USA, writes in her fiction and nonfiction about these themes (see, for example, Lahiri 2015). She touches on connectedness and nonconnectedness to a certain place, temporarily belonging, the possible loss of an anchor such as a cultural history, and the idea of a home.

Living in a place of superdiversity could add to the knowledge about the meaning of globalization and of cultural differences and influence daily lives and identities of both (im)migrants and locals. It is very likely to impact on local social relations and culture. It could break down or consolidate the barrier between the local and the global or give space to new connections. It could, in a process of individualization, give everyone a distinctive cultural identity; make the majority a cultural minority in a certain place; and make the idea of cultural diversity almost meaningless by depriving it of the idea of social groups being embedded in a complex web of local and global, structural and cultural inequalities and power relations.

Given the possible trajectories and outcomes, it is interesting to explore the extent to which schools in this context have developed as sites for

inclusive identity development for students as local and global citizens, and whether education consists of a living diversity of perspectives (including northern and southern [see Connell 2007]) on global social relations, and the connectedness of the local and the global. The Dutch majority, and consequently Dutch teachers, have easy access to the voices of well-educated international workers and students. Personal narratives of other (im)migrants could serve as important sources of additional and counter-information about the meaning of language, identity, appearances and culture for feelings and processes of belonging and not-belonging to certain places on the globe. However, these issues are seriously under-researched, and it is not clear that these resources are being drawn on as educational research tends to focus on measuring school results and the comparison of educational success along ethnic and socioeconomic lines.

Responses to Superdiversity

Globalization affects national policies and movements of people. New local and global inequalities arise, and new policies on migration and immigration develop. There is a tendency in the EU, and of nations within the EU, toward restrictive and very selective immigration policies. Denmark and the Netherlands, for example, are developing a strong monocultural orientation. Nordic countries, like Norway, Sweden and Finland, seem to be taking this same road, and in the course of the process risk losing their social and inclusive identities.

Global conflicts, political campaigns and conversations on social media have the potential to influence cultural identities and the local everyday ways of living together in mutual trust. Propaganda on the internet, using pictures and stories on the Israel/ Palestine conflict and on the ideology of Islamic State (IS), add to a growing dichotomy between the West and the Arab world, and between Christians and Muslims. Nationalist movements and terrorist incidents in the Netherlands, Europe, and the wider world have their influence on feelings of insecurity and the fear of "others".

Over time, a more negative political climate toward ethnic/cultural diversity has developed, characterized by attitudes that may be expressed as: "If you don't want to participate on our democratic terms, you better leave". Neoconservative, anti-immigration and anti-Islamic groups have become part of the political landscape in the Netherlands. Protection of

the local identity, local cohesion, and a policy of closed borders for foreigners who want to immigrate are among their issues. Consequently, the desirability of dual nationalities has come under discussion. In addition is the essentialization of "Islam"; Geert Wilders, the Dutch anti-Islam politician, stated in 2015: "We have to rescue the Netherlands of islamisation and 'multiculti' propaganda".

The "normal" state of affairs among the majority culture could be characterized as: "We live together with immigrants in accordance with our Dutch norms and values in a mono-cultural country". The Dutch term *allochtoneous* (from foreign background) is used to refer to immigrants of all generations, ensuring immigrants continue to feel alienated from Dutch society. In recent evidence from second generation professionals, a prizewinner novelist in 2013 said: "We are perceived as *allochtoneous*. It is impossible to become real Dutch". A politician in 2014 said: "You can work 14 hours a day for the benefit and future of the Netherlands, but never you can [sic] become a Dutchman". And a journalist in 2015 said: "Incidentally they say to me: 'Disappear to your own country'. To what country? The Netherlands are my home".

According to a recent trend study (Motivaction 2015), the Dutch in general seem to be a bundle of contradictions. In different social economic groups and age categories there is a growth in both more and less tolerance toward cultural diversities in the population. In general, it could be said that the Dutch have got used to the diversity in their environment, as there is tolerance toward diversity (60 percent today compared to 40 percent in 1998). However, there is also a feeling of the need to bond with others resembling oneself, caused by the insecurities of today's globalizing world.

According to a literature study (Leeman and Saharso 2013), there is evidence (although it is an under-researched topic) that the second and third generation youth of immigrant origin make their way in Dutch society, but also feel alienated. Especially in urban contexts, youth of different backgrounds, including native Dutch youth, experience cultural distance from the mainstream culture. In the ethnically mixed urban environments of the Dutch larger cities, the identity of Amsterdammer or Rotterdammer has a cosmopolitan flavor to it that is attractive to both immigrant and native Dutch youth. Their local diversity unites them and distinguishes them from youth in other places. Although their urban youth culture has

common features, it is divided along ethnic and socioeconomic lines too. However, there are glimpses of a creative, hybrid, and shared youth culture through local (social) media. For example, this is generated by FunX, a radio station with an ethnically mixed staff, which provides a media outlet for new types of popular urban music.

An emphasis on the unique Dutch identity could be framed as a battle about the protection of Dutch space in a much more powerful Europe. It could also be seen as a tendency toward protection of the local way of living in reaction to global economic developments and neoliberal politics, which bring job insecurities to workers and insecurities to all related to the crumbling of the national welfare state. Developments in the Netherlands could be seen as a tendency toward re-cementing the northern view of hegemony. However, there are also contradictions.

In today's world, there are stories of freedom and heroism about living for your exclusive ideal world, along with stories of hate. It seems that stories of inclusion, cultural, social, and political struggle for a world of social and cultural justice are scarce and not prominent at present. Education could provide these. Schools are an important site to engage in the active construction of stories and explanations that enable the youth to make sense of their experiences with the social, cultural, and historical context they live in, and that give them access to different and counter hegemonic views (see, for example, Haste 2008, Freire 1971).

Education

Intercultural education was compulsory in the Netherlands from the 1980s till the early years of the new millennium. It was introduced to address the social changes brought about by (im)migrants to answer their educational needs and to educate all students for living together. According to the Ministry of Education and Sciences (1981), young people should learn about "each other's ethnic-cultural background, circumstances and culture in order to further mutual understanding and to combat prejudice, discrimination and racism". As a linguistically, religiously, and an ethnic-culturally diverse student population became the normal situation in many urban classrooms, there was the potential that day-to-day experiences with "other" children might lead to knowledge and sensitivity to the global dimension of daily interactions. Such interactions could lead to sensitivity

to different ways of being, and to an understanding that part of the identity of "others" is unacknowledged and somehow negated by the environment, and vice versa. However, in a cultural context of exclusive national and monocultural thinking, these developments do not happen as a matter of course. An effort, a focus, a special lens or perspective is necessary.

When Carol and I wrote our article, we included Dutch intercultural projects existing at the end of the last century and in the early years of the twenty-first century. We found that Dutch intercultural education in those days was a cacophony of culturalism, a superficial celebration of cultural and individual differences along a continuum of cultural knowledge, communication skills and critical notions related to critical multiculturalism, antiracism and the empowerment of the oppressed.

In the political climate after 9/11, there was a move away from intercultural education in the national educational agenda and it faded away from classroom practices. In this process, lessons on different cultural heritages and ways of living, colonial histories, racism, narrative accounts on poverty-related migration, inclusive ways of thinking about art and literature by including novelists and artists from the "non-Western" world, all disappeared from the curriculum. Specialized websites, experts and provisions for informing and assisting teachers with the development of meaningful education for all in their diverse classrooms disappeared as well. As an illustration of the immense change, at a conference in Amsterdam in 2014, I heard a school leader of a primary school with some immigrant students state the following aim for the cultural aspects of education in his school: "To teach immigrant youth about Beethoven". He justified his remark in terms of school success, and implicitly defined Turkish, Moroccan, African cultures as useless for living in Dutch society. He projected a narrow Dutch way of thinking, implicitly rejecting culturally inclusive global teaching.

It was not just intercultural education that slowly disappeared from the curriculum. The same thing happened to other "educations"; for example, peace education, education for sustainability of the planet and development education. The disappearance of these extra, non-compulsory educations could be related to several other changes in the educational landscape. One of these is the European tendency toward national curriculum regulation, which implies restrictions of the space for site-specific curricular choices (Kuiper and Berkvens 2013). Another one is the growth

of a neoliberal climate, which influences a decontextualized view of teaching and a priority with outcomes, testing of students, and international comparison through ranking (Biesta 2010; Rosevall and Öhrn 2014). In this climate, an entrepreneurial and needs-oriented ethos developed in which the individual preparation of students for the (global) job market became the priority, limiting the time and space for teachers to engage in dialogue with their colleagues about the aims of education (Leeman and Wardekker 2014), and leading to "hesitation regarding what it means to say 'good' and to define what is 'common'" (Masschelein and Simons 2009, 240). Issues of commonality, diversity and social justice, are not made present as a matter of fact. As a result, the aims of education are not discussed in the outcomes-oriented reigning culture. We could say that globalization has played a role in the closure of the space for intercultural education in the Netherlands.

Since 2006, social objectives of education have been explicitly formulated by the introduction of citizenship education in the Netherlands. This development was influenced by the EU, with its internal policies influencing all domains and levels of governance of its members. The development of a European identity through education is part of this process (Rutkowski and Engel 2010; Torney-Purta et al. 2001). The underlying assumption seems to be that Europe is a unified, monocultural, monolithic entity. Citizenship in Europe has been conceptualized as knowing rights and responsibilities, knowing the working of democratic procedures and institutions and being active participants in society (Eurydice Network 2012). This so-called active citizenship has been linked to engagement with, and participation in, democratic political procedures, welfare organizations and local initiatives. This participation seems to have a neoliberal undertone. It sees people as self-regulated and self-responsible members of the community in the context of the breaking away of the welfare state. Citizenship education, which is compulsory by law in the Netherlands, partly replaced intercultural education in the Dutch curriculum. Knowledge about difference and living with difference are among its official topics (SLO 2009). Other central topics are participation, democracy and integration in Dutch society. Citizenship education is not seen as a special subject in the curriculum. Within the framework of the law and the assessment framework, teachers have relative freedom for site-specific curriculum development for citizenship education, and consequently it is possible to develop types of

citizenship education informed by a southern perspective. According to the Education Inspectorate, schools are not succeeding well in offering citizenship education (Inspectie van het Onderwijs 2014). Teachers mention lack of time for curriculum development and lack of knowledge about the possible content and pedagogical approaches. They are not prepared for teaching citizenship education in their teacher education programs, in the same way that they were not prepared for intercultural education. They lack the basic knowledge and experience to include curriculum information about citizenship education provided by the National Institute on Curriculum Development (SLO 2009) in their teaching.

In theory, citizenship education could be an excellent space for the inclusion of a critical perspective on cultural pluralism and global citizenship. However, teachers do not have expertise in this field. They were not prepared in their teacher education for critical views on intercultural education. The little knowledge and experience in this perspective, still available in schools a decade ago, has trickled away. Moreover, a critical and inclusive approach is considered transgressive in the current climate in the Netherlands. The official focus of citizenship education is on knowledge and participation as tools for social and cultural cohesion in the nation-state. This focus does not provide formal incentives for a critical approach to issues of diversity and local and global connections. There is little chance in the current context for a critical perspective on citizenship education, one that transcends the tendency of merely coping with cultural, ethnic and religious diversity within a national context.

Diversity is part of today's global living. In starting from the daily reality of diversity in the lives of their students and in their own classrooms, teachers might find moments of critical intercultural learning in their daily teaching. Teachers' general professional approach to education appears, here, to be very important. Teachers could engage with and build on students' experiences with diversity and connect these with the plurality of perspectives available, which could include southern knowledge and thinking. A professional identity, which includes a reflective attitude on the aims of education, the students, their context, the quality of the relations in the classroom and critical self-reflection is important for this.

In the daily business of teaching, those who teach in a culturally diverse context are, as a matter of fact, involved in cultural tensions (Radstake 2009; Karsten et al. 2008; AFS 2015). There is evidence that teachers in

the Netherlands and Nordic countries tend to stay away from classroom discussions about cultural tensions out of fear that open discussion may promote more trouble (Radstake and Leeman 2010; Rosevall and Öhrn 2014). In teachers' approaches toward radicalizing youth, there is a lack of trust in the relationship between teachers and students, an exclusive school culture to other than Dutch ways of being, and a lack of meaningful exchange of diverse views about ideals in living together (Leeman and Wardekker 2013). As education is an important site for identity development, the concept of meaningful education that builds on youngsters' experiences of belonging and not-belonging, and a connectedness to a specific place and to the world, could be crucial for the process of personal identity development as a global citizen (Haste 2004; Bhatti and Leeman 2011). The question is what type of professional development might support teachers to professionalize themselves in this direction.

In the next section, a recent research project (2010–2014) on the professional development of secondary teachers is presented. In this project, teachers were expected to develop meaningful citizenship education for their students. Four secondary schools, three with a diverse ethnic-cultural student population, were involved in inquiry-based curriculum development. The approach to the professional development of the teachers included the development of an inquiring attitude, collaboration among teachers in small groups, and involving the views of their students and colleagues in their work. I describe the kind of citizenship education they developed in this inquiry-based curriculum development project, what place in the curriculum it took, and what professional learning contributed to possible connections to critical intercultural and global teaching.

School and Classroom Level: A Project on Citizenship Education

Above I have sketched two powerful perspectives in Dutch education that inform the context of the project:

a. An emphasis on the efficient transmission of knowledge and skills for an outcomes-focused curriculum.
b. A monocultural climate with an emphasis on socialization for the nation-state.

The project aimed to provide teachers with the knowledge, skills and attitudes to develop a critical and meaningful type of citizenship education suitable for their school and students. Professional learning and the inquiry-based design of citizenship activities were seen as intertwined. Knowing that sociohistoric contexts shape the curriculum, the aims of education, the organization of the school and the school culture, the project focused on the agency of teachers to reinterpret and articulate the aims of education while working on cultural identities, power relations, and local and global connectedness as part of their teaching. Research showed that inquiry-based curriculum development by teachers has a strong influence on teachers' professional learning (Willemse et al. 2015). Leeman and Wardekker (2011) found that for realizing change, the development of an inquisitive attitude could best be combined with teachers' collaborative deliberation on the aims of education and with a focus on the development of meaningful education for all students. Developing meaningful education includes listening to students, to classrooms and to the social, cultural and community contexts of students' lives (Schultz 2003). Key for change is inquisitiveness intertwined with normative professional learning.

All participating teachers were of Dutch descent, which is common in the Netherlands. Four teachers of each school worked four hours a week in a collaborative group on several assignments. Each group of four teachers started by researching their own school to write a school portrait that could inform collective decisions on the best type of citizenship education for their specific school context. They were asked to include the perspectives of the students and teachers on the aims and key topics of citizenship education. After this assignment, they were invited to design and research citizenship activities that were meaningful for their students, connected to "real life" situations, and that included dialogue, critical thinking and student participation in school and the community. Finally, they were asked to work on the dissemination of those activities in their schools. Coaches (teacher educators/researchers based in universities for professional studies) were present every week to support them with their research and design activities and the reflective thinking in their small group. They were asked to leave decisions in the hands of the teachers.

The professional development of the teachers was researched by yearly interviews during the first three years of the project with all participating teachers. This was followed by interviews with the groups of teachers at

each school in the fourth year. Teachers' reports on their initial school portraits and on the type of citizenship activities designed were analyzed.

School Portraits

Researching their own school, informed by concepts such as meaningful education and students' participation, the teachers started to ask questions about and give meaning to the composition of the student populations of their schools. In one of the schools, the making of the school portrait was used to answer the question, "Who are our students?" Their finding was that 60 percent were of Dutch descent and 40 percent were from immigrant backgrounds (46 different countries). The teachers were surprised. They had never realized this. They raised the question: "What is and should be the impact of this diversity on the aims of education and on the relevance of our curriculum?" An important question which could be related to a southern perspective. A question that could start an analysis of structural inequalities and the exclusion of different knowledge and ways of being in the school, and the link between the school, communities and students. A question that might have opened a dialogue about the aims of education, issues of relevance, critical thinking and empowerment. The teachers' question was met with hesitation and avoidance by the management of the school. According to the teachers, their school leaders' perspective was that emphasis on the ethnic-cultural diversity in the composition of the school population might affect the image of the school and consequently the future of the school in a negative way. The four teachers did not push further; instead they started to design and research several projects that were less critical. These projects aimed at the development of a common school culture through starting a newspaper for the school and initiating extracurricular activities on sensitive issues such as homosexuality.

In another school, something similar happened. In this school, with almost one hundred percent of students from immigrant backgrounds, the teachers and students interviewed for the school portrait were of the opinion that their voice was not sufficiently heard. According to the small group of four teachers, this was an important research result. Their proposal for the development of a more democratic school culture, including a student council, and a dialogue among the staff about the curriculum and the pedagogical approach were not welcomed by school leadership. This made the

four teachers to confine themselves to the design of citizenship activities for their own subject and classes. In a third school, influenced by the results of the school portrait, student participation was also revealed as an important issue. In this school, the whole team of teachers decided to focus on getting to know their students personally. All teachers paid a visit to students' homes and started to build on enhancing the participation of students in their lessons. The teachers started a "teacher laboratory" to develop strategies to enhance dialogues on sensitive issues in their classrooms.

Designed Citizenship Activities

The general findings show that all teachers developed knowledge about their students and about citizenship education. All started to use a concept of citizenship education that consisted of the topics of democracy, participation and identity development. All teachers said that they became aware of possibilities to integrate citizenship education in their daily practice. This concerned both the content of their teaching and their pedagogical approach. The teachers started to find ways to enhance the participation of students in their lessons. These included improving the relevance of the content of the lessons and engaging the students in choosing aspects of the pedagogical approach. Working on the design of new activities for citizenship education, they became aware of the complexities of change, the tension between their ideals, and the everyday tensions such as the emphasis on efficient teaching to the standards in the schools' outcomes-oriented pedagogical approach, with the consequence that there was ample space for a type of citizenship that seriously pays attention to engagement with a good life for all in society, issues of diversity, and social (political) participation. The concept of meaningful education was helpful, but the concept did not step outside the psychological perspective of relevant content to motivate students to learn. No connection was made to critical insights into power relations and to developing reflexivity. While some sensitivity for the cultural aspects of education have been developed among the teachers, steps toward critical global teaching and a southern perspective were not apparent.

Professional Learning

The teachers were confronted with school policies that centrally regulated time for professional learning, and maintained a focus on outcomes and a

narrow definition of school success. They learned to see the importance of understanding the micro-politics in the school organization in order to develop a strategy for change. Through researching their own practices, they started to develop an inquiring and questioning attitude. Most important for these professional developments, the teachers identified researching their own school and the weekly reflective collaboration in a small team of teachers guided by a coach. Through the process of making a school portrait and designing meaningful education for all students, tensions in an outcomes-oriented curriculum became apparent to all teachers, and adjustments in the sphere of the participation of their students were made. In contrast, the monocultural tendency in Dutch education was not mentioned by the majority of the teachers. However, most teachers, teaching in one of the three schools with an ethnically mixed student population, said they had developed sensitivity to different cultural ways of being. This was incidentally translated to moments of intercultural and global education in their teaching.

Teacher Education

The pressures and concerns of teaching tend to prevent questions about our humanity in living together. Education could raise these questions, open them for exploration and exchange in the light of global common concerns. However, there is a tendency in Dutch education for a diminished curriculum that fails to provide young people with a meaningful learning necessary for humanity in global living.

Meaningful education for global teaching is ideally concerned with diversity and social and cultural justice. It will take into account students' lived worlds, their ways of being and knowledge. As differences are not a threat or an inconvenience but a source of and a chance for productive engagement, it will engage with, extend, and challenge students' knowledge in order to develop new knowledge. It will take into account global, national and ethnic-cultural histories and their accompanying inequities. It consists of teaching about diversity, inclusion and social justice and builds trusting relationships.

When topics such as global social relations, the connectedness of the global and the local and its impact on local cultures, and narratives from different perspectives about the meaning of migration and of living together in culturally diverse places have to find a place in the curriculum,

it is by integration in the regular lessons and activities. For this to happen we need teachers with a purpose, global knowledge, an inquisitive attitude, and the thinking and interpretation tools to problematize current narratives and to develop counter narratives in order to enhance meaningful learning for all students in the perspective of interconnectedness of local and global living.

The Dutch project on citizenship education described above indicated that an inquisitive and reflective attitude and the concept of meaningful education for all are not sufficient for the realization of critical global teaching. A normative stance on the aims of education, informed by knowledge about intercultural and global teaching and inclusive ideals, needs to be present. Without sensitivity to issues of social and cultural justice, an inquisitive attitude is empty. A normative professional attitude consisting of a moral/political stance, emotional dispositions to act accordingly, and micro-political insights to influence the site-specific decisions on the curriculum and the school culture are necessary additions.

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CHAPTER 3

The Schooling of Marginalized Students in Urban Canada: Programs, Curricula, and Pedagogies

Carl E. James

Introduction

Since the 1970s, and in the light of concerns about school disengagement and low educational outcomes of the multiple generations of economically disadvantaged students—many of them racial, ethnic, immigrant, and refugee students—provincial governments, universities, and school boards have been developing and implementing policies, programs, and curricula to address the schooling needs of these students (Cummins et al. 2006; Levin and Riffel 2000; West-Burns et al. 2013). In this chapter, I employ critical theories and, relatedly, a community-referenced approach to education (CRAE), to discuss a number of education initiatives noting the extent to which they have been responsive to the needs, interests, and aspirations of culturally diverse student populations. In mapping the initiatives, I principally reference those in Toronto, Ontario (bearing in mind that in Canada education is provincial jurisdiction). I will briefly trace the

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movement from multiculturalism to antiracism to culturally responsive and relevant pedagogical approaches to education, highlighting what is made possible in terms of inclusive and equitable schooling and education for all students, which in more recent years, based on my experience, are often taken up in "Urban Education" projects, programs, and courses (often offered by Faculties of Education). With reference to CRAE (James 2012), I use data from a project with educators, parents, and community members in an urban area of Toronto to illustrate how we might better facilitate and provide more effective culturally relevant and responsive schooling to students. The chapter concludes by arguing for education that speaks to the schooling issues of students and their parents who reside in urban and suburban communities—and not just what is commonly referred to as *inner-city* neighborhoods. The idea is to provide educators with a comprehensive (and hopefully enhanced) understanding of the complex and shifting cultural, economic, geographic, and social contexts of today's culturally diverse school populations.

Significant to this discussion is the prevailing notion of Canada as a culturally diverse society where its official multicultural policy (since 1971), legislation (since 1988), and programs support harmonious living, cultural freedom, and educational success, regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, and language differences. Therefore, the questions for consideration are: Does the existence of an official policy (and related practices) of multiculturalism translate into a schooling situation where the educational experiences and outcomes of racial and ethnic minority students are ones in which difference does not matter? Or, does an official policy engender a hegemonic discourse that forecloses alternative paradigms that aim to address the educational and social disparities and problems in the schooling and education of ethnic and racial minority students?

Theoretical Reference

Critical theories in education encourage examination of educational issues taking into account the cultural, historical, political, and social contexts in which schooling and education take place. Such understanding includes knowledge of stratification and the hierarchical relationships that differentially order and regulate the lives of various groups in society, the social inequities that exist, and "the processes that create and sustain them" (Gillborn 2015, 279). Critical theories also open up avenues for gaining insights into how the pervasive economic logic of neoliberalism, with its

emphasis on personal responsibility and entrepreneurship, has become a profound part of individuals' cultural consciousness and aspirational values (Giroux 2014; Mirowski 2013). And in national contexts (e.g., Canada) where the multicultural ethos promotes color blindness, cultural democracy, equality of opportunity, and essentialist notions of identity, such theories compel questioning and interrogation of institutions' (e.g., schools') claims of being racially neutral and culturally democratic (or culturally neutral) spaces able to fairly accommodate *all* cultures. As critical theories assert, any account of the experiences and outcomes of students would be incomplete without consideration of the positionalities, biographies, and interrelated complex identities of all involved (parents, peers, teachers, and community members) in the schooling and educational processes.

Critical theory (CT) calls attention to power—its sources; who has it; how it is attained, maintained, and performed; how the actions of the "less powerful" are affected by it; and "how might things be otherwise" (Hinchey 2008, 17). With regard to education, Hinchey writes that "many of the power relationships cemented in today's schools grow out of a philosophy that has permeated schooling for decades" (34) where teachers are viewed as experts who possess the knowledge to *pass on* to students—what Freire (1970) refers to as *banking pedagogy*. Contrary to this positivist epistemology, critical education is student-centered and provides opportunities for them to learn about "their place in the hierarchical scheme of things trying to determine patterns of constructed consciousness and hegemony" (Hinchey 2008, 33), as well as how it operates to affect their lives. Hence, if we are to create a schooling system that is responsive to an increasingly diverse student population brought about by global or transnational migration, then education has to "be planned and delivered in new ways that correspond to different life situations and cultural practices" (Castles and Miller 2009, 15).

Such education needs to take into account how the political, social, and educational polices, practices, and programs, grounded in colonial western ideologies, serve to construct a North-South dichotomy in which dominant cultural and language groups (i.e., white Europeans, typically British) as northern groups are privileged. Southern groups, on the other hand, are conceived as foreigners and/or newcomers and deficient or lacking in the cultural capital necessary to "fit in," and on that basis they are minoritized or marginalized members of the society (Connell 2014). Furthermore, Connell posits that colonialism and neoliberal globalization are at play in the ways in which non-Eurocentric epistemologies are

suppressed and not taken up as valuable knowledge. Accordingly, "the obsessive counting, measuring, ranking and testing that reduces culture and knowledge to a tightly packaged blancmange, is itself proof of what [the neoliberal audit regime] seeks to suppress: the tremendous lurid diversity, the erupting multiplicity, or possible projects of knowledge" (216). As such, the North-South global inequalities are not only reflected in capital and infrastructural disparities, but also evident in what she describes as a "persistent problem about the reception of intellectual work from the south in mainstream settings" (218).

For the most part, differentially positioned with respect to the power and privilege within the North American context, it is racialized students whose educational needs are not being met within current Western schooling systems (James 2012; Oreopoulos et al. 2015; Vincent et al. 2012; Watson 2011). In this regard, Critical Race Theory (CRT) offers a supplementary scaffold to analyze the racial orthodoxy that accounts for the schooling and educational experiences, knowledge, participation, and outcomes of racialized students. The framework, which purposely focuses on "the salience of race, racism, and power" (Howard 2008, 961), challenges claims of color blindness, cultural democracy, objectivity, and merit. For in doing otherwise we miss how these factors operate in maintaining the hegemony of whiteness that serves in the disenfranchisement and subordination of racialized students (DiAngelo 2011; Dixson and Rousseau 2005; Howard 2008; Milner 2007; Yosso 2005). According to Gillborn (2015), "White-ness, in this sense, refers to a set of assumptions, beliefs, and practices that place the interests and perspectives of White people at the center of what is considered normal and everyday" p. 278; (see also DiAngelo 2011). In such a context, the experiential knowledge of racialized people and their communities are central to the counter-narratives upon which their schooling programs, curricula, and teaching pedagogies must be constructed if their needs are to be served, and structural inequities and racism addressed. Equally important is attention to intersectionality, which enables us to engage with the reality that individuals are simultaneously members of numerous groups (based on gender, class, ethnicity, religion, language, sexuality, dis/ability) and in turn their identities are complex, dynamic, contextual, and relational (see Gillborn 2015; McCready 2010; Preston and Bhopal 2012).

A key component of counterhegemonic education is to challenge the cultural deficit thinking that is often used in working with marginalized and immigrant students. Indeed, when the lived experiences, skills, resources,

and learnings—that is, social and cultural capital—that students from marginalized communities bring to their schooling are acknowledged, valued, and used, they do well in their schooling (James 2012; Milner 2007; Rodriguez 2013; Yosso 2005). Building on Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, Yosso submits that such students draw on "community cultural wealth" (CCW)—defined as "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (77)—in their engagement with school. Yosso identifies six interrelated and dynamic forms of capital or CCW—aspirational, familial, social, linguistic, navigational, and resistant—"that build on one another" (77).[1]

Yosso's submission is consistent with CRAE which necessarily requires "an understanding that students' lives—their experiences, needs, interests, expectations, and aspirations—are mediated by the communities in which they live," and as such plays a significant role in their "sense of self and perceptions of their possibilities in life" (James 2012, 127). In addition to geographic boundaries (in terms of neighborhoods), communities are cultural (constructed in terms of ethnicity, nationality, race, gender, etc.), and virtual (built through social media). Communities shape, and are shaped by, group affiliation based on shared norms, values, interests, and practices—all of which are interrelated to social, political, religious, and economic circumstances. Community is neither homogenous nor stable, but is necessarily complex, contextual, changing, multilayered, relational, and sometimes temporary, differentially serving its members who exercise their agency based on their beliefs, ethics, and mores. While students belong to multiple communities, their area of residence or neighborhood plays an influential role in how their various identities are read and taken up, as well as their interests and aspirations. For instance, in a study of post–high school Black youth residing in the city of Toronto, I found that while they all had high educational aspirations and "worked harder" than their White peers "to prove" that as Blacks they were academically capable, those residing in a marginalized neighborhood were additionally motivated to disprove the negative perceptions of their neighborhood, and demonstrate that successful Black people can come from there (James 2012; 2005).

Evidently, the interrelationship of cultural and geographic communities must be studied, for in so doing, teachers will be able to identify the nuances and particularities of students' lives and the forces that shape their expectations of schooling and education. Such instances

open up avenues for reaching or engaging students in an education process that values their social and cultural capital or CCW. Educators, who are often outsiders to the community or naive to the experiences of students, need to take every opportunity to co-create curriculum with students helping them to develop their critical analytical skills, learn language to articulate *their* understandings of their lives, make sense of their community and social circumstances, and acquire understandings of the structures that support their circumstances.[2] As Cammarota (2008) suggests, "allowing students to participate in constructing the learning process encourages them to perceive education as their project, something they create … [and not] something being done to them by somebody else, but something they are doing to recreate themselves and their lived contexts" (137).

Obviously, parents and community are integral to the education process of students. To the extent economically and socially feasible, parents make choices and determine the neighborhood in which to live, the schools their children attend, and the regularity of contact with the school and teachers. As well, the aspirations parents have for their children, in turn, help to shape children's aspirations. Renée and McAlister (2011) assert that collaborative partnerships between parents, community members, and educators are "necessary to improve the quality of education for all students in the system" (2). Furthermore, the authors contend that a strong school-community relationship has the "potential to advance equity, [and] create innovative solutions that reflect the interests and experiences of disenfranchised communities" (9) and, in the process, build the needed social capital of these communities and schools. And as Schecter and Sherri (2009) concluded from their examination of teachers' perceptions of parental involvement in urban public schools in Toronto, when a CRAE was employed, and teachers established "an appreciation of the generative potential of creating a school culture in which parental knowledge is viewed as a valuable resource in informing curriculum and guiding teachers' professional practice in the classroom" (84), there was improvement in students' school participation and academic outcome. Like Schecter and Sherri, concerned with the language and culture of immigrant parents not functioning as barriers to education, Guo (2012) proffers that when the home cultures of students are brought into schools through parental involvement, and is incorporated into the curriculum, it serves to validate their experiences

and contributes to the success of the students. This idea is taken up in what follows.

Educating a Culturally Diverse Student Population: Models, Policies, and Programs

In this section, I discuss the models, policies, and programs of schooling and education that have been initiated in the Canadian context to address the perceived or identified needs of the growing, culturally diverse student population—mostly from South Asia, the Caribbean, Asia, Africa, and South America—starting in the 1970s. Today, many of the students of these backgrounds in Greater Toronto Area (GTA) are second- and third-generation Canadians. And as the Canadian census indicates, a large number of first generation (or immigrants) are from the Philippines, China, India, Pakistan, Iran, South Korea, and Latin America (Columbia) (Statistics Canada 2013).[3] Therefore, for more than four decades, Canadian schools—specifically those in the metropolitan reception school districts of Greater Toronto[4]—have been grappling with how best to address the educational needs of racialized students and parents; and to reverse what has become for some students—specifically Aboriginal, Black, and Latin American students—chronic underachievement resulting from their alienation and disengagement from school (Brown et al. 2012; James 2011).

In the years following the federal government's declaration of Canada's multicultural policy (1971), and with significant increases in the cultural diversity of their student population, provincial governments[5] introduced multicultural education policies that encouraged programs and curriculum content intended to foster among students awareness, sensitivity, and tolerance of the values, beliefs, and aspirations of ethnic minority group members.[6] Through multicultural activities and events, students were expected to learn about their own and other minority groups' heritages and cultures,[7] and thus counteract their ignorance which is assumed to be responsible for prejudice, stereotyping, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and racism (James 2005). The broader aim was the integration (not assimilation) of racial, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minority students into the existing educational system, thereby enabling them to overcome problems of difference and "otherness" which might operate to their disadvantage. Accordingly, these students, and occasionally teachers, would engage in initiatives such as *Multicultural Days* in which they would dress in their

cultural costumes or clothing; share their *ethnic* foods; talk about cultural values, rituals, and celebrations; and stage cultural performances—what critics refer to as *saris, samosas, and steel bands.* Sometimes, like the students, parents or community members were invited into schools to exhibit *their* culture (read, difference), with the idea that they are representatives and/or ambassadors of their communities. Up to today, many schools have displays of flags of countries from which students and their parents might have immigrated; and on the walls, typically near the school's entrance, are signs in the different languages purported to represent those spoken by students and their families. Ironically, as Gérin-Lajoie (2008) reminds us, "the variety of languages spoken by students is usually silenced within the school and relegated to students' lives outside of school" (17–18).

An underlying assumption is that the cultural differences of students can best be accommodated, tolerated, or appreciated if others get the chance to witness the culture in concrete ways. In this regard, culture is conceptualized and treated "as a heap of anthropological curiosities" (Jackson and Ferguson 1991, 70), specifically as artifacts such as languages, symbols, customs, and rituals, and as observable symbols, behaviors, and materials, thereby negating the "multifaceted, variable, and inter-connected set of elements that involve the physical, emotional and spiritual as well as the racial, ethnic, national, religious identities of individuals" (James 2011, 195). Within this multicultural discourse,

> 'cultural groups' (so identified in the multicultural policy) are constructed as 'Other' Canadians—people with a 'heritage' from elsewhere and whose 'foreign' cultural values and practices remain static and based on their past experiences in other countries. This framing continues to exclude … First Nations/Aboriginal people as part of the 'diversity' of the Canadian society. (James 2001, 177–178)

Over time, even with multicultural programs in place, the poor participation, low achievement, and high dropout (or stop-out) rates of ethnic and racialized students persisted, occasioning protestations and calls for change by parents and community members. In response, other cultural and educational paradigms developed—one of which was race relations. In this instance, race was considered to be a *difference*, which contributed to the educational and social situation of racialized students, leading some school boards to initiate race relations policies and programs. There were initiatives such as race relations offices staffed with personnel responsible for

liaising with racial minority communities, and Black History Month activities observed during February. In its declaration of the month (January 1993), one Toronto area school board issued a statement that read in part: "The acknowledgement of African History Month gives schools an opportunity to respond to the goals of the Ontario Ministry of Education which includes the development of students' self-worth and fostering of understanding of the culture and achievement of a wide variety of social groups" (James and Wood 2005, 102). While race relations programs might have been relevant to addressing the situation of racialized students, they seemed ineffective since race was not recognized as a factor in students' schooling experiences and educational outcomes. Instead, race was conceptualized by educators and policymakers mainly in terms of the skin color of students who are not white, and often they were viewed as immigrants to Canada whose educational circumstances were attributed to cultural deficit, low self-concept, and an absence of positive role models (James 2011). As such, even though the educational and schooling principles and practices might have been considered race relations, they were significantly influenced by the paradigm of multiculturalism.

In acknowledging the failure of multicultural education, and seemingly giving consideration to the Ontario Provincial Advisory Committee on Race Relations' (1987) assertion that "multiculturalism has failed to address problems rooted not in cultural differences but in racial inequities of power and privilege" (38), Ontario's new purportedly left-leaning government in 1993 introduced an *Anti-Racism and Ethnocultural Equity Education Policy*. The policy signaled the government's admission that racism in Ontario schools and Eurocentric-informed programs, curricula, and practices account, at least in part, for racial minority students' limited educational success. Accordingly, the government pledged its "commitment to the elimination of racism within schools and in society at large" and in doing so called on school boards to recognize that some of the "existing policies, procedures, and practices in the school system are racist in their impact, if not in their intent, and that they limit opportunity of students and staff belonging to Aboriginal and racial and ethnocultural groups to fulfill their potential and to maximize their contributions to society" (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training 1993, 5).

The Ontario government's shift to antiracism principles and programs came about in response to the advocacy of parents and community members—a constituency with which schools were required to work. Advocates believed that through collaborative endeavors, the emancipatory project

of antiracism would replace the *deracialized* discourse of multicultural education and accept antiracism as "a set of pedagogical, curricular, and organizational strategies that would promote racial equality by identifying, [and confronting] white privilege" (Niemonen 2007, 60). Besides, in a multicultural context, where the distinction between race, ethnicity and culture are frequently conflated and used interchangeably, there is always the need to bolster the fact that race, as antiracism Toronto scholar George Dei (2005) writes, "is a powerful marker of identity …, and an important social category," which along with racism must be named in order to challenge "the ways in which power is evoked in school systems to disenfranchise particular groups" (95). However, the prevailing discourse of Canadian multiculturalism with its emphasis on culture, cultural neutrality, and color blindness still functions to structure the ways in which antiracism education is conceptualized and practiced in schools, and as a consequence has been ineffective in bringing students and educators to an appreciation of the relevance and significance of antiracism. In fact, studies indicate that the educational and pedagogical interventions in which many educators engage, in their attempts to bring white students into a consciousness about racism, inequity, and white privilege, contributes to an educational environment where the politics of racial identity and difference precipitate resistance and discomfort among students and teachers, and as a consequence thwart the needed critical learnings (Blackwell 2010; Daniel 2010; James 2011).

Given the continuing educational opportunity gap (often referred to as achievement gap) observed in the difference between the schooling participation, academic performance, educational attainment, and post-secondary institution aspirations of students (Brown et al. 2012; Brown and Presley 2013),[8] many educators and scholars maintain that CRT offers a helpful approach to understanding and addressing the issues. Developed from the work of critical legal scholars, and prominently referenced by American and British scholars in their work on the education situation of Black students (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995; Milner 2007; Gillborn 2015), CRT focuses on race, racialization, and racism as central to understanding and ultimately addressing the situation of racial minority students. But in the Canadian educational context where the neoliberal discourse of multiculturalism maintains hegemony, and race as an identity variable tends to be suppressed—if not dismissed as irrelevant—CRT, just like antiracism education, is often repudiated and disaffirmed. The argument can be made that the reactions to the establishment of an Africentric

Alternative School in the Toronto District School Board (TDSB) signal the limits to some of the frameworks that could be used to address the schooling and educational needs of Black and other racialized students. Studies indicate that objections to the establishment of the school "in the racialised geography of the city" incited "extensive racialised contestation over who has the right to define … which alternative schools are acceptable … and debates over who controls culture" (Gulson and Webb 2013, 183; see also Connell 2014, 216). This claim to educational space aroused discomfort and fear among whites since such a "segregated" form of education is contrary to the multicultural "goodness" that white people imagine for the city and the country (Levine-Ratsky 2014, 209). In an earlier work, I argued that

> The call to reject 'school by skin colour' is rooted in a multicultural discourse which advocates color-blindness, promotes integration of 'cultural groups', and understands 'difference'—in terms of identity and/or culture—to be reflective of 'foreignness', which is seen as something schools should not validate, for to do so would be to undermine the national cultural integration project. (James 2011, 203)

Lastly, in the perpetual search for a schooling and education model that enables understandings, provides insights, builds skills, and develops competences among teachers and students regarding the experiences and needs of racially and ethnically diverse student populations, Canadian educators and researchers in recent years have been making use of culturally relevant and responsive pedagogy (CRRP). This framework is predicated on the idea that the lived experiences of students must inform the learning and teaching process if their educational and cognitive needs are to be met. In other words, making teaching relevant to the "cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles" (Gay 2000, 29) of students is crucial to enhancing their learning and ensuring their academic success. In such learning environments students are able to capitalize on their strengths, exercise agency, and make use of the social and cultural capital or CCW that they bring to their learning. Scholars suggest that employing CRRP in classrooms is a way of rejecting the *deficit-based thinking* about racial minority students (Howard 2003), and as a result, enables them to "develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order" (Ladson-Billings 1995, 160). Moreover, to be culturally relevant and responsive to

students, "teachers need to engage in honest, critical reflection that challenges them to see their positionality influences their students in either positive or negative ways" (Howard 2003, 197). Building on the principles of antiracism and CRT, CRRP advocates praxis that encourages teachers to be conscious of the saliency of race in their relationships with students and teaching practice in general. While interrelated with other identity factors—such as class, ethnicity, sexuality, language, and others—teachers must avoid the tendency to eschew race, and in so doing, need to deliberately and purposefully think through their own racial identity as they engage in equitable and inclusive work. According to Watson (2011), "teachers must ask themselves who they are, what their beliefs are (in particular, as they relate to symbolic capital and skin color), and where these beliefs might have come from" (32).

For the most part, these frameworks of education are mostly taken up within urban institutions—in universities through courses and professional development sessions for teacher candidates and teachers, and in school boards through programs and initiatives such as university/board/school partnerships under the title, "Urban Education," or some variation thereof. It is *urban* settings—more precisely, geographically defined areas of cities—that are thought to be diverse—particularly in terms of race, ethnicity, language, class, and immigrant status—and where social conditions such as poverty and disparities contribute to the social, educational, cultural, and economic problems with which teachers and school administrators have to contend. This orientation to Urban Education can be observed in the undergraduate and graduate—mostly elective—courses offered by universities across Canada through specific cohorts or streams leading to undergraduate or graduate degrees or diplomas.

A sampling of the urban education courses and initiatives, for the most part, indicates that they are designed to provide educators and teacher candidates with awareness and understandings of *urban* issues (e.g., marginalization, poverty, racism, unemployment, health concerns, differential access to resources, etc.) noting their relationship to diversity in terms of culture, ethnicity, race, religion, language, and immigrant status, as well as to how such issues are produced and sustained by structural inequities in urban settings. The expectation is that with the awareness and critical insights gained, educators will commit to working with social justice, equity, fairness, access, and inclusivity in mind. Opportunities are provided for teacher candidates

to experience teaching in *urban* schools so that they are prepared for the issues and challenges they might encounter if and when they do work in urban communities upon graduation. For in-service teachers, particularly those pursuing graduate degrees, the initiatives—as will be illustrated in the following section—serve to help them enhance their knowledge and skills, and gain language for their analyses and understandings of issues.

Putting Theory into Practice: A Community-Referenced Approach to Education Project

In a four year collaborative project—*School and Community Engaged Education* (SCEE)—between the Faculty of Education where I work and the public schools in an ethnically and racially diverse, low-income neighborhood bordering the university,[9] we worked with teachers in five schools (two primary, two middle, and one secondary) to develop an approach to their work with students who, in comparison with their counterparts in the TDSB, consistently exhibited significantly poor school performance and educational outcomes. Building on the partnership that faculty has had with schools in the area for about 20 years, the aim of the project was to develop equitable, democratic, and inclusive practices that would enhance school effectiveness, student participation, and parental and community engagement through research and professional development activities with educators, administrators, parents, and community members (Barrett et al. 2010; Samaroo et al. 2013). The project encouraged and supported teachers as they (1) reflected on and challenged their own and societal constructs of the neighborhood in order to appreciate the lived experiences of their students; (2) acknowledged *difference* and understood its relationship to context (geographic, social, and cultural) and people (teachers, parents, peers, community); (3) recognized the links between inclusive practices and students' assessment and evaluation (particularly with regard to standardized tests); (4) developed strategies to involve parents and community members in school partnerships; (5) facilitated dialogue among administrators, teachers, parents, and community members; and (6) collaboratively conducted practitioner research to inform their school programs, as well as curricular and pedagogical practices.

Over a three-year period, we conducted focus group interviews with teachers, administrators, parents, and community members, as well as

individual interviews with teachers and administrators, at each of the five participating schools. Our research was subjected to the necessary ethical procedures of the university, including obtaining informed consent (by signing a form) that provided permission for us to publish information we received from participants as long as anonymity was maintained. All interviews were transcribed and the data was triangulated with other data sources—annual learning plans developed by the SCEE team (of researchers, teachers, administrator, parents, and community members) at each school, and field notes of observations of classrooms, school events, and the project's professional development initiatives (i.e., annual Fall, Spring, and Summer Institutes, and Inclusive Learning Community meetings). Data analyses consisted of both thematic and critical discourse analyses (Fairclough 1995). Emergent themes were determined for each school in two steps: each school's research assistant identified general themes, and then another member of the research team reviewed the data also to identify the general themes. The corroborated identified themes of each school were further checked against those of the other participating schools and the overlapping themes were then identified as key themes noting what was said about student engagement, equitable and inclusive education, and the role of community in schooling over the course of the project.

We approached this "Urban Education" project as a *process* informed by social constructivism in which we worked collectively with teachers, parents, and community members to grapple with difficulties, generate and explore questions through critical analyses, and co-construct opportunities that would strengthen inclusive educational practices aimed at improving the lives of young people and their parents. The data generated from the research indicates that participants gained an appreciation for the importance of community in the teaching and learning processes in which they engaged students. Teachers seemed to understand that taking into account the cultural contexts of school, home, and community which students traverse daily is essential to inclusive teaching. As one Elementary School teacher commented:

> I take a sociocultural approach to education. So I look at things that happen outside the classroom that really make the students engaged. Curriculum is an important thing. However, there is the issue that it is Eurocentric or westernized. But that's only one factor. There are other things going on in students' lives that they may not or cannot explain—like what is going at home—and that might make them not interested in learning. (March 2009)

Indeed, the Eurocentric or Westernized curriculum or course content is "only one factor" in students' educational and schooling experiences that must be considered if educators are to construct curriculum, pedagogy, and programs that are responsive to the needs and interests of students. In fact, getting to know about students' lives and going beyond the "selves" that they present in school, the classroom or to teachers, requires, as one administrator put it, "finding a way to utilize" the talents, skills, and resources that exist among community members since doing so "will help us an awful lot." In recognizing that the community has knowledge that educators "lack," this middle school administrator went on to say: "… we've sort of exhausted all of our existing resources, and yet, there're more issues that we have to address" (April 2009). Another middle school administrator established that while "it is difficult to draw conclusions," parental involvement at his school has led to "improvements in terms of academic performance of students … [their] positive behavior in school, … reduction in suspensions, … absences, [and] lates." These improvements appeared to be underscored by improved relationship between parents and teachers. "Our staff," he said, "seem to be having less issues with parents … because they have more positive relationships with parents" (May 2009).

Parents and community members corroborated the educators' claims about their "good working relationships" with the schools—some directly attributed the improved rapport with teachers to the Urban Education project. And, noting that even though the neighborhood parents are "marginalized people" who have "social and financial issues" and have to "work day and night just to pay the rent," one community member insisted that they are pleased "to provide support" to teachers, because they appreciate the fact that the teachers are also there to help them with their children's educational issues. This is seen as enough incentive for parents "to come" to work with teachers. "We have the resources you [teachers] can use," said this middle school parent. "Allow us to work with you—that's all we are asking for from the community" (October 2009). Other project participants talked of the physical and psychological difficulties parents and community members have had in gaining access to schools. Reference was made to the distance that the school staff tended to keep from parents and community members generally—something that was underlined by locked school doors which meant that as visitors they had to be buzzed into the school from the main office through the main door. A number of parents and community members read these practices

as evidence of teachers' and administrators' "fear" of the community, which was buttressed by the profile of the community (see note 9; also James 2012), and as a consequence assumptions made of the students based on academic performance, safe school incidents, and socio-economic situation. One community member with children in the one high school in the area indicated that things changed with the SCEE project, and he went on to comment about the adversarial relationship, the blame game, and community mischaracterization that had to be negotiated:

> Access before was really difficult—schools seemed to be closed spaces. If you're not an admin, teacher, or student, you don't belong. It's a common approach to education in the city … A school like [name of high school] that has been under so much scrutiny and [having the] spotlight on it [regarding] student transfers,[10] safe schools incidents, test scores, socio-economic situation of students and families. It's so much under a microscope. People [administrators] were scared of taking risks, fear to involve the community and provide more resources. The relationship was adversarial; lots of blame going around—parents to admin, mischaracterization, [and] assumptions about the community. It made it very difficult for either one to feel they belonged together. (March 2010)

We take from our experiences with educators, parents, and community members (and as their comments indicate) that being culturally relevant and responsive to students' needs meant that teachers must ground their readings of students' self-presentations, and understanding of students' experiences, not simply in the students' perceived cultures, as informed by or expressed in relation to ethnicity, race, religion, and language, but, more significantly, how the community in which they reside helps to shape their culture—for, in addition to the family (including extended family), community, through peer relations and significant others, plays an important role in the lives of students. In this regard, referencing the community is fundamental to understanding the culture of young people—their values, attitudes, and aspirations—that they bring to the classrooms and to their learning process. Convinced that this approach is important to teaching inclusively, one middle school teacher reflected:

> At one point, I figured inclusive education meant incorporating everything that involved the students, meaning the diversity that they come with, their

> academic abilities, reading skills—in terms of race, nationality, that kind of thing. But now I'm beginning to appreciate that it's more than seeing only where they come from in terms of race and nationality; but also where they come from in terms of their community and its impact on them. (May 2010)

Conclusion

It is certainly not easy for schools to be comprehensive and complete in their responses to diversity—a feat that is challenging and difficult, given the scope of diversity in many of the cities in advanced capitalist countries. Notwithstanding the considerable and continuous changes in political, economic, and cultural realities, educators have the enormous task of being the catalysts in advancing inclusivity, equity, and social justice in education, especially in marginalized community schools. Accordingly, if "teachers cannot imagine our society structured differently than it currently is," and if they cannot imagine themselves working "effectively to provide their students with the imagination necessary to attempt a better future," then there is little hope that there will be changes in educational policies, curriculum, programs, and practices (Hinchey 2008, 130). In the Canadian context, specifically where the hegemonic discourse of multiculturalism serves to mediate how the various models of education and related policies and programs are articulated and practiced, a critical orientation to teacher education and professional learning can begin to address limits of education for the diverse student population. Clearly, education is not the responsibility of educators alone; taking a community approach to education has more impact, and harnessing the social and cultural capital of all students can be effective in building inclusive schools. We need to imagine and cultivate a school system that fosters, rather than manages diversity, and accepts (not tolerates) difference as crucial to learning.

Finally, in Canada, the shifts from multicultural education in the 1970s to today's policies, programs, and practices that purport to provide culturally responsive and relevant schooling through "Urban Education" initiatives, in part, suggest a level of recognition that the initiatives over the years have been failing to respond effectively to the needs, interests, and aspirations of many students. But the new urban education initiatives will only be effective if educators engage their students with an understanding that their social and educational circumstances are, in part, shaped by

twenty-first century capitalism in which the neoliberal ethos of individual responsibility, competition, and hard work contribute to them becoming casualties of a system that underestimates their abilities and skills because of the communities in which they reside. In this regard, it is essential that teachers approach their work with students residing in marginalized communities from the perspective of equity, inclusivity, democracy, and social justice. Urban Education, then, through the prism of CRAE will enable education that pushes back against the neoliberal tendency and the marginalization and racialization of individuals; education that calls for learning in which students take pride in their identities and come to know about their relationship to the power structures that operate in their marginalization; education that challenges the tendency for their alienation because of their identities and where they live. Such education and schooling must take into account the needs, concerns, interests, expectations, and aspirations of students and parents in terms of having CRRP, curriculum, and resources informed by the communities in which students and parents reside.

Notes

1. Yosso (2005) also writes that "aspirational capital is the ability to hold onto hope in the face of structured inequality and often without the means to make such dreams a reality. Yet, aspirations are developed within social and familial contexts, often through linguistic storytelling and advice … that offer specific navigational goals and challenge (resist) oppressive conditions" (77).
2. With their critical skills, youth will be able to interpret the media's (a major influential source) representation of their community, which is often uncomplimentary.
3. This report, based on the 2011 Canadian Census, indicates that 13.1 percent of newcomers to Canada were from the Philippines, followed by 10.5 from China, 10.4 from India; and completing the top 10 countries of birth were the United States, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, Iran, South Korea, Colombia, and Mexico.
4. Vancouver, Montreal, and Calgary are other cities in which the majority of Canada's immigrants reside.
5. The Quebec government rejected the federal policy claiming that it undermined French Canadians' struggle for equal status recognition as English Canadians and for cultural survival in a predominantly English-speaking North America. Instead, Quebec introduced the intercultural policy, and

later the French Language Act, which required immigrants to learn French. Subsequently, through its cultural integration policy of interculturalism, Quebec promoted communication and interactions among Francophones, Anglophones, and Allophones with the expectation that the non-French ethnic groups would become full participants in the life of the province (Ghosh 1996; McAndrew 1995).

6. It should be noted that Aboriginals consistently rejected the multicultural policy contending that it does not apply to them since they are not part of the "foreign" constructed cultural group or ethnic Other. And as they have long done, they demanded the right to control their education (Haig-Brown 1993).
7. Ironically, oftentimes, the students were Canadian-born.
8. This gap can be observed in the significant difference (sometimes as much as 20 percent) between Black and Latin American students and their white peers.
9. Belying its suburban location, the characteristics of this densely populated neighborhood with high-rise apartment buildings and town houses built in the 1960s (also considered a "reception area" for immigrants and refugees) contribute to it being branded "as an inner-city neighborhood with urban schools" (Barrett et al. 2010, 68).
10. This is when grade 8 middle school students are "transferred" to grade 9 high school without having met the requirement to be promoted. A community organization runs a summer program for these "transferred" students.

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CHAPTER 4

Learning to Be a Culturally Responsive Teacher in the Global North: A Call for Critical Teacher Education

Ninetta Santoro

Introduction

In the last 30 years, unprecedented levels of global mobility have meant that culturally homogenous classrooms are rare in most places in the Global North. In this chapter I adopt Connell's use of the terms, "Northern" and "Southern", "… not to name a sharply bounded category of states or societies, but to emphasise relations—authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation …" (Connell 2007, viii–ix). In Northern countries and contexts, including Europe, Scandinavia, the USA, Australia and Canada, for example, the rate of demographic change has been significant. In some countries, it has been unparalleled. For example, in the Republic of Ireland, foreign-born citizens increased by 143 percent from 2002 to 2011, with 12 percent of the population being non-Irish born (Government of Ireland 2012). Iceland, a relatively homogenous country in terms of culture and language, has

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seen a significant increase in immigration in the past ten years with 7.9 percent of the Icelandic population in 2012 being foreign born (OECD 2013). Countries such as the USA and Canada, sometimes referred to as "classical immigration countries" or "traditional immigration countries" (Dustmann et al. 2011), continue to experience a diversification of their population, particularly in specific geographical areas and regions (United States Census Bureau 2013; Government of Canada 2013). While some of the global mobility in Europe can be attributed to the movement of people between various nations in the European Union, significant numbers of immigrants from the Global South, that is, "Southerners", make their way to nations of the Global North for economic reasons, or to seek asylum from war and conflict in their homeland. Additionally, the cultural diversity of nations of the Global North includes second and subsequent generations of immigrants originally from the Global South, for example, the Pakistani or African-Caribbean communities in the UK. While children born into these families in the Global North may, or may not be bilingual, and thus, not necessarily linguistically diverse, they often have diverse cultural values, practices and knowledge.

Given the cultural diversity present in many of the world's classrooms, all teachers, regardless of their current geographical location, are required to develop culturally responsive pedagogies. This means holding high expectations of culturally and linguistically diverse students; respecting and understanding their cultural values, knowledge, practices and histories; and drawing upon and building on students' "funds of knowledge" (Gonzales et al. 2005). A culturally responsive teacher promotes social justice through naming and critiquing discourses of inequality within, and beyond, the classroom. She or he has what Epstein and Gist (2013, 19) call "pedagogical dexterity", that is, the ability to be pedagogically reflexive and reflective. A pedagogically reflective practitioner reflects upon their practice and its effectiveness, while a pedagogically reflexive practitioner reflects upon their practice in relation to their beliefs and values about practice and how these beliefs and values are embedded within broader hegemonic discourses. A reflective and reflexive practitioner is both flexible and responsive in regard to the needs of culturally and linguistically diverse students and she/he is able to address their needs through teaching strategies, curricula and assessment that are culturally relevant and meaningful.

The need to educate culturally responsive teachers in the Global North is well established and usually addressed in teacher education courses, albeit to varying degrees, and in ways that usually reflect Northern values and per-

spectives. However, without wanting to homogenize Southern students and their experiences of study in the Global North, frequently, their educational needs are not met. The educational outcomes of some groups of Southern students lag behind those of students from the hegemonic North (European Commission 2011; OECD 2012). First- and second-generation immigrant youth are more likely to leave school early, less likely to access university education (OECD 2010) and consequently, more likely to be unemployed or employed in low-paying jobs (Portes and Rivas 2011). The Indigenous and First Nations populations of Northern countries such as Australia, Canada and the USA, as well as Gypsy, Roma and Traveller groups in Europe often experience educational disadvantage (Doyle and Hill 2008; Cherubini et al. 2010; Wilkin et al. 2010). The school and educational experiences of many Southern students can be that of marginalization and alienation.

There are many reasons for the poor schooling experiences of some groups, despite teachers generally having entered the profession in order to make a difference to the lives of all students (Kiriacou et al. 2010; Sanger and Osguthorpe 2011). There is a significant body of research that suggests one reason is that teachers lack the confidence and knowledge to address the needs of students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds (e.g., Darling-Hammond 2012; Gay 2010; Siwatu 2011). Teachers often struggle to know *how* to build on students' existing cultural knowledge, that is, how to scaffold their students' learning and how to connect sanctioned curriculum with students' cultural knowledge. A challenge for many teachers is knowing how to use students' first language in the classroom in order to facilitate effective second-language learning and to design culturally sensitive assessments (Sleeter and Cornbleth 2011; Griner and Stewart 2013; Harry and Klingner 2014).

Developing a repertoire of effective practice depends on teachers knowing their students. This means understanding the nature of their students' cultural and linguistic heritage, that is, their cultural knowledge, traditions, values and practices, as well as their expectations of schooling, what Gonzales et al. (2005) call "funds of knowledge". Knowing students is possibly the most important aspect of a teacher's knowledge. It is integral to developing good student-teacher relationships, designing meaningful and relevant curriculum, using effective assessment strategies and practices. It is, in fact, central to everything a teacher does. Goodwin (2010, 25) suggests that to know pupils is to understand the "informal, cultural, or personal curricula that children embody—the curriculum of home, the curriculum of community/ies, the curriculum of lived experiences".

However, if teachers are to *really* know their students, they also need to understand themselves as having a set of cultural beliefs and values that shape how they see and interact with students, what they expect of them, what they actually do in their classrooms and what they "know" to be valuable and correct about particular schooling, and teaching practices (Santoro 2009; Santoro 2013). Knowing the "cultural self" is inextricably connected to understanding the cultural "other", and is crucial to developing culturally responsive pedagogies and effective classroom practice. Palmer, referring to the connection between good teaching, knowledge of students and knowledge of self, suggests, "When I do not know myself, I cannot know who my students are. […] and when I cannot see them clearly I cannot teach them well" (Palmer in Hinchey 2004, 1). While it is commonly accepted that pupils' beliefs and cultural values shape their identities and practices as learners, the same is rarely considered in relation to teachers. Applebaum, commenting on the connection in general, between understanding self and others, says:

> When it is assumed that teachers can act as if they bring nothing into the classroom, teachers do not have to examine how their own identities and the frameworks within which they are constituted influence how they understand who their students are and what can be expected of them (2009, 383).

Teachers not only impart particular knowledge to young people and help develop their minds and intellectual capacities, but also conserve the values and practices a society deems good, valuable and worthy. They do this through what they do in their classrooms, including the curriculum they teach, the relationships they have with students and their engagement with broader education discourses. Knowing themselves and understanding what values, beliefs and attitudes they bring into the classroom and how their beliefs and values shape their practice and expectations of others relies on their understanding the socio-cultural discourses in which they, as individuals and members of a professional collective, are embedded.

In this chapter, I draw on data from a study that investigated the attitudes of a cohort of Scottish student-teachers towards culturally diverse classrooms and their perceptions of their readiness to teach in such contexts. I highlight the challenges the student-teachers experienced in coming to understand their students, and themselves as professionals embedded within dominant cultural discourses. I conclude by suggesting the need for a critical teacher education and the diversification of the teacher educator profession to include those from the Global South.

The Study: Design and Methodology

After obtaining university ethics approval, a mixed-method, two-staged approach to the data collection was used. In stage one, a cross-sectional survey was conducted of all student-teachers enrolled in a Bachelor of Education programme in one Scottish university (n = 329). A pen-and-paper anonymous questionnaire elicited data about (a) the student-teachers' backgrounds; (b) their understandings of the nature of cultural diversity in Scottish schools, their experience with culturally and linguistically diverse students and whether they felt confident and well prepared to teach them. Response sets included a mixture of binary categories (e.g., Yes/No), a selection of applicable options, a Likert-type responses and qualitative responses. Overall, 318 student-teachers returned a completed questionnaire.

Stage two of the study consisted of individual in-depth semi-structured interviews with 12 student-teachers who were selected to achieve a range of age, gender, year group. Most interviewees were aged in their early twenties, and female. At the time of the interviews, which coincided with the beginning of a new academic year, four student-teachers were in second year, six student-teachers were in fourth year and two had just begun their probationary year as newly qualified teachers. The interviews explored some of the key issues highlighted in the survey and elicited in-depth data from the student-teachers. The interviews lasted between 40–60 minutes each, were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed verbatim.

The responses to the closed items on the questionnaire were analyzed using descriptive statistics, undertaken in SPSS 21. The qualitative responses to the 11 open questions in the questionnaire were read and reread to identify patterns and themes. For example, responses to the item "What are the challenges of teaching culturally diverse pupils" were categorized under the following themes: language barriers; lack of knowledge about students' cultures; lack of knowledge about students' religions; creating a tolerant and harmonious classroom. The interview data were analysed using a thematic approach, with individual transcripts being read and reread using a process of open coding to identify patterns in each of the interviewees' experiences and attitudes. These patterns were then compared and contrasted across, and between, the individual interviewees' data in order to identify differences and similarities, tensions and contradictions. The main themes and subthemes that emerged from the analysis were: (1) lack of confidence in culturally diverse social contexts (lack of contact with culturally diverse "others", fear of language barriers, fear of different cultural mores); (2) lack of confidence in culturally

diverse classrooms (inadequate teacher education, inexperience in culturally diverse classrooms); (3) lack of knowledge about own enculturation.

While I do not want to generalize from this cohort of Scottish student-teachers to all student-teachers, some of the findings may resonate with researchers and teacher educators working in similar contexts, and especially those working in the Global North.

How Ready Are Scottish Student-Teachers for Culturally Diverse Classrooms?

In the last two decades there has been a steady increase in the cultural diversity of pupil populations in Scotland due to migration into Scotland (The Scottish Government 2015). This trend seems likely to continue. One hundred and thirty-nine languages are represented in Scottish schools, with Polish being the most frequently spoken as an additional language, followed by Urdu, Punjabi and Arabic. There are in excess of 40 African languages spoken (The Scottish Government 2014a). Approximately five percent of students speak English as an Additional Language (EAL) (The Scottish Government 2014b). However, these EAL students are not evenly spread across schools in Scotland. In some urban areas, such as Glasgow, they constitute 15.8 percent of the total student population, with numbers are as high as 65 percent in some areas of the city (Scottish Government 2014c). Therefore, there is a professional imperative for Scottish teachers, like those in the rest of the UK, to address the needs of culturally diverse groups of students. However, the student-teachers in the study reported here, like the majority of teachers in England, are white, British born and monolingual (The Scottish Government 2011; Department for Education 2012). When asked to describe their ethnicity in an open-ended question in the survey, 88.4 per cent of respondents identified themselves as "Scottish White", "White-British" or simply as "White". Two student-teachers identified as British-Pakistani, two identified as Scottish-Indian, two as Chinese and one as African-mixed heritage (total 2.1 %). Ninety-seven percent of respondents indicated that English was their first language, with 67 percent of them saying they were monolingual. Of the approximate 30 percent who said they had some knowledge of a language other than English, only 10 percent said they were fluent speakers of another language.

The student-teachers were also anxious and worried about teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students. The survey indicated that nearly 72 percent said they would prefer to teach a class of monolingual students. A large majority (78 %) were worried about teaching a class consisting mostly of students from different cultures. Of the student-teachers who responded to an open-ended question in the survey about what they thought were the challenges of teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students, 50 percent indicated that a language barrier posed a challenge to them, 61 percent said understanding a different culture was a challenge.

The students-teachers' concern about the prospect of teaching culturally and linguistically diverse students is due, in part, to feeling unconfident and underprepared. Nearly 80 percent of student-teachers said they lacked confidence. Michelle[1] said, "I wouldn't say that I'm very well prepared. I am not confident, particularly with students with English as an additional language. I'm not sure how I would approach it". Others talked about the inadequacy of their teacher education. "I wish there was a compulsory class on languages and teaching bilingual children because we might have only had two or three lectures on it and it is nowhere near enough" (Stephanie).

> I think my course has prepared me to be aware that I will no doubt come across a classroom with children without English as their first language. But it's not prepared me specifically to deal with it. So you know that's not detracting from the course it's just that you know you've only got four years and we've learned what we've learned but we certainly haven't had, in my opinion, as much preparation to deal with children with English as their additional language, absolutely not. (Amy)

The student-teachers' course included an optional short module that focused on addressing the needs of students for whom English is an Additional Language (EAL), rather than a compulsory module of study that provided opportunities for sustained and in-depth study. As is the case for many graduating teachers, it is possible for these student-teachers to complete their teaching degree having very limited understanding of how to work productively with culturally and linguistically diverse students. Given this lack of attention in their degree, maybe it is not surprising that they seemed to have limited knowledge of the general cultural makeup of the student population in Scotland, let alone, more detailed

understandings of students' cultures. When Morag was asked during an interview whether she knows what ethnic groups are in Scotland and represented in Scottish student populations, she replied:

> I wouldn't have a clue. I don't know. I would say it is probably ummm … I would say there's quite a lot of … Eastern European culture. I would probably say that there was a lot of … does Poland and that, come under Eastern European? [Interviewer: Yes. Poland is European]. Is it? So I would say, Eastern Europeans, but that would be as far as my knowledge would be able to stretch.

So, while Morag is correct in saying there are significant numbers of Polish people in Scotland, she appears to have little understanding of any others groups, such as those from various African nations, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, and those from various locations in the Middle East. While Morag's significant, and worrying, lack of knowledge is not typical of all the student-teachers, there was not one student-teacher who expressed good understanding of the demography of the student population in Scotland.

Apart from being white, British born and monolingual, these student-teachers have had little sustained contact with people who are culturally different from themselves, and they have little knowledge of the richness of cultures present in Scotland. As school students, generally, they attended schools in areas where there was little cultural diversity. Morag, conflating cultural diversity with color, said during her interview:

> there weren't any black children in my school. And I think there was one in another school that I knew of and that's it. Like, I really didn't have any contact with anyone else that wasn't white because that was just the people I grew up with and the school I went to. And then you come down to Glasgow and then it is like another big culture shock because there's loads of like colored people with black colored skin and you are like, "Wow, that's really different". It's a really big culture shock.

Furthermore, most of the student-teachers have had little or no experience of working with culturally and linguistically diverse students on school-experience placements. Generally, they have been placed in schools close to their homes in areas where there is little cultural and linguistic diversity. Stephanie is representative of the cohort in general, when she said: "I have always taught in schools [for placement] where the children's

first language has been English and it has never been an issue for me, but I think if it does happen, it is going to be a lot harder to cope".

While nearly all the student-teachers had travelled abroad (99.7 %), these trips didn't provide opportunities for them to become immersed in a different culture. Nor did they provide opportunities for intercultural exchange and learning, a benefit often attributed to travel to other cultural contexts (Caton 2011). The trips abroad that the student-teachers went on were short, lasting less than two weeks in the case of 54 percent of respondents, and only 3.8 percent of respondents had been away for periods of six months or more. The student-teachers reported having very little contact with local people when they had been abroad (41 %).

That these student-teachers were from the dominant cultural majority potentially presents particular challenges to them learning to become culturally responsive teachers. They are required to *know* their students, to understand a range of cultures that are different from their own, to understand and respect their students' cultural knowledge, traditions, values and practices in order to build on their student cultural knowledge. Understanding cultures that are different from one's own is a challenge faced by all teachers—there is a risk that their outsiderness will mean they come to understand culture in simplistic and stereotypical ways. As is the case for these student-teachers, the challenge is compounded by a lack of sustained contact with cultural others and a lack of adequate teacher education. Furthermore, it can be extremely difficult to "see" the cultural practices in which one is embedded. The majority of the Scottish student-teachers lacked awareness of their positioning as members of the dominant majority and how this shaped their personal and professional identities. Generally, during interview, they struggled to engage with the concept. In the following excerpt of data, Lisa responded to a question about how her own culture shapes her teaching identity.

> Ummm … I don't know … I haven't really thought about it … I'm not sure … Do you mean …? Like, well, I've always been brought up with, like my mum's always saying "remember your manners". And say "please" "thank you" and always be kind to other people. And I think that does kind of affect the way you relate to other people. Like when I talk to children in my class, I want to set a good example for them and I want to show them that it's important to have manners and it's important to say "please" and "thank

> you" and to be nice to other children. I suppose that does kind of shapes you as a person and a teacher as well.

Similarly, Michelle answered the same question with uncertainty.

> I can't say that I've thought about it much, no … ummm. I think my experience of being through the Scottish system will always be something that affects how I am as a teacher. Umm, but as far as culture necessarily goes … I wouldn't say …, there's not been … I don't really know, not really sure.

Ben is much more certain that there is no connection between one's culture and professional identity. He said, "I don't think my culture's really impacted on me too much at all", while Anne stated her ethnicity was "white and boring". These findings resonate with research I have undertaken in Australia with student-teachers from the hegemonic mainstream. In many cases they were unsure that they had an ethnicity. As one young woman told me during interview, she was "just normal". Alternatively, some saw their cultural values and practices as boring compared to cultural practices of some others, which they deemed to be interesting in comparison (see Santoro 2009, 2014).

Ben followed up his comment above about his ethnicity not impacting on him, by saying, "It's important for teachers to treat all students the same regardless of their own culture, or the culture of the students". While well intentioned, and underpinned by egalitarian ideals, Ben's intention to treat all students the same is what has been called "naïve egalitarianism" (Causey et al. 2000). Treating everyone the same and giving everyone the same opportunities are two very different concepts—treating everyone the same will simply perpetuate the status quo and maintain existing inequalities. Difference does matter—most people who are, or perceive themselves to be, different, are likely to say it matters, especially when some people are treated unequally and have unequal access to resources, *because* they are different. Rachel's thinking is much more sophisticated: "To be honest I'm not sure how much you should let where a child's from make a difference. It's about giving him or her the same chance as everybody in the class".

The inability to see how, as a member of the hegemonic "mainstream", one is encultured and embedded in dominant discourses, is a characteristic of "whiteness", a concept and an area of scholarship that has been taken up and developed by a variety of scholars over

more than 20 years (e.g., Frankenberg 1993; Matias 2012; Morrison 1992; Schick 2010). Whiteness can be defined as a process of being and acting in the world; it is the subscription of ideologies that lead to, and maintain, either advertently or inadvertently, the domination of white people. Whiteness is "socially, historically, and culturally constructed in social structure, ideology, and individual actions" (Yoon 2012, 589). Yoon talks about "whiteness-at-work" as a "socially constructed, dynamic set of strategies in speech and action" (2012, 10). The practice of denying ethnicity or race, either in the case of oneself, or in the case of others, is an example of "whiteness-at-work" and an example of color-blindness. Being blind to racial and ethnic difference can, whether inadvertent or otherwise, be used to "justify inaction through denial, thereby maintaining the current power structure and preserving the privileges of the dominant group" (Anderson 2010, 250). Pearce names responses like those of Ben and Rachel as "unreflective standpoints" (2012, 465) underpinned by whiteness. She goes onto suggest that "in the many recent studies of white teacher candidates' attitudes to race a recurring finding is the students' desire to resist the idea of whiteness as a dominant discourse, and to minimise the issue of race inequity through appeals to individualism and meritocracy" (2012, 456).

Only one of the Scottish student-teachers, Cara, made any connection between her own membership of the dominant culture and her understanding of culturally and linguistically diverse students:

> I feel … I kind of feel a bit, sometimes, not embarrassed, but you know I'm like the *classic* student, you know, White, young female, Scottish. And I think, sometimes, I think oh, I wish I wasn't because I might have a better chance of connecting with children with different cultures. I might understand them better.

Cara made connections between her personal identity, her professional identity and the challenge of understanding students who are different from herself. This acknowledgement points to a reflexive disposition that did not appear to be apparent in the other student-teachers. However, what is important for Cara, given that she *is* Scottish and white—and this is not going to change—is to be able to critique what being white and Scottish actually means, and how she might develop better understandings of herself in order to understand others.

Teacher Education for Teachers from the Global North

The findings of the Scottish study taken with those of other studies cited in the chapter, raise a number of concerns about teacher education that are worthy of further discussion. First, there is a need for teacher education that takes seriously, and prioritizes, the preparation of culturally responsive teachers. In the case of the Scottish student-teachers, the gaps in their knowledge, such as their lack of understanding about the demographics of the student population, can be relatively easily addressed. However, understanding the cultures of the students in their classes is much more difficult because it requires them to not only focus on the "cultural other", but to engage with the "cultural self". I suggest that a critical teacher education that draws on the principles of critical pedagogy has the potential to move student-teachers beyond the acquisition of technical skills to a potentially risky place of learning, where they must question and critique their beliefs and values, and what they "know", and assume to be "normal". Teacher education with a critical orientation offers student-teachers opportunities to interrogate the discourses, at an institutional, societal and personal level, that shape and construct classroom practices. It offers student-teachers opportunities to see beyond what is obvious and taken for granted. However, in order to make the invisible visible, it is necessary to "expose prospective teachers to a variety of ideological postures so that they can begin to perceive their own ideologies in relation to others' and critically examine the damaging biases they may personally hold" (Bartolomè 2007, 281). Teachers need to be enabled to see how their own autobiographies are nested within particular socio-cultural discourses. Given that most teachers in the Global North are Northerners, being able to deconstruct the ongoing distributions of power and privilege that accrue to members of the Global North is difficult and emotional work. Those of us who have attempted to help student-teachers deconstruct their positioning as members of the hegemonic mainstream and to engage with issues of whiteness know how difficult it is. Our attempts can be met with resistance and opposition from student-teachers who feel resentment and insecurity at being asked to move beyond their comfort zone. Smith, who uses documentary films in order to interrupt and disrupt student-teacher thinking about racism and inequality, refers to the message of racialization that is an integral part of the subject she teaches, as being "too much" for some students and resulting in them feeling anger "at the proposal of the existence of racialization in our society" (2013, 226).

Furthermore, although gestures are sometimes made towards the internationalization of teacher education, and in particular, the inclusion of alternative non-Northern perspectives into teacher education curriculum, in practice, this rarely occurs. For example, a focus on the varied knowledge systems and epistemological beliefs in Southern cultures is usually not seen in Northern teacher education curriculum, nor are teacher education students encouraged to engage with Southern perspectives of childhood, learning, teaching and teaching identities. Often, this is because such perspectives are not seen by teacher-accrediting bodies or teacher educators themselves, as relevant to the preparation of teachers for particular local and national Northern contexts. It may be also because such knowledge is not in the expertise of teacher educators.

Second, stakeholders in teacher education beyond faculties and schools of teacher education need also to understand the complexities of preparing teachers for culturally diverse contexts. Teacher professional standards and teacher accreditation bodies play an important role in informing, to varying degrees, the content of most teacher education programs. Despite the rhetoric in teacher professional standards about the importance of teachers having the right knowledge to work productively with culturally and linguistically diverse cohorts, in reality, teacher professional standards pay lip service to it. A recent analysis of the professional standards in five of the most culturally diverse contexts (England, New Zealand, Canada (British Columbia), the USA (California), and Australia) suggest the teacher professional standards analyzed do not acknowledge, let alone make explicit, the complex and specific knowledge and skills needed for culturally responsive teaching (Santoro and Kennedy 2015). The value-laden statements about equity and access that are contained within the standards do little to acknowledge the complexities inherent in the identities of culturally diverse learners, and neither do they stipulate *what* it is that must be known, or how teachers should come to know it. Furthermore, teacher education with a critical focus takes a significant investment of time, and therefore, financial resources. Facilitating student-teachers' engagement with complex issues and the interrogation of personal beliefs and attitudes is not a quick process. Nor are the outcomes or the impact easily measured. In an era of accountability where those of us working in universities seem to be required to continually account for, and report on our teaching outcomes using metrics, this can be problematic. Also, in the face of demands from a range of stakeholders that teachers develop an ever-increasing range of competencies and broadened knowledge base,

teacher education curricula have become "crowded". At the same time, teaching courses have often become shortened or, in some cases, partially shifted away from universities into the private training sector or schools—an increasing trend in England, for example. In this context, there is a risk that the time taken for critical teacher education is regarded as a luxury, not easily afforded. As it is, teacher education for culturally diverse contexts is often limited to short and discrete elective modules in which there is a focus on understanding the characteristics of the "cultural other" and how to facilitate culturally and linguistically diverse students' assimilation into the dominant culture. The risk of students developing superficial and stereotyped views of particular cultures is high.

Third, at the same time as we work towards an effective teacher education for culturally responsive practitioners, there is the imperative to acknowledge that teacher educators themselves may contribute to perpetuating a teacher education that is rooted in, and reflective of, practices, values and privileges of the Global North. While, it is extremely difficult to obtain statistics about the ethnicity of academics in faculties and departments of education, those of us who work in them know that few of our colleagues come from the Global South. It is simply the case that most teacher educators in the Global North are themselves, Northerners. Recognizing and critiquing the discourses in which we are embedded can be as much of a challenge for us, as it is for our teacher education students. In order to disrupt the values and practices that are rooted in the discourses of Northern cultures, I want to raise for consideration, the importance of changing the cultural and ethnic profile of those who teach the teachers. In making this suggestion, I do not want to suggest that all teacher educators from the Global North unquestioningly preserve the values and practices of the existing social order through Northern curriculum and teaching practices that they assume to be normal and "natural". There are some teacher educators for whom the asymmetrical power relations between members of the Global North and the Global South are obvious *and* deeply troubling. These teachers can have nuanced understandings of how, as members of the dominant majority and members of the teaching profession, they are complicit in maintaining a social order characterized by inequity. Many are committed to working for social change, and do so effectively. However, in general, it is difficult for anyone to clearly "see" the discourses in which one's professional and personal life is embedded. It is also especially difficult to work towards changing the fundamental values and practices of a profession, when one's job is to preserve them.

It may be that teacher educators from the Global South with different perspectives and views on the Global North will enhance our efforts to prepare culturally responsive teachers—they may be able to see what we can't. However, I also don't want to suggest that all teacher educators from the Global South will *necessarily* contribute to a critical teacher education curriculum for culturally responsive practitioners. They, like any other teacher educator, are positioned and shaped by discourses of gender and social class, for example, that also impact how they understand the Global North and the Global South and their place within it. Far less tentative however, is my assertion that this is an area that needs research attention. While there has been a growing interest in the nature of teacher educators as a professional group, their work histories prior to joining academe and their experiences within schools and faculties of education, both as researchers and practitioners (Mayer et al. 2011; Murray et al. 2008), there has been little research that has investigated the professional experiences of teacher educators from the Global South preparing teachers from the Global North for Northern classrooms. Little is known about how they experience work in academe, how they draw upon different cultural understandings and practices to shape pedagogy and curricula.

Finally, in general, teachers who are culturally responsive practitioners bring to their classrooms a level of reflection and reflexivity that is beneficial for the learning of *all* students. They are concerned with the promotion of social justice through naming and critiquing discourses of inequality within, and beyond, the classroom. They can facilitate Northern students' understandings of how they are positioned as members of the hegemonic mainstream, and the privileges that accrue to such membership. As Pearce suggests, "In the hands of skilled and committed teachers […] aspects of hegemonic white culture are examined alongside, not pre-eminent among, other cultures. This makes it possible for both culture and power to be opened up as topics for discussion, in contexts which are meaningful for children" (2012, 459).

In returning specifically to the context of Scotland, traditionally, teacher education has not prioritized, or seen the need to prioritize the preparation of teachers for culturally and linguistically diverse contexts. However, while Scotland's growing cultural and linguistic diversity, juxtaposed against a largely homogenous teaching profession presents challenges for teacher educators, it is clear that it is a challenge that needs to be met. Teacher education must prioritize, via a critical approach, the preparation of teachers who can disrupt, rather than simply replicate the values and

practices that are rooted in the education discourses of the Global North. It is no longer an option, but an imperative.

Note

1. All names are pseudonyms.

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PART II

Indigenous Perspectives from the North and South

CHAPTER 5

A Cartography of Higher Education: Attempts at Inclusion and Insights from Pasifika Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand

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Introduction

Higher education in settler colonies like Aotearoa New Zealand,[1] Australia, the USA, and Canada has historically been dominated by European ways of knowing and being. As a result, these institutions tend to privilege individual (over collective) achievement, produce and transmit totalizing knowledge, and operate according to linear conceptualizations of time and teleological notions of progress and futurity (Ahenakew et al. 2014). Social mobility (particularly as it results in capital accumulation) is increasingly viewed as the primary "end" of higher education, through the "means" of competition, meritocracy, and self-determination. While Indigenous and racialized students have been historically excluded and/or underrepresented in higher education within the settler colonies

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(Ahenakew and Naepi, 2015; Airini et al. 2010b; Ahenakew et al., 2014; Andreotti et al. 2015; Curtis et al. 2012; Gusa 2010; Mayeda et al. 2014; Kuokkanen 2008; Mila-Schaff and Robinson 2010; Patterson 2012; Roshanravan 2012, etc.), the increased presence of these students presents not only the possibility of, but also the ethical demand for, disruption of these institutionalized Eurocentric educational norms. In this chapter, we respond to this demand by examining the potential for Pasifika[2] epistemologies to inform alternative approaches to 'diversity' in higher education than are commonly deployed by universities.

This chapter aims to continue a *talanoa*[3] process that is occurring within Pasifika academic and social circles (e.g., Airini et al. 2010b; Mayeda et al. 2014; Mila-Schaff and Robinson 2010; Patterson 2012). As a cultural practice, *talanoa* can be found throughout the South Pacific (Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, etc.) (Prescott 2008); each of these cultural understandings contributes to the academic understanding of *talanoa* as a research practice. Otunuku (2011) defined *talanoa* as "dynamic interaction of story-telling, debating, reflecting, gossiping, joking, sharing families' genealogies, food and other necessities. It is talking about everything or anything that participants are interested in" (45). Tongans understand *talanoa* as "a personal encounter where people story their issues, their realities and their aspirations" (Vaioleti 2006, 21). Samoans see *talanoa* as "the ancient practice of multi-level and multi-layered critical discussions and free conversations" (Vaioleti 2006, 24). In this particular instance, the author's (Naepi) cultural grounding views *talanoa* from a Fijian context in which *talanoa* can be understood as two or more people talking together where one is the storyteller and the audience are mainly listeners (Nabobo-Baba 2011). Naepi is Kaiviti/Paplagi, with ancestral ties to Natasiri and Auckland. This chapter is a result of *talanoa* with other, differently located authors of Indigenous and non-Indigenous ancestry, about what Pasifika can teach wider higher education debates about inclusion and exclusion. We invite others to contribute to this international and multilayered *talanoa* with Pasifika, Indigenous, and allied academics. Although traditionally *talanoa* is a cultural practice that occurs face-to-face, we would like to use this chapter as an opportunity to contribute another layer to the critical discussion of supporting Pasifika students to experience the success they are capable of in higher education.

Pasifika peoples contribute to the Pacific research space, which is part of the larger global Indigenous research space (even when produced in localities different from ancestral lands). It is important to note that the term "Pasifika" encompasses many different ethnicities, languages,

and cultural practices, and it is a term whose exact definition is still debated among Pasifika peoples (Coxon et al. 1994; Mahina as cited in Perrot 2007; Manu'atu and Keoa 2002; Samu 2010). Pasifika people in Aotearoa New Zealand make up seven percent of the total population (Statistics New Zealand 2014). While 31.3 percent of 18–24-year-olds in Aotearoa New Zealand participate in higher education (level four certificate or higher), only 27.1 percent of Pasifika aged 18–24 participate in higher education (Education Counts 2014). Pasifika completion rates have increased dramatically since 2004 (59.7 percent to 68.3 percent in 2013); however, Pasifika completion is still not on par with other ethnic groups [76.4 percent (*Pākeha*,[4] Asian, etc.)] (Education Counts 2014). It is this discrepancy between achievement rates that highlights the need to consider how higher education is responding to Pasifika learners.

As with many populations deemed to be outside of the white/*Palagi*[5] norm, many Pasifika students experience higher education as an ongoing negotiation between institutionally sanctioned demands based in European[6] epistemological assumptions, and institutionally othered Pacific ways of knowing and being (Airini et al. 2010b; Mayeda et al. 2014; Mila-Schaff and Robinson 2010; Patterson 2012). Indeed, this is a common pattern in higher education institutions across other settler colonies such as Australia, the USA, and Canada (e.g., Andreotti et al. 2015; Gusa 2010; Kuokkanen 2008; Roshanravan 2012). Although demands placed on these institutions by Indigenous and racialized populations for more representative student enrolment and curricula have led many universities to pledge their official support for "diversity" and "inclusion", in this chapter we argue that higher education continues to be characterized by white/*Palagi* epistemological dominance.

We use "epistemological dominance" throughout this chapter to refer to the ongoing and hegemonic power of a particular epistemology—white/*Palagi*—in the existing politics of knowledge within mainstream educational institutions such as Western universities (and beyond). Within contexts framed by European epistemological dominance, there is limited possibility for collaboration or dialogue across different knowledges, because of the uneven institutional power accorded to non-European knowledges. European epistemological dominance is premised on the supremacy and universal value of European knowledge traditions, while non-European knowledges and knowledge holders are delegitimized or devalued, if they are recognized at all (Grosfoguel 2013). That is, non-European epistemologies are often assessed according to the norms

and standards of European epistemology, rather than on their own terms, and even when the former are included, for example, within mainstream coursework or classrooms, they may be tokenized or interpreted through dominant (European) epistemological frameworks. Epistemological dominance can be evidenced not only in university course offerings and curricula, but also in the relative prestige of and reward structures for certain fields of study. Ultimately, this hierarchy of knowledge contributes to the reproduction of a racial and colonial hierarchy of humanity as well, as those deemed to hold inferior knowledges are often deemed inferior themselves.

In this chapter, we draw on Sara Ahmed's (2012) work to frame how "diversity" and "inclusion" have become a means of appearing to address racism and colonialism in higher education, while in fact functioning to support their reproduction. However, rather than discard these terms, we draw on and extend Ahmed's suggestion that, despite its potential problems, "diversity work" might nonetheless offer some strategic purchase toward the transformation of higher education. To consider this possibility, we examine three approaches to diversity and inclusion—"colorblindness", counting diverse bodies, and enabling pluriversalities—and consider how each might (selectively) recognize (or not) epistemological dominance with particular examples from within Pasifika contexts. We then offer the possibility that Pasifika ways of knowing and being might offer one way of supporting Indigenous students and reducing the harmful effects of narrow measures of success predominant in higher education. The Pasifika concept of *teu le va* is discussed along with how *teu le va* is both instrumentalized by institutions and operates as a way to minimize the harm within higher education.

Ahmed and Diversity

In her book, *On Being Included: Racism and Diversity in Institutional Life*, Sara Ahmed (2012) describes how the Eurocentric higher education space uses the banners of "diversity" and "inclusion" as a means to reproduce white/European dominance and silence "diverse" (i.e., Indigenous and racialized) groups. Because institutional deployment of these terms often enables the reproduction rather than transformation of dominant ways of knowing and being, Ahmed's work challenges us to consider how we as educators currently address the epistemological Eurocentrism of higher education. In response to this challenge, this chapter will consider how Ahmed's discussion of the circumscribed inclusion of diverse staff

in higher education can also be applied to the inclusion of diverse students. We also argue for greater consideration of the ways that higher education teaching practices reinforce epistemological dominance, despite pledges to the contrary. In particular, we will focus on Ahmed's (2012) assertions that higher education institutions reproduce whiteness through diversity; that diverse bodies are offered conditional hospitality; that inclusion of diverse subjects creates a "diversity debt"; and that whiteness is re-centered when discussing racism (see also Ahenakew and Naepi, 2015).

Ahmed argues that in most cases "diversity" is conceptualized as being about those who look "different"—that is, not-white—which results in the deflection of attention from the ethnocentrism and hegemony of those who look "the same", that is, white/*Palagi*. By benevolently granting an offer of "inclusion" to those who are "different", those who are "the same" re-center themselves and reassert their claim over the institutional space in the very act of demarcating the revised boundaries and sanctioned expressions of diversity. If "diversity" becomes something that is *added* to the institution through the inclusion of bodies deemed to be "diverse", because they are not white, then this confirms that whiteness already belongs in the institution—and that others are merely guests who have been provided a conditional invitation.

A similar dynamic is at work in the tokenistic inclusion of non-European scholarship. An example of this can be found in what we refer to as "diversity weeks", when, for example, critical race theory and Indigenous knowledge are included in course curricula. Having critical race theory or Indigenous knowledge cordoned off as an "add-on" or afterthought, rather than integrated throughout a course, confirms that knowledges outside of European traditions do not have a place in mainstream classroom discussions; they are instead relegated to specific set-aside spaces. The inclusion of diversity weeks in curriculum affirms Ahmed's stance that "if diversity becomes something that is added to organizations, like color, then it confirms the whiteness of what is already in place"(33). Despite what may be teachers' intentions, including a diversity week does not ensure "diverse" students will feel comfortable in a classroom. It may instead reconfirm to them that although they may have a place in the academy, it is a place that is confined and not of their choosing.

This confined space is part of what Ahmed (2012) refers to as "conditional hospitality". Conditional hospitality means that individual members of diverse groups are allowed into higher education "*on condition* that they return that hospitality by integrating into a common organizational

culture, or by "being" diverse, and allowing institutions to celebrate their diversity" (43, italics in original). Thus, apart from specifically designated diversity areas (in courses, on campus, or on special "diversity" celebration days), those who are granted inclusion must adhere to sanctioned ways of knowing and being, or else potentially have their invitation revoked. The inclusion of diversity weeks may be seen by the teacher as a space that has been carved out within the curriculum where diverse academic theory can be celebrated. However, there remains the specter that this celebration of diversity could also be removed if diverse populations are seen to underappreciate this celebration or attempt to move this discussion outside of the set-aside space for diversity.

Ahmed (2012) notes how often "diversity becomes debt" (153), and it is this debt that silences diverse groups, often, paradoxically, at the very moment they are invited (or at times, commanded) to speak. If we return to a classroom setting where an Indigenous student is aware that there is a "diversity week" coming up in week nine, then the student's debt becomes an obligation to not talk about Indigenous perspectives in other weeks. The price of inclusion is that the Indigenous student is unable to discuss her theoretical understanding or worldview in weeks that precede or follow without receiving a pushback. "Diversity weeks" thereby continue to treat non-European knowledges as optional and particular, as compared to European knowledge which is thought to be universally applicable, because it is presented as the norm throughout the course.

In higher education, it is usually necessary to learn the canon of a particular field. This canon is often dominated by white/European (usually, male) scholars (except, of course, during diversity week) (Grosfoguel 2013). However, efforts to point this out in a classroom setting as an act of racism may itself be read as an offense, as when Ahmed (2012) suggests "that describing the problem of racism can mean being treated as if you have created the problem" (152). For an Indigenous or racialized student, this may mean being interpreted as only bringing up "diverse" understandings of the issue at hand because you do not understand the issue at hand at all. In this view, it is not that the curriculum is ethnocentric; instead, it is the diverse student's inability to comprehend the curriculum that is perceived to be causing the problem, and as such any reference to racism in the classroom is read as inaccurate.

However, we need to consider what the "diverse" student is offering; in this case, the diverse student is offering another interpretation or understanding of the problem at hand. Indeed, the student would not

be alone in pointing out this act of racism, as the practice is documented extensively in literature about the continued salience of racism and colonialism in higher education (e.g., Harper 2012; Santos et al. 2010; Smith 2009, 2012) and the continued Eurocentrism of university curricula (e.g., Ferguson 2012; Grande 2008; Grosfoguel 2012, 2013; Kuokkanen 2008; Roshanravan 2012; Smith 2012).

Many of the above-outlined patterns in higher education—conditional hospitality to "diverse bodies, creation of a "diversity debt" through inclusion, re-centering of whiteness in the moments it is being most strongly refuted—are enacted through institutional habit, which Ahmed (2012) defines as "a continuation of willing that no longer needs to be willed", as it has "settled and accumulated over time" (129). Thus, the institution does not need to *actively* center whiteness because the reproduction of white dominance is a habitual response to dealing with the "other", or specifically in the case of this chapter, Pasifika students. In Ahmed's language, this institutional will can become an institutional "wall" for those "others" that come up against it, while no wall appears to white students whose wills are generally aligned with institutional wills/walls.

If, as Ahmed (2012, 183) suggests, "diversity work itself can allow institutions to "look over" racism", at the same time, it can also operate as "a refusal to look away from what has already been looked over". In the section that follows, against the institutional imperative to instrumentalize diversity and inclusion as a means to "look over" racism, we look into the possibilities that alternative approaches offer. However, before alternatives can be contemplated, we would like to offer a cartography of how institutions position themselves in their diversity work. In the following section, we consider how each of the three approaches to diversity (selectively) recognizes (or not) epistemological dominance using examples of Pasifika students in order to illuminate each position.

Social Cartography and Diversity

In this section, we draw on Paulston's method of social cartography in order to map different approaches to diversity within higher education. Paulston (2009) described social cartography as a means to map commonly circulating discourses within a specified field of meanings (in our case, diversity in higher education). Such maps can make visible abstract debates and unacknowledged political and metaphysical investments (Rust and Kenderes 2011). By tracing the investments underlying common

discourses and how they intersect, social cartography can create more spaces for dialogue across different perspectives about the same phenomenon, and illuminate the edge of scholarly debates where new meanings may be produced. Because social cartographies are situated translations, rather than representations from a position of totalizing omniscience, what follows is a partial and provisional map of possible approaches to diversity within higher education, informed largely by the available literature, and also by our own experiences as practitioners, teachers, and scholars in the academy and in the field of education, specifically. While our emphasis here is on addressing and interrupting colonialism and racism, oppression within higher education is not limited to these logics, and further, it is not possible to disarticulate these logics from the logics of misogyny, heteropatriarchy, class relations, and ableism. We also note that further theoretical work is needed in articulating the complexities of ontological dominance at the interface between dominant and marginalized forms of existence, which is not in the scope of this chapter.

The first position in our cartography of approaches to diversity in higher education, "color blindness", presumes that higher education institutions already employ teaching and learning practices, administrative practices, and research practices that are largely fair for all students. In this position, there is no recognition of ongoing racism and colonialism. At most, there may be an acknowledgment that, historically, certain populations were either legally or in practice made unwelcome in higher education, but this is understood to be firmly located in the past. Formal legal precedents and institutional policies in support of diversity are understood as adequate provisions to ensure a safe and welcoming environment for students and faculty of all backgrounds. Indeed, it may be that because formal equality of opportunity has been achieved (Brayboy et al. 2007), those who bring attention to racism or colonialism in the academy are instead understood as the problem themselves (Ahmed 2012). Thus, in its commitment to "color blindness", this position assumes that "post-raciality" has been achieved (Bonilla-Silva 2006), and may even harbor suspicions that ongoing efforts to ensure diversity constitute "reverse-racism".

Within Aotearoa New Zealand, few institutions fall within the "color blindness" position. This could be explained by historical and ongoing movements by both Māori and Pasifika to address inequality, such that now the government incentivizes higher education institutions to address inequality through various initiatives. However, some individuals within higher education may still be committed to a position of "color blindness",

as shown in Nakhid's (2006) analysis of AUT University's staff response to a program dedicated to improving pass rates for Māori and Pasifika learners, where those who believed that equality had been achieved pushed back. When asked to provide support to a government-funded supplementary Māori and Pasifika tutorial, these individual academics claimed it was unethical to provide extra support to one group of students. As Nakhid argues, their response ignores that higher education as a system privileges one particular group of students (white/*Palagi*) and that the extra tutorial for Māori and Pasifika learners is an effort to mitigate this undeserved privilege.

In the second position, "counting diverse bodies", diversity and inclusion are collapsed into numeric representation of Indigenous and racialized students. There is no substantive recognition of white/European epistemological dominance, and no demand for deep structural change. This is perhaps the most prevalent position circulating in higher education in settler colonies and it is the primary object of Ahmed's (2012) critique. From this position, diversity pledges, policies, and programs may be put in place to ensure fairness in hiring and admissions, but these might have little performative impact. Instead, the mere presence of Indigenous and racialized bodies may be taken as an indication of progress, as if a requisite "diversity" box has been ticked (Ahmed 2009, 2012). There is also no shift in the terms of "who welcomes who", and on what terms they are welcomed, and, as a result, white "sense of ownership" over the institution (Gusa 2010, 473) is not disrupted. Thus, inclusion is dictated by conditional and highly qualified hospitality, wherein the institution frames itself as benevolent for granting access to those who had previously been excluded.

In this position, curricular change may be limited because it is assumed the formerly excluded desire access to sanctioned knowledge that was previously denied to them. As a result, expectations of what constitutes scholarly rigor and academic success remain unchanged, as individual achievement continues to be rewarded and the notion that the institution functions as a true meritocracy goes unchallenged. Thus, the Eurocentrism that structures the university curriculum and "privileges the knowledges, memories and histories of the Westernized male colonizers throughout the world" (Grosfoguel 2012, 83) is not questioned. Rather than changes to formal curriculum, there are celebrations that require Indigenous and racialized students to perform (superficial/nonthreatening) representations of their "cultural difference" for professors and classmates. In this position,

diversity may also be framed as an asset for white students, a form of cultural capital, especially as a means to develop their "intercultural competence" and make them more marketable as employees, rather than as out of a commitment to address racist and colonial educational legacies (Yosso et al. 2004).

Based on two of the authors' experiences of studying and working in Aotearoa New Zealand, many higher education institutes there are situated within this position. In recognition of unequal educational outcomes, *The New Zealand Pasifika Education Plan* and the *Tertiary Education Plan* (New Zealand Ministry of Education 2013; New Zealand Ministry of Education and Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment 2014) outline that higher education institutes have to report to the government about what measures they are taking to improve Pasifika learner outcomes. Universities report statistics to the government about how many Pasifika students are recruited, retained, graduated, and in postgraduate study. These numbers are then compared to the previous year's numbers, which are used to decide if the university is doing enough to improve Pasifika learner outcomes (enough being an increase). If not, the institutions face decreased funding levels the following year. These measurements allow the celebration of minor increases in recruitment, retention, and completion without the university having to address dominant epistemological assumptions. This position is further reinforced by government-funded research projects. Ako Aotearoa, which is a government-funded research body, consistently funds research projects that look at promising practices for improving Pasifika learner outcomes; but, as shown in *Success for Pasifika in Tertiary Education: Highlights from Ako Aotearoa-Supported Research* (Alkema 2014), they have yet to fund a research project that *specifically* examines the impact of epistemological dominance within higher education.

It is telling that from the position of counting diverse bodies, the dominant terminology regarding racial and colonial logics as they operate in the university is that of "diversity". To the extent that racism or colonialism are named as a problem, they are framed as the result of misinformed individuals, or "bad apples" (Ahmed 2012; Leonardo 2004). Further, white students and faculty may come to identify as being antiracist or anticolonial as a means to (re)assert their own inherent/underlying goodness (Ahmed 2004). Similarly, if the institution does acknowledge its complicity, it does so in order to assert that it failed to live up to its own standards, but is committed to reform (Ahmed 2004). A commitment to diversity

may even become a point of institutional pride for marketing purposes, such that "Diversity becomes about *changing perceptions of whiteness rather than changing the whiteness of organizations*"(Ahmed 2009, 45, emphasis in the original; see also Osei-Kofi et al. 2013).

In the third position, "enabling pluriversalities", there is recognition of and an effort to address epistemological dominance, and acknowledgment that universities were founded and continue to be organized around European thought (Grosfoguel 2012). As Smith (2012) notes, Western knowledge "constantly reaffirms the West's view of itself as the center of legitimate knowledge, the arbiter of what counts as knowledge, and the source of 'civilized' knowledge" (66). Thus, despite its claims to universality, the majority of knowledge produced and reproduced within the university is in fact provincial. This myth of the superiority and universal value of European thought, over and against other ways of knowing, is understood in this position as a form of epistemological dominance. This dominance is evident not only in coursework, but also in the operations and values that structure the university itself, including definitions of rigor, intelligence, and scholarship.

Note that this position does not disagree with the commitment to diversify student and faculty representation and improve access to higher education for those historically and structurally excluded. Rather, it views mere inclusion of Indigenous and racialized people as insufficient, and suggests the need to transform the institution itself, rather than simply selectively adjusting its borders. Nonetheless, in this position there is often a critique of the discourse of diversity (Ahmed 2012), which Bannerji (2000) argues "makes it impossible to understand or name systemic and cultural racism, and its implication in gender and class" (557). Instead, this position often explicitly names the dynamics of racism and colonialism, and articulates its commitment to resist these.

Acting on its critique of epistemological dominance, this position emphasizes the need to supplement the existing white/*Palagi-dominated* curricula, particularly through the institutionalization of various subjugated knowledges (Ferguson 2012), for example, Māori or Pacific studies in Aotearoa New Zealand. Institutionalization of these fields and knowledges can be understood in many ways as the outcome of a successful counter-hegemonic response by activists, students, and scholars to contest the epistemic violence perpetuated by mainstream higher education institutions. With the institutionalization of these fields, the existing politics of knowledge in higher education shifted and offered transformational

potential, as minoritized groups assert themselves as producers of knowledge (Grosfoguel 2012). As Smith (2012) suggests, "for Indigenous people, [re]claiming a voice in this context has also been about reclaiming, reconnecting, and reordering those ways of knowing which were submerged, hidden or driven underground" (72).

Yet, several decades after the initial institutional inclusion of these subjugated knowledges, some have begun to question what they see as a superficial academic politics of recognition whereby only certain, less-threatening aspects of marginalized ways of knowing are recognized and rewarded (e.g., Ferguson 2012; Grosfoguel 2012; Rodríguez 2012; Smith 2009). That is, institutions often require that marginalized epistemologies be made legible from within the dominant European ontology in order to be recognized, validated, and included (e.g., Newhouse 2008; Ahenakew et al. 2014). As Kuokkanen (2008) argues, "when [Indigenous people] speak from the framework of their own epistemic conventions they are not heard or understood by the academy" (60). Smith (2012) also notes that "attempts to "indigenize" colonial academic institutions and/or individual disciplines within them have been fraught with major struggles over what counts as knowledge, as language, as curriculum and as the role of intellectuals, and over the critical function of the concept of academic freedom" (68). This can result in an almost impossible position for marginalized knowledges vis-à-vis the academy.

Cooper (, 2012) and Smith (2009) both argue that when Indigenous knowledges are incorporated into mainstream institutions, they tend to be treated tokenistically, taken out of context, and essentialized. Through selective inclusion, Indigenous and other subjugated knowledges can then be incorporated into today's "academic marketplace" (Smith 2009, 81). Although this kind of inclusion has enabled some marginalized students to excel according to existing measures of success and the individualist academic values that undergird them, such as meritocracy and competition, it has not affected significant transformation of what is considered "success" (Ahenakew et al. 2014).

Thus, even when marginalized knowledges are "included", rarely are they understood to offer viable alternative possibilities for knowing and being, and specifically, for being successful. As Ahenakew et al. (2014) note, it is difficult to create viable spaces for other ways of knowing in institutions created to naturalize Western epistemologies and reproduce the Eurocentric epistemic hierarchy. Indeed, ways of knowing and being that challenge this hierarchy may be understood as threatening or inappropriate for mainstream educational settings. Further, rarely is such knowledge included in required

coursework, or otherwise deemed indispensable for all students (Ahenakew et al. 2014). In sum, the (conditional, selective) incorporation of epistemic difference into existing curricular offerings has been an important step in addressing the racist and colonial epistemological dominance of higher education institutions. However, as Kuokkanen (2008) suggests, the "gift of Indigenous epistemes remains impossible" (61) as long as it is subsumed or translated into sameness by hegemonic Western ways of knowing.

Hence, even as we continue to emphasize the need for deep institutional change, we argue that there is an immediate need to find ways that institutional resources can be harnessed so as to ensure Indigenous and racialized students are better supported and can navigate the institutions in ways that serve their needs and the needs of their communities. Thus, we suggest that the orientation of "enabling pluriversalities" could balance competing demands of "inclusion (for survival) into a system that is inherently destructive while *at the same time* keeping alive possibilities of alternatives" (Ahenakew et al. 2014, 219). Then, with a view to support Pasifika students to navigate the mono-epistemic space of the university, we consider the need to enable not only Pasifika ways of knowing but also Pasifika ways of being. To illustrate this possibility, we consider previous efforts to enact the Pasifika concept of *teu le va* in educational spaces (Airini et al. 2010a; Anae 2010).

Pasifika and Teu le va

In order to understand *teu le va* as a Pasifika research concept, it is important to first understand *teu le va* as a Samoan concept. *Teu le va* is part of *faasamoa* (being Samoan), which includes the understanding that all Samoans are relational beings (Anae 2010). As part of being a relational being, Samoans are expected to practice *teu le va*. *Teu le va* refers to reciprocal relationships that "value, cherish, nurture and take care of the *va* [sacred space between people]" (Anae 2010, 2). In order to do this, people need to engage with and care for each other's physical, spiritual, cultural, social, psychological, and *tapu* (sacred) spaces (Anae 2010). Although Samoan is one of many ethnicities within Pasifika, the concept of *teu le va* can be found in many different iterations throughout the Pacific, which is why *teu le va* was used as a philosophical and methodological base for a Pasifika research concept (Airini et al. 2010a, b). Airini et al. (2010a, b) used the Samoan concept of *teu le va* within a report to the New Zealand Ministry of Education (*Teu Le Va. Relationships Across Research and Policy in Pasifika Education*) as a way to help the Ministry of Education understand why

"conventional approaches and thinking have not always been up to the task of dealing with Pasifika education issues" (1). *Teu le va* provided an alternative to past research relationships that had previously still been situated within a Eurocentric epistemology.

Airini et al. (2010a, b) used this understanding of being to identify six practices[7] that could be used across Pasifika education research and policy making, in ways that were understandable to those outside of Pasifika. *Teu le va* starts as a relational redress, but as it becomes necessary to translate the concept in order to build understanding among those in the dominant (white/*Palagi*) position, something important is potentially lost in translation. Interestingly, outside of the Government-funded research project, Anae (2010) notes that using *teu le va* as a way of providing *Palagi* with a way of interacting with Pasifika communities is not sufficient; *teu le va* needs to be used in all educational spaces.

Pasifika researchers and practitioners continue to grapple with the difficulties of translating Pasifika ways of being to *Palagi*-dominated spaces in a way where they still hold their original meaning. In the meantime, the incorporation of concepts like *teu le va* into programming and other resources for Pasifika students can help toward their comfort and success (by both their own and institutional measures) and minimize harm. However, there is still a risk that institutions will translate these complex insights into Eurocentric utilitarian frameworks that instrumentalize Indigenous knowledges and transform Indigenous insights into boxes to be ticked (like employing the six practices identified in footnote six in order to practice *teu le va*). In order to counter this tendency, Indigenous people and non-Indigenous supporters need to be attentive to the complexity and ambivalence of translations—and of the struggle itself, remembering that decolonization is not an event but an ongoing, lifelong, and life-wide process.

Conclusion

We have used this chapter as an opportunity to engage in an international *talanoa* about Pasifika in higher education in Aotearoa New Zealand and to contribute to a wider discussion of "diversity" in higher education. Higher education institutions commonly respond to critiques of racism and colonialism in ways that reinforce (rather than interrupt) whiteness, and fail to address the overarching hegemonic epistemological positions that inform their practice. As shown by Ahmed, the foreclosure of epistemological

dominance results in higher education institutions practicing "diversity" in a way that ultimately serves Eurocentric agendas. The three positions described above—*color blindness*, *counting diverse bodies*, and *enabling pluriversalities*—describe different approaches to engaging questions of diversity in higher education, but there is much still to be done. As shown with *teu le va*, even with the best intentions, dominant spaces can turn Indigenous interventions into tick box procedures that do not address the dominance of the Eurocentric framework. As described in Ahenakew and Naepi (2015), we have laid out our mat and now wait for others to join us in this *talanoa*.

Notes

1. Aotearoa is the Māori (Indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand) name for New Zealand.
2. Pasifika refers to people of Pacific ancestry who now live in Aotearoa New Zealand.
3. A cultural practice found throughout the Pacific that has recently been developed into a research methodology.
4. Māori term for White/European/Settler.
5. Pacific term for White/European/Settler.
6. The authors recognize that the term "European" encompasses a diverse range of knowledges and worldviews. We refer readers to Chilisa's (2011) discussion on the problematics and necessity of using terms such as the West, European, Eurocentric, etc.
7. The six practices are: (1) engage stakeholders in Pasifika education research and policy making; (2) collaborate in setting research frameworks; (3) create a coordinated and collaborative approach to Pasifika education research and policy making; (4) grow knowledge through a cumulative approach to research; (5) understand the kinds of knowledge used in Pasifika education research and policy making; and (6) engage with other knowledge brokers (Airini et al. 2010a, b).

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CHAPTER 6

Culturally Responsive Practice for Indigenous Contexts: Provenance to Potential

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Introduction

Cultural diversity within educational communities is becoming more visible, discussed, and promoted than ever before. Interest in diversity has escalated as educational communities have become increasingly globalized. While progress is noted, the reality persists that across international contexts young people from Indigenous cultural groups continue to experience a Western conventional form of schooling as alienating, dispiriting,

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and inequitable (Battiste 2002; Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Penetito 2010). Within Western "colonial settler societies" (Veracini 2010), institutional cultures, curricula, and teaching methods of mainstream schooling are typically based on a worldview and pedagogical framework that does not recognize, and generally fails to appreciate, Indigenous principles, teaching methodologies, knowledge and value systems, and identity perspectives (Kawagley et al. 1998; Macfarlane et al. 2008). This visionless positioning on the part of mainstream schooling has resulted in significant disparities in educational outcomes for Indigenous youth in both the USA and Aotearoa New Zealand (US Commission on Civil Rights 2003; Goldsmith and Howe 2004; Ministry of Education 2008).

Culturally responsive practice (CRP) by teachers has been posited as a promising pedagogical framework for creating positive learning contexts to mitigate these inequities. Yet, often the conceptual frameworks that are promoted to support educators in developing CRP do not consider or critically engage with key Indigenous constructs such as sovereignty and self-determination, colonization, cultural and language revitalization and preservation, or Indigenous epistemologies. Thus they are not fully able to prepare educators to be responsive to their Indigenous students and families, nor to the wider communities and contexts within which they work.

In this chapter, we draw from our various scholarly experiences and practice-based work in Aotearoa New Zealand and Alaska, USA. We acknowledge that we are further informed by our own cultural backgrounds and experiences as Māori (A. Macfarlane and S. Macfarlane) and as European-American (Fickel). Thus, as Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers and educators, we bring together our scholarly and personal experiences in problematizing, illuminating, and reframing the conceptual and praxis landscape of culturally responsive teacher education within Indigenous contexts.

Culturally Responsive Teaching: Canvassing the Terrain

Within education, the construct of CRP is grounded in a multicultural theoretical perspective that explicitly addresses both the complexities and opportunities arising from the increasing student diversity present in schools in Western democracies (Gay 2010). Moreover, its aspiration is equity; that schools will ensure equitable opportunities and outcomes for

students to "attain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within, and help create and perpetuate, a just, humane, and democratic society" (McGee-Banks and Banks 1995, 152). The last 30 years has seen the emergence of a well-established body of knowledge resulting in the development of a robust theoretical construct of CRP (Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Sleeter 2008).

Studies have illuminated the various enabling practices that acknowledge and positively harness students' cultural communication patterns, group interaction style, and sociohistorical knowledge and experiences to support their learning (e.g., Ladson-Billings 1995; Villegas 1988). Gay (2010) cautions though that being culturally responsive as a teacher is about more than being respectful of students' backgrounds. She argues it is about teachers' commitment and ability to recognize and utilize students' identities, languages, and cultural backgrounds as valued and meaningful resources for learning.

In order to utilize students' identities, languages, and cultural backgrounds, that is, to engage in CRP, teachers must develop a level of cultural competence. Cultural competence enables teachers to be adaptive and flexible in response to, and in their relationship with, learners and to take account of the local context in which the learning transpires (Macfarlane 2012; Castagno and Brayboy 2008). Scholars and researchers have sought to illuminate and delineate the salient teacher attributes that constitute the necessary cultural competence for CRP (e.g., Bishop and Berryman 2009; Ladson-Billings 1995; Macfarlane 2004, 2007; Penetito 2010; Sleeter 2008; Villegas and Lucas 2002) and a synthesis of this literature suggests that there are at least three key facets:

1. A constructivist understanding of knowledge, including both an epistemological stance of knowledge as dynamic, and a knowledge-base, or "cultural literacy," that goes beyond the traditional Western canon. Culturally responsive teachers use students' cultures as the foundation of learning in order to support families and communities in the maintenance and enhancement of students' natal culture, as well as to transcend the traditional Western canon curriculum that has typically omitted or distorted the history, culture, and background of nondominant culture groups. Consequently, these teachers use students' cultural referents as content representations, metaphors, and examples as the context for developing knowledge, skills, and attitudes; they go beyond "tokenism" and "building bridges."

2. A sociocultural consciousness of self, where teachers understand both students' and their own culturally positioned attitudes, beliefs, and experiences. These teachers situate themselves as well as their students as sociocultural beings, acknowledging that they too bring their identity, language, and cultural referents to school. The decisions teachers make about what to teach and how to teach it have implications for educational equity (Fickel 2000). Because culturally responsive teachers critically consider how their own cultural experiences and perspectives serve as lenses and filters for their pedagogical decision-making, they are better able to foster equitable outcomes for their culturally diverse students (e.g., Bishop and Glynn 1999; Ladson-Billings 1995; Sleeter 2008).
3. The disposition and ability to engender caring, trusting, and respectful relationships with students and within the classroom among students. The extant research on CRP has clearly demonstrated that teachers who understand their own cultural perspectives, and are open to their students' diverse backgrounds, are typically able to develop respectful, caring relationships that predictably see more successful academic outcomes (Bishop and Berryman 2009; Ladson-Billings 1995; Macfarlane 2004). A more nuanced sociocultural perspective supports teachers in questioning the pervading "deficit theories" that permeate educational discourse, thus enabling them to build relationships based on authentic care and respect for their students and communities (Bishop and Berryman 2009; Macfarlane 2004, 2007).

Culturally Responsive Teaching for Indigenous Contexts: Problematizing and Illuminating

It is the persistent, and in some cases growing, educational achievement gap for Indigenous youth in both Aotearoa New Zealand and Alaska that has been of particular concern to us as scholars and teacher educators. The resulting educational and social inequities have challenged us to delve deeper into the construct of CRP in order to illuminate the unique sociocultural, historical, and epistemological considerations that arise with respect to Indigenous education. In taking up this reconsideration, we are informed by and align with Castagno and Brayboy's (2008, 946)

argument that the scholarship on CRP is often cast as a somewhat generalized pedagogical practice that can "lead to improved learning and achievement among all minoritised youth."

We also support the argument made by Castagno and Brayboy (2008, 946) that within the field it is critical to closely examine CRP that is intentionally situated within and responsive to Indigenous contexts and related educational issues. As Castagno and Brayboy (2008, 948) note in their comprehensive literature review on culturally responsive schooling in the US context, there are "three topics that are rarely included in these discussions: sovereignty, racism, and epistemologies." Moreover, if these issues are rarely considered, it is similarly unlikely that they inform teacher learning with respect to the development of the cultural competency needed to engage meaningfully in CRP in Indigenous contexts. These assertions resonate with our own research, experiences, and perspectives, as well our ongoing engagement with the significant scholarly contributions of our education colleagues, both Alaska Native/American Indian scholars in the United States and Māori scholars in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Drawing from both scholarship and experience, we believe that when engaged in educational practice in Indigenous contexts, any discussion or consideration of cultural competence and culturally responsive teaching must take account of, and be responsive to, the particular historical and contemporary issues that permeate the sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts of Indigenous people's relationships with Western colonial settler societies. That is, we believe that in order to enable teachers to take up culturally responsive teaching we must explicitly engage with and consider the following five constructs:

Sovereignty and Self-Determination

Historically and in contemporary times, the notion of Indigenous tribal sovereignty and self-determination have been both legally and socially contested. However, more recently, the global, international context has shifted. The rights of Indigenous peoples to self-determination and sovereignty as "tribal nations" has been affirmed through the United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Rights (United Nations 2008). Article 3 of the Declaration speaks directly to the rights of self-determination, including the right to "determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development"

(4). Moreover, the Declaration urged global nation-states to "respect and promote the rights of indigenous peoples affirmed in treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements with States" (2). This affirmed right to self-determination, and in some States the treaty rights of sovereign status and self-governance, is a guarantee not simply of individual rights, but collective community rights to political, social, and educational systems that empower and affirm their collective identity as Indigenous peoples.

With respect to education, self-determination means Indigenous peoples have the right to determine and shape the policies that guide the content and processes of the education system to meet their community goals and aspirations. Moreover, the UN Declaration, like the Coolangatta Statement on Indigenous Peoples' Rights in Education (World Indigenous Peoples' Conference on Education 1999), acknowledges the inherent human right for the inclusion of Indigenous languages and cultural traditions in schools and educational systems. For educators concerned about equity and CRP, this unique status of Indigenous peoples requires critical engagement with a fundamentally different set of questions, considerations, and processes when working in Indigenous educational contexts. It prompts the consideration of a different, and perhaps challenging, view of democracy and democratic process, and how such systems might actually work against the self-determination and well-being of Indigenous communities. For example, in Alaska (in the USA), there are Alaska Native traditional lands that have been federally designated as a wildlife refuge, resulting in restrictions on Alaska Natives' traditional subsistence—hunting and fishing.[1] In this way, what appears to be a "neutral" aspect of the democratic governmental processes actually militates against indigenous sovereignty and traditional cultural practice. Thus, a more nuanced and rigorous understanding of sovereignty and self-determination can expand the dialogue regarding CRP from one often centered on a personal moral, or individual human rights perspective, to one that could more fully account for the legal, collective rights of both the students and their communities. In this way, teachers develop the cultural competency needed to positively and proactively engage students' families, wider communities, and Elders as partners, guides, and leaders in decision-making in all aspects of learning and schooling.

Settler Colonialism

Western European colonialism globally has been a pervasive influence on the collective lives of Indigenous peoples and communities. The historical and contemporary manifestations of colonization are deeply implicated as having devastating negative consequences for Indigenous peoples. In particular, European settler colonization, "where colonizers 'come to stay' and to establish new political orders for themselves" (Veracini 2013, 313), is a distinctive social formation. Dominated by "economic immigrants," colonial settlers' main interest was securing control of Native lands in order to establish themselves as self-sustaining colonies, and eventually independent nation-states (Hoxie 2008; Wolfe 2006). In order to secure these lands, the Indigenous peoples had to be eliminated, removed, dispersed, or otherwise "dispossessed." Clearly, warfare and other violent forms of removal and elimination were frequent colonial devices, with disease often both a precursor and an aftermath. However, other forms of elimination and land acquisition occurred through legal and social forces.

Emerging colonial settler nation-states established exclusionary laws and "erected institutions that separated the new nation's citizens and Natives" (Hoxie 2008, 1159). This included undermining Indigenous peoples' economic supports through proscriptions on the ownership, purchase, or sale of lands, and discriminatory employment practices. It also included official policies of "assimilation" into Western/White culture undertaken through compulsory education, often in boarding schools, which regularly included the forced removal of children from their families, severing the intergenerational transmission of tribal, cultural, and linguistic customs and knowledge (Barnhardt 2001; Kawagley 1999; Grande 2004). In these ways, Western settler colonialism further served to eliminate and dispossess Indigenous peoples.

The effects of economic disruption and assimilationist policies are not relegated to the past. They remain pervasive in contemporary society as manifested in the inequitable economic and social outcomes with respect to health, income, and wealth accumulation, as well as the loss of traditional cultural knowledge and tribal languages through successive generations. It is therefore important for teachers working in Indigenous contexts to understand the particular historical context that has given rise to the pervasive, negative public discourse of poverty, dysfunction, and educational "failure" of Indigenous peoples in order to develop the necessary critical perspective that underpins CRP. This knowledge-base enables

them to more fully critique the pervasive "deficit theorizing" (Bishop and Berryman 2009; Macfarlane 2004, 2007) embedded in the social structure and curriculum of schools.

Racism and White Supremacy

It has been argued that racial White supremacy is a pervasive and foundational ideology underpinning settler colonialism (Hoxie 2008; Wolfe 2006). This is due to the fact that as emerging nation-states they often based their social and legal frameworks on "ideologies that regularly defined free white settlers as racially or culturally superior to indigenous peoples (sic)" (Hoxie 2008, 1158). As such, Indigenous peoples were characterized variously as "uncivilized," "deficient," and unable to govern themselves. Therefore, the usurpation of land and territories, and resulting assertion of paternalistic governance over Indigenous peoples, was deemed a "natural" outcome of White settlers' racial and cultural superiority. Moreover, the social and legal frameworks established to assimilate Indigenous peoples were rationalized as enabling the "civilizing" and "cultural enhancement" of "natives."

As a social structure established by White colonial nation-states, education systems and formal schooling mechanisms were guided by this ideology, traditionally focusing on the maintenance and transmission of Western language, cultural traditions, and worldviews. Hence, assimilationist educational practices arising from this ideology placed Indigenous children and youth in schools that were institutionally and inherently antagonistic to their tribal history, identity, language, and culture as expressed in both knowledge and social practices.

Drawing on the work of a range of educational scholars, Castagno and Brayboy (2008, 950) note that still in schools today, Indigenous youth "experience racism in a number of ways and from a variety of sources, including paternalism, prejudice, harmful assumptions, low expectations, stereotypes, violence, and biased curriculum materials." Scholars similarly note that the discourse of schooling has often sought to explain educational disparities as resulting from "cultural deficits" or "racial deficiencies" (Irwin 1988; Walker 1996), which serves to reify the cultural and social expectations of the dominant White society as "normal" and "superior." Thus, for many Indigenous youth, learning in school requires the denial of one's identity and the cultural and linguistic heritage on which it is based (Lipka 2002). In order to positively and respectfully engage

Indigenous students' identity, language, and culture, culturally responsive teaching must be underpinned with a nuanced understanding of this thread of racism and White supremacy that adheres in the formal schooling systems in modern Western democracies. Such knowledge supports teachers in the necessary critical self-reflection on their own racial and cultural locatedness, perspectives, and worldviews for the development of cultural competence which grounds CRP (Bevan-Brown 2009; Ladson-Billings 1995; Sleeter 2008).

Language and Cultural Revitalization

Racially based assimilationist educational policies and practices have had deleterious effects through the disruption of the intergenerational transfer of Indigenous languages, knowledge, and cultural practices. Moreover, requiring Indigenous students to "leave their local knowledge and language at the school gate" results in the marginalization of Native identities (Aluli-Meyer 2001; Lipka 2002; Penetito 2010). It is important to consider more fully the notion of identity and its relationship to language and culture. Identity is related to one's sense of affiliation with an ethnic group (Phinney 1992; Walker 1996). Moreover, the boundedness of an ethnic group, how it is defined by self and others, is intricately entwined within the language, symbols, and the shared beliefs that give rise to particular cultural practices, all of which connect the members of the group by providing a common framework for making meaning of the world (Durie 2003; Zion 2005). Therefore, the loss of cultural practices and language generally results in the diminishing sense of both individual and collective ethnic-cultural identity (Williams 2001). As noted previously, it is the collective rights of Indigenous peoples that support the enactment of social and political self-determination. Thus the revitalization of Indigenous languages and cultural practices are integral to the formation of collective identity, and entwined with tribal rights to self-determination and sovereignty.

The growing research base points to the positive outcomes for Indigenous youth who participate in education programs grounded in Indigenous language and culture, including both the development of their Indigenous identities and Western academic attainment (Macfarlane 2004; Demmert 2003; see also Castagno and Brayboy 2008). Lipka (2002, 2) points out that "Teachers cannot be expected to carry the major responsibility for facilitating the development of Native identity, but they can honor the important contributions of family and elders." Knowing

how language, culture, and identity are intertwined is an essential aspect of teacher cultural competence. Thus, knowing about specific examples of culturally and linguistically based education programs, and the seminal role parents and Elders play in such learning, is an important part of the knowledge-base for culturally responsive teaching in Indigenous contexts. Perhaps more salient and fundamental for their underlying cultural competence is the understanding that the Indigenous language and culture is unique and exists nowhere else in the world. This is their homeland, the land that has given life to their people, culture, and language, and within which their collective identity is firmly rooted. As Hinton (2001, 3) so starkly noted, "When an indigenous group stops speaking its language, the language disappears from the face of the earth." And as the language goes, the unique place-based cultural knowledge of the Indigenous people is similarly lost from the world.

Indigenous Epistemologies

Across time and geographic location, Indigenous cultural groups continue to develop, elaborate, and sustain an interconnected set of values, beliefs, ways of thinking, feeling, and behaving, and related social practices that form the knowledge systems which inform and animate their particular worldviews (e.g., Battiste 2002; Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Kawagley et al. 1998; Nikora 2005). Similarly, Western cultural groups formulate and elaborate specific knowledge systems, which they in turn value and seek to maintain. Scholars have rightly warned against the reification of knowledge systems as fixed traits among individuals that fail to acknowledge and anticipate difference and variation of knowledge within and among culture group members (Battiste 2002; Gutierrez and Rogoff 2003). Knowledge systems are dynamic and constantly responding to new experiences, insights, and phenomena. Therefore, scholars acknowledge that Indigenous and Western epistemology and knowledge systems have discernable strands that often differ one from the other (see Barnhardt and Kawagley 2005; Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Macfarlane 2004). Some of the discernable differences identified in Indigenous knowledge systems that seem most pertinent to education discussions include:

- a relational worldview in which connections and interrelations between living beings (human and animal) and the natural world are central to understanding the world and living in it;

- placing an emphasis on the big picture and its meaning, rather than the parts that make up the whole;
- a focus on acquiring knowledge through active engagement with, and direct experience of, the natural world;
- understanding "competence" as the ability to actually put knowledge into practice in real-world contexts;
- a more holistic view of human development, health, and well-being; and
- the identification of some knowledge as "restricted" and subject to specific use by only particular members of the culture group.

Developing a more complex understanding of knowledge, including acknowledging and accepting that multiple worldviews exist and are valid, has been identified as central to cultural competence and CRP. We acknowledge that it can be difficult to cultivate this more flexible epistemological stance. However, enabling teachers to attend more specifically to the discernibly different aspects of Indigenous knowledge systems supports not only their development of epistemological and cognitive flexibility, but also that of their Indigenous students. In doing so, they are more likely to successfully support their Indigenous students in using Indigenous knowledge to meet the educational aspirations and goals of their tribal communities, and the goals associated with Western educational attainment.

Culturally Responsive Teacher Education Praxis in Indigenous Contexts

Having scanned the terrain of CRP and broadly illuminated the five sensitizing constructs that underpin cultural competence for Indigenous contexts, we now turn our critical gaze to our own teacher education praxis within the specific contexts of Alaska/USA (Fickel) and Aotearoa New Zealand (A. Macfarlane, S. Macfarlane and Fickel). We examine an example from each of these contexts of our various efforts at weaving together these five threads into programs that support teachers' critical engagement with these issues as they seek to develop their cultural competence and CRP. The specific projects selected focus on our work with practicing teachers, schools, and communities to enhance the current educational practice in support of Indigenous youth through collaborative models of

professional learning and development (PLD) projects. Rather than presenting these projects as exemplars, these selective slices allow us to draw insights for developing contextually sensitive responses to local educational needs and challenges when working in Indigenous communities.

In the following sections, we briefly describe the two PLD teacher education projects that were designed to develop cultural competence and CRP by taking account of the unique features of working in and with Indigenous communities. As our praxis has been undertaken in response to quite different Indigenous contexts, we provide an overview of the sociocultural and sociopolitical issues in Alaska and Aotearoa New Zealand. From these context-sensitive descriptions of praxis, we examine the key insights collectively drawn from these representative slices of our work.

Alaska: Creating Collaborative Partnerships to Support Alaska Native Education

Alaska Native education followed the policies and practices typified by Indigenous education throughout the United States; a colonizing assimilationist approach focused on "civilizing" Indigenous peoples through inculcation into Western/White and Christian cultural values (Barnhardt 2001; Kawagley 1999; Ongtooguk 2010). This assimilationist orientation remained an explicit intention of schooling policy well into contemporary times, and arguably remains an implicit undercurrent affecting American Indian/Alaska Native schooling today (Castagno and Brayboy 2008; Ongtooguk 2010). However, two federal legislative acts affirm the rights of Native Americans and Alaska Natives to educational self-determination. Title IX of the Improving America's Schools Act (1994) updated provisions of the Indian Education Act, including the recognition of the "unique educational needs of Alaska Natives" and encouraged "maximum participation by Alaska Natives in the planning and the management of Alaska Native education programs" (Part C, Sec. 9301–9304). And, the Native American Language Act of 1990 and 1992 recognized the significance of language and culture and acknowledged the responsibility of the US government to "act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages" (Native American Indian Education Act 1990, 1). This sociohistorical context provides the backdrop for considering the persistent challenges posed by educational inequities for Alaska Native students, and the aspirations to create innovative programs to address those concerns.

Alaska has struggled for years with persistent educational disparities in achievement for Alaska Natives, with some of the highest dropout rates in the state and the lowest pass rates on the state-required graduation exam. These data hold regardless of whether students reside in small rural or major urban centers (Goldsmith and Howe 2004). The vast majority of Alaska Native students live in rural villages, where the schools have a "revolving door" phenomenon with teachers constantly moving through their communities, some staying a week, others a few years. Factors in this high turnover rate relate to the unique situations rural Alaska poses for incoming teachers. First, rural Alaska is referred to locally as "Bush Alaska" because almost none of the villages are on the road system, and transport in and out is usually only by small plane. The distance between villages and any of the major commercial hubs or urban areas is typically hundreds of miles.

Second, the population in rural villages is overwhelmingly Alaska Native, yet nearly all of the incoming teachers are White. For most of them it is their first experience being a "cultural minority" and living in a small community. Moreover, because Alaska has an overall small population base, the majority of teachers in both rural and urban schools come from teacher education programs in other US states. Most have no prior experience working with Indigenous students and communities, and certainly have no understanding of the historical issues surrounding Alaska Native education. Many have not had explicit preparation in culturally responsive teaching.

In response to this state-level context, a set of culturally responsive standards and guidelines were developed collaboratively among a large number of cultural and political groups representing Alaska Natives. The standards focused on helping schools become places that foster "strong connection[s] between what students experience in school and their lives out of school" and by "shifting the focus of curriculum from teaching/learning *about* cultural heritage … to teaching/learning *through* the local culture as a foundation for all education" (Alaska Native Knowledge Network 1999, 3; emphasis in original). These guidelines are a unique facet of the education context in Alaska, as few states have been so explicit about delineating the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of culturally competent educators for working with Indigenous students.

These standards and the continuing disparity in educational achievement were key elements that led to the development of two successive school-university collaborative partnerships: the Alaska Partnership for

Teacher Enhancement (APTE) and the Alaska Educational Innovations Network (AEIN). For five years, APTE conducted "Summer Content-area Institutes" in mathematics, science, history/social studies, and English/language arts for practicing teachers working in partnership schools. The development, implementation, and teaching/learning in these institutes were documented using ethnographic case study methodology, including participant-observation and follow-up interviews with participating teachers. The institutes were co-constructed by a team of Alaska Native educators, Elders, and university staff using the *Culturally Responsive Standards and Guidelines* (Alaska Native Knowledge Network 1999) as the framework for designing both the content and structure of the learning experiences for teacher participants. Each of the institutes was held for 10–12 days in Alaska Native communities, including three rural villages and Anchorage, which is actually the largest "Native community" with respect to Alaska Native population and long-term habitation and traditional use by Athabaskan peoples. Through the institutes, teachers had the opportunity to experience contemporary community life while learning from local Native Elders and other community members through Native pedagogies and knowledge systems. The intent was to assist the teachers in developing a more dynamic and complex understanding of the concepts, principles, and ways of knowing the content-area built on relevant local examples drawn from Alaska Native community life, cultural traditions, and epistemology (Fickel and Jones 2002; Fickel 2005a, b).

The math institute varied across these years, and used a range of ethnomathematics areas for teaching math concepts through traditional knowledge systems. This ranged from traditional kayak building to *Yupik Math* (see Lipka 1994) and *Star Navigation* (see Engblom-Bradley 2006); all culturally-based curriculum that integrated math and science, developed in collaboration with Alaska Native Elders drawing from their traditional knowledge. The science institute also had various iterations over the years, including the international collaborative project *Global Learning and Observation to Benefit the Environment* (GLOBE), which was connected to local plant growth and weather patterns. In other years it focused on *Village Science,* culturally-based curriculum materials developed through the Alaska Native Knowledge network and teaching basic science concepts as they relate to village life (see Dick 1997).

The focus of the language arts and social studies institutes were more consistent across the years, respectively focusing on oral tradition

and story-telling, and examining local history using a community study approach. Both tended to provide teachers with more of an immersion experience characterized by place-based learning through Native pedagogies and working with Elders who spoke to them in their Native languages, using the local Alaska Native educators as translators. In the language arts institute, participants learned from Elders using the traditional *story knife*, which is used for drawing pictures in the snow or on the ground to accompany the oral telling of a story. They also read books, poems, and other works by contemporary Alaska Native authors, reflecting on the ways that cultural traditions such as story-telling remain constant in their values, yet dynamic in form (Fickel et al. 2006). In the social studies institute, participants worked with Elders to create a timeline of the village, developed through the Elders' stories of life in the village, both in their own lifetimes and the histories passed down orally from their extended families. The learning experiences also included time at fishing camp, living in the wide expanse of the tundra as families do each summer during salmon fishing season, experiencing a range of other subsistence hunting and fishing areas, and exploring settlement locations. Participants spoke of how their experiences in these contexts were encompassed by Native ways of knowing, doing, and being so that they were learning *through* Alaska Native culture, rather than *about* it (Fickel 2005b; Fickel et al. 2006).

Over the course of those five years, significant numbers of primary and secondary teachers, and a few principals from the partner schools, participated in one or more of the APTE Summer Institutes. This included both Alaska Native and non-Native educators, all of whom spoke of how profound the experiences had been for their personal and professional growth, and their understanding of Alaska Native knowledge, ways of knowing, and worldviews. They spoke of the ways it had shifted their work with their Alaska Native students and families, allowing them to build stronger positive relationships. They also gave examples of the way they had integrated Native knowledge and pedagogies into the curriculum, and their perceptions of the positive effects both the curriculum and relationship changes were having on student engagement and progress (Fickel et al. 2006). By engaging teachers in learning *through* Alaska Native cultural knowledge systems, the APTE Summer Institutes provided teachers with the learning opportunities necessary to enable the development of the cultural competence and confidence needed for engaging in culturally responsive teaching practices.

Aotearoa New Zealand: Huakina Mai; Opening Doors for Māori Youth

Te Tiriti o Waitangi (the Treaty of Waitangi) was signed in 1840 between Māori and the British government (the Crown) and guaranteed Māori certain rights pertaining to **participation** in the governance of the new British colony. The Treaty established an equal **partnership** among these two peoples, "requiring each of the partners to act respectfully, reasonably, and in good faith toward the other" (Macfarlane 2012, 25). As equal treaty-partners, Māori were assured access to all of the benefits available to the British colonists (the term now used for descendants of European settlers is *Pākehā*). Māori were also promised the **protection** and maintenance of their valued *tāonga* (treasures). Māori deemed (and still deem) these *tāonga* to include the Māori language and culture, as well as Māori epistemology and knowledge traditions (Glynn 1997; Walker 1973).

For more than a century following the Treaty signing, the Crown ignored its Treaty obligations, resulting in a colonial legacy of significant harm for Māori that included disease, warfare, land confiscation, and an assimilationist education system resulting in language and cultural loss. However, contemporary Treaty legislation has reaffirmed Māori iwi (tribes) their rightful sovereignty and self-determination as equal partners. The result has been the reframing of Aotearoa New Zealand as a "bicultural" nation. Drawing on the work of Dr. Ranginui Walker (1996), Macfarlane (2012, 32) describes the concept of biculturalism as "understanding the values and norms of the other (Treaty) partner, being comfortable in either Māori or Pākehā culture, and ensuring that there is power sharing in decision-making processes at all political and organizational levels."

Nevertheless, the legacy that remains from the oppressive colonial education system continues to perpetuate negative outcomes for Māori youth, their *whānau* (family), and communities. Māori are disproportionally overrepresented in the 20 percent of students at the lowest level of educational attainment, and this cohort is falling behind further and faster than in any other OCED country (Ministry of Education 2011). Māori are overrepresented in referrals to special education for behavioral issues, are more likely to be placed in low-stream classes, leave school earlier and with fewer qualifications, and have school suspension and exclusion rates that are three times higher than students from other cultural backgrounds (Bishop et al. 2009; Ministry of Education 2006). The explanations for these negative indicators have been identified as a complex entanglement of a multiplicity

of factors, including teachers' deficit theorizing and pathologizing classroom practices (Bishop et al. 2009), the denial by teachers of cultural difference and learning needs (Bevan-Brown 1999), and an abdication by teachers of taking responsibility for cultural alignment in curriculum content and context (Bourke et al. 2001).

In response to the concerns raised by these data, the Ministry of Education (MOE) established a range of policy frameworks and aligned program initiatives to support schools in redressing these inequities. One key initiative has been a nationwide rollout of *Positive Behavior for Learning* (PB4L) (Ministry of Education 2011), a whole school approach to behavior management that has its foundations in international large-scale, evidence-based programs. Acknowledging that internationally imported programs such as this may not offer culturally responsive interventions for Māori, the MOE included a simultaneous pathway for developing such a model for Māori. In 2012, as part of a wider team of colleagues, the authors of this chapter were awarded a MOE contract to develop a comprehensive *kaupapa Māori* (Māori philosophical) behavior intervention framework, named *Huakina Mai* (Opening Doors). The framework drew from the evidence-base emanating from the evaluation of previously implemented and successful culturally grounded models, and focused on an ecologically strengths-based approach that was premised on Māori worldview cultural perspectives, protocols, and views of behavior, learning, and development (see Savage et al. 2014).

The development of *Huakina Mai* was conceptualized based on the theoretical underpinnings of *kaupapa* Māori research methodology, a philosophical approach that promotes the importance of building and maintaining relationships, humility, unity, putting others before self, and focusing on a collectivist ethical stance. *Kaupapa* Māori research methodology upholds the notion that benefits must accrue for all research participants (Smith 1997, 1999). Smith (1999) argued that *kaupapa* Māori research is best understood as a social project that is woven throughout with Māori cultural values and beliefs, both Māori and Western ways of knowing, as well as the historical and contemporary legacy of colonialism extant in social, economic, and political experiences and issues. It was from this theoretical positioning that *Huakina Mai* was created.

Rooted in *kaupapa* Māori theory and practice, the genesis of *Huakina Mai* was marked by looking to Māori cultural expertise and relevant evidence within the field of education. This required us to seek access to the existing research conducted by leading Māori and non-Māori researchers,

the extensive practice knowledge of Māori educators, and the voices and experiences of Māori youth and *whānau*. Through this process of evidence gathering, we sought to ensure the continual integration and synthesis of theoretical knowledge and constructs with the lived experiences of participants in schools and community contexts. From this grounded approach, foundational issues were identified that needed to be taken into account throughout the program development process. These included: 1) identification of perceived differences in Māori and Western perspectives on behavior; 2) core Māori understandings and beliefs about how best to shape and support positive behavioral development; 3) essential qualities to be developed in Māori students; and 4) essential elements that needed to be included in order to meet the project's stated aspirations. These we further synthesized into a set of imperatives to guide the *Huakina Mai* project development and implementation:

- ecological approach that emphasized building strong relationships;
- shared ownership of the project among school personnel, students, *whānau*, and community based on practices that are collaborative, inclusive, participatory and support unity;
- strengths-based and inclusive pedagogy and practice;
- leadership that advocates and ensures equitable funding; and
- placing *te ao Māori* (Māori worldview and epistemology) at the center.

To deepen our theorizing and analysis, we drew from Māori epistemology to link these imperatives with four core values that underpin and inform *te ao Māori*: *whanaungatanga*—relationships; *kotahitanga*—unity; *rangatiratanga*—self-determination; and *manaakitanga*—ethos of care. These values are further strengthened by a fifth core value, *pūmanawatanga*, which is the heart, pulse, or tone of a classroom or school. All five values are all visually depicted in *The Educultural Wheel* which was developed by Macfarlane (2004). In this framework, the concept of *pūmanawatanga* sits at the center, extending outward and breathing life into the others. Macfarlane contends that in teaching practice, the surrounding four values provide the necessary foundation for creating and maintaining a culture of care within classrooms, and school as a community. The concept of *pūmanawatanga* therefore draws the analogy of the classroom and school as being dynamic cultures.

Drawing together the grounded imperatives with these five core Māori values enabled a theoretical framework to be constructed; one that has conceptual and cultural integrity, yet is flexible enough to be adapted to fit the strengths and needs of a local school and community. *Huakina Mai* works from the premise that a sound foundational values system is essential in order to establish a shared understanding among staff, community, *whānau*, and *ākonga Māori* (Māori learners) in order to achieve consensus about what really matters within that school and school community. These imperatives underpin both the model of school-based practices and pedagogical strategies used with students, as well as supporting the professional learning context for teachers, principals, *whānau*, and community members working with the schools.

The resulting *Huakina Mai* program is a multifaceted, strength-based intervention that takes an ecological, holistic systems approach to changing the school environment through an emphasis on building positive, affirming, mutually respectful relationships and adopting skills for collaborative problem-solving and conflict resolution. It is a culturally compatible program designed to be contextually responsive through local adaptation and refinement undertaken collaboratively with the local Māori *whānau* and tribal community (Savage et al. 2012).

Drawing Common Threads

At first glance, these two examples from our teacher education praxis can appear quite different. However, looking through the lens of the sensitizing constructs outlined previously, these two PLD projects for practicing teachers are woven with common threads. Both are examples of projects where Indigenous educational and community members lead the theorizing and development of the PLD model, determining the core practices, learning activities, and knowledge-base that reflect their vision for culturally responsive teaching and learning in their communities and for their young people. In developing the projects, they were also defining teacher cultural competence from a local, place-based perspective. In the projects, Indigenous worldviews presented a critical lens for teachers to examine a different set of epistemological considerations of human development, health, and well-being as more holistic and grounded in the relationship of people and place. We also see in the two projects that the process of teacher learning explicitly focuses on the deconstruction of deficit theorizing of

Indigenous culture, cultural practices, and worldviews. Through active engagement of non-Indigenous teachers in direct experiences with cultural knowledge bearers/Elders, and in Alaska, the natural world, the projects challenge teachers' assumptions of what "competence" means and how it is enacted. Thus they challenge teachers to consider how the colonial settler orientations and assumptions underpinning Western constructs of "schooling" reflect a particular socio-historical and social-cultural perspective that they are not in fact universals. In these ways, both projects substantiate Indigenous self-determination and sovereignty as they place Indigenous peoples' agency, aspirations, and epistemology as the starting place for the development of culturally responsive teacher education.

Revising and Re-envisioning for Culturally Inclusive Futures

Drawing on the literature and our own praxis, we have argued that a specific knowledge-base related to the five sensitizing constructs forms the basis of the necessary cultural competencies that appropriately ground and enable CRP in Indigenous contexts. From an Indigenous perspective, what might a process of "cultural competency scaffolding" look like? What might be some of the key factors and steps that lead to a place of cultural enlightenment?

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori have always drawn on the metaphor of the *poutama* (a series of steps; a journey of stages) in order to represent the process of learning, development, progress, and accomplishment—a visual representation of a journey that has been undertaken in order to attain greater knowledge and awareness. The *poutama* simultaneously depicts the notion of being grounded, stable, and supportive, requiring individuals to start at the first (bottom) step and to move up to the next step only when the skills at that level have been fully achieved and mastered. The *poutama* also enables and encourages movement back down if, and when, particular skills have languished, been lost, or need relearning. For the purposes of this chapter, a three-tiered *poutama* is offered to guide educators through a scaffolded journey to cultural competency development. Drawing on the five sensitizing constructs that were identified and expanded on earlier, at each tier the *poutama* pulls through and builds on a particular competency indicator specific to each of these five constructs (see Fig. 6.1 below).

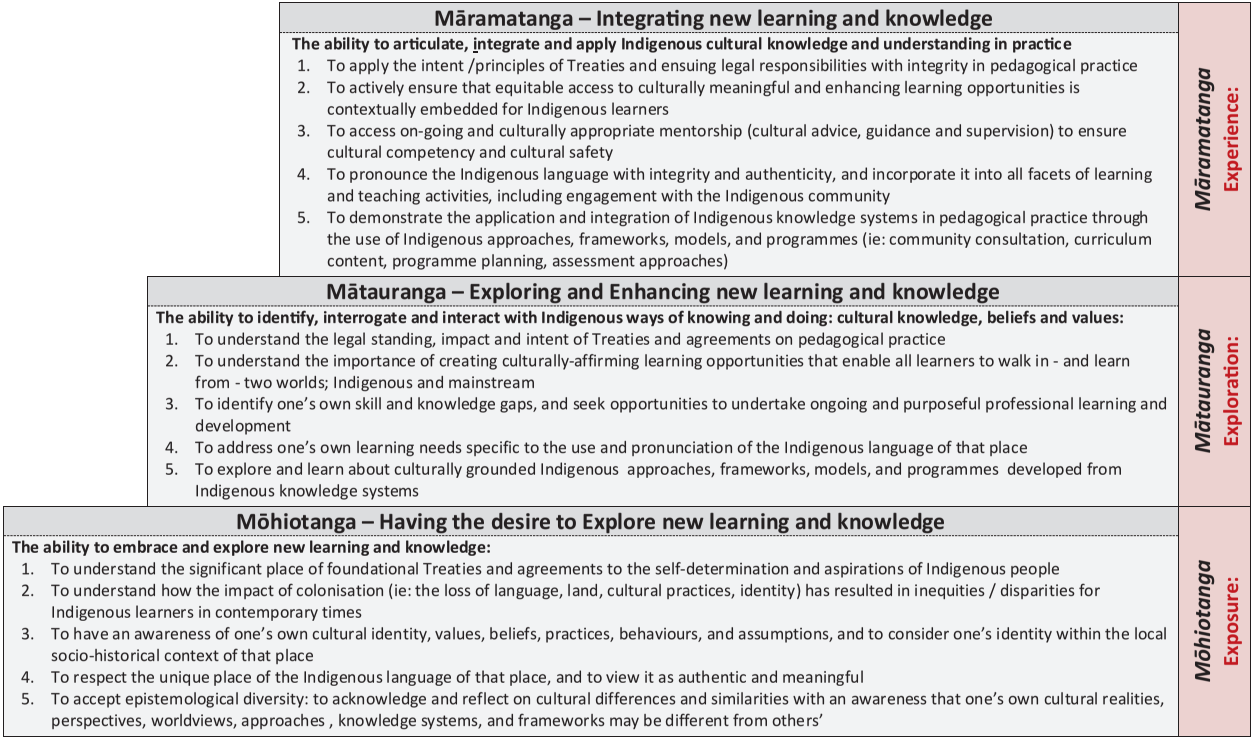

Fig. 6.1 Cultural Competency and Professional Development: *He Poutama Whakamana* (Adapted from Macfarlane 2012)

Step one (*Mōhiotanga*; awareness, insight) is where educators need to start with an open mind, be receptive, and recognize the need to embrace new learning and knowledge. This requires them to reflect and take stock of their own levels of competency as a precursor to cultural growth. Step two (*Mātauranga*; learning, knowledge) requires them to identify and respond to their learning gaps by actively exploring and interacting with new knowledge and information. Step three (*Māramatanga*; enlightenment, understanding) is where educators integrate and apply their new learning and knowledge into their practice. At *Māramatanga*, educators grasp the significance of sovereignty and self-determination for Indigenous learners; they understand the ongoing impact(s) and subtleties of settler colonization; they recognize the destructive impacts of overt and covert racism, and White supremacy; they value and promote the revitalization of Indigenous language and culture; and they integrate Indigenous cultural knowledge into all aspects of their practice.

Education practice derives much of its theory and content from Western psychology and epistemologies; approaches and practices that are universally subscribed to in a frequently unquestioned manner. Many teachers are attracted to the profession of teaching because they truly want to make a difference to the lives of young people with whom they interact. They have a strong desire to learn and explore more about their Indigenous learners' worlds; they seek to enhance their cultural understandings about their Indigenous learners' lived realities; and they actively want to demonstrate their cultural competency growth through embedding new knowledge and understanding in their pedagogical practice. This chapter has shared two teacher education studies aimed at enhancing education contexts for Indigenous learners. Despite each study emanating from globally distant countries, a set of five sensitizing constructs common to the Indigenous peoples from both have been highlighted. From these five constructs, a cultural competency development framework has been presented to support teacher education. This chapter has dually laid down an unconditional *koha* (gift) and a pragmatic *wero* (challenge) to teacher education programs within and beyond Aotearoa New Zealand and Alaska, USA. The status quo needs to change. Culturally responsive teacher education programs are not desirable only in the present; they are quintessential to the future as well.

Note

1. In the Alaska context, "subsistence" refers to the annual cycle of harvesting, processing, and sharing wild fish, game, and plants undertaken by Alaska Natives. It constitutes a way of being and relating to the world, and the relationship of people with the land encapsulates Alaska Native values. It is thus an essential aspect of contemporary Alaska Native identities and cultures. Although the term "subsistence" is not used within the Aotearoa New Zealand context, the values that inform the relationship of people to the land and cultural practices of food gathering and sharing similarly underpin contemporary Māori society.

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CHAPTER 7

Cosmopolitan Theory and Aboriginal Teachers' Professional Identities

Carol Reid and Donna-Maree Stephens

Introduction

In countries where an Indigenous population and immigrant minorities reside, there are usually parallel policy domains that deal with social and cultural rights. This separation extends to education and marks out the differing equity issues associated with historically different treatment. In most cases, Indigenous populations have been racialized, their knowledge base ignored, land taken, and in many cases children taken away along with segregation on missions and reserves. In countries such as Australia, New Zealand (although the Treaty of Waitangi meant segregation was not practised in the same way), Canada, the United States and Nordic countries, this has been the common practice but there has been a slow growth in recognizing Indigenous knowledge, particularly traditional knowledge about land use, philosophical traditions, and creation narratives. However,

In this chapter, Indigenous is used when speaking generally and Aboriginal when focussed on Australia. Aboriginal was the term imposed by colonizers.

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there has been little discussion of knowledge creation at the intersection of immigrant and Indigenous relationships. Forte (2010, 1), in his edited collection, discusses, from an anthropological perspective, how "translocal pathways" may open up new philosophies rather than the oft-stated paradox that Indigenous people suffer from modernity but are simultaneously stuck unto themselves. This is a troubling paradox and contributes to ongoing racialization.

In this chapter we aim to examine how a cosmopolitan framework may reveal transformation of Indigenous knowledge and how this is related to the professional identities of Aboriginal teachers in Australia. Teacher education programs are drawn on to examine the ways in which Aboriginal teachers' knowledge and identities are positioned. The authors come from very different parts of Australia; one from Sydney in the south of Australia and the other from Darwin in the north of Australia. One is Indigenous whose family are from the Aboriginal peoples of North West Arnhem land with rich historical links to early visitors in search of *trepang* (sea cucumber) and colonists to the Northern Territory seeking pastoral, forestry, and new natural resources; and the other is non-Indigenous with English immigrant parents who migrated to Australia in the postwar period as "10 pound poms" and whose own children have married into Japanese and Polish families. These common experiences of cultural transformation enable conversations about difference, power, and knowledge that emerge in the writing of this chapter.

Using a cosmopolitan framework can help to shift the gaze to transformation rather than static models of culture. The argument is that Indigenous knowledge has been continually transformed through engagement with sojourners across time and space yet the new knowledge created at this intersection struggles to find voice due to dominant narratives about indigeneity and parallel multiculturalist discourses, but critically in terms of the focus of this chapter due to the hegemony of professional discourses in teaching.

The chapter draws on scholars who have applied cosmopolitan social theory to highlight Indigenous cultural transformation (Forte 2010; Papastergiadis 2011). It will then present a narrative of family where immigrant and Indigenous histories interact to reveal transformation while maintaining a dynamic Aboriginal identity. This will be juxtaposed with a discussion of how Aboriginal knowledge struggles to find space in the face of "expert" knowledge among Aboriginal teachers and how professional

identities are shaped in Indigenous teacher education programs. We then reflect on cosmopolitan theory in relation to education to reveal how it might be useful in revealing the formation of new knowledge as well as its limitations and how this might lead to greater recognition of southern perspectives in education.

Cosmopolitan Social Theory and Indigenous Cultural Transformation

In offering a chapter that seeks to consider cosmopolitanism theory in dialogue with Aboriginal history and narratives in Australia, the aim is to insert a different analysis into a field that is somewhat dominated by a focus on largely migrant/host relations (Jacobs and Malpas 2011) with the host being the dominant culture (Rolls 2014). As a consequence, much of cosmopolitan theoretical application is located in the spaces that are urban (Reid 2014), and when cosmopolitan theory is applied to Indigenous populations it is descriptions of practice often focused on instrumental forms of cosmopolitanism (Hannerz 2004) such as travel for the purposes of conferences and international meetings (Forte 2010, 26). In the vast landscape of scholarly work on cosmopolitanism, there is minimal attention given to the intersecting lives of Indigenous peoples and immigrants in Australia, although Rolls (2014) notes there are small but growing challenges from scholars about the absence of recognition of long histories of Asian-Indigenous engagement and more recently refugee-Indigenous (Cohen 2003; Colic-Peisker and Tilbury 2008; Stephenson 2007, 2011).

The central aspect of cosmopolitan theory that relates to transformation is a process of cultural translation that has been examined in art and trade routes (Forte 2010; Papastergiadis 2011). However, there is little examination of these processes more generally in Australia and none in relation to Aboriginal teachers. The question perhaps needs to be asked as to why this absence has not raised interest earlier. In an interesting discussion about working-class laborers in the Laotian community in Sydney, Carruthers (2011), drawing on Werbner (2006), makes the point that while people who regularly negotiate between two or more cultures are cosmopolitan, if they are working class or minorities then they are "most likely to be dominated" (180) leading to their "cosmopolitan-ness" not being recognized. This argument could be extended to Aboriginal people in Australia. The dominant narrative is one of unchanging traditions, or

the other side of the coin, "lost culture"—explaining a range of issues by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. These can include problems with youth and suicide (ABC News) and strategies in education that seek to reclaim or find "lost" culture and identity. *The recreation of heritage is not under critique here.* This is something all cultures do, and while Australians with Irish, Scots, and Greek background may maintain their cultural heritage without question, this is something that is rarely acknowledged when applied to Aboriginal people. However, while this discourse attempts to describe the impact of colonialism, there is a risk that culture, or loss of culture, as an explanation elides ongoing power dynamics and robs Aboriginal people of agency, failing to recognize a long-standing engagement with sojourners across time and space. Where does this come from and who does it empower? And how might cosmopolitanism be a useful tool for changing discourses around the politics of identity that reproduce unequal power relations?

Much research has acknowledged that the very term "Aboriginal" erased the multiplicity of languages and identities in colonial Australia and that this served to racialize and limit rights. Embedded in the racialized term were constructions of "Otherness" that constructed the colonized as backward, unable to change, childlike, and likely to die out. In colonial times, cosmopolitans were the elites who travelled to exotic places and learned about, but rarely from, those in far-flung places (Delanty 2009). Yet at the same time and pre(this)history, relationships flourished among Aboriginal people in Australia and those from many parts of Asia. Translocal pathways shaped language, agriculture, art, vegetation, and spirituality (Stephenson 2013).

Given the history of cosmopolitanism and its association with elites and the raced, classed, and gendered hierarchies imposed by imperial powers (Mignolo 2010) how might this theoretical trajectory assist in opening up a space that captures the exchange of knowledge but is alert to the potential dangers? One of the concerns is that by shifting from a discourse focused on oppression and imposed hierarchies, relations of power might be erased leading to a kind of universalism. Does cosmopolitanism enable a shift for individuals *and* groups to negotiate their culture and processes of change? Mignolo (2010) argues that cosmopolitanism was essentially a European secular movement related to the civilizing of populations. To demonstrate this process, he focused on the Spanish colonization of Indigenous peoples in South America. He argues that colonialism rested on "the racial and patriarchal foundation of knowledge without which the colonial matrix of power would not have been possible to be established"

(Mignolo 2010, 120) and to account for this he suggests a decolonial cosmopolitanism. He argues that in order for this to emerge we need to begin a process of "narrating a silenced history, the history of the formation and transformation of the colonial matrix of power" (125).

While colonialism shaped the contexts of Indigenous peoples, Connell (2014), quoting Hountondji (1997 [1994], 2002), argues that oppositional approaches to knowledge are a "retort to the imperialism of Western science or culture [that] produces unhappy results" (2014, 212). Connell goes on to state that Hountondji disliked a silo approach to knowledge and "developed a concept of endogenous knowledge which emphasizes active processes of knowledge production that arise in Indigenous societies and have a capacity to speak beyond them: the emphasis is communication not separation" (212). This reading of knowledge exchange sits well with cosmopolitan theory because of the focus on transformation. In the following section, Donna's family history provides an example of this engagement with others and the artifacts it produced, along with knowledge transformation.

Family Connections Through Time and Space

I am currently studying for my PhD at Charles Darwin University in the Northern Territory, Australia. My family are what are considered an "old Darwin family"; you talk with people and I say who I am, and who my family are, and suddenly stories of my grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins emerge, and I might even have added a few new ones to the list; shared family histories emerge and are retold. That is how it is.

Our family is Muran,[1] our clan *Iwaidja*.[2] Our link to country comes from North West Arnhem land along the coast of Northern Australia. Our family outstation now sits in Mount Norris Bay and is a space of connection for our family, which is now scattered around the Australian continent. As traditional custodians of this country our family have been named in sea claims and recognized by respected elders orally and on paper.

I have read and talked to others who write of my great, great grandfather, a Scotsman, who came to the Territory in search of grazing pastoral lands, buffalo, crocodiles, and timber. My great, great grandmother was from Bathurst Island, and she married the Scotsman. Family history states that traditional ceremonies and "men's business" formalized the marriage. They had three children. My great grandfather was their only surviving child.

My great grandfather grew up travelling the "Top End" particularly between Darwin, Melville, and Bathurst Islands and Muran country in

West Arnhem Land. He was also sent to school "down south". In his adult life he was recognized by old man Nedjie[3] as a senior knowledge man in Muran country. In Darwin he met and married my great grandmother, who came from Thursday Island in the Torres Strait. Cultural translation was therefore ongoing between Scottish, Thursday Island, Bathurst, and Melville Island knowledges, as well as among the Muran in West Arnhem Land.

My own grandmother was the fifth child born to my great grandparents. She was born on the land in North West Arnhem land near the timber mill and hunting station run by my great grandparents. She was a fluent *Iwaidja* speaker and knew the stories passed to her from the elders and her many mothers,[4] aunties, and sisters. She was about 14 years old when her father died and her mother moved to Darwin with the family. In Darwin, they lived with the "melting pot" of cultures that was in Darwin at that time, and still exists today. It was in this melting pot that my grandmother met my grandfather, a Patagonian man, when she was 17. They married and had seven children of their own, my mother being the second eldest.

To reflect on this family history through the notion of cosmopolitanism, which recognizes that Indigenous cultures change through deliberate and chance encounters with other cultures over time (Forte 2010), provides an opportunity to explore both inwardly and outwardly the nature of my Aboriginal identity and culture today and to consider the wider shaping of Aboriginal cultures in the north of Australia.

Well prior to connections with European colonists, Aboriginal peoples of the North, West, and East Arnhem region were visited by a range of other cultures and this is demonstrated in art and oral histories. The Macassans (trepang traders), in particular, left eco-prints in terms of buildings, plants, utensils, and artifacts (May, Tacon, Wesley and Pearson 2013.). Various artifacts, remnants of buildings, tamarind trees, and documented artwork on the rock faces further inland are present near and around the land near my family outstation in Arnhem Land. These artifacts are evidence of cultural translation just as those found among the *Papunya Tula* artists (Papastergiadis 2011) and add further evidence of engagement across time in my family's transformation of culture.

Stories are told to me of the interactions of clans and Aboriginal peoples as my work takes me across the Top End of Australia. Despite these interactions and connections, I have a sense that an all-encompassing term of Aboriginal or Indigenous sits against a very clear logic of individual

clan group affiliations as the main identifier. Therefore, we are not simply Aboriginal or Indigenous, but *Iwaidja*, *Yolngu*, *Tiwi* or *Binji*, *Murri*, *Koori*, *Noonga*; saltwater people, freshwater people, rock people, desert people, and so on. In choosing to become a teacher, educator, and researcher, I bring with me this history and identity that impact on my ways of knowing, thinking, being, and the values that influence and guide my work.

Cohen (2003, 39) suggested "it is well documented that Indigenous peoples themselves reject multicultural imagery and are opposed to their inclusion as another 'ethnic group' … Instead … they prefer a bi-cultural model". This notion provides an interesting perspective from which to create reflective (considering interactions with others) and reflexive (considering my own narrative and experiences) discourses. From my perspective, this provides a space that enables the complex mix of my family history (and those of others) to sit: bicultural as opposed to loss of culture (as perceived by others) makes sense in that there are "particular notions of otherness that need to be understood in relation to complex histories, particular social positions of indigeneity and 'identity'" (Cohen 2003, 41). This notion of bicultural allows an understanding of self-transformation within families, so has resonance with cosmopolitan theory (Delanty 2009).

It would appear from the oral histories passed through our family and the information shared with me by others that "bicultural" has long been a part of the lives of Aboriginal peoples. Often when I talk with family, friends, or colleagues, discussions of family history shows that mothers and fathers from different clan groups come together; "My mother speaks this language, my father that language"; "My mother is from this place and my father from that". This is not simply naming different groups, but brings an unspoken notion also—each clan has its own language and protocols, thus these marriages create bicultural offspring. Multilingual speakers, sometimes with up to four or five Aboriginal languages and English, are not unusual. Coupled with clear understandings of clan group affiliations, in what way do these already bicultural, multilingual families and speakers represent cosmopolitanism within Australian Aboriginal society today?

This family history reveals the translocal pathways of not only different clans but also immigrants—Scottish and Patagonian in recent history but earlier from across the Arafura Sea and beyond—that have opened up different ways of knowing and being, marked by the traces of multiple languages but woven into a sense of indigeneity that is not a simple

monolithic category imposed by colonizers. This agency and ongoing transformation belies the focus on static representations of culture. Such constructions can lead to simplistic binaries of traditional/contemporary or real/not real, which are often measured next to an idealized norm. In the rest of this chapter, these understandings of cultural transformation are used to scaffold an examination of Aboriginal teachers' professional identities. The aim is to understand the work of Aboriginal teachers as cosmopolitan subjects.

Aboriginal Teachers and Professional Identities

Despite multiculturalism (parallel policy domain in Australia) being viewed as a panacea for assimilationist policies of the past, there has been a tendency toward bringing the "Other" into the center of the nation, which has also been considered assimilationist (Hage 2012). In education, this led to a mostly superficial focus on differences rather than issues of equity, and to static constructions of culture rather than culture being negotiated (Leeman and Reid 2006). Here a discussion about Aboriginal teachers might be illuminating. Both authors examined Indigenous teacher education in Australia and Canada (Reid 2004), and in relation to digital technologies in Aboriginal teachers' professional lives, but also more generally, in the Northern Territory. There are some similarities in the contradictions revealed in the research and in our experiences.

In a study of Indigenous teacher education in Australia and Canada, nonrecognition of transformation of culture led to "identity traps" (Reid 2004, 258). That is, the culturalist model of speaking about difference, common to the multicultural model (Leeman and Reid 2006), when people try to "read difference", leads back to processes of racialization. This means identity is based on phrenology or assumptions about culture. In Indigenous teacher education in Western Sydney, Australia, and La Ronge in Northern Saskatchewan, Canada, this led to tensions. In both situations in enclave programs, where Indigenous identity was the basis of entry to the institution, identity politics became central. From assumptions about communities, bands, nonwhites, and curricula, ideas about culture as static and traditional permeated what it meant to become an "Indigenous" teacher. Working in and coordinating the Aboriginal Rural Education Program in Western Sydney also meant that it was impossible to be outside the identity politics because they depended on a racialized binary of insiders/outsiders and black/white relations, a legacy of colonial relations but also multicultural discourses.

Similarly, in Darwin, the discourses around being an Aboriginal teacher (or a clan affiliation teacher) are shaped by identity politics. Research into the experiences of Indigenous preservice teachers and teachers has found that they are treated as "cultural touchstones" (Santoro et al. 2011), and that while these are attempts at inclusion, they can generate a sense of "otherness" (Bat and Shore 2014; Reid and Santoro 2006; Shore et al. 2014a, b). Rather than providing an opportunity for a transformative space, the experiences can take them away from the work of teaching to various forms of "resistance" in their struggle to "find a sense of a teaching identity" (Reid and Santoro 2006).

In Indigenous teacher education in the Northern Territory, developing an "Aboriginal teacher" identity, a professional identity, is often a point of discussion. Among some of the already qualified teachers, the notion of "an Aboriginal teacher" becomes the topic of discussion where it is not simply about teaching but what knowledge is brought to teaching and how it is valued or ignored. In the teacher education program, there are often deliberate attempts to bring about or recognize knowledge that students have already. For example, when talking about number in Math, the discussion generally focuses on "mainstream" Western Math and the curriculum requirements. When asked how Math is talked about in the community as a part of culture, there is initial silence. "How do we talk about Math?" leads to an interesting discussion. For example, what might the highest number be or how do we talk about large and small numbers. Here teachers and preservice teachers often move straight into "mainstream" Western understandings of number, rather than drawing on their own systems of mathematical knowledge. What is interesting is that this knowledge is initially ignored. The benefit of coming together in an Aboriginal teacher education program, and being explicit about recognizing Aboriginal knowledge, is that it provides space for distinguishing this knowledge from "official" knowledge, and for grounding it in practice. This is an important aspect of a cosmopolitan professional teaching identity. Sobe (2009) argues that in trying to understand cosmopolitan dispositions it is the "actually existing practical stances" that are produced in knowledge exchange that reveal how the local and global are negotiated.

The above example demonstrates how space is made available in teacher education for knowledge exchange and the negotiation of professional identities as Aboriginal teachers. It is also useful to explore what practising teachers have done. Shore and colleagues (2014a, 10) found that *Yolŋu* educators are clear that "cultural authority structures, kinship connections, language, land and knowledge practices are not bargaining chips to be traded in their

quest to become registered teachers." Clearly, different teachers are at different phases of their professional identity journey but on their "communities" they gain confidence to express their "actually existing practical stances" (Sobe 2009). These have been informed by their clan and sojourners' cultures across time and space. This position reveals power relations grounded in the local and a desire to exchange knowledge rather than have their own ignored and replaced by what those outside the community think is appropriate.

Over a decade earlier, Raymatta Marika (1999, 109–119), a teacher linguist at the Yirrkala School in East Arnhem Land, explained her own shift in professional identity when talking about the movement in the curriculum from bilingual education to bicultural education:

> I was ignorant of the fact that here was my own knowledge tradition, so rich that I didn't realise it was so powerful … It was not until I spoke my own language, Rirratjinu, that my view of the Yolŋu world became more meaningful. It was formal Yolŋu education … [and] We wanted the school to be a place which put together Balanda[5] and Yolŋu learning to strengthen our culture … Our job as educators is to convince the people who control mainstream education that we wish to be included.

Marika's narrative is important in showing that knowledge sharing can be productive and can lead to the creation of new knowledge, a central tenet of cultural translation in cosmopolitan theory (Papastergiadis 2011). What is missing, however, is how the traces of a long period of knowledge exchange has shaped both *Yolŋu* and *Balanda* cultures over time. This nonrecognition does have some traction in the notion of hybridity.

Seiler's (2011, 13) research of nondominant culture science teachers found that "the sense of being taken away from what one knows and values" provides an opportunity for "identity hybridization" and this has the potential for challenging Western knowledge systems. Nondominant teachers, in Seiler's work, were able to "enact a more hybridized identity in the classroom that was built on agentic moves to use [her] cultural resources in new ways" (2011, 17). This is important, but the problem with the concept of hybridization, in the way it is used here, is that it is an oppositional reading of knowledge rather than a transformative reading that grows over time. The borrowing and shaping of knowledge that goes beyond yours/mine has a trajectory of its own. While it reveals the importance of how nondominant knowledge struggles to find space, it is

important to understand that it is always in relation to this knowledge and not outside of it.

What is captured here is the idea of cosmopolitanism from below (Benhabib 2006) as discussed earlier in this chapter in relation to the Laotian community in Sydney; those marginalized can be dismissed as cosmopolitans if the powerful do not see the knowledge that already exists (Carruthers 2011). To recognize the potential for transformation requires reflexivity among all teachers, not just those who are marginalized. Benhabib argues that because of relations of power the cosmopolitan ideal of a shared humanity, which is at the heart of all cosmopolitan theorizing, must "mediate moral universalism with ethical particularism" (2006, 19). To that end, just as we negotiate our personal identity through interaction with the community—family and larger social networks—so too can a cosmopolitanism recognize and support the negotiation of professional identity.

In Seiler's work (2011, 23–24), which focuses on African American teachers whom she calls culturally nondominant, a teacher "called on her cultural tool kit" as part of a lesson improvisation in which calling out answers was a culturally responsive act that may not have occurred if the dominant co-teacher was present. Yet it clearly was a part of the nondominant teacher's "tool kit", methods, and strategies for teaching based on values and beliefs and constructs of professional knowledge, and, as such, a valuable part of her professional identity as an effective teacher. A cultural tool kit in a Western education system sees the "other" as a position of power and decision-making. The cosmopolitans position themselves positively in the negotiation. For example, in *Strong Voices*, a publication from Aboriginal Educators across the Northern Territory, a key principle of learning is framed by respectful relationships. This framing sees working together "rather than learning by themselves … a group way of learning rather than an individual way" (Blitner and Batchelor Institute of Indigenous Tertiary 2000, 29). In this learning, "Aboriginal teachers use Aboriginal social structures to teach all content—kinship, families, country and traditional stories" (ibid.). This pedagogical practice is not based on Western research but an Aboriginal knowing and being that is transported to, negotiated, and adapted for a "mainstream" education context.

Ideas about what constitutes "good pedagogy" are made via cultural lenses, and if this is acknowledged it can afford a space for Aboriginal teachers to seek their own ways of working and teacher identity; a *particular* Aboriginal teacher identity that is in relation to the local. The use

of cultural ways of interacting, cultural analogies, metaphors, and stories challenge and interact with officially sanctioned pedagogies to transform professional identity. Negotiating space for Aboriginal teachers to navigate their professional identity enriches the professional identities of all teachers in these contexts.

Toward a Cosmopolitan Professional Identity for Aboriginal Teachers

There are a number of concepts used in the above discussion that have complex epistemologies. Central is a critical approach to the ways in which they are used. Biculturalism is a concept most often deployed in New Zealand, and is particularly strong in arguing for the rights of Māori in relation to *Pākeha* (White/European/Settler). It is less commonly found in Australia but has been harnessed here as a vehicle to explore intra-family relations. Two-way learning is more common. The use of biculturalism does more than simply describe family relations since it is being used in opposition to multiculturalism, which would place Indigenous people in Australia as just another ethnic group. The strength of this debate is in the rejection of colonial categoricalism and also in the recognition and disruption of a singular biological identity. However, if we are to seriously consider "Southern Theory" (Connell 2007) through the lens of cosmopolitan theories, then we need to account for colonial relations.

It might be useful to examine cosmopolitanism in terms of the *Yolŋu* given the preceding teaching example. Connell (2007), in her chapter on the "silence of the land", discusses how the struggle of the *Yolŋu* for rights to their land was a process of narrating their silenced history, their relationship to that land:

> They treated the courtroom as a consultative meeting, intended to produce mutual understanding and consensus, and spent their time carefully explaining to the judge and the lawyers the complex detail of their community's relations with the land. (199)

The *Yolŋu* revealed in the history their knowledge of their land, which had been imbued by translocal pathways (Forte 2010). The movement of people, animals, and creation beings were part of these pathways. The local, according to Mignolo (2010), is pluri-versal "since there are many multiple memories and colonial wounds infringed by racism, ways of life,

languages, beliefs, experiences connected to the West, but at the same time, not subsumable to it" (126). The *Yolŋu* teachers quoted earlier in this chapter were not going to bargain away this knowledge just to become registered teachers. In making these claims from the margins of what is considered "mainstream" education, they were arguing for their knowledge as part of their professional identities.

In conclusion, the professional identity of Aboriginal teachers as cosmopolitan workers needs greater recognition and requires further research. The focus for research, then, considers the placement of professional judgment as situated practices (Sobe 2009). Discrimination works against recognition of this kind of professional capital because it is formed through exchanges in a field of power (Noordegraaf and Schinkel 2011, 104). Drawing on a rich tapestry of knowledge exchanges that precede the colonial and continue in contemporary transnational exchanges leads to new knowledge. This moves beyond a simple binary of black/white relations and knowledge, to a plurality of knowledge that links teachers together through their difference as much as their humanity. It also has a focus on the local since it is in the local that transformation is experienced.

Indigenous teacher education programs might consider knowledge transformation as central to moving beyond a focus on binary logics of traditional knowledge versus Western knowledge. In doing so, cosmopolitan theory provides a language and conceptual armory that speaks to this possibility, and this provides space for Indigenous teachers to develop professional identities that are not oppositional but are transformative and grounded in the local.

Notes

1. There are various spellings, including Murran. Most common spelling is presented here.
2. *Iwaidja* is one of the several clans and language groups within the Muran country.
3. Elder and traditional owner, now deceased. Further information can be found in Neidjie, B., S. Davis, and A. Fox. (1985). *Kakadu Man*. Mybrood, Queanbeyan, N.S.W.
4. In traditional societies, structures of family ties mean that sisters and brothers are considered to be mothers and fathers of a child. Therefore, a child will have more than one mother and father.
5. Balanda is a common word in the Top End for non-Indigenous, European peoples.

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CHAPTER 8

Trilingual Education in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region: Challenges and Threats for Mongolian Identity

Yayuan Yi and Bob Adamson

Introduction

Multilingualism is a growing trend around the world. National, regional, and international languages complement local languages in education systems as policy makers respond to the forces and impacts of globalization. The use of multiple languages within a particular context creates an ecology in which people speaking a minority language can experience discrimination and oppression under the hegemony of powerful, dominant languages and cultures (Kramsch and Whiteside 2008). Such people could thus be seen as living in the disadvantaged "global South", and careful maintenance of the language ecology is required to ensure that their language survives and is respected (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2008). This chapter explores the language policies implemented in different primary school contexts of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous

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Region (IMAR) in the People's Republic of China (PRC). Using a four-model typology of trilingual education (Adamson and Feng 2014, 2015; Dong et al. 2015), this chapter analyzes the models implemented in three Mongolian-nationality primary schools located in a city, town, and village in the IMAR. These schools aim to preserve the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Mongolians—one of the 55 officially recognized ethnic minorities in the PRC—while also preparing the students to participate in the social, economic, and political activities of the country through strong propagation of Chinese (the national language) and English (viewed by policy makers as an important tool to enable the PRC to play a prominent role in international affairs). While identifying some diversity in the models (accounted for by a variety of local factors), the analysis suggests a common trend that Mongolian identity is under threat as the language and culture struggle in the face of powerful economic, demographic, and political changes that promote other languages and cultures. This chapter therefore views the struggle of the Mongolian language as a "southern" dimension of the IMAR's position within the PRC.

The study uses a "southern" knowledge perspective by focusing on local responses to global and national forces, and by seeking the perspectives of stakeholders directly involved in devising and implementing trilingual education. The main author, Yi, is a Mongolian and received trilingual education in the IMAR for 12 years before becoming a language teacher and researcher. Yi's educational background and fluency in Mongolian provide her with privileged access to, and understanding of, schools that are implementing trilingual education. The second author, Adamson, is a Briton who has spent over 30 years teaching and researching in Chinese contexts, with a particular interest in minority regions in recent years. The partnership facilitates, we hope, a contribution to the international literature by disseminating insightful findings on an area that has not previously received much attention.

Background

Inner Mongolia is located in the north of China, and shares international borders with Mongolia and Russia. The Mongolian ethnic minority is one of China's 55 official ethnic minority groups. The Mongolian population in the IMAR is over 4.2 million out of a total of 10.58 million (Governmental Statistics in the IMAR 2010). Large numbers of Mongolians also live in

Xinjiang, Qinghai, Liaoning, Jilin, and Heilongjiang provinces in China. Milk, coal mining, farming, animal husbandry, and tourism are all major industries in the IMAR. In recent decades, extraction of the plentiful mineral resources has transformed the IMAR's landscape and impacted negatively upon the traditional nomadic lifestyle.

After the founding of the PRC in 1949, language policies about minority languages have veered between coercive assimilation and respect for diversity (Lam 2005). A key issue is whether to allow the minority groups to learn their mother language (and thus maintain their sense of cultural identity) while also learning standard Chinese (also known as Putonghua) which has been strongly promoted in education in the PRC since the 1950s (Lam 2005). Adding to the complexity is the phenomenal rise of English as an international language in the PRC (Adamson 2004; Osnos 2008) and its role in determining economic and educational opportunities. As a result, different policy streams have produced a demand for trilingual education in schools serving ethnic minority populations. Decisions concerning the details of language policies are decentralized in the PRC, which means that local authorities and schools can determine the model of trilingual education that is implemented.

A large-scale study of trilingual education in ethnic minority regions in the PRC identified four common models—the Accretive, Balanced, Transitional, and Depreciative Models (Adamson and Feng 2014, 2015; Dong et al. 2015). The weakest, the Depreciative Model, is found in schools that claim to cater to an ethnic minority language but, in reality, do not use the minority language as the medium of instruction or even teach it as school subject. Such schools also claim to be bilingual, in the sense that Chinese and English are studied as languages in the curriculum and Chinese serves as the medium of instruction. In these cases, the bilingual label reflects the curriculum content, while the trilingual label reflects the ethnic profile of the students. The Depreciative Model is deleterious to the minority language, which is absent from the curriculum and even the playground of schools that advertise a trilingual experience; only the stronger national (i.e., Chinese) and international (i.e., English) languages are promoted. Schools using the Transitional Model offer only a very basic foundation in the minority language in the early years of schooling, before jettisoning it in favor of Chinese. The other two models are more supportive of trilingualism. The Balanced Model, found in minority regions where there is also a large population of Han Chinese (i.e., the

majority group in the PRC), comprises two streams: one allows students to study through Chinese as the medium of instruction while learning the minority language as a subject, and the other uses the minority language as the medium of instruction while Chinese is learnt as a subject. The Accretive Model integrates the three languages. The minority language is learnt comprehensively, with Chinese as a strong second language; both languages then support the learning of English. In all models, Adamson and Feng (2015) found that Chinese language dominated, learning the minority language tended to tail off in secondary schools, and English was taught patchily in many regions due to a lack of resources.

The study reported in this chapter investigated the role and status of Mongolian, Chinese, and English in three schools designated as Mongolian National Primary Schools (MNPSs). The schools were differentiated by location and socioeconomic status, being situated in a major city, a large town, and a village, respectively. The research approach included policy document analysis, an analysis of the linguistic profile of the community, school-based field studies, and interviews and questionnaires with teachers, stakeholders, policy makers, and parents based on research instruments developed for the large-scale study of language ecology of the local community and schools' implementation of trilingual education described above (see Adamson et al. 2013). The field trips took place between December 2012 and July 2013.

City School

The city school is located in Hohhot, the largest city in the IMAR. The Mongolian population of Hohhot stands at less than ten percent as the city is strongly Han-dominated. Chinese is the dominant language in the government, and in cultural, business, and educational interactions. The city school was set up in 1985 to cater for the Mongolian community. It is one of the two MNPSs in Hohhot that has adopted the Balanced Model. In this school, Mongolian, Chinese, and English are all taught as subjects to all students. Mongolian is used as the main medium of instruction in the Mongolian stream. Chinese is used as main medium of instruction in the Chinese stream. The staff of 104 are all Mongolian. The school provides nine years of compulsory education. Overall, there are 1624 students in 29 classes in the school, out of which 19 of the classes are in the Mongolian stream with a total of 1214 Mongolian students. The class size is about 50–60 students. The majority of the other students are Han Chinese, but there are also over 100 international students from Japan,

Mongolia, South Korea, and Russia in this school using boarding facilities. The school is well resourced with textbooks and multimedia equipment.

Elements of Mongolian language and culture have been incorporated within the teaching and learning environment in the Mongolian-stream classrooms, while the Chinese-stream classrooms have a variety of displays in only Chinese and English. Every classroom has the national flag placed above the blackboard. The Mongolian classrooms and corridors also have posters of Mongolian proverbs as well as pictures of traditional games (such as Mongolian wrestling, horse racing, and archery), Mongolian nature, and animals. The school's name is translated into three languages on the school gate. Throughout the school, the students converse with one another mostly in Chinese.

However, the accent on Mongolian within the school is not reflected in the external language ecology. Once students leave the school, they are in an almost 100 percent Chinese-language environment. Interviews with the students suggest that only a small number of the Mongolian students speak in Mongolian with their parents. This marginal local presence of Mongolian restricts the students' opportunities to access suitable resources in the language:

> Nowadays, there are not enough Mongolian reading materials for students to read outside of the classroom. If they want to read in Mongolian, what's available are only those too complicated translations of the Four Ancient Masterpieces of Chinese stories or a monthly magazine, *Naheya* [a publication for primary students in the IMAR]. (Teacher 1/1)

As a result, there are negative impacts upon the Mongolian students' mastery of their own language:

> Sometimes our students cannot even understand the titles or questions of Mongolian reading comprehension texts. I need to explain to them in Chinese. Then they would understand them better. If you ask them purely in Mongolian, they would not understand the meaning of the questions in the reading comprehension when analyzing it. (Teacher 1/1)

There is also little scope in the city for English to prosper, as the language is only used in lessons or occasional business and government meetings.

The first 20 minutes of the school morning involve all students performing a standard exercise routine that is broadcast by a national radio station. When lessons begin, the Mongolian stream is allocated lessons in

the three languages as illustrated in Table 8.1. Chinese is introduced in Grade Two, and English in Grade Three.

By the time the students reach Grade Four, there is a balanced distribution of all three languages. Mongolian, having been taught as the foundational language of learning, has to give space to the other two languages, and the allocation of lessons decreases to 7 per week. Nevertheless, students' language outcomes show that they have developed high competence in Mongolian reading, writing, listening, and speaking by the end of primary school. These students also acquire strong competence in Chinese and English. Test results and interviews with teachers show that Mongolian-stream students' performance in English tests is better than Han Chinese students' in general—especially in terms of speaking and listening:

> Mongolian students not only can learn English well, they can learn English better than Han Chinese students while still managing to learn three languages. (Teacher 1/2)

Table 8.2 shows the allocation of lessons in the Chinese stream. Chinese occupies the lion's share of time throughout the curriculum. In this stream, Mongolian gives way to English after students have developed a solid foundation in Mongolian grammar, spelling and pronunciation, simple reading, and simple narrative writing skills. Mongolian is in the curriculum from Grade One to Grade Five. By the time the students reach Grade Six, there are only reading lessons to sustain their competence in Mongolian, which reflects the marginal nature of the language in the external environment.

An important factor that affects this distribution is the examinations policy. In the Chinese stream, Mongolian is not tested for secondary

Table 8.1 Distribution of language and cultural lessons in the city school (Mongolian stream)

	Grade 1	*Grade 2*	*Grade 3*	*Grade 4*	*Grade 5*	*Grade 6*
Mongolian	13	10	9	7	10	10
Mongolian Culture	3	2	2	3	2	0
Mongolian Reading and Writing	1	2	0	2	0	0
Chinese	0	5	5	5	5	6
English	0	0	3	3	3	5

Table 8.2 Distribution of language and cultural lessons in the city school (Chinese stream)

	Grade 1	*Grade 2*	*Grade 3*	*Grade 4*	*Grade 5*	*Grade 6*
Mongolian	4	4	3	3	4	0
Mongolian Culture	2	2	1	1	1	1
Mongolian Reading and Writing	1	1	0	2	2	2
Chinese	8	9	11	10	9	10
English	0	0	4	3	3	5

school admission. Therefore, for many students, Grade Five will be the last chance they have for learning Mongolian in the school system. By that time, the best-case scenario is that they have developed a basic grounding in Mongolian reading, writing, and spelling. But, as the interview data from teachers show, even this basic standard of Mongolian is difficult to achieve for many students who are learning in the Chinese stream. For these students, learning Mongolian is just a means to make a good impression to ensure their entry into a good secondary school. There is a significant difference in terms of Mongolian ability between students in the Chinese stream and those in the Mongolian stream.

> To tell you the truth, most of the Chinese students cannot even read properly after learning Mongolian for two years. They can only write very simple characters and read very simple articles. This subject will not be included in the secondary school entrance exam—I think this fact has a big impact on students' learning attitude. They do not need to perform well in this subject but can get into a Chinese secondary school anyhow. Some of the students do not even know what the traditional five nomadic animals on the grasslands are in Mongolian culture. (Teacher 1/1)

The performance of these students in public examinations in Chinese also remains on a par with Han students who attend other Han primary schools without learning Mongolian.

Factors that foster the relatively effective implementation of trilingualism in this MNPS are the national policy, the government's financial support, teacher resources and teacher development, and the local community's attitudes and perceptions regarding Mongolian education. However, there are also strong countervailing factors that hinder the

sustainability of the language, such as the urbanization policy and the shifting demographics. With their increasing numbers, Han students have become the school's main source of recruitment, given that some Han parents reason that if their children learn Mongolian at school they will get access to a better secondary school, even though Mongolian is not formally tested. In this case, the Mongolian language is a school subject studied for instrumental reasons, rather than out of a commitment to the language itself. If Han migration into the IMAR continues, the school, and similar institutions, will cater more for those students who are seeking merely to have the study of Mongolian listed on their transcript. At the same time, greater pressure will be placed upon the Mongolian stream in competing for resources with the Chinese stream, and it is likely that less attention will be paid to sustaining the Mongolian stream. This threat to Mongolian is further exacerbated by its diminished presence in the city with the continued influx of Chinese speakers, which means that there is weakening community support for the language, thus eroding its status within the IMAR.

Town School

The second MNPS is located 160 km from the major city of Baotou. The Baotou region is the world's largest producer of rare earth metals. The population of Baotou is 2,650,364 and the Mongolian population stands at 15.1 percent. The population of the town where the school is located numbers 17,597; the Mongolian population is 15.3 percent. As a counterbalance, the proximity to the border and the opportunities for trade as well as social and cultural interaction with Mongolia create a potentially strong platform for the use of Mongolian in this town, despite the fact that the linguistic variety and script are different in the neighboring country. The town school was established in 1974. In 1998, it merged with another local primary school and became the only MPNS in the town. It provides nine years of compulsory education. This school has adopted the Accretive Model. Mongolian, Chinese, and English are all taught as a subject. Mongolian is the main medium of instruction. In 2013, there were 576 students and 91 staff. The class size is about 45–50 students, and all the students and teachers are Mongolian. The school is well equipped with textbooks, multimedia equipment, traditional Mongolian musical instruments, chess, and games equipment. This school has newly renovated boarding facilities.

Administratively, the school is located within the Baotou city region but it is close to the Mongolia-China border. The sensitive geographical location of this town has drawn attention from the national government, which has built a military base there and required schools to bolster patriotic education to avoid the development of strong cross-border Mongolian sentiments that might threaten the integrity of the PRC.

The rapid growth of the local mining industry has drastically altered the landscape. Local Mongolians have witnessed how the mining industry is contributing to economic growth, but at the same time bringing ecological and social damage. The traditional Mongolian lifestyle has been affected, as the government has banned the nomadic lifestyle and required former nomads to settle in urban areas. The Mongolian language has strong pastoral roots, and economic modernization and related policies threaten it with deracination:

> Nowadays, if we want to see something about Mongolian culture or history, we have to go to the museum. How many students in our school have seen a camel? Camels have almost disappeared. There were so many wild camels, cows, sheep, and horses on the grasslands in the past. When I was young, I used to ride a horse, tend sheep, and take care of various animals for my family. (Teacher 2/1)

International trade in the region also boosts the status of English, while Chinese remains the dominant language in many walks of life. In the streets, one can hear international pop music and see trailers for Hollywood movies on advertising screens. Even in a town this size, English is becoming a part of the culture, albeit on a very small scale.

> Learning English seems to have become a social phenomenon. Compared with rural schools, English in this school has improved a lot. Mongolian students here can understand even if the teacher only speaks in English. Grade 1 to Grade 6 can all understand. (Teacher 2/2)

Although the town holds cultural festivals each year to attract tourism and popularize Mongolian culture, it is not difficult to see that Mongolian traditions are slowly weakening due to the influence of Chinese and English. The school represents a bulwark against cultural deterioration. The local community has demonstrated strong support for the school's mission of preserving Mongolian culture. The town government provided funds to

upgrade the facilities. Parents and other groups cooperate in providing extracurricular classes in Mongolian language and cultural activities, such as poetry readings, *Naadam* games, folk dancing, and musical performances. Local TV and radio stations broadcast the school's special events. Many of the students speak Mongolian at home and with friends.

The school environment has a strong Mongolian flavor. The school gate is in the shape of an ancient sculpture, called the 'Secret History of the Mongols', and there is a statue of a running horse in front of the main school building. In the grounds, a sculpture of the Mongolian *Suulte* (arrow) has been erected alongside a stone painting depicting the nomadic lifestyle of over a thousand years ago. Students perform the traditional Mongolian *Andai* dance every morning in place of the physical exercises generally prescribed for primary school students in China. The music room is well stocked with traditional instruments. There are many posters of Mongolian proverbs and poems, traditional games, and religion in classrooms and corridors, while each classroom has a picture of Genghis Khan above the blackboard. Political slogans and posters in Chinese can also be seen, nurturing students' patriotic awareness, citizenship, and military knowledge.

The study of Mongolian is accorded the most teaching hours in the curriculum, and the language is also used as the medium of instruction. Students' outcomes show that they have strong Mongolian competence across the four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking.

> We are probably securing first place in Mongolian exam results in the city. Most of the time Mongolian in this school is better than in the other two schools in the city. This is because our school has a Mongolian environment. Another factor is that our school really emphasizes sustaining Mongolian culture and focuses on improving minority education. (Teacher 2/1)

Among the several Mongolian language classes observed, one lesson was particularly interesting. It featured a traditional Mongolian role-play, which combined entertainment, education, and the warlike spirit of Mongolians. The students reacted by being inquisitive and engaged. The plot quickly drew their attention to the lesson's objective—cherishing the environment and the land they live on. Students' awareness of the need for ecological protection was challenged, and they became acquainted with the current situation in the region through an entertaining dialogue that is a key component of this kind of role-play. The teacher also shared some

ancient proverbs with the students, and used a variety of interesting metaphors that are related to nature and the nomadic lifestyle. After the lesson, the teacher commented:

> Once the natural environment that carries the rich traditions, knowledge, and ecology of Mongolian culture slowly fades away, Mongolian culture would be threatened. The well-being of the grasslands is the well-being of Mongolian culture. (Teacher 2/3)

Chinese and English are introduced incrementally and at different times to the curriculum, in line with the Accretive Model. Table 8.3 depicts the length of time distributed to the three languages, which changes every school year, and the time spent on extracurricular activities that are implemented in order to sustain Mongolian culture.

It is clear that the goal of maintaining Mongolian culture, language, and traditions lies at the core of the school's mission. However, Mongolian is also on a downward trend, as attention to Chinese (in particular) and English increases, putting the Accretive Model under threat. Teachers ascribed this trend to the dominance of Chinese in secondary schools. Overall, though, assessment results indicate that, by the end of school, students have relatively good proficiency in Chinese and basic knowledge of English without detriment to their mother language. The local conditions create a sense of optimism among some teachers, who observe that Mongolian is still frequently used among students with their parents and friends:

> According to my observations, the Mongolian language is not going to become extinct that fast. But yes, Chinese has become the most widely used language … I assume that in the future the global language will be Chinese.

Table 8.3 Distribution of language and cultural lessons in the town school

	Grade 1	*Grade 2*	*Grade 3*	*Grade 4*	*Grade 5*	*Grade 6*
Mongolian	7	8	7	6	6	6
Mongolian Culture	3	2	1	1	1	1
Mongolian Reading and Writing	5	5	5	5	5	5
Chinese	1	4	5	5	6	6
English	1	2	2	4	2	2

> But if each and every Mongolian is really dedicated to keeping our culture alive, and puts effort into protecting our language and culture, Mongolian will not die out. (Teacher 2/3)

Others believe that, in the long term, Chinese will be essential; using Mongolian and English will depend upon the nature of employment.

> The most important language in the future will be Chinese. Mongolian will basically not be widely used in society, unless one does some work closely related to Mongolian culture or Mongolia. Otherwise they would just use Chinese. All the documents are in Chinese; SMS is in Chinese; when we have a meeting in the school, we also use Chinese. English may be forgotten in the future if the students' employment is not in translating, or based abroad or in teaching. (Teacher 2/1)

Factors that are currently supporting the relatively strong implementation of Mongolian in the school include the language ecology, the national policy, local financial support, a strong and committed group of teachers, the facilities and resources, parental support, and the positive attitudes of teachers and students. There are also factors that are hindering the sustainability of the Mongolian language, such as local policies that have banned the nomadic lifestyle thereby separating the language from its pastoral roots. (The government declared the reason they issued this policy was to protect the grassland from being destroyed by overgrazing, but another reason could be that there are rich mineral resources under the nomads' land, which the government wishes to mine.) Other factors include local economic growth, the influx of the Han Chinese into the town, and the shortage of Mongolian teaching resources. This school is increasingly becoming isolated as a small island in a sea of Chinese.

Village School

The village MNPS is located in northeast IMAR, 150 km from Tongliao city IMAR, and only 50 km from Liaoning Province and IMAR border. Demographically, the population of this village is 10,144. Mongolians make up over 90 percent of the population in this area, and their language is widely used in the government, cultural activities, business, and education. Owing to the proximity to Liaoning Province, Chinese is frequently used for cross-border trade. There is more demand here for Chinese than

in other inland areas in the IMAR. Economically, this particular village is comparatively well developed and is the biggest of the 36 villages under the jurisdiction of the local town authorities. Since the 1990s, it has held a weekly market and it benefits from being located close to a highway.

Originally, the school served just the local village, but in 2000, it was merged with another school some 15 km away to consolidate the provision of Mongolian education. Upon merging, the school opened boarding facilities for the students who transferred from the other site. At the time of this study, there were 269 students, all Mongolian, in six classes, and 15 teachers. Class size ranged from 40–50 students. This school had adopted the Accretive Model. Mongolian, Chinese, and English are taught as subjects in the school. Mongolian is the main medium of instruction and the most widely used language among teachers and students. The school has very basic boarding facilities and teaching resources. The boarding area has two dormitories, with 40–45 students living in each room. The students have to light fires in the dormitories to keep warm during the winter. This is inconvenient and dangerous, but there is no alternative. There is a packed-earth playground with some dilapidated fitness equipment on one side. Inside the school, wall decorations are very simple. The national flag is made of red and yellow paper. The walls have a few posters in Mongolian, English, and Chinese. The school is crowded; students' chairs, desks, and tables are old and rickety. In the classrooms, students and teachers also have to light a fire during the winter, when temperatures fall to between −20 and −27 degrees Celsius.

This primary school represents a commitment on the part of the local government to preserving the Mongolian language and culture. As one of three Mongolian schools in the neighborhood—there is also a preschool and a secondary school—the primary school offers education from Grade One to Grade Five. Government aid is allocated to schools according to students' numbers, and is only just sufficient to cover the daily running of the school. Further support has to be raised from other sources, which is a challenge, as economic growth is slower than in the city or town described in this chapter.

The village has a stronger Mongolian cultural and linguistic environment, to the extent that many Han Chinese inhabitants can speak the language. Mongolian is used for daily communication among the local populace, while Chinese is the bridge that connects the village to the outside world. Although some villagers are fluent in Chinese, one can notice their strong Mongolian accent. As with all the school areas mentioned in

this chapter, the local populace has access to national and international media resources: many advertisements in the media are in Mongolian, while the television, radio, and telecommunications services are bilingual—in Chinese and Mongolian. CCTV 9, the national English TV channel, is also available. Even in a small village like this, for an extra fee, some English channels, such as HBO, BBC, Star TV, and Fox News, can also be accessed, but the subscription costs and the linguistic demands are too great for most local families. Some of the youngsters in the village enjoy watching English movies and TV programs (with Chinese subtitles) on the internet, but otherwise, there is little use of English.

In recent years, the use of the Chinese language has become more frequent in this community, and the pressure from the national language has had a negative impact on Mongolian. As one teacher stated during an interview:

> Students' Chinese ability is about to out-pace their Mongolian ability. We try to speak only Mongolian in the school. But outside of school they see and hear more and more Chinese. The environment is being influenced more and more by Chinese culture. So it is easier for them to learn Chinese than Mongolian. (Teacher 3/1)

Of the three languages, Mongolian receives the largest allocation of lessons, although it does make some room for English from Grade Three (Table 8.4). Mongolian is the foundational language and the main medium of instruction. Various activities are also organized by the school to enhance students' Mongolian culture practices; these include poetry readings and Mongolian chess. Some of the teachers have added lessons in traditional Mongolian as an extracurricular activity. The arrangement reflects the Accretive Model of trilingual education, with Chinese and then English being built upon the students' first language, although there are initial indications that the model is changing to the Transitional Model as more Chinese-medium lessons are introduced.

> Actually, for Mongolian students who are studying at a Mongolian primary school, we emphasize the importance of learning Mongolian to them. Mongolian is their mother language. (Teacher 3/1)

While agreeing with the curriculum design, Chinese and English teachers expressed concern about the students' capacity to cope:

Table 8.4 Distribution of language and cultural lessons in the village school

	Grade 1	*Grade 2*	*Grade 3*	*Grade 4*	*Grade 5*
Mongolian	8	8	8	8	7
Chinese	3	3	3	3	3
English	0	3	3	3	3

> It is a little bit early for students to learn English from Grade 3. It is because the students start to learn *pinyin* [the romanized form of Chinese characters] in Grade Two and at Grade Three students reach a critical stage of learning Chinese words and phrases. English comes in as the third language. Learning three languages at this stage is difficult for students. (Teacher 3/2)

The students' perceptions show that most of them are very confident that by the end of their primary study, they will achieve good proficiency in speaking and writing in the three languages. Assessment of students' competence shows that they become fluent in Chinese, are able to write simple descriptive essays, and can do comprehensive reading in the language. The students agree that it is appropriate to start learning Chinese from Grade One, and to use Chinese increasingly as the medium of instruction. Teachers find that, with a greater presence of Chinese culture in their daily lives, students not only show more interest in learning Chinese, they also learn Chinese faster than Mongolian. However, it was observed that the students tended to code-switch between Chinese and Mongolian in Chinese-medium lessons. While the students' English remained at a basic level, several students indicated a desire to learn other subjects, such as physical education and art, through the medium of English. They also rated their confidence in speaking and writing in English as higher than in Chinese.

As the use of Chinese spreads in the village, teachers in the school commented that, although Mongolian is still widely used, the local lifestyle is showing signs of cultural and linguistic assimilation with that of the Chinese, and this assimilation is more marked than in other villages in the region. The students' Mongolian is relatively poor compared with the competence of students in the town school in this study. This can be seen from students' limited vocabulary in their writing, public examination results, and the weak grasp of discourse in their daily learning activities. In terms of resources, this school is far behind the town school and city school. Teachers cite the lack of Mongolian bookstores or magazines. In terms of sustainability, Chinese is in the strongest position among the

three languages, but Mongolian still has some advantages–the population remains predominantly Mongolian, and the language can still be found in daily communication within the family context. The standard of English is poor, largely because it is hardly used outside of school. It is a foreign language, and has been studied for the secondary school entrance examinations since 2010. Although at town and city level it has been found that Mongolian students' English performance in examinations is better than that of Han Chinese students, this is not the case at village level. The shortages of resources and of trained English teachers are important factors.

> We lack professional teachers who graduated in art, P.E, English, dancing and music. Chinese English teachers are not suitable for Mongolian students because they cannot understand Mongolian and it is difficult to teach Mongolian students. (Teacher 3/3)

The main reason that this school currently implements an Accretive Model is because of the demographic features of this village. This school is surrounded by a Mongolian-speaking environment, albeit with an ever-increasing use of Chinese. English is weak, but students appear to be enthusiastic about learning it. Theoretically, the village school has the potential for building a really strong Accretive Model, but it is hindered by a lack of human, financial, and teaching resources and by the advancing predominance of Chinese.

Discussion and Conclusion

Four major models of trilingual education have been identified in the IMAR. In this study we have found two of them—the Balanced Model in the city school and the Accretive Model in the town and village schools. On the surface, these findings indicate that the Mongolian language is being preserved in areas where a majority of the population is Mongolian, where the economy is comparatively well developed, and the location is close to Mongolia. Such factors allow the town and village schools in this study to implement the Accretive Model, although the efforts of the village school are hampered by a lack of resources. At the city school, the tendency toward assimilation is stronger. The city school applies the Balanced Model as a means to strive for social harmony or prepare students for a smooth transition into mainstream society. A common feature

of all three schools is a commitment to a coherent system that nurtures the Mongolian language and culture as well as allowing the students to learn Chinese and English. This commitment is in line with the national government policy to preserve and develop minority languages.

However, on closer examination, it appears that all these schools are trying to fight against the deterioration in the Mongolian language that has occurred as a consequence of the economic development and concomitant demographic changes resulting from a major influx of Chinese-speaking Han in the region. The power of Chinese is buttressed by its role as the national language and its importance in providing students with opportunities to further their education and enhance their employment prospects. The high status of English is institutionalized through the examination systems and its place in popular culture. Mongolian, meanwhile, remains a marginalized minority language, and it will probably continue to be increasingly marginalized with urbanization, which represents a major threat to rural languages (Moseley 2007). As they grow up and progress through the school system, students move closer to assimilation. The external environment supports this trend:

> Mongolian is a very beautiful language with very rich vocabulary and artistic expression, and historical and cultural roots. But nowadays students cannot learn this language very well. First they do not have an authentic environment anymore; outside of school it is all Chinese. Secondly, they are under too much stress to learn English and Chinese at a young age. Balancing three languages is a very big challenge for both teachers and students. (Teacher 3/2)

Strong models of trilingual education may offer a win-win-win solution, but only if there is political will and commitment to providing the necessary economic and human resources to support the "southern" language under threat (Fishman 2001). This requires cooperation among policy makers, principals, teachers, students, parents, and other stakeholders. The community also plays an important role in trilingual education. A strong model, whether Accretive or Balanced, needs a powerful Mongolian language environment and authentic Mongolian resources. Institutional support, for example, would include mass media (Cormack 2005) as well as social, legal, and administrative services in Mongolian that would provide the language with status, while the provision of schooling in the language serves as an essential factor in order to reflect the government's

commitment to maintain and sustain it. If the 'southern' language does not exist in a school curriculum, and is not widely used among the youth, then its chances of survival severely decrease, a danger recognized by a teacher in the village school:

> Mongolian will not disappear, but this language is facing difficulties for sure. There are policies that support the teaching and using of Mongolian. There are also a considerable number of people using Mongolian. Mongolian language also has its written form in addition to the spoken form, so it will not disappear. … [However] our students do not know so much about traditional Mongolian celebrations or festivals anymore. These traditions have already disappeared from here for many decades. I hope there will be more multimedia resources to supplement textbooks, Mongolian TV channels, Mongolian movies or Mongolian cartoons produced in the future so that students can still get access to these old traditions and learn about their mother culture. (Teacher 3/1)

Minority "southern" regions around the world are often battlegrounds for political power, economic resources, social mobility, social justice, and human rights (as well as an excellent context for the study of language policies). Schools, especially primary schools, are at the eye of the ecological storm. Today, Mongolian schools with their cultural icons may look very beautiful on the surface, but if we dig beneath all this beauty, we find that the sustained well-being of the Mongolian language and culture is dependent upon national and local policy, investment, and commitment.

Research Note

The interviewees who participated in the research presented in the chapter agreed to be quoted as long as their anonymity was maintained, in line with ethical procedures approved by the Education University of Hong Kong.

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PART III

Where the North and South Collide

CHAPTER 9

Preparing Teachers through International Experience: A Collaborative Critical Analysis of Four Australian Programs

John Buchanan, Jae Major, Lesley Harbon, and Sean Kearney

Introduction

The preparation of teachers for an increasingly internationalized, interconnected and globalized world, and for diverse classrooms, has become a key challenge for twenty-first-century teachers and teacher educators. As a highly multicultural nation, Australia has a specific need for teachers capable of engaging with and responding to diversity and

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assuming leadership in this area. The Australian Curriculum for schooling includes intercultural competence as one of seven general capabilities to be developed, describing it as "an essential part of living with others in the diverse world of the twenty-first century" (Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) 2014a). Teachers are expected to value and critically view their own cultural perspective and practices as well as those of others. Three key dispositions—"expressing empathy, demonstrating respect and taking responsibility"—are identified as critical to intercultural understanding, and are developed through the Australian Curriculum (ACARA 2014b). This general capability also links to the cross-curriculum priorities related to "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures", and "Asia and Australia's engagement with Asia" (ACARA 2014c). Thus, intercultural competence has become increasingly important for teacher education programs. International experiences, embedded within teacher education, are seen as a key way to enhance this capability.

In this chapter, coordinating staff from four universities in New South Wales (NSW), Australia, have collaborated to discuss, ascertain and question the impact of their institution's own and each other's international experience programs, in terms of developing intercultural competence of preservice teachers in these programs. One aim of these programs is to equip preservice teachers with "knowledge … to forge an understanding of and solutions to the devastating problems of global society" (Hickling-Hudson 2009, 365), by confronting them with examples of global inequalities, "as texts to learn *from*, not just *about*" (Connell 2007, viii, emphasis in original). We begin by summarizing the key concept of intercultural competence and literature relating to international experiences in teacher preparation programs to better understand the features of these programs that enhance intercultural competence in preservice teachers. We then discuss some of the challenges and tensions inherent in such programs when viewed from a postcolonial perspective, with the understanding that these international programs take place in the "global South" (Connell 2007). Next, we move to describe and critically analyze our programs acknowledging the complexity and intricacies of culture and an understanding that "wisdom consists in a greatly increased tolerance toward their divergencies" (Landis and Bhawuk 2004, 451), before discussing characteristics and features that we believe represent best practice, and optimize the

potential for international experience programs to promote intercultural competence and the ability to teach for and with diversity.

The key questions that guide this project are:

1. What are the characteristics of an effective international experience program in teacher education?
2. How do teacher educators critically analyze international experience programs, their purpose and effects on preservice teachers' personal and professional development?
3. What framework can teacher educators use to guide the development of short-term international experiences for preservice teachers?

Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence is an important contributor and precursor to the ability to teach and respond to diversity (Oguro 2015). Intercultural competence can be thought of as an "effective and appropriate behavior and communication in intercultural situations," which requires the development of "specific attitudes, knowledge and skills" (Deardorff 2011, 66). A range of models of intercultural competence has been developed, particularly in the context of second and foreign language learning. All encompass knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviors. Byram (1997, 50–53), for example, suggests five elements for intercultural competence, which include: attitudes of curiosity, openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about others' cultures and belief about one's own intercultural attitudes; knowledge of other social groups—their products and practices; skills of interpreting and relating; skills of discovery and interaction; and critical cultural awareness. Deardorff's process model positions attitudes of respect, openness, curiosity and discovery at the start of an intercultural competence process that also includes knowledge and comprehension of one's own and others' cultures; internal outcomes leading to a "reference shift"; and external outcomes of appropriate communication and behavior (2006, p. 256). Also see Moran (2001), and Liddicoat et al. (2003) for summaries of other models of intercultural competence.

Gorski contends that intercultural competence requires more than the acquisition of knowledge and skills, but is a process that works toward

"the establishment and maintenance of equity and social justice in education contexts and, by extension, society" (2008, 517). The process is not solely cognitive, but also encompasses affective elements such as "empathy, curiosity and respect" (Perry and Southwell 2011, 454). It is also conative, that is, behavior-related, in scope. Deardorff further suggests that intercultural learning is transformational learning that requires a range of experiences, including service learning in local and international contexts, course work and international professional experiences (2006, 2011).

The international experience programs discussed in this chapter all aspire to develop intercultural competence. Under scrutiny is the extent to which attitudes, knowledge, skills and behaviors are effectively and consistently developed and supported in these programs.

International Experiences in Teacher Education

Ochoa (2010) proposes that teacher preparation should be rethought to encompass different knowledge, skills and pedagogical domains in order to effectively meet the demands of diverse contexts. Education institutions are increasingly looking to international experiences as one way to expose preservice teachers to "different knowledge, skills and pedagogical domains" and to achieve intercultural competency outcomes (Harris 2011; Santoro and Major 2012). Such experiences appear to make valuable contributions, cognitively and affectively, to teachers' professional (and personal) selves (Atmazaki and Harbon 1999; Buchanan 2004; Harbon 2003; Harbon and Smyth 2015; McGill and Harbon 2002, 2006). For language teachers in particular, in-country experiences serve to improve fluency in the target language as well as enhance cultural competence (French and Harbon 2010; Harbon 2007; Lee 2009; Trent 2013). Such programs have also been shown to contribute to teacher professional identity and formation (e.g., Akkerman and Meijer 2011; Trent 2013).

The four NSW universities participating in this project operate well-established international experience opportunities and are committed to growing these in the teacher education context. Our international experiences are designed to provide participants with personal encounters with cultural and linguistic "others," as well as the experience of being "the cultural other," which is an experience that many preservice teachers from dominant cultural groups have never encountered previously

(Buchanan 2011). While we have not collected data on participating students' ethnicities, we believe that our cohorts are largely representative of the Anglo-Celtic background that dominates the teaching profession (Power 2009). For mainstream students in particular, these intercultural experiences may provide good, and first, practice in "being a foreigner."

Existing studies point to a range of features that impact the effectiveness of international experience programs, including the destination, length of stay, opportunities to interact with local people, and preparation and support for students to manage cultural difference (Van 't Klooster et al. 2008), as well as whether the program is embedded with "a carefully developed theoretical framework" (Dantas 2007, 90) and if it incorporates critical reflection and dialogue (Alfaro and Quezada 2010). Cruickshank and Westbrook contend that international experiences contribute to student teachers' "cross-cultural understandings, empathy and skills, attributes which transfer to their understanding of and skills in teaching in home contexts" (2013, 56). To this we would add that international experiences also add to preservice teachers' knowledge, as they encounter new circumstances and experience things that they had not previously known, or had only encountered vicariously, through reading, hearing or viewing. New encounters can prompt valuable learning moments, in which existing axioms can be brought into question.

However, it is easily assumed that international encounters will, of their own accord, result in transformative outcomes that transfer to home contexts (Dantas 2007). Buchanan and Widodo (2016) observe that an international experience can inadvertently be a normalizing one. They propose that Western pedagogies are often privileged, by both host and visiting personnel, which serves to reinforce Western ways of doing, knowing, thinking and being. Deriving from the existence of English as a global lingua franca, Buchanan and Widodo propose the notion of a *cultura franca*, in which Western ways become the normalized way of doing things. Apart from being culturally inappropriate and insensitive to host cultures, a *cultura franca* can shelter visiting teachers from questioning their taken-for-granted ways. Gorski points out the politically charged nature of intercultural education potentially serving to "reify my growing sense of racial and ethnic supremacy by essentializing the lives and diverse cultures of an already-oppressed group of people, then presenting that group to me as a clearly identifiable 'other'" (2008, 516). International experiences,

then, are not unproblematic, especially when viewed from a postcolonial perspective (Rizvi 2007).

Postcolonial Understandings

All education, we contend, has a colonial dimension to it. This is particularly the case in contexts where preservice teachers from the "developed" world (the global North) undertake teaching experiences in "developing" countries (the global South). Connell refers to "authority, exclusion and inclusion, hegemony, partnership, sponsorship, appropriation—between intellectuals and institutions in the metropole and those in the world periphery" (2007, ix). Despite the social justice aims of international experience programs, there is significant potential for relationships that are asymmetrical in terms of power and influence. The relationship between the West and the East is one "of power, of domination, of varying degrees of complex hegemony," according to Said (1978, 5). At the institutional and individual level, relationships between host and visitors are saturated in unequal power dynamics. While our own preservice teachers live in the geographic South, outside the "metropole," their relative wealth and access to information, and, in many cases, the white privilege they are accorded (Solomon and Daniel 2015) firmly position them as "Northerners." Connell (2008, 58, emphasis added) speaks of "Australia's *affiliation* with the metropole," suggesting its connection with the global North while also being positioned in the South. Bang and Medin (2010, 7) remind us that people "live culturally," and, by implication learn culturally. They also refer to the "need to understand the complexities that diverse ways of knowing create for teaching and learning environments" (Bang and Medin 2010, 7). International professional experiences present an opportunity to bring cultural assumptions into focus and to question them.

The teacher-learner contract assumes added complexities when delivered by the global North to the global South. First, the traffic tends to be one way. Relatively few preservice teachers in the global South are invited, or have the means, to teach in the global North. Moreover, the relationship between the preservice teacher and the experienced host teacher, assumed in the home country as one where the host teacher has greater power, is at times upended or challenged in an international context. In at least some international professional experiences, preservice teachers are deemed to be experts by local teachers with many years' experience

(Major and Santoro 2016). As teacher educators, it is easy for us, too, to be lulled into a presumption of superiority, smugly armed with our collaborative and student-centered pedagogies, that we expect our preservice teachers to model.

Yet one aim of our programs is to instill in our preservice teachers a capacity and ability to acknowledge, and intelligently and empathically make sense of local knowledges and pedagogies, and to build these into their teaching as practicable. In this regard, our international experiences confront us with a genuine conundrum. If we wish to embrace or at least acknowledge local pedagogies as valid, that then requires us to recognize the knowledge and experience that the local teachers and systems bring to the "pedagogical table"—something we do not always readily do, especially when these run counter to the prevailing education discourses from our own contexts. It is a constant concern that our "Southern forays" arguably serve the needs of our preservice teachers more than those of the communities in which they teach, in a manner highly redolent of colonialism.

Conduct of the Study

This chapter emerges from a collaboration entailing a series of conversations, over 18 months, between the organizers of four major international programs (also termed "in-country" and mobility programs) for preservice teachers in NSW, Australia. Each of these four university programs offers short-term international experiences to groups of preservice teachers in different contexts in different years, depending on availability and other impacting environmental and security factors. The aim of our continuing conversations is to share the views that underpin our programs, and thereby open them to scrutiny and challenge. As per Connell (2007), we sought to learn *from*, rather than simply *about*, one another's experiences.

In the table and analysis that follow, we have attempted to provide a sense of our programs. The descriptions are necessarily short and may not fully encapsulate the detail and complexity of each program (Table 9.1).

Critical Analysis of Four Programs

To assist in the analysis of our programs, we adopted the PEER model, which was developed by Holmes and O'Neill (2012) to provide a process to guide and enhance tertiary students' experiences of engaging with a

Table 9.1 Overview of International Programs at Four Universities

Program Elements	*University of Technology Sydney (UTS)*	*University of Sydney (US)*	*Notre Dame University (ND)*	*Charles Sturt University (CSU)*
Location (subject to availability, funding and local geopolitical context)	Indonesia, Thailand, China, Samoa	Indonesia, Timor Leste (multidisciplinary group), China, South Korea, Thailand	Kenya, India	Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Cambodia, Nepal, India
Duration	2 weeks (10 teaching days)	2–5 weeks	2–3 weeks	3–5 weeks
Number of students	10–15	10	30–40 (Kenya) 10 (India)	10
Purpose	To teach English as a Foreign Language. OR To teach English and other subjects using the local curriculum. All accredited practicum placements.	To undertake English teaching in an overseas context. For Timor Leste 2013, to examine food security from three disciplines (education, agriculture, health).	To teach in local schools built for Internally Displaced Persons. Volunteer at a Camp and a Children's Home.	To teach in schools using the local curriculum To teach English in schools. Some programs are credited practicum placements.

Eligibility	Undergraduate preservice primary and secondary teacher students in the 2nd or 3rd year of a four-year program. Must pass a preparatory (accredited) subject. Formal written applications judged by panel.	Undergraduate preservice primary and secondary teacher education students, in their second-last, or final semester. Formal written applications judged by panel.	Undergraduate preservice primary and secondary teacher education students in their 3rd and 4th years of a four-year undergraduate degree. Formal written applications judged by panel.	Undergraduate preservice primary and secondary teacher students in the 2nd or 3rd year of a four-year program. Graduate students in initial teacher education or MTESOL. Formal written applications judged by panel.
Supervision	One accompanying academic.	One accompanying academic.	One accompanying academic for every ten students (approx.).	One accompanying academic.

(*continued*)

Table 9.1 (continued)

Program Elements	*University of Technology Sydney (UTS)*	*University of Sydney (US)*	*Notre Dame University (ND)*	*Charles Sturt University (CSU)*
Program features: Preparation, Accommodation, In-country support, Required tasks.	• Compulsory six credit point subject, *Teaching English to International Students,* must be passed in the 12 months prior to departure. • In-country briefings. • Affordable tourist accommodation. • Regular lesson observation and feedback. • Informal reflective discussions. • No required tasks.	• Information session which covers general housekeeping, travel arrangements and practicalities. • Affordable tourist accommodation. • Daily feedback presentations and discussions. • No required tasks • For Timor Leste (2013) intensive Tetum language classes over one weekend predeparture.	• Fundraising prior to departure. • Four-hour seminar includes language instruction, background information about the community, the school and the children's home; practical information on everyday activities the students will be expected to participate in. • Homestay accommodation. • Daily debriefs. • Option to take an elective.	• Compulsory zero credit subject with online modules. • Optional elective. • Seminars about expectations & responsibilities, teaching English, country-specific information. • Affordable tourist accommodation. • Regular debrief meetings in-country. • Regular lesson observation and feedback for teaching practicum programs. • Compulsory Critical Incident Journal submitted after return to Australia.

"Cultural Other" (709) during their tertiary studies program. The PEER Model is underpinned by Byram's (1997) concepts of intercultural competence, in particular developing "critical cultural awareness" and an understanding of cultural relativity (cited in Holmes and O'Neill 2012, 709). Although not designed in the context of an international experience, the PEER model provides a useful heuristic to describe, compare and evaluate our programs as it encompasses elements identified in the literature as features of effective international experiences. The PEER Model comprises four elements:

1. Prepare—for an intercultural encounter by undertaking activities to identify assumptions, prejudices and stereotypes, and understand perspectives about cultural difference;
2. Engage—with a cultural "other" over a sustained period of time;
3. Evaluate—intercultural encounters using concepts from the Prepare stage to enhance understanding;
4. Reflect—critically on intercultural encounters and related evaluations to identify changes in perspectives, communication and competence.

Through ongoing conversations over the course of 18 months, we critiqued our programs in relation to how well each addressed the four elements and enabled preservice teachers to engage in each. We also shared journal articles and developed our understandings of postcolonialism and Southern Theory (Connell 2007), which sharpened our critical gaze as we scrutinized our own and each other's programs. What follows is a discussion of our programs in relation to each element of the model.

Preparation (PEER Aspect #1)

The preparation phase for each institution is thorough with all programs providing seminars or workshops to clarify expectations about the roles and responsibilities of preservice teachers, hosts and accompanying lecturers. Common elements of preparatory seminars include information about the country and community, general housekeeping, travel arrangements and practicalities such as keeping healthy and safe; mobile phone access; banking and currency; suitable clothing; and so on. In addition, all programs offer some kind of academic preparation (both face-to-face and online) that includes engagement with ideas and information about teaching in English; understanding culture, the host country and community, the

local language; and intercultural competence. We trust that these preparations will equip our students with a critical eye for examining their own cultural and pedagogical assumptions, and to question their critiques of "Others." However, only UTS has a mandatory, credit-bearing subject that participating preservice teachers must pass. In other institutions, participation is expected but not monitored, and preservice teachers receive no credit for the international experience unless they are completing an accredited practicum placement or undertaking a related elective, as is the case at Notre Dame and CSU. Accompanying staff and preservice teachers may have limited contact prior to departure, and there is no assessment of preservice teacher preparation for their experience.

One reason for this disconnect around the academic program is the lack of workload for staff engaged in the programs, except for those in administrative roles. A related issue is the limited preparation of supervising staff. All programs assume accompanying staff to be interculturally competent and able to coordinate and supervise the international experience. No specific training is provided beyond pragmatics of the site, and, informally, on some cultural issues known to previous supervisors or the coordinator. Supervising staff are recruited via expressions of interest, and although expected to participate in predeparture seminars, are not required to have any particular specialist knowledge or experience.

An identified feature of effective international experiences is clear, theoretically grounded outcomes (Dantas 2007) to ensure that preservice teachers and staff understand the purpose of the program and are prepared to maximize both the tangible and intangible benefits of participating. While our programs may have theoretically grounded outcomes, these are not consistently addressed through rigorous and compulsory academic study to prepare participants. We cannot expect preservice teachers to engage critically with their own cultural assumptions or understand others' cultural practices if they are not provided with the tools to do so.

Engagement (PEER Aspect #2)

Preservice teachers engage with the cultural "other" predominantly via their in-country teaching experiences in schools and, in some cases, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). They work closely with groups of children and alongside local teachers. Engagement also occurs via the experience of living in the community over a sustained period. Shopping,

eating and moving about in the community results in further interface, with the opportunities for both insight and confusion that this affords. Many critical incidents arise from the experience of living in a new cultural and linguistic context. The role of accompanying staff in relation to engagement is complex and multiple, ranging from professional practicum observations and feedback to daily debriefs and presentations. In all programs, regular briefing/debriefing sessions are held to support the synthesis of new learning, share experiences and deal with issues or challenges.

We see accompanying staff as playing a significant role in mediating the engagement of preservice teachers with cultural others in the international context. The regular discussion and filtering of new understandings requires a deep exploration of perceptions and attitudes, knowledge and skills. Accompanying staff need to be able to ask questions, guide discussion and encourage critique. This is largely dependent on the skills and experience of group leaders. The lack of training and preparation of accompanying staff leading international experiences results in inconsistency. If not well versed in the aims of the experience, it is unlikely that the accompanying staff will be able to effectively assist preservice teachers to engage mindfully with the "other." In addition, the structure of programs can make it difficult to achieve a focus beyond the demands of preparing for the next day, as days are often long and debrief/discussion opportunities may be limited. Moreover, student teachers are likely to be preoccupied with successfully concluding their accredited professional experience. It is also very demanding for a sole accompanying academic to fulfill the various roles required on international experiences, particularly if they are also charged with writing reports for an accredited professional experience.

Evaluation (PEER Aspect #3)

In the PEER Model, evaluation describes the preservice teachers' evaluation of their experiences during the engagement phase. This is done via journals and field notes. Only CSU has a mandatory requirement that preservice teachers keep a journal to record critical incidents during the experience. Other programs encourage this but do not make it compulsory. Instead, there are informal opportunities to reflect on and evaluate preservice teachers' responses to experiences. As described above, regular debrief sessions which include preservice teachers presenting to each other

(University of Sydney) provide evaluation opportunities during the experience for preservice teachers to learn from each other, gain insight into themselves as individuals and cultivate their ability to function more effectively in an unfamiliar cultural setting.

It is clear that the evaluation element in our programs has not been conceptualized or designed to enable this level of ongoing evaluation during the engagement phase of the program. Moreover, a lack of student evaluation makes it difficult for us to evaluate both the preparatory stages of this process and the intercultural immersions themselves. While ongoing self-evaluation is supported informally in all the programs, and formally in one, the focus for evaluation lacks clarity and does not clearly connect to program outcomes or content.

Reflection (PEER Aspect #4)

In the PEER Model, reflection occurs after the engagement phase of an intercultural experience, and requires deep thinking about how ideas and views have changed as a result. Reflection should also connect to the preparatory phase and engage with readings and concepts introduced at this stage of the program. As previously noted, only CSU has a formalized reflective element, in the form of a critical incident journal, which preservice teachers submit two weeks after their program ends. These critical incident journals are where engagement with deeper issues to do with the challenges, tensions and ambiguities of international experiences may be grappled with and revealed.

In the other programs, reflection takes the form of post-trip evaluations provided by participants about aspects of the program, rather than formalized reflections by participants on their own learning from the trip. All programs include post-trip evaluation opportunities, including online surveys (CSU), meetings (all), and invitations to send feedback to the coordinator (UTS, ND). While post-trip reflection/evaluation sessions form a crucial aspect of the ongoing program planning and development, most do not produce "hard" evaluative data, and consequently there is relatively little for staff to reflect on. There is a danger that post-trip gatherings may become a superficial social reminiscing of the experience, rather than a systematic evaluation that permits comparisons between programs or enhances linkages to student learning or to other programs.

Our critical conversations reveal that our programs lack a clear distinction between evaluation and reflection, and clear processes to support each.

Student participants anecdotally indicate that their short-term international experiences are valuable and have positive outcomes, but we currently have no way of ascertaining how enduring such sentiments are. Nor do we know about the impact of international experiences on ongoing teaching strategies, practices and philosophies. Preservice teachers are not, as a matter of course, required to evaluate their experiences in a supported and structured way during their sojourn. Nor are they required to reflect deeply about their growth and learning in relation to program goals, content and outcomes after the program concludes. All our programs could be strengthened by the addition of more rigorous exploration of, and dialogue about, the difficult and challenging knowledges and experiences that are frequently part of engaging with communities in the global South.

Discussion

What follows is a discussion framed around our three research questions: about international experience programs, about teacher educators and their analysis of such programs, and about a framework perceived suitable to guide teacher educators.

1. What are the characteristics of an effective international experience program in teacher education?

As stated in the literature review, the benefits that accrue from international programs such as the ones we describe above are well documented (Akkerman and Meijer 2011; Atmazaki and Harbon 1999; Buchanan 2004; French and Harbon 2010; Harbon 2003; Harbon 2007; Harbon and Smyth 2015; Harris 2011; Lee 2009; McGill and Harbon 2002, 2006; Santoro and Major 2012; Trent 2013). However, the extent and ways in which such programs, specifically the ones presented here, are explicitly developed for the purposes of encouraging a more globalized, interculturally competent teacher, need further interrogation. While we may contend that intercultural competence is a by-product of international programs, these programs currently provide little hard evidence to illustrate how this is developed before, during and after the experiences.

Our data demonstrate that there are a number of similar features characterizing these international experience programs. The program aims are contextually based and heavily influenced by the university's own program and teacher educator coordinator. Change in the preservice teachers'

intercultural competence/general world knowledge is one common aim, with an emphasis on allowing the reflection afforded by the experience to impact on the preservice teacher's view/understanding of self. We hope, through the processes that informed this chapter, and our international professional experiences henceforth, to make ourselves and our students more aware of the cultural assumptions and blind spots we bring to the intercultural settings in which we find/impose ourselves, using Southern (Connell 2007) and postcolonial concepts. We also seek to understand more fully the pedagogical and cultural practices of host schools and communities to develop intercultural competence and enrich pedagogies.

2. How do teacher educators critically analyze international experience programs, their purpose and effects on preservice teachers' personal and professional development?

The literature is clear that educative transformation in cultural competence, specifically in preservice teacher education, requires critical reflection (Halse 1999; Banks et al. 2005). In order for preservice teachers to learn from their experiences, for there to be a conversation between what they knew and what they have come to know, formalized critical reflection is required to gain new insights. Our conversations highlighted the need for such critical reflection, and enabled us to consider and develop further our erstwhile fledgling theorizations. Freire argues that "authentic liberation—the process of humanization … is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it" (1972, 79). We aspire to be part of the process of liberation—our own and others'—through education and critical reflection. In critically examining our programs, we also hope to prompt further debate on these matters, as we endeavor to challenge the "terms of trade," to "work away at the core assumptions within the western episteme" (Tikly 2009, 42), and to have "dialogue with *ideas* produced by the colonized world" (Connell 2007, xi, emphasis in original).

It is essential that we examine our own presumptions within our programs to highlight how the programs themselves might be improved. As intimated in the literature review, we find it difficult during our sojourns to abandon our cultural assumptions, including our pedagogical ones, and at times struggle to engage with our host communities as equals. These are tensions that need to be shared with preservice teachers so they understand that engaging in international experiences is not unproblematic. Such ideas can be developed at all stages of an international experience,

through the academic program during preparation, and ongoing reflective conversations during and after the sojourn.

3. What framework can teacher educators use to guide the development of short-term international experiences for preservice teachers?

One component of the programs that became apparent in the critical analysis was the need for a strong theoretical framework. A well-developed framework, such as the PEER framework (Holmes and O'Neill 2012), aids in the development of new programs, as well as in the evaluation of existing ventures. Embedded within that framework should be explicit, measurable learning goals and outcomes consistent with the purpose and objectives of the particular program. Student (and staff) reflection can inform the framework, thus ensuring that it is imbued with purpose and goals (Alfaro and Quezada 2010; Quezada 2011). Reflection and reflective practice are often seen as central to maximizing learning in international programs (Pence and Macgillivary 2008; Willard-Holt 2001). In rendering the learning more visible and purposeful, through solid preparation, sound engagement, thorough critical evaluation and, most importantly, through reflection and reflective practice—international experiences can more explicitly meet the needs of preservice teachers and institutions.

Conclusion

In summarizing and distilling our conversations to identify core elements of effective international experiences in teacher education, we offer the following recommendations. Effective international programs are typically embedded into course structures and have clearly articulated outcomes underpinned by a strong theoretical framework. They are supported by fully credited academic coursework designed to develop intercultural knowledge, attitudes and skills. This includes predeparture elements and ongoing reflective opportunities during the in-country stage and as a formal post-trip requirement. In addition to these student-focused elements, effective programs support accompanying staff to participate in professional learning about intercultural competence, about the challenges and tensions of international experiences, and about critically reflective dialogue and how to facilitate it. Workload is allocated to staff leading international experiences to recognize the high level of professional activity, engagement, and commitment required. These actions would enable

further attention to developing rigorous academic programs that incorporate postcolonial and Southern perspectives, and use these to encourage preservice teachers to reflect on their own and other cultural practices and epistemologies. In this way, international programs would become more effective in sensitizing preservice teachers to social justice issues, increasing their efficacy as interculturally competent educators.

A further key impacting factor that became evident concerns the "embeddedness" or otherwise of these short-term international teaching experiences in the preservice teachers' degree programs (as indicated in Spenader and Retka's 2015 study). The committed academics who coordinate the programs and accompany the preservice teachers are mostly operating in their own time and on top of their workload allocation. Beyond that, preservice teachers' learning is not typically captured, disseminated or accorded credit within their degree courses. We believe that further institutional support for embedding and recognizing these programs will offer the greatest impact on our subsequent ability to capture their value and capacity.

Teaching in a new cultural milieu removes preservice teachers and staff from the backdrop of their "cultural camouflage," with all its comfort and familiarity. It is a circumstance in which the "ordinary is disrupted" (Dantas 2007, 77) by someone else's ordinary. Our conversations have performed a similar function, bringing us face-to-face with our programs' assumptions and omissions, as well as their strengths. We are but beginners in this quest, we have yet more to learn in terms of the effects of our programs on host communities and schools. We anticipate furthering our investigations in this regard, and informing our views with what we hope will be honest discussions-among-equals with our hosts.

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CHAPTER 10

Beyond "*Little Miss International*": Exploring the Imaginaries of Mobile Educators

Ruth Arber and Penelope Pitt

Introduction

> All of a sudden being a teacher—which for years was this sort of ordinary, mundane job— ...is the best job in the world at the moment, because you can travel just about anywhere in the world and get a job (Karen, Australian mobile educator).

In an extended interview, Karen (a pseudonym) describes what it means to have "the best job in the world." She is jubilant that her "mundane" job as a teacher gives her the opportunity to "travel just about anywhere." Her professional qualification as an Australian educator, a country from the "global North" (Connell 2011), gives her a passport to cross national, cultural and systemic boundaries to find professional opportunities.

Increasing numbers of Australian educators are working in schools, universities and education centers worldwide (Bates and Townsend 2007; Doherty and Widegren 2010), with substantial increases in educator

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mobility in recent decades. A 2006 survey found that nearly 30 percent of teachers working in Victoria, Australia had taught overseas, compared to less than 5 percent 20 years earlier (Arber and Blackmore 2007–2011).

Scarce research explores the manifestation of teacher mobility, the ways transnational movements are integrated within educators' lives, and the impact on professional practice. Such studies explore the phenomenon of immigrant teachers to Anglophone cultures (e.g. Reid et al. 2014; Duckworth Walker-Levy and Levy 2010). In Australia, literatures emphasize tardiness in integrating immigrant teachers into the Australian teaching workforce despite the qualifications and experience they may have developed overseas (Reid et al. 2014; Santoro 1997). More recent literatures explore teacher mobility as a brain circulation of professionals that has transformed the impact of teaching (Reid and Collins 2013), as it has implications for the personal narratives of privilege by emigrant teachers from the dominant group (Collins and Reid 2012). Teacher mobility has also gone some way toward remedying the lack of international-mindedness that is a consequence of disparities between student diversity and a monocultural teaching workforce (Duckworth et al. 2010).

The increased movement of some people worldwide (even as others remain immobile) has been studied in the literature from different perspectives, including mobility (Urry 2007), ethnicity and belonging (Calhoun 2007), class (Rizvi 2014), transnationalism (Rizvi 2005), and international-mindedness (Duckworth et al. 2010). Crucially, these writings describe the different ways that some notions of mobility have taken on a timeless and universal quality devoid of their specific contextual positioning (e.g. Calhoun 2007) and ignorant of the enormous challenges that mediate the movement of some people but not others. These imaginaries have taken particular forms as digital and material changes (e.g. communication, finance and travel) alter the ways that people move and relate to each other within and between local and global contexts (Bauman 2000).

In this chapter, we explore theoretical concepts of mobile teaching practice and social imaginaries through case studies that draw on the experiences of two experienced Australian female educators working in Gulf states. Through the narrative device provided by "critical incidents," daily teaching practice—and the systemic and normative conditions that mediate it—can be interrogated. Teachers negotiate their professional lives and identities within globally interconnected local contexts that are classed, gendered and "raced," and impacted by the historic conditions of "whiteness," post-colonialism and globalization. Teaching experiences,

relationships with colleagues, students and parents, and living in non-Western contexts are framed within commonplace imaginaries of space–time, identity and difference.

Theorizing Mobile Educator Practice

Urry (2007) suggests that the "social world" can be "theorized as a wide array of economic, social and political practices, infrastructures and ideologies that all involve, entail or curtail various kinds of movement of people, or ideas, or information or objects" (18). "Mobility" describes narratives about movement and confinement that depict embodied individuals within the turbulent flows and tensions that frame both local global interconnections and commonplace imaginaries about those movements (Calhoun 2007). This chapter follows two female Australian educators who have crossed borders from what Connell (2007) has defined as "the global North" and Hickling-Hudson (2009) "the Western metropole," to take up work.

Imaginaries are "socially shared and transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices" (Salazar 2011, 576). As Bieger, Saldivar, and Voelz (2013) write:

> the imaginary is not separate from reality […] Whatever is real is accessible to us only if it is *imagined as real*. It *becomes* real not as an individual act or as a result of an individual faculty—the imagination—but by drawing on already existing forms and patterns (xi).

Social imaginaries mediate the ways that identities are understood, take shape and are performed. As such, a social imaginary "is in a constant state of flux" and "is not something that is simply inherited and already determined for us" (Rizvi 2014, 292). In globally integrated local contexts, imaginaries are shaped by the taken-for-granted notions and ways of behavior available. The most essential of conditions—identity, place and time—are made and unmade in a state of flux articulated within the cultural and institutional milieu that frames this terrain of the imaginary (Arber 2014).

Educators draw on and contribute to social imaginaries through their work *practice*. A social imaginary "incorporates a sense of the normal expectations we have of each other, the kind of common understanding

that enables us to carry out the collective practices that make up our social life" (Taylor 2007, 174). The ways people make sense of an act "draws on our whole world, that is, our sense of our whole predicament in time and space, among others and in history" (174).

The flows and networks that underpin transnational and mobile interchanges in the twenty-first century change the ways that normalized conceptions are articulated: spatiality and temporality, local and global, and their identity and difference. These interchanges, Popkewitz and Rizvi (2009) argue, need to be understood in terms of a politics of localization, positionality and enunciation. They are formatted within the historic power plays that define identity and difference in post-colonialism, and are ascribed by controversial normative formations: enlightenment, cosmopolitanism, globalization and neo-liberalism. In this chapter, narratives of mobile educators are analyzed through the lens of social imaginaries as shaped by the formations and flows outlined above.

Larger Project

The larger research project from which the data for this chapter has been drawn comprised two phases. The first phase was a pilot study of Australian educators working outside Australia. These educators were recruited through emailing a research invitation to past students of postgraduate education courses at Deakin University, then asking those students to forward the research invitation to further Australian educators they knew who were working outside Australia. The second phase of the project involved a larger cohort of educators from the UK, USA, Canada and Australia who were working outside their home countries. Both phases of the project were subject to ethical procedures which involved obtaining the informed consent of participants, including consent to publish anonymized data.

A total of 50 mobile educators participated in the study. There were slightly more female participants (54 %) than males (46 %). Female participants were mostly in their 30s (38 %) and located in the Middle East and Asia. Men had a stronger representation in the East-Asian region. Most of the participants held teaching positions (82 %), while 8 percent had general positions in school or university settings, and 10 percent had other positions.

Participants completed a survey and were then invited to take part in a follow-up Skype interview. Thirteen participants agreed to be interviewed. The interviews were 60–90 minutes long and semi-structured. The survey questions and interview questions explored educators' perceptions about their professional identities, skills, knowledge, ethics and practice. Survey data were analyzed to explore the meanings that shape mobile educators' knowledge and practices (Vongalis-Macrow and Arber 2016), the ways they are negotiated cross-culturally, the impact of these experiences on teachers' professional identity, and the consequences of these experiences for teacher education and training.

Participants were asked an open question about the benefits and drawbacks of international mobility. Personal benefits of mobility were seen as flexibility, patience, confidence, broader-mindedness, independence and new friendships. Professional benefits included a better understanding of students, greater empathy, improved understandings about the influence of language and culture, changed insights about their assumptions, new instructional ideas, and more exposure to different teaching methods and philosophies.

An analysis of survey data found important differences between the ways that the men and women constructed their professional identities as mobile educators. When it came to the drawbacks of mobility, both men and women were concerned with personal issues. However, female participants reported experiencing more challenges than the male participants. The women found their mobile lives more stressful, found that they were less sociable and more reclusive, lacked social networks, missed family and friends, and were more frustrated by the absence of particular Western goods. Females were more concerned with cultural and language issues, including isolation, "culture shock" and lack of local language fluency. Both males and females were equally concerned about professional issues including interactions with colleagues, poor professional skills and concerns about educational quality.

Two Female Mobile Educators

In order to develop a more in-depth understanding of the kinds of experiences faced by female mobile educators, the authors drew on interview transcripts of two female participants who each participated in an interview during the initial pilot stage of the research. These participants, who were working as educators in Gulf states at the time of the interviews, reflected

on their work in advisory and teaching roles in, respectively, primary settings and curriculum development. Neither of the participants was living with a partner and neither had children. Both participants were of Euro-Australian heritage. Karen was aged in her 50s and Angela was aged in her 30s. In order to protect the participants' identities, pseudonyms have been used and identifying details have been omitted.

The narration of critical events was not included in the interview questions. However, both female educators narrated an incident involving a member of their school or work community as a way of explaining how their understanding of best professional practice was challenged in their foreign work contexts. The analysis of critical incidents is an established method for generating and gathering productive data in qualitative research (Tripp 1994, 2011; Angelides 2001; Shapira-Lishchinsky 2011). Tripp (2011) suggests that:

> Incidents happen, but critical incidents are produced by the way we look at a situation: a critical incident is an interpretation of the significance of an event. To take something as a critical incident is a value judgement we make, and the basis of that judgement is the significance we attach to the meaning of the incident (8).

In the next section, we analyze the critical incidents narrated by two female educators working in Gulf states, Karen and Angela, and consider how they negotiated their professional identities as mobile educators. (We are not claiming that these events are typical of behavior within Gulf states; at all times the emphasis is on the educators' perceptions and how the critical events altered the way they saw themselves and their roles as educators.)

Narratives of "a Mobile Educator"

Karen

Early in Karen's teaching career, she spent a year teaching in the UK, where she developed the belief that "kids are the same wherever they come from." She then spent several decades teaching in Australian schools before deciding to teach overseas again. When we interviewed Karen, she had been working in a Gulf state for several years.

Before narrating her critical incident, Karen explained the systems and procedures that define the school where she works:

> … when we go on a school trip, it's chaos. There's lots of systems, procedures and different things in place that are not in place, that are unsafe. And so slowly, slowly, we write a little list and I might be able—with some cajoling—to convince the principal and vice principal that perhaps we could try it a different way.

Karen's discomfort frames her efforts to "cajole" educators to form basic structures at the school; to do things "a different way." Her task is framed within a linear notion of time, whereby time is linked to a process of progress and improvement. Beneath Karen's conversation is a silent narrative that assumes a home culture in which educational cultures have evolved. In this context, a "silent narrative" is formed from Karen's built-in assumptions, which make it hard for her to understand her own position within the discourse. It is against this narrative that Karen describes a critical incident to support her argument that the Gulf state's education system needs to evolve further.

> We had a situation at my school […] where if they're going on a school trip, if a child doesn't bring the note, they just ring the parent or let the child go anyway. So that's the practice. They rang this mother; the mother said, "Yes, the child can go."
>
> The child went home in the afternoon and said he'd gone on the trip. The father hadn't signed the form so the father beat the mother very badly. So he came up to the school and was very angry at the principal. And […] no female principal is allowed to answer back, so there are some problems like that. But it is changing. Education enlightens them; they start to understand that you don't go up to the school and threaten. Yeah, so culturally it is different, it is very different.

Karen's narrative is crisscrossed by notions of gender: the tolerance of the mother, the intransigence of the father, and the contested status of the female principal. Framing these notions is the silent narrative in which the superiority of Karen's home culture is placed against a culture that is alien to her, where men can be "angry" and can "threaten" a female principal.

Karen, describing her own practice as a mobile educator, referred to herself as an "ambassador" for Australia and an "advisor." She explains:

> It's very difficult to let go of possibly some of the standards and the beliefs that you have—not that you give up on them—but you have to realize that you can't fight every battle. So you have to look for small goals that you can win that can help make a change and sometimes you just have to say, "I just have to let that happen." Like, you just have to let go or you have to say, "It's their country. It's their school. I'm here to help but in the end I can advise, I can give my advice, but if they're not going to take it, it's OK as well."

Karen takes on the persona of an "advisor," arguing that this role involves slowly trying to bring the educational practices of the Gulf state toward the silent narrative of her own standards and beliefs. There is a steady, continuous rhythm to Karen's practice as an educator, continuing from her decades of teaching practice in Australian schools. It is a vision of linear time framed by antithetical notions of their country and our country; "their school" and Karen's vision of how schools should run. The neo-colonial implications of Karen's perception that she is bringing advancement to people of another culture is one previously traced out in post-colonial texts (e.g. Young 1995)

In ironic counterpoint to Karen's view of the local culture as "very different" and in need of evolution, is her notion that all people are the same. When asked whether she thinks there is "an international way of teaching," Karen reflected on a shared universal humanity of students and parents:

> I really wondered when I came here, coming to a Muslim country […] how completely different it would be from having taught at home, but I was amazed how many teaching skills that I actually applied over that time […] I do think there's an international way of teaching and I think that it goes across cultures all of the time because I think it's all about kids are the same, kids are the same wherever you go […] Parents are the same; the parents are concerned about their children […] People have different cultures but the same insecurities […] All kids just want someone who cares about them, tends to their needs, makes them feel safe, gives them an environment where they can take risks and they can learn …

Karen's contention, that all children and their parents are inherently the same and that all contexts require similar teaching practice, underpins her understanding of her teaching skills and knowledge as portable.

This particular imaginary is in ambivalent relation to Karen's narration of her mobile educator life: her problematization of the Gulf state's education system as temporally lagging behind that of Australia, to her mission to help "them" move from chaos into order. Discourses that frame notions of the alterity of the other crisscross with Karen's view that the "single trajectory" conceptualization of time–space is reality.

The notion that all people are the same, even as the otherness of the other is the focus of the conversation, reiterates a common imaginary discussed in literature about Australian multiculturalism (Rizvi 2008; Arber 2014). It is an imaginary in which narratives that describe others are shaped in opposition to an almost-silent story of ourselves. This is a particular "conceptualisation of space and time" that "turns geography into history, space into time" (Massey 2005, 5). The other's story exists almost solely as made in opposition to the near silence of "our narrative," and as at "an earlier stage in the one and only narrative it is possible to tell" (Massey 2005, 5).

The single trajectory conceptualization of time–space, crisscrossed with notions of the other, seems to inform Karen's view of educational systems and to be a key influence on her practice as a mobile educator, including the steady, continuous rhythm of her practice.

Angela

Angela entered teaching with an "interest in all things foreign." For Angela, her professional identity is negotiated across different work contexts, characterized by her questioning attitude and interest in "different cultural interactions." A social theorist, Angela sees her identity as malleable and as something that has to be negotiated anew. Angela also described how she prided herself on making a contribution in a variety of teaching contexts through being able to "see things in a different way."

However, this self-perception was challenged after she moved to a Gulf state to take up a position in curriculum development:

> The work that I'd done in the Australian context didn't really matter over there anymore, so I couldn't even talk theoretically about what we were doing anymore because it didn't relate. So suddenly I had to learn to base my identity on [being] someone who listens and learns and is open, and I'm trying to work on that […] I sort of got to this point where I saw myself as Little Miss International and in a sense I compared myself to a lot of

> people I'd worked with in different places. And I think in doing that I sort of narrowed my thinking in that I thought, "Oh nothing will surprise me, nothing will be different" … You can get comfortable in this belief that you are so sort of open-minded, whereas in actual fact there's always going to be different things and the really skillful or the really open mobile educator never really actually ever gets to a point where they think that they're so international. They really are just comfortable in that understanding that you won't know.

Angela came to see everything in the Gulf state as beyond any previous understandings she might have had. At the same time, she felt secure in her ability to work with difference. She watches the happenings around her, "comfortable" as she remains "open minded" to whatever the commonly held notions and ways of behavior might be.

Angela's way of working with alterity is to be accessible to different notions, to "listen" and to "learn." Whereas Karen felt uncomfortable working within a context framed by different systemic and notional frameworks, and sought to make them more benign, Angela perceived her ability to work with difference as being a matter of state of mind. Even as she argues that she understands her work as being about understanding that there are different ways of doing education simultaneously in different places, she is reaffirming the alterity of culture in which she is working.

Angela's perception that alterity is of no importance and that she can comfortably move between different contexts takes a battering as a result of tension with her manager when she gets caught up in school politics. Critically, Angela describes an incident in which her relationship with a manager went awry:

> I'm not exactly sure what I got so wrong but I think it happened when I was presenting something in a meeting and I was saying, "It would be great if we could develop shared understandings about what we mean because […] we've all got different understandings so we're often talking about different things." From that moment, I wasn't spoken to for two months …

> And that was a really harsh experience for me, and I think it would have been harsh for most people, but also because I'm used to being quite good at difficult communication […] And everyone's very fearful of offending

> locals because we can be out in a second […] So there's sort of very much a sense of, "You do what we say" […] But then in yourself you realize there's a fear and what I see it leading to in many other people, and finally in myself since I've been burnt, is a reluctance to go out on a limb and to really fight for something that you think would be better for the students. So you're torn between wanting to do the best you can, because that's why you're there, but also wanting to keep life fairly comfortable.

Angela shares with Karen the tension of wanting to bring about positive change but without overstepping her role. While Karen characterizes her status as an "adviser" and "ambassador," Angela describes her position as a "guest" who is "not allowed to question or challenge things."

A first level of analysis suggests that Angela's conflict is deeper and more problematic than Karen's in two ways. First, Angela finds it impossible to continue questioning practices and systems. Second, she recognizes that she can never know all of the ways to be a good educator and she tries to engage with difference as the norm, which comes into tension with her desire to bring about positive educational change. For Angela, engaging with difference involves exchanging ideas, which is not something her manager wants to do.

The practice that Angela characterizes as part of being an ideal mobile educator is a continual recalibrating of one's open-mindedness, and a continual learning of new ways of being an educator. This fits with notions of cosmopolitan imaginary described by Skrbis and Woodward (2013) whereby "in their constant revisioning and refashioning of the self in the context of encountering difference, the cosmopolitan is ethically required to take into account" the variety of "others" they encounter (12). The incident with her manager caused Angela to rethink her relation to the cosmopolitan imaginary, and toward the close of the interview she revealed that she plans to look for other work because "maybe I'm getting just a little bit old to want to learn this new way".

A second level of analysis suggests that Angela, like Karen, is concerned with the alterity of the culture in which she works, and with the ways that she can work with that difference. The critical incident she describes reflects how the differences exhibited by the other—which she thought she could comfortably watch—are deep and often uncomfortable.

Beyond "Little Miss International"

As mobile educators interact with different social imaginaries, they take on particular conceptualizations of space, time and difference. Massey (2005) draws on the work of Fabian (1983) to critique "the characteristic maneuver of modernity" as involving two aspects: space was "conceived as divided into bounded places" and "different 'places' were interpreted as different stages in a single temporal development" (68). Massey's analysis explores how places are constituted as "advanced," "some way behind" or as "backward" (2005, 68). This "temporal convening of space […] reworks the nature of difference"; some places are conceptualized as "behind" other places, rather than as "different from," unique, and contemporaneously alongside other places (2005, 68–9). Moving beyond this involves recognizing the contemporaneity of places and people and "an imaginative self-positioning in the world which opens up to the full recognition of the spatial" (193).

Adding another layer to this theoretical frame, we consider the day-to-day practice of mobile educators as spatio-temporally structured. Hui (2013) draws on Bourdieu's (1990) understanding that "practice unfolds in time […] Its temporal structure, that is, its rhythm, its tempo, and above all its directionality, is constitutive of its meaning […] practice is inseparable from temporality" (1990, 81) to suggest that not only does practice unfold in time, but also that "practices unfold through mobilities" (904), and that it is not only temporality that constitutes the meaning of a practice but also the "spatiality and mobilities of practices" (892).

The two teachers' notions of practice take place in spaces and places framed within discourses that suggest they found their teaching contexts alien. Their ways of understanding this interrelation and working within it were inscribed differently subject to the ways in which other notions—post-colonialism, gendered relationships, education principles—were maneuvered within institutional contexts and shaped by understandings of space and time, identity and difference.

Karen's description of her work places her in a cultural environment that she describes as primitive and unenlightened. She feels frustrated at the obstacles she meets as she attempts to bring about change in what she perceives as a largely backward education system. Her perceptions are framed within imaginaries that have been well documented in post-colonial and multicultural literatures (Chow 1993; Young 1995).

Post-colonial notions that Westerners need to help advance unenlightened peoples are entangled with older notions of alterity as essential, homogeneous and unchanging, and with enlightenment notions of an underlying universality in which all contexts and all parents are the same beneath their representation (Rizvi 2014, 2008).

Angela's frame of reference is caught between notions of the absolute difference of others and their common humanity. Her earlier understanding that her mobile career was framed by her ability to listen and remain open-minded was shaped by her understanding that people are absolute in their difference. Her thinking follows neo-liberal notions that people have endless choices about who they want to be. Difference appears not to matter as "in particular contexts cosmopolitan discourse *produces* subject positions that can be delighted in and embraced, assigning status to oneself as an enlightened and rational being, able to engage productively with other people and cultures" (Skey 2013, 247).

Both women are jolted by the reality of the structures and notions that mediate their understanding. Karen sees the school and its community as chaotic and dangerous. Frustrated by her failure to shift the school culture toward a more "enlightened" direction, she does not consider that she herself might need to change. Angela's perception that she can be comfortable anywhere provided she remains open is fractured by the critical incident she describes. She comes to feel that her ability to engage with constant change might be limited. In both cases, these stories take on a particular and gendered relation. Karen focuses her attention on ways to empower women to make the changes she envisions, even as she is frustrated by the ways in which she is unable to do so. Karen realizes that the unspoken notions and structures that mediate the ways in which she can work as an educator are inextricably gendered.

> I love the challenge and love working with adult women and working in such a way as they can make changes happen and you're a part of it, but I'm not telling them what to do […] I don't want to go home and teach again.

Karen's professional identity is made within a negotiated framework between the order—and faultiness—of the home culture she has left and her passionate wish to change the world in which she finds herself; this is tied in with the ways she can influence the women she teaches to understand the world as she does, and to "make changes happen."

Underlying the conversation of both women is the realization that the contexts in which they move are unpredictable and out of their control. Angela states that:

> There's always going to be different things and the really skillful or the really open mobile educator [is] just comfortable in that understanding that [they] won't know.

Lacan suggests that the wish to know the other—even though it is impossible—provides the core to our psyche (Hall 1992). The other is silenced even as he or she centers our thinking. In thinking about being "Little Miss International," Angela strives to be comfortable with the notion that she could not "know the other." She finds that being comfortable with not understanding is a complex undertaking, and not easily achievable.

A central theme within both women's conversation was the ways in which they were drawn within the routines of cultural practice: its representation, practices and experiences. Karen's description of the context in which she finds herself as retrograde and chaotic brings to view discrepancies of ontology, systems, and practice that for her represent what is backward in time and in need of change. Massey (2005) points out that the dominant story of globalization produces a particular "conceptualization of space and time" that "turns geography into history, space into time" (5). According to this story, nations of the global South:

> are not really different from "us." We are not to imagine them as having their own trajectories, their own particular histories, and the potential for their own, perhaps different, futures. […] They are merely at an earlier stage in the one and only narrative it is possible to tell (5).

Angela's narrative is suggestive of the notion of "coevalness," the idea that "what are opposed […] are not the same societies at different stages of development, but different societies facing each other at the same time" (Fabian 1983, cited in Massey 2005, 69).

Massey (2005), in critiquing the conceptualizations of space–time inherent in globalization, argues that "[a]ttention to implicit conceptualisations of space is crucial […] in practices of resistance and building alternatives" (99). It is not just that these notions and behaviors define some people as being backward or ahead, such notions of space–time frame ways of thinking and performance oblivious to the false universalism that

their formulation and their practice implies. Karen understands her new context as chaotic without seeing her inability to understand these framing notions.

Placed against these notions of the place and spaces of others is the matter of who-we-are who have gone to teach over there (Popkewitz and Rizvi 2009). It is a place of memory and familiarity that provides the fulcrum for the ways in which otherness is made and performed against an almost-silent rendition of the self (Hall 1992; Popkewitz and Rizvi 2009). Karen believes that she has undergone a process of self-change that sets her apart from the parents and teachers in Australia, as well as from the teachers in her present school.

> I evolved and grew through all of the changes in Australia but all of a sudden here, they're back at point one or whatever and it's all ahead of them […] I just think that you have to be reminded all of the time that these people are just at the starting part, you can't expect them to be at the end. And you know, I'm not sure I want them to end up like [that], because one of the reasons I left Australia was I was just so tired of parents not taking responsibility for their kids. It's the world, I don't blame them, but all of a sudden poor little kids [in Australia] are in cars until six or seven at night and they're dumped at before-school and after-school care and they're there forever […] you never see the parents.

Karen's belief that she has "evolved" in ways that her fellow Australians have not, needs to be read complexly. The ambiguities so often contained within stereotypical notions locate Karen's argument both in relation to her hardworking fellow Australians and her colleagues, parents and students in her teaching contexts. Both her students and Australian parents are made "other"; teachers in her current school are described as being both better and worse than teachers in Australia—but they are nevertheless described as being all the same.

Angela understands that there is not simply her (Western) culture and the other (Arabic) culture, but a multitude of different cultures, different ways of doing things, different ways of "doing" education. There is no sense of anyone being ahead or behind; there are multiple trajectories. Angela voices her frustration about mobile educators who think the Gulf state's education system lags behind Australia's:

> Too many people carry on about "in New Zealand" […] or "in Australia" […] I think often we cling on to that a bit too much because we're not in

> any of those places anymore and there can be a bit of a, "Oh these guys here don't get it. We've got these very evolved systems," which of course I never thought when I was in the midst of it […] I think some of the people [I work with don't accept] that they're totally different worlds with totally different trajectories in terms of education.

Angela's view that all systemic and notional frameworks are available to her—even as she cannot know all that is contained within them—is juxtaposed with the material conditions of those structures. Whereas Karen understood different national frameworks as existing in earlier or later stages of the same history, Angela envisions different frameworks as opposed but existing as part of different historical educational trajectories contained within a "coeval" imaginary (Fabian 1983; Massey 2005). Angela describes herself as an observer watching the lives of others who live in quite different social and cultural worlds that frame "evolved" but quite different historical educational "trajectories."

Closing Remarks

It is important to emphasize that both women were experienced teaching professionals, and that both of them worked hard to achieve what they understood to be the best interests of their students. Their conversations highlight how simplistic discussions of mobility often ignore the difficulties teachers face as they move across national and cultural borders.

Given the growing number of educators from countries of the "global North" working outside their home countries, there is a need to prepare student teachers to do this for at least part of their career. Stemming from the analysis in this chapter, we recommend some ways to better prepare student teachers for work outside Australia, by placing an emphasis in teacher education courses on:

- the significance of educators' personal histories and geographies of mobility/stillness on their professional practice;
- the existence of multiple conceptualizations of space–time and difference;
- the potential implications of these conceptualizations when engaged with by educators in specific educational/cultural contexts.

More particularly, teachers should understand the ambivalence and discomfort that can underpin the taken-for-granted notions that frame their thinking and practice. The disruption of these ways of thinking is "[n]ot just a matter of semantics" if we are to "challenge resist, disrupt and move beyond" such formulations (Hickling-Hudson 2009, 374). The analysis of critical incidents told by both teachers highlighted imaginaries about daily life within shaping frames of identity, difference, temporality and spatiality. In doing so, this chapter explored theories that describe the manifestation of mobility and professional identity, and insists that the imaginaries that support these—and their structural and notional underpinnings—be made transparent and interrogated. A central tenet for farsighted curriculum for an increasingly mobile teaching workforce requires that teacher educators discuss intercultural and multilingual skills and knowledge within a nuanced framework.

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CHAPTER 11

Conclusion: Learning the Humility of Teaching 'Others'—Preparing Teachers for Culturally Complex Classrooms

Jo-Anne Reid

Introduction

At the heart of this book lies the reminder that what is essential for the project of teacher education is that graduates must begin teaching with the understanding that their personal educational success, professional pathway and social status has not derived from any inherent personal or cultural superiority, but from the power they inherit as members of the dominant, white, middle class (Bourdieu 1977; Delpit 1996; Ladson-Billings 1995; Sleeter 2001; Villegas and Lucas 2002; Zeichner 2012). The essays in this collection all point to the importance of this understanding, and in their collective breadth and individual depth, they bring it sharply into focus for teacher educators in the twenty-first century.

In this final chapter, I want to build on the work of the authors above, to outline a position that complements and supplements this important subjective understanding. Like Gay (2010), I argue that while it is indeed centrally important for teacher education to ensure that teachers are

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supported to see how their own autobiographies reflect and refract their dominant cultural positioning, and to be resourced with knowledge of strategies that have proven to bring success in culturally responsive classrooms, this is insufficient. Even in connection with all the other knowledge, skills and attitudes that teachers acquire and orchestrate for successful practice, this knowledge of self and the politics of identity is not, and it will never be, *enough,* without what I am calling the "humility" required of teachers who understand that they can never be fully prepared to teach well without it. I draw on the philosophical writings of Emmanuel Levinas (1969, 1998) to suggest that this humility is an effect of an ethical stance that is essential for us to flourish in the world as humans—a stance that acknowledges we rely on "Others" for our survival. Understanding this means that our primary ethical responsibility as humans is to the "Other," whose difference from us allows us to know ourselves. As teachers, unless we face the social and cultural "Other" with the certainty that we do *not* already know who they are (and therefore who we are in relation to them), and that we cannot presume to know what they need, we cannot connect. Complementing the capacity for success that all teachers bring, and come to acquire through the initial teacher education process, is a basic need for all of us as teachers to be just as secure in a different sort of knowledge. This is the knowledge that we do *not* know, and can never already know, about what we will need to teach *these* children these particular things, *this* year, this week, in *this* particular place and space (Reid et al. 2010).

A key goal of teacher education, therefore, is to prepare graduates to know that their job is predicated on a *lack* of knowledge, and that as digital global communications bring increasingly rapid cultural hybridity, cosmopolitanism and fall-out from historical policy inequity, they will continually need to learn, over and over again, about their students' cultural and community ways of knowing, doing and thinking. This is the prerequisite baseline on which teachers need to place their professional knowledge, so that they can carefully and responsively design and teach the curriculum authorized by dominant social groups that is seen to offer access to social and economic self-determination. At the present point in history, the capacity to experience this curriculum 'naturally' has been inherited by the powerful, white, middle and upper classes whose interests it best serves. For those who must *learn* this capacity, in Gee's (1989) sense, if they wish to participate effectively in the dominant social space, they need teachers who are capable of seeing and using the funds of knowledge (Moll et al. 1992)

their students bring with them to invest in their learning, and the ways of knowing that best support it.

We know that the powerful knowledge, skills and values that have currency in any particular time, place and political circumstance are never static, immutable or universal—that they are always changing, negotiated and temporary settlements based on economic, cultural, geographical, social and political contingencies, and interactions with the 'Other' (see Reid and Stephens, Chap. 7). Just as a narrowly defined curriculum will limit the capacity of the state to deal with global changes into the future (Young 1993), a teacher who already 'knows' what her students need to know, who lacks the humility to look, and learn, before she teaches, can only ever reproduce what she already knows, and limit the learning of her students.

This humility is necessary if teachers are to find out how to learn from and with their students, and 'Other' ways of knowing, so that they can take up and utilize approaches that will 'fit' with, value, and respond to their students' cultures as easily as the school system is designed to do for students who are already part of more powerful cultures. It is this humility that makes us as teachers pull ourselves up consciously and allow the 'Other' to speak, to direct and to lead the learning journey. And because such approaches are supported by the affordances of Raewyn Connell's 'Southern Theory' (2007), which has so strongly informed both the conceptualization and content of this collection as a whole, they will also serve to disrupt dominance and enrich the experience of all.

Southern Theory

Southern theory challenges and seeks to countermand prevailing models of social thought which understand the world as having been shaped, almost exclusively, by the affluent, educated class of northern European men, especially by those in Europe and the USA—the global North. As Hickling-Hudson (2009, 365) notes:

> For most of modern history, the majority world of the global 'South' as well as oppressed communities within the global 'North' have been forced into a peripheral position in relation to elites whose power, wealth, and advancement rested to a great extent on the exploitation of the South.

Connecting almost all of the chapters here, and informing their conceptualization and impact, is their authors' willingness to engage with and take up

the challenge of Southern theory. Rather than seeking a fixed set of propositions that will require new arrangements of existing structures to be built in place of those it critiques—Southern theory seeks instead to develop new knowledge projects that will foreground new ways of learning, building on the array of different "southern" knowledge of globally connected constituencies and resources. It works with the problems that these bring to all those children in our schools, who, as inheritors of the most vulnerable indigenous, local, creole or blended cultures, knowledge and languages, are manifestly not members of the powerful Northern constituency.

All around the world, but particularly in Connell's global North, education has become the site of some of the most far-reaching and discriminatory effects of the steady rise of global capital during the late twentieth century and after. These are particularly related to the take-up of neoliberalism within the globalization agenda, and the increasing emphasis on the individual, and the "responsibilisation" of the self (Peters 2009). Increasing acceptance of neoliberal values by nations around the world has led to a parallel decrease in emphasis on the traditional social welfare ideal of equality of opportunity in education and in teacher education. Indeed, as Peters (2009, 59) notes: "The state has only been able to begin the process of writing itself out of its traditional responsibilities concerning the welfare state through twin strategies of a greater individualisation of society and the responsibilisation of individuals and families." Members of families located in dominant social and cultural groups benefit because of their inherited privilege, and, positioned well in the competition for success but without access to a critical perspective, they are supported to see this as merit.

It is the critical perspective that subjects the normalization of an assumption of "merit" in some groups, over others, to ongoing scrutiny—and it is this that teacher education needs to provide (Zeichner 2009). Sleeter (2012) notes that the globalization of market-driven competition has a far stronger impact on teacher education and schooling than the social justice agenda, which is difficult to sustain within discourses of individual meritocracy. Indeed, in many institutions, the goal of preparing teachers for pedagogy and practice that will ensure equity for all populations as an outcome of schooling seems to have faded from prominence in teacher education curriculum.

Southern theory has been used here as the broad (but not universal) framework from which the authors of this collection speak and seek to address this situation. The essays in this book raise voices from the margins—and they speak for the range of marginalized populations whose

distance from the normalized "Northern-metropolitan" center too often means that they fail to be heard. Voices whose mother tongue is not English, voices of migrants, Indigenous, rural and remote, international, transnational, cosmopolitan and collaborative learners, teachers and teacher educators, speak from "the South" and provide an intellectual resource working for social justice, with, and in their differences. With highlight focus moving across the interplay between policy (Leeman), international mobility and immigration (Buchanan, Major, Harbon and Kearney; Arber and Pitt; James), Indigenous education (Yi and Adamson; Fickel, A. Macfarlane and S. Macfarlane; Reid and Stephens) and higher education (Naepi, Stein, Ahenakew and Andreotti; Santoro), in this collection we are able to follow and construct the connecting lines and threads of applied Southern theory as it informs teacher education for culturally transformative practice.

That the chapters here raise and struggle with a range of different policy and pedagogical approaches and situations is significant, and it is inevitably political. Indeed, Gruenewald (2003, 9), in extending the concern for social justice to even larger issues of global sustainability and environmental challenge, raises the issue that:

> Pedagogy is a term used loosely in educational discourse, Simon (1987) writes that 'talk about pedagogy is simultaneously talk about the details of what students and others might do together and the cultural politics such practices support. In this perspective, we cannot talk about teaching practices without talking about politics'.

Southern theory is therefore useful and relevant for promoting culturally critical, culturally competent and culturally responsive educational practice in schools, in that it foregrounds the politics and pedagogies that are required to be taken up if teacher education is to work toward these ends.

Teacher Education

Teacher education must itself ensure that it is decentered and open to lines and flows from outside the received domination of Northern theory and its associated knowledge claims: ensuring that all students' identities are appreciated in teacher education classrooms and practice sites, that their communities and cultural knowledge are recognized and valued, and that these contribute to the learning resources used in the teacher education curriculum and classroom.

It must address the problem, as Santoro argues in Chap. 4, that much current teacher education practice actually increases the risk of student teachers developing superficial and stereotyped views of particular cultures. While national standards for teachers commonly maintain the need for all graduate teachers to know about cultural difference (about "students with diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds") and to "demonstrate knowledge of teaching strategies that are responsive to the learning strengths and needs of students from diverse linguistic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic backgrounds", the purpose of this knowledge is politically directed to ensure that national rankings in global competitive testing programs are upheld and improved as efficiently as possible, rather than that social justice is achieved. While this particular illustration is taken from my own (Australian) context (AITSL 2011), it is recognizable in teacher education standards around the globe, as Santoro reports following a recent analysis of professional standards around the world, conducted with her colleague, Kennedy. From a review of standards in several of the most culturally diverse educational jurisdictions (England, New Zealand, British Columbia, California and Australia), Santoro suggests that "the teacher professional standards analyzed do not acknowledge, let alone make explicit, the complex and specific knowledge and skills needed for culturally responsive teaching." Indeed, as she goes on to say:

> The value laden statements about equity and access that are contained within the standards do little to acknowledge the complexities inherent in the identities of culturally diverse learners, and neither do they stipulate what it is that must be known, or how teachers should come to know it. (see Chap. 4)

Reminding us that historically and conventionally most teachers in the global North are Northerners, and that the capacity to deconstruct the ongoing distributions of power and privilege that accrue to themselves and other members of their communities, is "difficult and emotional work," Santoro argues that in spite of rhetoric highlighting the importance of teachers gaining appropriate knowledge to work productively with culturally and linguistically diverse cohorts, "in reality, teacher professional standards pay lip service to it." As she continues:

> Furthermore, teacher education with a critical focus takes a significant investment of time, and therefore, financial resources. Teacher education

> for culturally diverse contexts is often limited to short and discrete elective modules in which there is a focus on understanding the characteristics of the 'cultural Other' and how to facilitate culturally and linguistically diverse students' assimilation into the dominant culture. (Chap. 4)

Rather than acknowledging and responding to the wealth of research and practice that has informed the quest for representational and distributive social justice (Keddie 2012; Keddie and Niesche 2012), the global trend toward standardizing assessment and learning outcomes has led to the narrowing of both curriculum and pedagogies. There are increasing pressures placed on graduate teachers to see their job as "teaching to the test," rather than teaching for intercultural competence and success. As Sleeter argues:

> Teachers have less time to research and develop curriculum that students can relate to, non-tested curriculum disappears under pressure to raise test scores, and teachers are increasingly patrolled to make sure they are teaching the required curriculum, at the required pace (2012, 577).

It is important to note that globalization produces an increase in "non-standard" student populations as an effect of increasing economic migration, population displacement, diasporic transitions and global crises of groups seeking asylum and refuge from conflict and discrimination. Increasingly, cultural diversity in school settings is a growing phenomenon around the globe, as migrant and refugee populations seek security and safety from natural and political upheaval. Its effects are attracting attention as a problem for schools and teacher education. Leeman's chapter on cultural diversity and intercultural education in the Netherlands underlines the similarities across northern nations in relation to the development of what she sees as a growing political negativity toward ethnic cultural diversity. She notes two powerful perspectives in Dutch education that contextualize the move against cultural pluralism as a policy driver and educational outcome:

- An emphasis on the efficient transmission of knowledge and skills for an outcomes focused curriculum.
- A monocultural climate with emphasis on socialization for the nation-state. (Chap. 2)

For teachers in classrooms, the effects of these policy and social changes plays out in their daily interactions with students, in ways that pre-service teacher education has been unable to prepare them. Mental health is an increasingly significant concern among transient, displaced, culturally deprived and traumatized children, for instance (Clauss-Ehlers et al. 2013). Even though teachers may meet the standards of official knowledge about their pupils and strategies suitable to teach culturally different learners, it is clear that they will need to continue to learn, in and as they practice. It is clear, too, that unless they have access to conceptual tools and ideas that will allow them to reflect on and critique the practices that are already available, these will be reproduced and continue to dominate and prove ineffective for teaching the complex range of students in the contemporary classroom.

This means that the challenges for teachers and for teacher education are ever more complex. Leeman notes that, as globalization brought successive waves of immigrants to the Netherlands, and global political and economic concerns brought job insecurities to Dutch workers, the national welfare state began to crumble. She notes how:

> In the political climate after 9/11 intercultural education was moved away from the national educational agenda and faded away from classroom practices. In this process lessons on different cultural heritages and ways of living, colonial histories, racism, narrative accounts on poverty related migration, inclusive ways of thinking about art and literature by including novelists and artists from the 'non-western' world disappeared from the curriculum. (see Chap. 2)

Such work makes the important point that issues of commonality, diversity and social justice are not always present as a matter of fact, either in policy or practice. Further, in his chapter on the education of marginalized students in urban Canada (Chap. 3), James traces the movement from multicultural to anti-racism to culturally responsive and relevant pedagogical approaches in that country, and questions the effectiveness of official policy and related practices of multiculturalism "where the politics of racial identity and difference precipitate resistance and discomfort among students and teachers, and as a consequence thwart the needed critical learnings." He argues that:

> the prevailing discourse of Canadian multiculturalism with its emphasis on culture, cultural neutrality, and color-blindness functions to structure the ways in which anti-racism education is conceptualized and practiced in schools, and as a consequence has been ineffective in bringing students and educators to an appreciation of the relevance and significance of anti-racism. (Chap. 3)

Educational "failures" such as this highlight that both teaching and teacher education share a characteristic of what Freud saw in professions like governance and psychoanalysis—a constant indeterminacy of outcome. For this reason, teaching has been characterized as "an impossible profession" (Green 2010; Reid 2011), charged with the improvement of the human condition, but always producing unsatisfactory results because it works with the resources of the present to achieve the desires of the future. Its effects are always delayed, and it is always certain to lead to dissatisfaction, and to achieve inadequate outcomes (Britzman 2009; Green 2010). But teaching people to teach, as Connell (2008, 3) puts it, is doubly difficult: "teaching seems to be a peculiarly *unteachable* form of work."

This seems to me to be related to the scale of complexity in teachers' work. Unlike psychoanalysis, school teaching is seldom carried out in relationship with a single client; and unlike governance, it does not involve working with people the teachers do not know or interact with daily. Teachers work intersubjectively with their students, face-to-face with and indeed at the interface between self and "Other." This renders the work of the individual teacher at once highly important, intensely personal, complex, and unpredictable—its outcomes can never be pre-determined. As the needs of communities, children and curriculum change inexorably over short and longer timeframes, it is the humility of uncertainty about the "Other," and the capacity to learn from and be led by the community that the teacher is serving, that mark teaching as true professional practice.

Ensuring that new generations are well enough prepared to carry our national and global community into the future involves all levels of education. The inexorability and rate of globalization in recent decades, coupled with an education system that was designed and installed in the twentieth century based on nineteenth-century principles and social structures, means that there are likely to be many failings with schooling, from an economic, social and policy perspective as well as practically and programmatically. So, it is not surprising that any problems with education are inevitably sheeted home to teacher education as a matter of course, and

that teacher education is always susceptible to criticism. As I have argued already, it is impossible for teacher education to ever fully prepare the teachers of here and now for the classrooms of there and tomorrow.

But knowing its impossibility, and working with the humility that this knowledge produces, provides an approach and mode of operation that can allow graduate students to be prepared for constant change, and for diversity and change in their student populations. It is only if they know that they do not know, that they can be prepared to be unprepared. Gay (2010) reminds us that being culturally responsive as a teacher requires more than being respectful of students' backgrounds. The necessary commitment and ability to humbly recognize, value and bring into play the identities, languages and cultural backgrounds of students as *resources for learning*, is predicated on a perspective of the "Other" that draws its ethical imperative from the quest for social justice and culturally responsive practice. The particular philosophical base that this involves informs the need for such humility, and its connections to the implications of Southern theory will be discussed more fully below.

As the chapters in this collection demonstrate, the range and complexity of teachers' practice must always be reconstituted and constructed anew by the reader, the learner and the teacher. For me, in their attention to culturally responsive practice across a range of contexts and situations of practice, the collective achievement of the authors is to highlight and enhance the connections that can be made, and need to be made. With a focus on a range of countries and contexts that epitomize both the global North (Netherlands, Canada, Britain, Australia, New Zealand) and the global South (Mongolia, South East Asia), as well as some that continue to live with the social injustice that maintains the historical legacy of colonialism and cultural apartheid on the edges and margins of their economic prosperity (Australia, New Zealand, Canada), we are able to see this as a global challenge that needs sustained and active attention.

The Struggle for Social Justice

There is a large store of research on teacher education that has demonstrated some of the factors in teacher education programs, including admission policies and instructional strategies, that have proven to be "effective in developing greater intercultural sensitivity and competence in prospective teachers" (Zeichner 2009, 18). However, as I have just argued, teacher educators have struggled to hold this ground in the face

of neoliberal policy, standardized control and external accountability of teacher education programs. The "lip service" to social justice that Santoro talks of is sometimes not even paid, as universities respond to the standardized accreditation environment by structuring courses to demonstrate compliance, rather than prepare new teachers with a critical perspective.

Villegas and Lucas (2002) called for the critical examination of initial teacher education in terms of its philosophical and structural commitment to the preparation of a "culturally competent teacher." Such a teacher would have the capacity for critical reflection on the limitations of monocultural curriculum, and for culturally responsive classroom practice that supports the larger agenda of educational and social justice. For Villegas and Lucas (2002), along with others working to achieve a workforce disposed toward culturally responsive practice, the academic, pedagogical and fieldwork components of teacher education need to integrate the characteristics that define the "culturally competent" teacher, in order to prepare a "culturally responsive" practitioner. The conscious and systematic connection, interconnection and reconnection of the knowledge, skills and dispositions that support cultural competence, must be "designed in" to the learning experiences planned for pre-service teachers.

Zeichner (2009) calls for continued efforts to ensure that the insights of this research are transformed "into the currency of standards [...] making it more difficult for the knowledge base for culturally responsive teaching to be underemphasized in performance-based teacher education programs" (Zeichner 2009, 18). The research he emphasizes has been reported and built on by the authors of the previous chapters, but I find his delineation of the sorts of knowledge, skills and attitudes that he sees are too "easy to neglect" in standards-based teacher education programs to be very useful at the policy level. For instance, teacher education standards that require new teachers to graduate with the following capacities would drive quite different teacher education practices from those we have at present:

- *Knowledge*. The teacher understands the ways in which life is organized in the communities in which his or her students live, as well as how students use and display knowledge, tell stories, and interact with peers and adults. The teacher knows something about the funds of knowledge that exist in these communities.
- *Performance*. The teacher is able to incorporate aspects of his or her students' abilities, experiences, cultures, participation styles, frames

of reference and community resources into the class in ways that enhance student learning.
- *Disposition*. The teacher sees resources for learning in all students, rather than viewing differences as problems to overcome. The teacher believes that he or she is responsible for making a difference in his or her students' learning. (Zeichner 2009, 17)

Similarly, in Chap. 6, which explores culturally responsive practice for Indigenous contexts, Fickel, S. Macfarlane and A. Macfarlane have articulated a complementary analysis that asks for teacher education to provide graduates with:

1. A constructivist understanding of knowledge, including both an epistemological stance of knowledge as dynamic, and a knowledge base, or 'cultural literacy', that goes beyond the traditional Western canon.
2. A sociocultural consciousness of self, including understanding both students and one's own culturally positioned attitude, beliefs and experiences.
3. The disposition and ability to engender caring, trusting and respectful relationships with students and within the classroom among students. (see Chap. 6)

Teacher education that takes such goals seriously requires a foregrounding of relational practice, intersubjectively, interculturally, and intellectually. Fickel, S. Macfarlane and A. Macfarlane problematize the issue raised above about the silences that too often occur just beneath the rhetoric of inclusion and culturally responsive practice in teacher education contexts, citing Castagno and Brayboy's (2008) claim that key issues of "sovereignty, racism and epistemologies" are rarely raised in teacher education contexts. These are fundamental political issues, and as we have seen above (Gruenewald 2003), they play out in all pedagogical practice, whether explicitly or subversively, or antagonistically, under the surface, to disadvantage and disenfranchise those whose cultures are excluded. This is picked up in Chap. 5 by Naepi, Stein, Ahenakew and Andreotti, who examine what diversity and inclusion in education might look like if epistemological dominance was recognized as problematic. As they argue:

> When dominance is not recognized as a systemic issue, diversity initiatives will tend to be based on assimilation: the charitable inclusion of 'different' bodies into a white-dominated space that is left unquestioned. This "ticking of the box of diversity" can work paradoxically against the interests of those "included." Conversely, when epistemological dominance is recognized, the emphasis is placed on the inclusion of different voices that call for more radical transformation. (Chap. 5)

Preparing teachers to answer this call is the challenge for a culturally responsive teacher education. In her review, she focused particularly on the education of Indigenous Australian students, Perso (2012) outlines the history and literature of culturally responsive pedagogies and culturally competent teaching. She reminds us of the challenge made by Villegas and Lucas (2002), noting that the qualities and capacities that support culturally responsive practices:

> must be taught as broad, generic capabilities that derive from personal, deep knowledge of themselves and the world around them. This will enable teachers on entering the workforce, to apply them to whatever cultural profile exists in their classroom and/or their school environment. (Perso 2012, 79)

In Chap. 2, Leeman underlines the paradox that globalization played a role in closing down the space for intercultural education in the Netherlands, and that many teachers, accountable for student achievement on narrow global achievement tests, apparently failed to notice. Reid and Stephens note the "parallel" policy environment where "policy on immigration, Indigenous, health, education, rural and industry are all projecting futures that do not seem to take account of each other" (Chap. 7), while in Chap. 8, Yi and Adamson discuss the challenges and threats that limit the sustainability of ethnic Mongolian identity amid the linguistic dominance of the more powerful Chinese and English languages. Even though multilingualism is a growing trend globally, as local languages are complemented by national, regional and international languages in education systems, and even though there has been, as Reid and Stephens show in Chap. 7, a history of hybridity and knowledge creation at the intersection of minority immigrant and Indigenous relationships, we must not forget that, without careful sustenance, local identity can suffer under the hegemony of powerful languages and cultures. Even in Aotearoa New Zealand, for

instance, where educators have made strong efforts to introduce culturally responsive practices in higher education settings, Naepi, Stein, Ahenakew and Andreotti cite Ahmed (2012) to highlight the unplanned outcomes of this work, noting that:

> higher education institutions reproduce whiteness through diversity; that diverse bodies are offered conditional hospitality; that inclusion of diverse subjects creates a "diversity debt"; and that whiteness is re-centered when discussing racism […] (Chap. 5)

As they go on to warn us, "even with the best intentions, dominant spaces can turn Indigenous interventions into tick box procedures that do not address the dominance of the Euro-centric framework" (Chap. 5).

This is the key to my argument in this concluding chapter: that teachers entering any classroom must be intellectually and "dispositionally"—ethically—equipped with the humility they will need to first watch, engage with and learn about the children they will be teaching *this* time, before they can take up and utilize approaches that will "fit" with, value and respond to students' cultures in ways that provide access to the cultures of power.

Facing the "Other": Learning and Teaching with Humility

The argument arises originally from the ethical philosophy of Levinas (1969, 1998), who claims that because humans are organic life-forms, we depend on more than ourselves for our needs and sustenance. Therefore, we are always ("naturally") in an ethical relation of "responsivity" or "response-ability" to everything that is not Self. We only achieve individual identity, and understand who we are, because we are always faced with "Otherness"; we see ourselves in the face of the "Other." Mason (2015) explains Levinas' emphasis on the face of the "Other," following Sartre's observation that:

> I do not see my own face—or, at least, not first. I carry it in front of me like a secret which I have not fathomed, and it is the face of 'Other's, instead which teach me what mine is like.' (Sartre 1966, 159)

For this reason, we must always be aware of our own vulnerability to the sustainability of the "Other" for sustaining ourselves. And we are obliged, not as an act of kindness, or even consciousness, but as part of our own survival, to *first* help sustain the "Other." This is the fundamental human condition. If we do not fulfill this obligation, we endanger ourselves. For Levinas, people do not have a choice—our existence depends on our responsibility *to* (but not "for") each other. This sense of responsibility, while easy to understand when considering our relationship when we face others who are *like* us, is quite different from neoliberal moves toward making people responsible for their own economic, personal and social success, through the responsibilization of the individual, discussed above (Peters 2009). Quite differently, a Levinasian ethic gives us no choice: to be fully human, we must see ourselves in the face of the "Other"

A dialogic position such as this challenges the positivity of global North assumptions of centralized power and cultural superiority. The "Other" stands as opposition to the "naturalness" of hierarchical cultural and individual merit by virtue of being "Other": "He is not a mere object to be subsumed under one of my categories and given a place in my world" (Levinas 1969, 13). This recognition of the "Other" forces us to open our world, and our views on it, to question and critique—someone from outside is looking in with a different viewpoint.

As Arber and Pitt highlight in Chap. 10, exploring the imaginaries of mobile educators, it is neither an automatic or easy position to work from this ethic Arber and Pitt follow two female Australian educators who have crossed the borders of the global North to work in another cultural setting. Basing their analysis on the educators' retelling of narratives about their daily lives, Arber and Pitt argue that such cultural mobility is not something that can be understood or achieved unproblematically. Because the teachers did not consider that they would be "unprepared," and could not simply transfer existing skill sets and identity constructs to a new place, they could not work with the humility that would allow them access to the "Other." What I found interesting here was the use of Doreen Massey's (2005, and see also Massey 2004) framework of space/time to show how dominant "Northern" ideologies of progress position the international "Other" as "backward" in relation to the unchallenged norms of dominant practice.

Southern theory provides a strong antidote to symptoms of the long-term effects of the assumption of the cultural superiority of white, European, metrocentric, Anglophone cultures, and calls us to resist notions of cultural deficit in difference. More practically, there are strong pointers for culturally

responsive teacher education that can work to celebrate and value difference rather than seek to exclude or silence traditions and knowledge that expand and diversify experience and access. Approaches to teacher education that ask student teachers to enter into cultural and social spaces that are unfamiliar and threatening to the certainty of their own dominant positioning, for instance, are seen as effective ways of preparing new teacher to "face the Other" and be taught.

In her work with students training to teach in racially diverse and conflicted urban settings, Lauricella (2005) took up the challenge of confronting the fact that teachers often hold lower expectations for students marked as "Other" by race, class, ethnicity, language background or political status. As she notes:

> The movement towards systematic change will come from those willing to connect with communities of people who have different social, racial or cultural backgrounds. And who, once the connection is made, continue the dialogue in an open and reflective manner. Being culturally sensitive and aware is more than just a prudent idea in today's classrooms, it is a way of proceeding that links the children, the community, and the schools. (Lauricella 2005, 124)

Her strategy of requiring student teachers to leave the perceived cultural safety of the school grounds, and walk with a member of the school community to be introduced to the neighborhood and made aware of community issues from the point of view of insiders, required students to interact as a learner with an authoritative cultural "Other." Like similar variations of the cultural immersion or "cultural plunge" this experience, "not only challenged students' unexamined assumptions about the hopelessness of urban life" (Lauricella 2005, 132), it alerted students to their lack of knowledge and prejudice about the people that lived, and talked, so differently from themselves. But as reported in Chap. 9 by Buchanan, Major, Harbon and Kearney, without the scaffolded opportunity to develop a disposition to humility, student teachers can tend to undervalue and silence the opportunities for exchange and interaction and learning from "facing the Other."

Their collaborative critical analysis of four Australian programs, which were designed to prepare teachers for culturally responsive practice through international experience, provides an important exemplar of how teacher educators share their practice and reflect on the theory and practice of their work to produce new insights and knowledge about the challenges that

must be addressed by international experience programs. This is Southern theory in practice, with dispersed voices talking back to the inadequacy of dominant structures, and these authors provide an important analysis—highlighting particular examples across four pre-service programs to argue that teacher education practice seems to lack a clear distinction between evaluation and reflection, and clear processes to support each. While student participants anecdotally indicated that their short-term international experiences were valuable and have positive outcomes, the programs that promote border crossings of this kind have no room to interrogate or critique what is learned. As they note, in these programs:

> Pre-service teachers are not, as a matter of course, required to evaluate their experiences in a supported and structured way during their sojourn. Nor are they required to reflect deeply about their growth and learning in relation to program goals, content and outcomes after the program concludes. All our programs could be strengthened by the addition of more rigorous exploration of, and dialogue about, the difficult and challenging knowledges and experiences that are frequently part of engaging with communities in the global south. (Chap. 9)

Arguing that intercultural competence is seen as a by-product of international programs, there is little evidence to demonstrate how this is developed "before, during and after the experiences" To be effective as pre-service teacher education, as outlined above, internationalization should be embedded into course structures that are underpinned and supported by a strong framework designed to develop intercultural knowledge, attitudes and skills. Their attention to the politics of teacher education practice here, to questions of teacher educators themselves needing "professional learning about intercultural competence, about the challenges and tensions of international experiences, and about critically reflective dialogue and how to facilitate it" (Chap. 9), highlights the need for teacher educators to examine their own sociocultural identities and how these have been shaped by their membership of dominant social and cultural groups. University teachers, too, need to be supported to recognize the ways that higher education perpetuates and reproduces social and cultural inequities, even while giving an illusion that these inequalities are fair.

As indicated previously, the attitudes held by teachers of their students—particularly the expectations they have of their learning—impact on what students eventually learn. It is therefore essential that these atti-

tudes are positive and affirming. Rather than simply accepting assumptions about the cultural differences that diminish the expectation of success for many migrant and Indigenous students in school (and university settings), there is a need for teachers to think about and engage with the changing face of the student population, to reflect critically on the nature and issues facing the communities in which they are teaching (Lauricella 2005) and to develop strategies that enhance intercultural understanding in their classrooms.

Pre-service teachers need to be taught ways to ensure students know the high expectations they are expected to reach, and hold them accountable for reaching them. They need to understand the consequences that the absence of affirming attitudes and high expectations bring for student learning. Most importantly, though, given the warnings from so many of the chapters in this collection, prospective teachers need to be supported to see themselves as agents of change in bridging the disconnect between schools and society. They are actors and participants in a struggle for social justice, and they can either support or challenge current inequalities (Cochran-Smith 1997).

Villegas and Lucas (2002, 25) state that "[t]eacher educators can prepare prospective teachers to become agents of change by teaching them about the change process, helping them to understand the obstacles to change, helping them develop the skills for collaboration and dealing with conflict, and providing evidence that schools can become more equitable." Perso (2012, 81) notes that;

> Since students learn by making meaning of new knowledge and information by connecting it to what they already know, teachers need to help them to 'build bridges' from what their students already know and bring with them to school, to what they need to learn. Pre-service courses must include knowledge and skills for prospective teachers to ascertain existing knowledge, determine what needs to be learned, and to then break down what needs to be learned into small steps that begin from what students already know. This process of 'scaffolding' falls down if teachers are unable to determine what they students already know (including the knowledge frameworks they work within […]), sometimes resulting in 'deficit' approaches to teaching where teachers assume their students know very little.

This type of teaching demands that teachers seek to learn about the capabilities and strengths of all their students, and the resources of their communities as they prepare the curriculum. Teacher education that aims to produce graduates who understand the need to be willing and able adjust

their own teaching styles to each new group of students and the individuals in the group, each year, will ultimately serve teachers better than teacher education that convinces them there is a single "best practice." Pre-service teachers need to be taught flexibility in making these adjustments each year so that they do not resort to "teaching the course," or indeed the class, but humbly focus on the needs of each and every individual in their class.

In this final chapter, I have attempted to outline a position that hopefully both complements and supplements the contribution of the authors in this collection. I have argued that a key goal of teacher education for cultural competency, culturally responsive teaching, and the achievement of change for social justice is to prepare graduates to know that their job must always be predicated on a *lack* of knowledge about the "Other,"and a corresponding lack of certainty that our traditional sources of expertise and authority actually have the answers they will need to carefully and responsively support their students to improve their life chances.

The humility that is necessary for teachers to face the "Other," to be taught, and learn from their students, so that they can take up and utilize approaches that will "fit" with, value and respond to their students' cultures as easily as the school system is designed to do for students who are already part of more powerful cultures, is the key to change. It is humility that comes from our knowledge that, from the margins, from the point of view of some "Other" one facing us, we have a lot to learn. With this knowledge, and with the evidence from research such as has been presented throughout this collection, teacher education can assist graduates to make a difference.

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