Decolonial Multiculturalism and Local-global Contexts: A Postcritical Feminist Bricolage for Developing New Praxes in Education

A Dissertation Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

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August, 2011

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Dedicated to the many children and youth who have taught and inspired me with their tenacity, courage, humor, and generosity of spirit.

Thank you.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to so many for support, mentorship, help, friendship, and love. I thank Allison Anders for her outstanding guidance as my advisor and dissertation chair. Allison demonstrated endless patience and flexibility, helping me to recognize my oversights, discover new directions, and hone my writing skills through her meticulous reads and probing comments. Allison also invited me to join the Healing Transitions research team at the University of Tennessee, affording me many opportunities to work with and learn from resettled children with refugee status. Gina Barclay-McLaughlin joined my committee despite an overloaded schedule and provided dedicated and thorough feedback that helped shape my research directions and writing voice. I also want to thank Gina for her mentorship, her passionate interest in my work, and our long and inspiring conversations. Tricia McClam not only served on my committee, but mentored me while I assisted her on the Grief Outreach Project, which she developed for the College of Education, Health, and Human Sciences. My work with Tricia guided my explorations into grief and loss among schoolchildren and informed my chapter discussions on relevant interventions. Leslee Fisher completed my committee, providing expertise in methodological bricolage, feminist theories, and cultural studies. Thank you, Leslee, for your careful reads and suggestions–particularly your very important reminder not to neglect homophobia and heteronormativity in my human rights and social justice discourse. Finally, each of my committee members deserves a standing ovation for the simple fact that my dissertation is over four hundred pages.

Many other people mentored and guided me through my graduate experience and deserve my heartfelt gratitude. Barbara Thayer-Bacon has been a mentor, teacher, and friend. Her course on multicultural education inspired much of my core research, and her careful reading of and responses to my comprehensive exam essay on critical multiculturalism informed my prospectus development. In addition, Barbara's course on feminisms in education and her scholarship on feminist and relational epistemologies inspired my explorations into relational learning. Denise Bates welcomed me into the Healing Transitions family, which she co-facilitated with Allison Anders. Denise has also been a friend, teacher, and mentor, guiding me through my comprehensive exam essay on students with refugee status and helping me negotiate the unfamiliar terrain of a new (to me) discipline, public health. Denise's expertise in serving resettled refugee communities proved to be indispensible to my learning process. Finally, but certainly not least of all, I am grateful to Clea McNeely. I began working for/with Clea in 2009 on the Caring Across Communities (CAC) National Evaluation of school-based services for immigrant and refugee students. Clea has proven to be a great friend, advocate, mentor, and teacher. Working with Clea has informed both my dissertation work and my professional growth. I look forward to our continued work and friendship.

I have, quite obviously, been blessed with many mentors and friends, and I will try to do everyone justice in this essay. Diana Moyer inspired me intellectually with her thoughtful and exciting courses on educational foundations, history of education, and cultural studies. Denise Harvey kindly guided me through the piloting of a new undergraduate course, "International Education," and exposed me to new readings on

global education that I used in my dissertation. Noah De Lissovoy graciously allowed me to corner him on an elevator at the 2009 American Educational Studies Association conference to discuss the paper he had just presented. That paper became a core feature of my dissertation, and Noah proved to be an encouraging ally, attending my related AESA presentation the following year and responding enthusiastically to my request to send him my finished dissertation articles.

I am especially grateful to the Burundian children with whom I worked in 2008, their families, and the teachers who let me into their school and shared so much with me. Teaching and learning with the children, in particular, was a life-changing experience I will never forget, and I hope I am a better person for it. I also wish to thank the many service-providers and parents who participated in the CAC study and shared their stories in the hopes of helping others who work with students with immigrant or refugee status. Some of the parents overcame great personal fears to speak to us, and I hope to honor their courage with the work I produce.

I thank the women and man who helped me so many steps of the way and rarely get thanked: Christine Tidwell, Amanda Rieger, Bonnie Bull, Karen Walker, Beverly Cate, Jeffrey Abrams-Cohen, Madison Norman, Sylvia Miller, Julie Harden, Kris Bronstad, and April Phillips. You have helped me order books, process letters of recommendation, procure travel funds, fix my computer, format my dissertation, get paid, get departmental approvals, and generally figure out what is going on and what I need to do. Thank you, thank you, and thank you.

I shared this journey with many other graduate students whose friendship and support has been so valuable: Corey Kittrell, Hui Huang, Jessica Lester, Kathy Evans, Nicholas Mariner, Tingting Qi, Amelia Davis, Scott Ellison, and Tracia Cloud have been the cultural studies and/or education pals with whom I have endured, celebrated, and discussed the meaning of meaning. To Jessica, I owe special thanks for her valuable feedback on papers, cover letters, job interviews, and life in general.

To my dear friends back in Portland, Oregon, particularly Laurie Lava-Books, Beverly James Neel, and Katrina Cole: thank you for being so loving from afar and telling me you are proud of me. I miss you all every day.

Finally, I thank my family. To my mother, Lucy Harris Jr., my sister, Christina Sprecher, and her husband, Ben Weston: thank you for letting me escape to your homes across the mountains and just *be*, and allowing me, at forty-some years of age, to do my laundry at your house when I "come home from college." Mostly, thank you for being there for me, for your love, and for helping me get to a place in life where such an endeavor is even possible. We have survived a great deal. Ava and Liam: thank you for providing regular sessions of silly therapy, free of charge, and teaching me two very important life lessons: 1.) every person should play Hide and Seek at least once a week, and 2.) everything feels better when you wear a crown. To my aunt and uncle, Kathy and Bob Reinke, thank you for your unwavering love and encouragement through the last four years. I thank my uncle, Carlton Harris, and his family for sending me love and cheerful support, even when they are so far away. I will be ever grateful to my

grandmother, Lucy Harris Sr., who, at ninety-five, still holds me to the highest standards and wants the very best for me. I love you all.

Abstract

This dissertation presents a conceptual bricolage that explores complex, reflexive, and interrelated dimensions of educational praxes. My work is grounded in the assertion that the ever-changing, local-global nature of contemporary societies requires new approaches to curricula, pedagogies, policies, and practices in U.S. schools to meet the challenges and opportunities of a global era. Presenting my research and findings as four articles, I begin with a dialectical analysis of theoretical and pedagogical literatures to develop an adaptable framework for *decolonial multicultural education*. In Article 1, I demonstrate how this framework synergizes aspects of social reconstructionist and critical multicultural, global, and decolonial educations, while re-emphasizing possibilities for relational learning in local-global classrooms. In Article 2, I examine a unique local-global context: the matriculation of resettled refugee children into host country schools. This project integrates the decolonial multicultural framework with literatures on ecological interventions for refugee students to address grief, trauma, loss, poverty, acculturation, and host culture hostilities. The theoretical frameworks are infused with considerations concerning children's lived experiences as complex beings rooted in multiple, fluid, and intersecting contexts. In Article 3, I present a pilot case study on students with refugee status who attended a public school in the South. I discuss qualitative data from participant observations and staff interviews. Using the framework I developed in Article 2 for ecological, decolonial multiculturalism, this study discusses the emergent themes of teacher training, ecological interventions, deficit and assimilationist approaches, and hostile school peer relations. Finally, in Article 4 I argue

for a shift in the teacher professional role to include systemic support for ongoing teacher research as a way to address the complexity, multiplicity, and reflexivity of local-global classrooms. I propose postcritical ethnography and feminist praxis-based methodologies as tools to help teacher-researchers learn about and respond to their students. My dissertation thus entails four articles interconnected by the theme of decolonial multicultural education, and enriches framework considerations by exploring the local-global contexts of students with refugee status, specific refugee students in a U.S. school, and potential uses of postcritical and feminist qualitative methodologies for decolonial multicultural teacher-researchers.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation is a theoretical exploration of multicultural education paradigms that examines praxis-based, critical, global, and decolonial theories. Throughout, I use bricolage (which I describe in greater detail throughout this introduction and in chapter 3) as a methodology to present a conversation among various theories and pedagogies to create new knowledges. In the spirit of bricolage–and cultural studies–this is an interdisciplinary project in which theory is embedded and responsive to contextual, lived experiences. Such experiences include qualitative data on refugee[1] students previously collected by an interdisciplinary team, and my own reflections on my teaching history. In addition, I provide socio-historical context in which to situate my research. Thus, I am producing a theoretical montage that addresses the complexity of educational environments in order to contribute to new ideas about how we "do" education, with emphases on teacher preparation, curricula, and pedagogy.

I focus on theories I believe support the development of a framework for decolonial multiculturalism, which may have advantageous effects on the structure of schools. I argue that such a framework offers new possibilities for praxes that better address the learning needs of students from diverse backgrounds, while preparing all students to thrive as members of local-global communities. Drawing from leaders in the field as well as emerging scholars, I have chosen materials and arguments that I feel best

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[1] Throughout this dissertation, I will alternate terms such as "refugee students," "students with refugee status," and "resettled children" to try to avoid totalizing descriptions and interpretations that essentialize and categorize children through linguistic assignment. I encourage readers to digest these terms conscientiously to proactively avoid totalizing perceptions of children whose lives have been affected by war and forced migration.

articulate and inform the ideas I am trying to develop and put forth. I bring together the voices of multicultural educators (Banks, J. A., 2005; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003; Stephan & Vogt, 2004), critical multiculturalists (McLaren, 1995; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997), global education proponents (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004), and decolonial education theorists (De Lissovoy, 2008, 2009, 2010; Tejeda, Espinoza, & Gutierrez, 2003) in order to begin a conversation about what kind of multicultural educations might benefit students–and communities–most. An important element of my analysis is an emphasis on the pertinence of unique contextual variables that call for site-specific understandings and adaptations, as well as sophisticated[2] teacher-researchers capable of assessing and responding to dynamic educational environments.

I employ an article format for this dissertation. The first article summarizes a dialectical[3] investigation of various literatures on praxis-based and critical multiculturalisms and global and decolonial educational theories. This article focuses on defining local-global contexts in education and creating a synergistic praxis for decolonial multiculturalism. Article 1 places particular emphasis on the potential for local-global student interactions and relationships as the basis for sophisticated learning.

The second article draws on the first, exploring the potential of decolonial multiculturalism for a particular, local-global educational context: that of students with

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[2] My use of the term "sophisticated" throughout this dissertation refers to a form of anti-reductionism that takes into account complexity, multiplicity, reflexivity, and relationality (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).
[3] I refer to the term dialectic in its most basic sense: "a discussion and reasoning by dialogue as a method of intellectual investigation" (Merriam-Webster Online, 2010). I am not employing dialectic in a Socratic, Platonic, or Hegelian sense.

refugee status in schools in the United States of America. This article draws from multiple disciplines, including educational psychology and public health, to explore ecological approaches to decolonial multiculturalism that address the social-emotional aspects of children's learning. Thus, Article 2 incorporates literature on educational interventions for refugee students in order to integrate the decolonial multicultural framework with more context-specific literature on refugees.

Article 3 employs the framework discussed in article 2 to present a pilot case study of primary and secondary qualitative data previously collected by a collaborative, interdisciplinary team. The site of data collection was a homogeneous southeastern school that had recently matriculated Burundian children with refugee status. Though I draw on qualitative data to inform my theoretical considerations, I want to emphasize that this article does not serve to present a comprehensive empirical study. Rather, the contextual data demonstrates ways in which site-specific variables affect educational needs and should therefore inform educational practices.

The fourth article draws on the first three by exploring ways decolonial multiculturalism might be practiced in light of the complexity inherent in local-global contexts. This article examines the implications decolonial multiculturalism may have for teacher preparation, and advocates for training in research methods that can instill sophisticated skills for reflexivity and adaptation to differences in environments characterized by multiplicity. For this final article, I advance the potential of postcritical ethnography (Noblit, 2004; Noblit, Flores & Murillo, 2004; Lather, 2001) and feminist, praxis-based research methods (Hughes, 2002; Lather, 2004, 2007; Weiner, 1994) as

tools for teacher-researchers to assess and respond to their local-global classrooms according to a decolonial multicultural framework.

The following sections of this introduction will serve to:

1.) Present a roadmap of the dissertation chapters, including article outlines
2.) Introduce my epistemological[4] orientation
3.) Describe my personal/professional history (how and why I came to this work) and positionality
4.) Provide socio-historical context regarding schooling practices and policies
5.) Introduce literatures on multicultural, global, and decolonial educations
6.) Present research questions to be considered in the dissertation
7.) Introduce bricolage as the methodology

Dissertation Map

This dissertation consists of seven chapters, beginning with this introduction. The second chapter presents an extensive literature review, in which I use a dialectical approach to explore multiple theoretical and pedagogical discourses[5] in praxis-based and critical multiculturalisms and global and decolonial educations. In addition, I review literatures on refugee education and postcritical and feminist methodologies to further inform my theoretical conclusions. Chapter 3 encompasses a deeper description of

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[4] Referring to epistemology, which is the study of knowledge and the state of knowing, with inquiry into the sources of and status accorded to various knowledges (Barker, 2003). One's epistemological orientation, therefore, is the knowledge base, assumptions, understandings, and attitudes that shape and guide one's approach to research and, it could be said, to life in general.

[5] Discourse refers to language, and the role language plays in constructing, defining and producing knowledge. Thus, social practices and material objects are discursively formed through the words and combinations of words we choose to describe them, as well as the words and word combinations we exclude (Barker, 2003).

bricolage as methodology, and my specific uses of bricolage for this dissertation. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 are articles that (each) represent one directional branch of research that more deeply analyzes the literatures in relation to lived experiences and/or concepts I am proposing. Finally, chapter 8 concludes the dissertation.

I begin the literature review (Chapter 2) by exploring praxis-based multiculturalisms that include both locally and globally oriented foci as well as critical multiculturalism's analyses of U.S.[6] social and schooling structures. In addition, I explore writings by global education theorists and practitioners in order to make connections and highlight tensions in the field. I then describe literature on decolonial education, which I assert is a form of critical multiculturalism that utilizes a local-global framework to further critique–and recommend responses to–social inequalities. My goal is to draw on the extensive work that has been done in the fields of global and multicultural educations, bridging theories to contribute to emerging decolonial paradigms that offer complex insights for praxis.

I continue the literature review with a section on postcritical ethnography and feminist research methodologies. This aspect of the literature review is pertinent to Article 4, in which I propose such skills for teacher-researchers working with a decolonial multicultural framework. In addition, the explication of postcritical and feminist approaches expands on my epistemological orientation, which will be introduced

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[6] I have chosen to emphasize "U.S." schooling rather than "American" for two reasons: first, I have minimal knowledge of Central and South American schooling systems; second, though some of the literature I present is written by Canadian authors about Canadian school systems (and is relevant to U.S. schools), my experiences with teacher training (both as a student/pre-service teacher and as an instructor for pre-service teachers) and as a school teacher are limited to the United States.

in this chapter. The final sections of the literature review present explorations of interventions for refugee students for the context-specific foci of Articles 2 and 3. This section describes ideal mental and emotional supports for healthy child recovery and adaptation that include school environments that embrace and implement multicultural education. I conclude Chapter 2 with socio-historical information concerning the Burundian refugees who participated in the research I draw from in Article 3.

I see this dissertation as a beginning for a larger, life-long project and have chosen to write four articles that reflect pieces of this greater exploration. Decolonial multiculturalism is the theoretical thread and bricolage the methodological thread linking each essay. All of the articles focus on theoretical analyses, though one article draws on qualitative data to demonstrate contextual considerations. Though I incorporate qualitative data into my analyses, this is a theoretical–not empirical–dissertation. Through the articles, I seek to cross disciplinary boundaries and participate in discussions about ideas that are praxis-oriented and context-sensitive, and reflect potential actions for teachers and principals, teacher educators and program developers, and educational policy-makers.

I believe that using an article format allows me to address both breadth and depth within the physical limitations of a dissertation. Berry (2006) advocated nontraditional presentation methods for bricolage as a way to communicate highly complex, layered material without sacrificing the relationality and multiplicity inherent in educational contexts. While the breadth of dialectical interdisciplinarity helps me as a theoretical researcher to recognize and consider numerous interrelated variables, each article allows

me to hone in on pieces of the broader picture in ways that emphasize depth, yet never lose sight of complexity. This can help me avoid reductionism, as I begin to craft the pieces of a lifelong, collaborative project.

Each article is designed for a different publication, and therefore may employ a different stylistic voice. In order to satisfy the professional requirements of my field, the articles are crafted for publication in peer-reviewed journals, and are written with an academic audience in mind. Nevertheless, my goal is to revise the theoretical articles post-dissertation to be read by non-academic audiences: teachers and educational staff, policy makers, parents and community members, and students. I will seek to publish work for online and open access journals and magazines such as *Rethinking Schools* and *The International Journal of Multicultural Education*, as well as training and professional development materials for teachers and educational staff.

Article Outlines

Article 1, Revisioning multiculturalisms for a global age: Bringing decolonial education into praxis. I intend to submit this article for publication consideration to *Teacher Education Quarterly*, *Educational Studies*, and *Equity and Excellence in Education*. In this article, I present an exploration of the various approaches to multicultural education, arguing for a holistic integration of praxes that takes into consideration the need for decolonial, global paradigms of learning, as well as the importance of context for developing such pedagogical strategies. In particular, I examine the potential for student interactions and relationships in local-global classrooms as

processes for complex learning. I end the article by explaining the implications of such an approach for schooling, and in particular, teacher training and development.

I introduce Article 1 by discussing the relevant factors motivating my proposal: multicultural schools with immigrant students, social and schooling inequalities rooted in colonialism, and local-global relationships and global crises. After explaining my methodology of bricolage, I set to the task of defining local-global contexts in relation to the themes of global migration, globalization, and world crises. Next, I provide a brief overview of multicultural theories and pedagogies that includes culturally relevant, intergroup, social reconstructionist, and critical multicultural educations. The article continues with explorations of global and decolonial educations, followed by a section in which I discuss synergizing the previous praxes into a reflexive framework for decolonial multicultural educations. Article 1 concludes with an exploration of the possibilities for relational learning within a decolonial multicultural framework, including the strengths and limitations of intergroup and human relations pedagogies for such an endeavor.

Article 2, Decolonial Multiculturalism and Students with Refugee Status: Ecological School Praxes for Local-global Dynamics. I intend to submit this article for publication consideration to *Teacher Education Quarterly*, *Educational Foundations*, and *Equity and Excellence in Educatio*n. This article presents a theoretical-pedagogical discussion concerning children with refugee status in schools in the United States, and proposes integrating praxes to produce a framework for decolonial multicultural education that incorporates ecological interventions. I argue that the matriculation of refugee children represents a local-global context imbued with geo-political dynamics

that often play out in students' everyday lives. Thus, education that responds to students must recognize and address the impact of emotional health variables such as grief, trauma, and loss, as well as social variables such as racism, nationalism, exclusion, and bullying. This article examines the complexity of intersecting factors that frequently affect children living in circumstances of forced global migration, and advocates for ecological, decolonial multicultural frameworks for both refugee and locally-born children.

Article 2 begins by proposing decolonial multicultural education that is ecological as a pedagogical strategy for educating children with refugee status. I then briefly describe my methodology of bricolage and relevant aspects of my positionality, followed with a discussion of why refugee students demonstrate a local-global context. The article continues with a description of recommended educational interventions, and addresses variables such as: 1.) socio-historical context, 2.) ecological approaches, 3.) common trans- and post-migration stressors among refugee children, including grief, trauma, and loss, and 4.) proposed school-based interventions that systematically employ multicultural educational approaches. Next, I advocate for decolonial multicultural education as a potential intervention for students with refugee status, and discuss further implications, such as health and economic inequities and the need for holistic multicultural approaches to students.

Article 3, Applying decolonial multiculturalism to a local-global context: Children with refugee status in a southeastern U.S. school. I plan to submit this article for publication consideration to *Anthropology & Education Quarterly,*

Educational Foundations, and *Teacher Education Quarterly*. This article presents a pilot case study that draws on previously collected qualitative data to demonstrate the necessity of contextual analyses for interventions and reforms. The article includes literature on educational interventions for children with refugee status and analyzes the applicability of decolonial multiculturalism alongside existing interventions. I then explore decolonial multiculturalism as a theoretical tool for analyzing primary and secondary data–my own participant observations and school staff interviews, respectively–that were collected in 2008 for a larger qualitative study. The Burundian children in the study had spent their lives prior to immigration in refugee camps in the United Republic of Tanzania, and were subsequently matriculated into a racially homogeneous U.S. school in the southeast as refugees. Their new school was located in a high-poverty area, and 68% of attending students qualified for "Free or Reduced" lunches (Great Schools, 2008).

After a brief introduction, Article 3 presents my methodology of bricolage, my positionality, and a discussion of local-global school contexts. Next, I describe literatures on children with refugee status in U.S. schools and recommended ecological, school-based interventions, followed by my advocacy of decolonial multicultural education for schools matriculating students with refugee status. The article then presents socio-historical, site-based contexts that include descriptions of the Burundian children, their new U. S. school, and a description of the research. I continue with qualitative descriptions and themes that include practitioner training, ecological approaches to students with refugee status, discourses of deficit and assimilation, and student

interactions and peer relationships. Article 3 concludes with a discussion of further implications for ecological, decolonial multiculturalism.

Article 4, Postcritical ethnography and feminist, praxis-based methods for decolonial multiculturalism: Preparing teacher-researchers for the global age. I plan to submit this article for publication consideration to *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *Teaching Education*, and *Journal of Curriculum Studies.* In this article, I assert that a decolonial multicultural approach to education calls for sophisticated teacher-researchers prepared to adapt to and learn about complex and dynamic individuals and social relations. I propose that training in postcritical ethnography and feminist, praxis-based research methods, in addition to decolonial multiculturalism, will assist teachers in developing tools for student and classroom assessment that include reflexive consciousness and awareness of teacher positionality and power.

I introduce Article 4 by explaining the increasingly local-global, multicultural nature of U.S. classrooms, followed by a description of bricolage as my methodology. The ensuing literature review explores the themes of decolonial multicultural education, teacher-researchers for local-global schools, postcritical ethnography, and feminist praxis-based methods. The second half of the article explores the following implications for schooling and teacher training: 1.) tools for complexity, multiplicity, and reflexivity; 2.) power, difference, and schooling processes; 3.) methods and authentic assessment; and 4.) needed reforms in teacher professional roles, teacher education, and schooling structures.

The following sections on my epistemological orientation, personal/professional history, and positionality will situate my approach to the research for the reader. In addition, the next sections will explain how and why I came to this work, and what experiences inform my methods and goals.

Epistemological Orientation

I am a cultural studies scholar writing a dissertation that applies my feminist postcritical orientation to a theoretical bricolage. As such, my work is unapologetically political, in keeping with my discipline (Barker, 2003), epistemological orientation (Noblit, 2004; Hughes, 2002; Lather, 2004; Weiner, 1992), and methodology (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). Much of the literature I review is socio-political theory applied to education, and the ideas I am developing and advocating are rooted in my commitment to human rights and social justice, which I define in subsequent paragraphs. I use first person narrative to communicate my work due to my belief in the inherently political nature of researcher positionality, author voice, and validated and invalidated knowledges and knowledge production methods (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Lather, 2003; Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004).

My epistemological orientation as a feminist postcritical researcher meshes easily with bricolage. Bricolage, as well as many qualitative research approaches, emphasizes that all research is strongly influenced by the socio-historical location of the researcher (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Noblit et al., 2004). Therefore, an explicit explanation of researcher positionality can help researchers tease out the ways their own lived experiences and assumptions may affect their work. Researchers direct

their studies–and shape outcomes–through their choice of topic, the questions they ask, the methods they use to answer their questions, how they interpret the data they have gathered, and the ways they communicate and represent their findings and analyses (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Noblit et al., 2004). Postcritical and feminist methodologies echo this approach, viewing researcher positionality as an integral component of any study (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004; Hughes, 2002; Lather, 2004; Weiner, 1992).

Bricolage, feminist, and postcritical approaches trouble the traditional methodologies of research and representation, arguing that such research is always embedded in power-saturated discourses and methods of communication. For example, writing in third voice through a purportedly objective lens affords authority to an invisible voice that offers representations of others as facts. Without explicitly examining researcher positionality and voice, those with the social and economic power to define the lives of others or "the way things are" may do so without acknowledging how their own sense of reality informs their definitions. This has been particularly risky when members of privileged groups have sought to represent or speak for members of marginalized and oppressed groups (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hughes, 2002; Lather, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004; Weiner, 1992). For example, the United States has seen social and educational policies implemented as a result of research by white people that deemed children of color as suffering from low intelligence and cultural deficiencies (Tyack, 1974; Patton & Mondale, 2001). Researchers run the risk of duplicating destructive ideologies if we fail to examine our own deeply held assumptions and biases

(Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hughes, 2002; Lather, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004; Weiner, 1992).

Bricolage, feminist, and postcritical approaches therefore trouble invisible positionalities, voices of authority, and the discourses of power that permeate our current knowledge systems (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hughes, 2002; Lather, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004; Weiner, 1992). As a feminist postcritical researcher conducting bricolage, I embrace first person narrative as an explicit acknowledgement of my (the researcher/author) ever-present voice and positionality. I also challenge the traditional methodologies for producing and presenting knowledge, choosing instead methods that draw on marginalized means of knowing and telling.

Bricolage, feminist, and postcritical theories emphasize the ways dominant knowledge systems and production methods have shaped research to emphasize Eurocentric, masculinist, and heteronormative modes of knowing, being, and doing, while failing to acknowledge other forms as valuable (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986; Goldberger, Tarule, Clinchy & Belenky, 1996; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Hughes, 2002; Noblit et al., 2004; Sullivan, 2003; Thayer-Bacon, 2003; Weiner, 1992). This has been detrimental for those who do not fit or conform to dominant culture norms, as their experiences have often been described and interpreted by dominant group members. Standard approaches to research have frequently failed to deeply understand nondominant experiences, and often denied the validity of nondominant ways of knowing and being (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Noblit et al., 2004). The scholarly community also suffers when

research and knowledge production are restricted to that which can be measured by traditional means and defined/explained by traditional voices, as a great deal of information and knowledge possibilities are lost (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Lather, 2004).

The literature review in Chapter 2 provides a deeper description of postcritical and feminist approaches to research in the section "Postcritical Ethnography and Feminist Methodologies." Therefore, I will limit the discussion in the introduction and proceed to my personal/professional history and positionality, followed by my definitions for human rights and social justice.

Personal/Professional History and Positionality

My desire to emphasize context-specific, decolonial multiculturalisms emerges from my experiences as a teacher in diverse urban settings and as a researcher and tutor with African children with refugee status attending a homogeneous U.S. school. While researching literature that I sought to inform these experiences, I was repeatedly confronted with concepts that offered integral pieces for my own contextual considerations, but that called for integration with other frameworks and modalities. What I was trying to glean from the discourses around educational praxes required looking at different approaches and the ways in which they complement and conflict with each other, in order to draw from the "best" of each. Since each circumstance calls for its own considerations, there is no single definitive answer. Rather, there are multiple answers that may be continuously changing in response to reflexive situations. Moreover, recommended approaches are always confronted with–and shaped by–undefined

interactions based solely on real-time events as they occur. Regardless of any educator's intentions; students, parents, and other actors will introduce their own intentions and desires to the social environment. Education defies simplistic, unidirectional notions of teaching and learning (Mariner, Lester, Sprecher & Anders, in press).

I was trained in a progressive teacher education program in San Francisco that emphasized the praxis-based multicultural approaches to be described in the literature review in Chapter 2. I have worked as a teacher in both public and private schools for elementary, middle, and high school students in general and special education. Since I was already a trained anthropologist before my education career, my teaching experiences afforded me informal ethnographic opportunities. As a teacher, I naturally engaged in daily observations and conversations with students, parents, and other teachers, as well as examinations and analyses of schooling practices and policies. I, like many of my colleagues, became increasingly frustrated as I realized that the schooling structure itself greatly impeded my ability to implement much of what I had learned in my teacher training. I also discovered that my teacher training had not gone far enough in preparing me to work with diverse, and particularly marginalized, students within a socially stratified and unjust system.

As a graduate student of Education, I worked on an interdisciplinary team with public health and other departmental faculty and students to do service-work and research with a recently arrived refugee community. Though I worked primarily as a tutor for the community's children, who had grown up in refugee camps in Tanzania, I collaborated with and learned from other projects as well. I conducted ethnographic observations in

the children's classrooms, talked to teachers and staff at their school, and participated in community events with parents and families. The project emphasized an ecological approach to families and communities that informs my own approach to education as a necessarily holistic endeavor. In addition, I worked on a national qualitative research project in which I interviewed numerous service-providers and parents of immigrant and refugee children being served by school-based mental health programs. An ecological approach to families with an emphasis on deep cultural respect and understanding appeared to dramatically improve children's ability to adapt and succeed in school (McNeely, Sprecher, & Bates, 2010).

Positionality. I provide an in-depth description of my positionality in Chapter 3 on methodology, so I will briefly introduce my positionality here. I am a white woman who has oscillated between the poor, working, and middle classes throughout my life. I grew up in a suburb of Baltimore, amid the highly segregated and racially turbulent 1970's and 80's. Though a small number of Black children were bussed to my suburban schools, for the most part I was surrounded by white people in and out of class. The adults in my life–and as I got older, my peers–were often virulently and vocally racist. Extreme homophobia and sexism were also common. We, the majority of people in my community, assumed white supremacy and Eurocentric values that dehumanized others in our eyes. We shared a profound ignorance concerning people we considered different, as well as almost no knowledge of people and places beyond the United States.

I know what it is like to be socialized to categorize and look down on other people, and to believe blindly in one's own superiority. I understand the complicated and

lengthy process of working to unlearn this socialization. I also know what it is like to be marginalized (as a girl/woman, as poor) and to be despised (as queer/lesbian). I have personally experienced the power of education to liberate from internalized oppression, and to purge and transform dysfunctional knowledges. I am passionate about the possibilities of education, and admittedly idealistic.

I have spent roughly ten years working with marginalized children and youth in homeless shelters, institutions, and schools. I have known and cared about young people for whom the system was not working, and for whom justice and opportunity was a pipedream. These young people have been disproportionately poor and of color. Among the homeless adolescents, many were LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer). My life has been defined in great part by my commitment to social justice and life improvement for marginalized children and youth. For me, the political is personal and affects people for whom I have cared deeply and protectively. Let my intentions be clear as they infuse and inspire this entire dissertation.

The next section extends my epistemological orientation and positionality by presenting expanded definitions of human rights and social justice as I take them up for this dissertation and for my life practices.

Defining human rights and social justice. The terms *human rights* and *social justice* have been used by many actors in many contexts to impart a variety of assumed meanings and discourses. Both have been troubled as universalizing principles that–applied to relations among states and individuals–overlooks the messiness of cultural differences, as well as conflicting or competing rights. Moreover, some have accused the

language and assumptions of human rights and social justice discourses as being rooted in Western and capitalist ideologies that negate cultural pluralism (Todd, 2007). Therefore, I will define how I am taking up these terms for this dissertation. I begin with an assertion that I treat the terms as reflexive devices concerning various contexts and actors. That is, affected individuals must ultimately define what these or related terms mean for themselves and for their lives. This is especially pertinent for those who have traditionally been denied the right to define their own needs and priorities by well-meaning yet dominating institutions and individuals.

That being said, my definition of human rights, in its most basic sense, is freedom from murder, torture, violence of any nature, false imprisonment, and forced migration. Moreover, I assume additional layers not always present in a Western neoliberal[7] framework. I believe human rights entail freedom from invasions and acts of war and terrorism–including "pre-emptive strikes." Thus, the safety and security of oneself and one's family and community are key elements of human rights. This includes the security of one's homelands and livelihoods, which encompasses the rights to unpolluted living environments and food sources, to procuring the basic necessities of life for survival, and to living on and working the lands that have supported one's community for generations. For indigenous groups, this includes the right to self-determination, which often intersects with issues of land, livelihood, and sustainability. For example, I believe the appropriation and ecological destruction of indigenous lands by corporations–such as the devastating abuses of the Ogoni and Ijaw peoples and their lands by Mobil, Chevron,

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[7] *Neoliberal* refers to an economistic ideology that frames social theory in economic terms which prioritize and assume a free market logic rooted in individualism and consumerism (Hursh, 2008).

Shell, Elf, and Agip oil corporations in the Niger Delta (Shah, 2010)–should be prosecuted as human rights crimes by the international community.[8]

In addition, I treat the miseries of profound poverty as a human rights issue. The obscene disparities in wealth in our nation and around the world have led to circumstances in which millions of people lack adequate food, clean water, shelter, and healthcare and must often submit themselves to brutally exploitative working conditions as a means of survival.

Like the United Nations pronouncements of recent decades (United Nations Department of Public Information, 1998), I believe in the necessity of human rights frameworks that acknowledge gender specific human rights issues. Examples include rape and domestic battery, human trafficking and sexual slavery, as well as access to family planning, prenatal healthcare, and the necessary resources to ensure the survival of one's children. Gender-specific human rights awareness also involves attendance to rights that apply more to women in patriarchal circumstances, such as those impacting the private sphere–that is, cultural, economic, and social rights–as opposed to those that apply more directly to men, i.e. "civil and political rights in the public sphere, which leaves patriarchal dominance largely in tact…" (Todd, 2007, p. 73). I support equality and nondiscrimination for women and girls, but emphasize the necessity for women and girls to define for themselves what that means. The recent spate of school expulsions of

[8] International adjudication may be necessary in instances in which the state itself is implicated in abuses, and localities lack empowered infrastructures for uncorrupt adjudication. This may also be the case when local systems and definitions conflict with those of individuals who experience common abuses, such as those that have been experienced and defined by some women living in patriarchal localities. Nevertheless, I believe the socially and contextually embedded definitions of human rights abuses, as experienced by survivors of such violations, highlights the importance of empowered local adjudication systems, when possible, that may more successfully operate within–and respond to–local understandings and concerns.

Muslim girls for wearing headscarves in Western nations exemplifies how one patriarchal institution claims to be opposing gender inequality by denying girls the right to define their own rights, choose their own forms of expression, and ultimately, access and engage in their own education (Todd, 2007).

The line between my sense of human rights and social justice is necessarily blurry and overlapping. I conceive of social justice in more local terms as a concept that, even more than human rights, is subject to local definitions by the various individuals who are involved in and affected by their own social situations. I recognize this notion is complicated by 1.) the heterogeneity of positionalities and perspectives inherent in any locality (Todd, 2007), and 2.) every locality's condition of local-global interconnectedness (De Lissovoy, 2010; Spariosu, 2004). Nevertheless, I will describe my perceptions of social justice based on my personal experiences and locality. As a U.S. citizen, my social justice advocacy entails opposition to racisms, sexisms, heterosexisms, ableisms, and classisms. I embrace critical race, feminist, queer, postcolonial, and post-Marxist analyses of inequality. I do not adhere to a liberal discourse of social justice in which equal rights are defined as the right to succeed socially and economically through conformity to Eurocentric, neoliberal paradigms (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). I believe the capitalist exploitation of workers for the benefit of elites, the suppression and demonization of non-dominant ways of being and knowing, and the social and economic exclusion and subjugation of those who do not conform–through ghettos, school push-outs and prisons, for example–to be dire social injustices.

The preceding paragraphs have served to introduce my positionality and epistemological framework, which will be explored in even greater detail in Chapter 3, Methodology, to illuminate the influences that shape my research. The next section provides socio-historical context for schooling practices and policies in the U.S., thus situating my research in the bigger picture of school reforms past and present. In particular, I describe the evolution of current schooling practices, the impact of the No Child Left Behind Act on students, and the implications of both for minority students and multicultural education.

Schooling Practices and Policies: Socio-historical Context

Current schooling structures and practices in the U.S. have evolved from a nineteenth-century efficiency model that sought to bureaucratize and standardize education for urban populations, in part, to educate large numbers of children while centralizing power (Spring, 2008a; Tyack, 1974). Seduced by the systematic models of the manufacturing and railroad industries, as well as the hierarchies and chains of command common to modern businesses, proponents of this "one best system" worked to systematize schools by implementing explicit, top-down hierarchies and regularizing rules, procedures, and academic standards (Tyack, 1974). These new educational bureaucracies emphasized discipline, uniformity, "[e]fficiency, rationality, continuity, and precision" (Tyack, 1974, p. 28) to be defined and enforced by the elite leaders of educational districts. Most notably, teachers, parents, and community members now played no role in the decision-making processes concerning educational practices (Tyack, 1974).

Not without tensions, many criticized the new bureaucratic system for its rigid, one-size-fits-all approach to education and mechanization of human processes, as well as the loss of influence of community members (Tyack, 1974). Despite their efforts to institute greater equality through uniformity, the architects of standardization built "factories of failure" (Tyack, 2003, p. 103) that grouped children by academic proficiency and retained or pushed out students unable to pass the standardized grade promotion tests. Educators commonly blamed such children for their failings, labeling them dim-witted or deviant, deficient in the intelligence or virtues necessary to succeed in school. African American, immigrant, and poor children disproportionately comprised the ranks of the "laggards" and "leftovers" (Tyack, 2003, p. 107). Not surprisingly, many children left schools voluntarily, choosing the often harsh working conditions of factory labor over the rigidly humiliating–and frequently violent disciplines–of school. *Drop-outs* and *push-outs*, in fact, were a necessary feature of a system that lacked the needed classrooms, seats, and teachers to educate increasing numbers of children and youth (Tyack, 2003).

From the turn of the century to 1940, the one best system morphed into a corporate model of education. Members of the U.S. business elite pressed for schooling reform in which administrative power would be further centralized to a superintendent dedicated to reshaping "the schools to fit the new economic and social conditions of an urban-industrial society" (Tyack, 1974, p. 126). This increase in power for a smaller, elite professional group afforded greater oversight of standardization of procedures and policies to fewer administrators, whose role had been designed by members of the

business elite to serve the needs of corporate institutions. Social efficiency, according to the corporate model, meant acknowledging the class levels of society and creating a layered educational structure to prepare students for their future roles in the work force. Those destined to be leaders and managers would be served with one educational track, those destined for skilled labor by another, and those for less skilled labors by yet another. Social mobility could be obtained by lower class students if they possessed special talents, to be identified by teachers who would then place them in higher level tracks (Tyack, 1974).

This new educational determinism was entwined with progressive efforts to end student failures by differentiating education and offering more choices and a "place" for every student (Tyack, 2003). Viewed as a democratic approach to diversity, the progressive movement rejected the concept of one-size-fits-all education and the equation of equality to sameness. Nevertheless, many progressive educators, embedded in ideologies of racism, Eurocentrism, and scientism, relied on IQ tests, labels, and notions of cultural deficiency to divide students academically (Tyack, 2003).

Critics of such forms of differentiation argued that the guiding perspectives on diversity were "infected with class bias and ethnic discrimination" (Tyack, 2003, p. 120). In the late 1950's, new actors began advocating for education reforms that would redefine problems and solutions by examining the treatment and role of previously marginalized and excluded groups. Blacks, Latinos, women, advocates for people with disabilities, and others called for social justice reforms such as desegregation, equal access to resources like athletics and vocational programs, bilingual education, and broader curricula that

addressed cultural diversity (Karp, 2003; Tyack, 2003). The new reformers critiqued the role of institutionalized discriminations such as racism and sexism in schools; re-evaluated the "injuries of race, gender, class, and cultural differences" (Tyack, 2003, p. 121); and advocated for policies that shifted blame for failure from children and families to school practices. Nevertheless, many educators responded by employing old practices under new rubrics and rhetoric, such as adapting schools to students deemed different by segregating them into special classes and tracks, or simply substituting terminology like "culturally different" for "culturally deficient" without importing the new meaning (Tyack, 2003, p.122).

The No Child Left Behind Act. In 2001, the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) declared that under-educating children was unacceptable and that schools were accountable for the failings of their students. In particular, disaggregated test scores from standardized tests would highlight the successes and failures of English language learners and low-income, minority, and special needs children with the expectation that schools must bring these traditionally "under-performing" groups up to required grade performance levels. Curricula and assessment methods were further standardized, while educational decision-making was increasingly centralized and bureaucratized. Calls for an end to *social promotion* indicated a new commitment to retaining students who could not pass the high-stakes, grade-level tests. Schools that failed to meet Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) for all students faced punitive actions, such as withdrawal of funding or, eventually, reconstitution (Karp, 2003; Meier & Wood, 2004; Tyack, 2003). Problems associated with the NCLB strategies and requirements have been numerous. To begin,

detractors claim the architects of NCLB severely underfunded the Act's requirements, potentially by billions of dollars (Karp, 2003; Meier & Wood, 2004). Though Title I funds were designated to supplement high-poverty schools, they have not been enough to support dramatic improvements (Karp, 2003). In addition, monies originally committed to NCLB efforts have been revoked. Karp (2003) wrote,

> the extra dollars the Bush administration promised have been undercut by its "war budget" and tax cuts. A $1.4 billion increase in Title I funding in the first year of NCLB was followed by administrative proposals to eliminate 45 federal education programs and more than $1.5 billion in other education spending in the 2004 budget… The president's 2004 budget fell $6 billion short of the totals authorized in the original NCLB Act. Even with targeted increases, the legislation still doesn't provide full funding for Title I, which currently reaches less than half of all eligible low-income students. And despite the new testing and performance requirements that NCLB puts on special education students, the federal budget doesn't come close to providing the 40% of special education funding called for in the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. (pp. 200–201)

NCLB has also been criticized for what many view as a misallocation of funding and resources. Instead of investing in schools, NCLB has diverted much-needed financial resources to private testing firms–$400 million a year during the first six years–and private tutoring and school management agencies (Karp, 2003). Funds that could have been used for school buildings, teachers, support staff, full-time tutors, specialists, social workers, guidance counselors, classes in arts and athletics, technology, books, smaller

classes, professional development, and the like have instead profited private contractors to the tune of hundreds of millions of tax dollars.

Heavy investment in standardized tests is further problematized by critiques of the tests themselves. Darling-Hammond (2004) wrote that the norm-referenced tests adopted by many states to meet NCLB requirements automatically result in 50% of students failing since, by definition, half of all norm-referenced test takers score below the norm and half above. Even criterion-referenced tests often utilize norm-referenced logic in scoring (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Another problem with the tests have been high error margins and low-quality content of testing materials produced by firms over-taxed by the burden of creating and processing myriad tests in a limited time (Karp, 2003; Spring, 2008a). Additionally, since states have different standards, the tests may actually indicate one state's higher standards than another, rather than truly comparing student achievement[9] across states (Karp, 2003).

Disaggregation of scores has focused on the achievement of subgroups such as ethnic minorities, English language learners, and students with special needs. Schools must demonstrate AYP for every subgroup among their students in order to escape being labeled as *failing* and subjected to punitive measures. Thus, schools that serve greater diversity and students with greater learning needs have a higher probability of failing than schools that serve less diverse students with fewer needs (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Darling-Hammond (2004) wrote,

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[9] The ability of standardized tests to accurately measure student achievement has been greatly debated (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Karp, 2003; Neill, 2006).

> It requires the largest gains from lower-performing schools, ignoring that these schools serve needier students and are generally less well funded than those serving wealthier and higher scoring students. To complicate things more, those that serve large numbers of new English language learners… and some kinds of special needs students… are further penalized by the fact that students are assigned to these subgroups *because* they cannot meet the standard, and they are typically removed from the subgroup when they do meet the standard. Thus these schools will not ever be able to meet the annual AYP… which demands that schools advance yearly to 100 percent student proficiency.

Meier and Wood (2004) added that some requirements, like requiring "Limited English Proficient" students to take content tests in English, are unrealistic, and set many students up to fail.

Educators have asserted that over-reliance on standardized testing is an extremely flawed method of assessment. Many have argued that state standards are too extensive to be fully taught, and that the tests arbitrarily measure students' memorization of details and facts (Karp, 2003; Neill, 2006). Thus, standardized tests poorly measure "higher order thinking, such as analysis, synthesis, evaluation, and creativity, which are needed for success in school, college, and life" (Neill, 2006, p. 30). Classroom activities that promote such skills, like scientific experiments, deep explorations of literature, and student presentations have been sacrificed by many schools in order to teach students not

only the bits and pieces they must memorize for the tests, but how to strategically take the tests (Neill, 2006; Spring, 2008a).[10]

Moreover, standardized tests may be culturally inappropriate for some non-mainstream students, whose culturally-based understandings of the world and of language may differ greatly from that of the test-makers (Meier & Wood, 2004; Nieto, 1996; Spring, 2008a). Yet, such tests are being used to determine whether students pass or fail grades, and whether schools receive funding or get shut down altogether (Meier & Wood; Spring, 2008a). Assessment techniques such as student portfolios and "detailed investigations by trained observers" (Neill, 2006, p. 32) offer more holistic alternatives to high-stakes testing. In addition, school and classroom-based assessments can be utilized in a timely manner to inform student instructional needs. Standardized tests, conversely, occur after learning and primarily inform punitive measures (Neill, 2006).

Under NCLB, standardized curricula that forgo creativity and critical thinking in favor of Eurocentric "facts" and basic skills devoid of context have become the norm, as schools have struggled to meet AYP requirements. Non-tested subjects like art, music, and gym have been reduced or terminated in many schools to redirect time and money to test preparation (Christensen & Karp, 2003; Meier & Wood, 2004). Multicultural curricula that engage children from diverse backgrounds and teach all children the skills they need to live in a multicultural democracy have been effectively pushed out, sacrificed to the demands of high-stakes testing (Bigelow, 2003; Themba-Nixon, 2003). Bilingual education programs have been transformed into "English Acquisition"

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[10] "Three B's in a row? No! No! No!" became one school chant intended to help students attain higher scores on multiple choice tests (McNeil, 2003).

programs that discourage native-language instruction (Karp, 2003; Krashen, 2003; Spring, 2008a). Rich literacy curricula have been replaced by phonics-only reading programs because NCLB restricts literacy funding for materials, libraries, and teacher training to so-called scientifically based programs (Coles, 2003; Karp, 2003; Spring, 2008a). The joys of reading and the opportunity to explore multicultural books and stories have been squelched for many children through ideological reductionism. Ironically, once again the children NCLB is supposed to help the most are the ones likely to be hurt the most. Schools with the highest numbers of low-income, minority, and immigrant children are more likely to be labeled as failing, leading to emphases on test prep and narrow, limited learning opportunities, as well as reconstitution of community schools (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Meier & Wood, 2004).

In addition to undermining supports and resources for struggling students, NCLB has exacerbated retentions, push-outs, and drop-outs of the most vulnerable children and youth (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Nichols, Glass, & Berliner, 2005; Spring, 2008a). Too often, annual increases in school test score averages have represented the loss of low-scoring students, rather than real increases in test scores (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Darling-Hammond (2004) explained,

> As has occurred in many states with high-stakes testing programs, students who do poorly on the tests – special needs students, new English language learners, those with poor attendance, health, or family problems – are increasingly likely to be excluded by being counseled out, transferred, expelled, or by dropping out. (pp. 19–20)

Research has demonstrated that retention increases a student's likelihood of dropping out of school (Kohn, 2004; Meier & Wood, 2004), yet NCLB's high-stakes emphasis has increased grade retentions nation-wide. Studies have shown a correlation between high-stakes testing and increased drop-out rates among middle and high school students, with minorities disproportionately affected (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Nichols et al., 2005; Spring, 2008a). Darling-Hammond (2004) added, "Many of the steepest increases in test scores have occurred in schools with the highest retention and drop-out rates" (p. 21).

Though cloaked in the language of equality and social justice reform, NCLB has been criticized as a wolf in sheep's clothing that threatens to dismantle public education. Some have described NCLB as a political Trojan horse that, despite bipartisan acceptance, was designed and promoted by a conservative agenda that seeks to privatize education (Kohn, 2004). Whether intentional or not, NCLB has proven disastrous for great numbers of U.S. students. As an increasing number of schools have been designated as failing, parents have been offered the choice to send their children to other schools within their district. However, in many cases, the districts with the most failing schools do not have enough passing schools for children to attend. Even when they do, NCLB provides no additional funding for the extra students and the resources needed to teach them (Darling-Hammond, 2004). NCLB also promises *highly qualified teachers* for every class, yet makes no funding available to bring this to fruition. Instead, NCLB has narrowly defined highly qualified teaching according to content knowledge, and pushed out highly qualified, dedicated teachers who refused to adopt NCLB's, reductionist, test prep approach to education (Meier & Wood, 2004).

What NCLB fails to address. While instituting standardized testing as a catch-all reform method, the No Child Left Behind Act oversimplifies and fails to address many problems in the public education system. Though there have been cycles of reform throughout the years, the top-down centralized hierarchies and standardized discipline-oriented procedures of the nineteenth century remain the model for U.S. public schools today. The practice of tracking, a form of differentiation based on perceived student ability levels, also persists in many U.S. schools (Spring, 2008a; Tyack, 1974, 2003). While the graded school has successfully and efficiently graduated numerous students who have matched its regime, students who have not conformed to its bureaucratic measures have suffered. Standardized procedures and curriculum, combined with differentiation defined solely by less or more rigor, has not led to academic success for many students, particularly minority and low-income children. Indeed, testing and tracking have too often been used to segregate and under-educate minority children (Nieto, 1996; Spring, 2008a, Tyack, 2003). Critics of standardized schooling procedures argue that such models have served to reproduce social inequities, particularly economic and racial (Tyack, 1974, 2003). By ignoring the different backgrounds, strengths, and needs of students, standardized education limits success to those who can accomplish narrowly defined goals through narrowly defined means (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1996).

Additionally, by treating all students as equals competing for success through their own merit, the real life circumstances of poverty and discrimination have no impact on educational approaches (Anyon, 2005; Spring, 2008a). Hypothetically, a student with

a computer, a home library, and a stay-at-home parent who reads to them every day is starting out on equal footing with a student who has no books or computers, and parents who work multiple jobs for poverty wages.[11] NCLB places full responsibility on schools to alleviate profound socio-economic inequalities, while diverting all accountability from government's role in perpetuating the institutionalized discrimination and impoverishment borne by so many of its children. An increasing number of children in the U.S. cannot rely on having their basic needs met (Children's Defense Fund, 2009), and educational practices and reforms that ignore the obscene economic disparities and dearth of social support systems in our nation are, I believe, negligent and likely to be ineffective.

Economic inequities among students are further exacerbated by the profoundly disparate nature of school funding. Schools are funded primarily by the local tax base, and public schools in the wealthiest neighborhoods have been shown to spend up to ten times more per student than schools in the poorest neighborhoods (Carey, 2004; Darling-Hammond, 2004; Kozol, 1992; Spring, 2008a). A wealthy school may enjoy extensive libraries, technology labs, athletics environments, diverse learning and extracurricular options, and highly qualified instructors who are drawn to–and retained by–higher salaries, exceptional resources, smaller classes, and more planning time. Conversely, low-income schools frequently suffer from dilapidated buildings; minimal and outdated resources like books, technologies, and specialized support staff; less experienced

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[11] This observation should not be construed as a *cultural deficit* perspective that blames people in poverty for their lack of resources. On the contrary, I hold governments and a dysfunctional socio-economic system accountable for people's struggles to meet their families' basic needs in a society characterized by extreme wealth.

teachers with higher turn-over rates, larger teacher-to-student ratios, and little to no learning and extracurricular activities beyond core requirements for graduation (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Hayden & Cauthen, 1996; Kozol, 1992; Spring, 2008a).

Poverty in the U.S. is racialized. That is, in a society that suffers from racism and racist histories, people of color have a higher likelihood of living in poverty than white people (Anyon, 2005; Spring 2008a). Resegregation trends have resulted in racially segregated neighborhoods and schools frequently characterized by economic disparity. High-income schools are most often attended by primarily white students. Schools in urban, low-income neighborhoods serve primarily students of color, particularly Black and Latino children (Anyon, 2005; Kozol, 2005; Orfield, Eaton, & Harvard Project on School Desegregation, 1996; Spring, 2008a).

In addition, Eurocentric curricula that emphasize the cultural knowledge and practices of one group while ignoring those of others further hinder minority students' progress by failing to address their epistemological orientations: the experiences and histories that shape how they understand, learn, and operate in the world (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1996; Spring, 2008a). Such undifferentiated educational approaches give members of the mainstream culture an edge over their minority peers, since mainstream values, paradigms, discourses, and metaphors shape curricula, pedagogy, and assessment.

Indicators of disparities in educational equity abound. Low-income children and children of color–especially Black children–are over-represented in special education and lower track groupings, and are under-represented in gifted and talented and higher track

classes (Mid-Atlantic Equity Center, n.d.; Spring, 2008a). Black and Latino children suffer higher school drop-out rates than their white peers (Swanson, 2010; Spring, 2008a) and are under-represented in colleges and universities (Cook & Codova, 2006; Edmonds & McDonough, 2006). In *Diplomas Count 2010*, Swanson (2010) reported that recent data demonstrates "large disparities in graduation rates… between the urban cores of [major metropolitan areas] and neighboring suburban communities" (p. 23). A School-to-Prison-Pipeline continues to funnel increasing numbers of youth, disproportionately poor and of color, out of schools as push-outs and drop-outs into the juvenile and criminal justice systems[12] (NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., n.d.). It would appear that standardization of bureaucracy and tracking practices designed to serve elite economic interests have not translated into equal opportunity for all U.S. students. Yet NCLB makes no attempt to address these underlying factors, and even ignores the most glaring inequities in school funding and social stratification.

Considerations for Reform

The previous section highlights some fundamental problems with schooling practices in the United States. Obviously, one dissertation cannot address them all. Nevertheless, no analysis related to education reform should be made in a vacuum, and context is critical to holistic understandings of educational policies and practices.

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[12] The term School-to-Prison Pipeline refers to policies and practices in the educational and criminal justice systems that developed as part of a *tough on crime* agenda about a decade ago in the U.S. This agenda employs a non-rehabilitative approach to criminal justice that ignores socio-political causes of crime, such as poverty and social inequities, while viewing people who commit crimes as only capable of criminality. This punitive approach has been mirrored in many schools where *zero tolerance* policies have resulted in increased suspensions and expulsions, even when infractions have been relatively minor, essentially funneling children out of schools and into the juvenile justice and adult prison systems. A vastly disproportionate number of the people affected have been people of color (NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc., n.d.).

In this dissertation, I focus on theoretical concepts concerning curricula, pedagogy, and teacher training. Yet each is made somewhat obsolete if implemented in a fundamentally dysfunctional system. I emphasize this point because I have witnessed the impotence of educational reforms that were not accompanied by appropriate structural and funding reforms. Not only NCLB, but improvements for special education and multicultural education have fallen flat when instituted without needed changes in the whole system. In the state of California, for example, I repeatedly saw children with special needs included in general education without the legally required additional assistance. I watched teachers trained–myself among them–to implement rich, thematic multicultural lessons; yet faced with no planning time, minimal professional development, over-sized classrooms, no classroom assistance, and strict requirements to prepare students for numerous standardized tests. The reforms I propose in this dissertation are equally vulnerable. Without structural changes, they will be difficult to realize.

In addition to providing socio-historical context, I have described how standardized Eurocentric curricula and assessments have been problematic. This has proven true for minority and marginalized youth in particular, but also for all students deprived of rich educational experiences by NCLB's basic skills, test prep agenda. I have demonstrated how NCLB, which some assert is politically motivated, has effectively squelched many multicultural education programs through its reductionist and Eurocentric standardization of curricula and pedagogy, as well as its redefinitions of bilingual education and highly qualified teachers. Furthermore, some administrators and

teachers, unschooled in critical theories of education, continue to participate in grouping, tracking, and push-out practices that disproportionately harm children who are poor, of color, have special needs, or speak a first language other than English.

In the following section, I introduce literatures on multicultural, global, and decolonial educations, providing a brief overview of praxes. Throughout, I articulate further why U.S. students need multicultural education now more than ever if they are to thrive as members of multicultural, local-global communities. Such education must be developed to address contemporary social dynamics on a local-global scale, and be rooted in understandings of socio-historical relationships. Moreover, multicultural education paradigms should be ever-in-progress, adapting and responding to unique and dynamic, site-based contextual variables. The following paragraphs introduce the content of chapter 2, the literature review, and begin this dialectical investigation.

Decolonial Multiculturalism for Local-global Contexts

In the 1960's, Civil Rights activists initiated the multicultural education movement to better serve the needs of students who were not members of mainstream white culture (Banks, J. A., 2005). Such students had not been served well by oppressive educational approaches that denied their cultures, learning styles, histories, and communities, but instead imposed upon them Eurocentric norms (Banks, J. A., 2005; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1996). In response, multicultural education has emphasized inclusive curricula and learning environments, pedagogies that address different learning styles and languages, and education for prejudice reduction and social justice (Banks, J. A., 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

While educators have implemented varied manifestations of multicultural education, critical multiculturalists in particular have emphasized deep explorations of liberatory pedagogies that include epistemological, ontological,[13] and hermeneutic[14] implications of hegemonic[15] discourses. This has involved thorough explorations of socially constructed categorical discriminations such as racism, sexism, classism, ableism, and heterosexism. Critical multiculturalism has also turned its lens on the social category of whiteness, and the ways in which whiteness has been normalized and glorified to the detriment of other ways of being. Capitalism, disparities in wealth, and exploitative economic and labor relations have also been targets of critical multicultural scrutiny (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

Despite the extensive work that multiculturalists have produced to develop education models, the majority of schools in the U.S. do not presently implement extensive or sophisticated multicultural education frameworks (Banks, J. A., 2005). One reason is NCLB's redirection of school resources and foci to basic skills and preparation for standardized assessments, leaving little time or money for other endeavors (Banks, J. A., 2005; Meieret al., 2004). Another reason may be the resurgence of neoliberal and

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[13] Referring to ontology, which is the study of being and the state of being. That is, "the nature and relations of being" (Merriam-Webster Online, 2010). Thus, critical explorations may ask how hegemonic discourses might affect an individual's conception of her own *beingness*.

[14] Hermeneutic theory is concerned with the interpretation of texts, and the meaning readers/audiences apply to texts (i.e. books, films, etc.). The cultural studies tradition asserts that audiences interact with texts by incorporating their own assumptions and biases into their understandings of the texts, thus projecting new meanings to texts that originate from the reader/audience's positionality (Barker, 2003).

[15] Referring to hegemony, which is the "temporary closure of meaning supportive of the powerful. The process of making, maintaining and reproducing the governing sets of meaning of a given culture" (Barker, 2003, p. 441). For Gramsci, hegemony contributed to the ruling bloc's social control of subordinate classes through the manipulation of meaning, which contributed to unconscious consent to subordination (Barker, 2003).

neoconservative values, which seek preservation of the status quo and an emphasis on market-driven ideologies (Apple, 2000b; Macrine, 2009), that were promoted and popularized by the Reagan, Bush, Bush W.–and, some would argue, Clinton–presidencies.

Ironically, the beginning of the twenty-first century presents even more reasons for developing sophisticated, multicultural education frameworks. Social inequities on institutional and systematic levels still contribute to economic stratifications that are racialized and gendered (Spring, 2008a). Bigotry and prejudice continue to mar communities across the U.S., in which violence against Others is a frequent tragedy[16] (Haaretz Service, 2009; "Hate Crimes," 2008). Schools persist in reproducing inequities through tracking, culturally inappropriate assessments, and push-outs (Meier et al., 2004; Spring, 2008a), while a School-to-Prison Pipeline delivers a heartbreaking percentage of minority children to lives behind bars (NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., n.d.). Many schools still fail to adequately teach children from minority backgrounds, or to adequately teach all children about the eclectic and power-differentiated world in which they live. Unable to critically assess the power-differentiated experiences of diverse peoples, many members of privileged groups learn to accept others' subjugation as normal and to blame oppressed peoples for their own circumstances (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Spring, 2008a).

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[16] The Federal Bureau of Investigation issued a 2008 report documenting a marked rise in hate crimes against Blacks, Jews, and Gays and Lesbians–the highest number of reported hate crimes since 2001 (Haaretz Service, 2009). Civil Rights groups reported in 2008 that the U.S. experienced a surge in hate violence and harassment toward ethnic minorities after Barrack Obama's election to the U.S. presidency ("Hate Crimes," 2008).

Presenting Eurocentric histories, cultures, and discourses as the norm, hegemonic educational practices continue to eclipse and distort the histories and realities of the majority of people in the world (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; De Lissovoy, 2008, 2009, 2010). This is particularly problematic when economic globalization intensifies the effects people in one country can have on people in another, most notably through the products they buy–fair trade (Fair Trade Federation, 2010) versus sweat shop, slave, or child labor produced[17] (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; DeStefano, 2007; Greenwald, 2005; The National Labor Committee, n.d.; 2003)–and the politicians and foreign policies they support or neglect to oppose. U.S. foreign policies that support or impose military violence on other nationals[18] (Chomsky, 2004, 2006,

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[17] The ability to produce consumer items for sale in one country and efficiently sell them in another at great profit has motivated many U.S. corporations to seek cheaper labor costs by accessing workers not protected by U.S. labor laws, such as health, safety, and child labor laws. This has included undocumented and trafficked workers in sweatshop factories in myriad countries around the world, as well as the U.S. Sweatshop conditions may include poverty wages, excessively long work hours, dangerous and/or unsanitary working environments, and draconian working conditions such as violent overseers or restricted movement–for example, being forced to live in the factory dormitories or not being allowed to use the bathroom while working (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; DeStefano, 2007; Greenwald, 2005; The National Labor Committee, n.d.; 2003). While many workers endure such conditions out of desperation and dire poverty, some workers are trafficked into slavery or indentured servitude. Enslaved and indentured workers are often children or women (Aronowitz, 2009; DeStefano, 2007; The National Labor Committee, n.d.). Conversely, products identified as fair trade are those that have been made by free workers, often co-owning members of cooperatives who have the benefit of fair compensation, safe and healthy workplaces, and freedom from discrimination or abuse (Fair Trade Federation, 2010).

[18] Acclaimed socio-political scholar Noam Chomsky (2004, 2006, 2007) criticized certain U.S. foreign policies for being grounded in strategies to gain domination over other countries' governments and/or resources. Such strategies have included support for repressive regimes and the provision of arms and financial aid to military or rebel groups that slaughtered and tortured civilians. Most U.S. citizens have been unaware of the violent and tragic outcomes of these policies due to powerful media campaigns aimed at distorting, propagandizing, or simply omitting them. For example, when Central American church leaders, peasants, and rebels challenged violent dictatorships backed by the U.S., the Reagan administration responded in 1981 by declaring a "War on Terror." This "War on Terror" instigated campaigns of slaughter and torture against the populace. Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, and other regions of Central America devolved into cultures of terror and panic as U.S.-trained soldiers used U.S.-subsidized weapons to commit relentless atrocities against the peoples of Central America (Chomsky, 2004, pp. 8 -10). Similarly, after the terrorist attacks of 9-11, the Bush W. administration convinced American citizens that Al-Quaida and Saddam Hussein were one and the same, and that a tiny Middle Eastern country was a deadly threat to the

2007; Pitt with Scott, 2002), or contribute to their economic exploitation and impoverishment[19] (Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2008; Cobb & Diaz, 2008; Shah, 2010), must become concerns for an ethical, educated local-global citizenry.

These are just some of the ways in which the local-global manifests in communities. Another is the dramatic increases in human migration over the last thirty years (Adams & Kirova, 2007; Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009). Not only are U.S. classrooms and communities increasingly multicultural and multilingual, but a great number of immigrants are from countries that have suffered histories of European colonization and capitalist exploitation. The globally-induced dynamics of war, famine, and/or profound poverty are no longer rare experiences among U.S. immigrants (Adams & Kirova, 2007).

Proponents of global education have argued for curricula and pedagogies that address and reflect the local-global interrelationships of the present era. Common among such arguments is the call for education that is adapted to a greater number of immigrant and transnational students, and that teaches all students the intercultural skills to positively interact with people from varied–and sometimes radically different–

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lives of millions of U.S. citizens within our own borders. The Bush W. administration broadcasted misinformation about weapons of mass destruction that morphed into charges of despotism when no WMD's were found, and garnered much support among U.S. politicians and citizens for a pre-emptive war that killed over 100,000 Iraqi civilians (Diaz, Greenwald, McArdle & Smith, 2004; Iraq Body Count, 2003 – 2010; Pitt with Scott, 2002).

[19] The U.S. government has initiated and participated in international policies that have further impoverished developing nations, such as the structural adjustment policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank on developing nations in exchange for loans (Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2008; Cobb & Diaz, 2008; Shah, 2010), or international trade policies such as NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), which gave U.S. farmers a subsidized edge over Mexican farmers, thus destroying many Mexican farmers' livelihoods (Bybee & Winter, 2006; Portal for North America, 2010; Relinger, 2010). NAFTA also greatly increased the number of *maquiladoras*, squalid sweatshop factories for the production of U.S. goods, along the Mexican-U.S. border (Bybee & Winter, 2006; Prieto, 1999; Villagran, 2009).

backgrounds (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009: Lynch, 1992; Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004). Many global education proponents acknowledge the need to educate students about world crises, arguing that we, inhabitants of this planet, can no longer afford the luxury of global ignorance. Students need to be aware of and learn the skills to address monumental global challenges: genocide and ethnic cleansings, pre-emptive war and terrorism, the threat of nuclear annihilation, eco-justice and the destruction of our environment, and the profound disparities in wealth that have led to brutal exploitations of those in poverty (Lynch, 1992; Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004). Indeed, some global education scholars assert that there can be no local social justice within frameworks that perpetuate or ignore global injustices (Lynch, 1992).

Decolonial education takes this argument even further, asserting that a critical multiculturalism must necessarily reflect globality: that is, the interconnectedness of global and local relations on social, historical, economic, and epistemological levels. Thus, our understandings of power inequities such as racism, sexism, or poverty cannot be separated from the socio-historical material and epistemological underpinnings of local-global events such as colonialism or the present-day imperialist activities promoted through global capitalism (De Lissovoy, 2008, 2009, 2010; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Tejeda et al., 2003). Decolonial pedagogy as an emerging field advocates for transformative social justice education that acknowledges the complex interplay of local-global actors and events affecting both the material and epistemological aspects of people's lives, and the central role colonialism and capitalism have played in the development of socio-economic hierarchies and dominant "common sense" knowledges

among Western, Eurocentric societies. As an oppositional resistance pedagogy, decolonial education seeks to critique existing paradigms and structures while constructing new frameworks based in socially just material and epistemological relations (De Lissovoy, 2008, 2009, 2010; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Mohanty, 2003; Tejeda et al., 2003).

De Lissovoy (2010) proposed a decolonial education model for "a *curriculum against domination*, oriented against the Eurocentrism that underlies the politics of content and knowledge in education, and a *pedagogy of lovingness*, committed to building global solidarity based on non-dominative principles of coexistence and kindredness" (p. 279). Arguing for an ethical democratic globality, De Lissovoy asserted this can only be achieved through the adoption of a decolonial critique of the power relations that have shaped the historically situated "political, cultural, economic, and epistemological processes of domination that have characterized colonialism and Eurocentrism" (p. 279). In this way, human differences can be validated, politicized, and understood more deeply and critically in relation to the histories of power that have led to stratified categorizations of people, such as racism, as well as stratified material conditions, in which certain people have much more than they need, while others have barely enough to survive.

Moreover, De Lissovoy (2010) claimed that decolonial education may provide tools to examine colonialism's influences on the "production of global culture, knowledge and subjectivity" (p. 282) and the extent to which colonized peoples have experienced "cultural domination, as populations have historically been forced into a

fundamental condition of alienation by the imposition of Eurocentric values and forms of subjectivity" (p. 282). Schooling practices in the United States have been permeated with Eurocentrism, where colonial origins have strongly influenced what is considered thinking, learning, and knowing. For this reason, educational spaces need to transcend the conceptual limitations of the nation-state and adopt greater sensitivity "to the complexities of globalization as a space of ongoing neocolonial relationships and cultural hybridization" (p. 284).

Tejeda, Espinoza, and Gutierrez (2003) emphasized the role colonialism has played in developing racism, Eurocentrism, and the normalization of whiteness, and the marginalization and subjugation of "indigenous and nonwhite peoples" (p. 11) in the United States. The authors argued that internal neocolonialism infuses contemporary U.S. society, which originated "in the mutually reinforcing systems of colonial and capitalist domination and exploitation that enslaved Africans and dispossessed indigenous populations throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries" (p. 11). Thus, decolonial education must address the historical subjugations of indigenous and nonwhite peoples, as well as the current "manifestations and effects of the corporal and cultural genocide that has been taking place in American society throughout the past four centuries" (p. 11).

I conclude that contemporary local-global contexts call for holistic models for decolonial multicultural education that integrate multiple frameworks to address the local-global. I believe this requires an exploration of the various discourses concerning multicultural, critical, global, and decolonial educations that includes an analysis of ways

in which they might inform or integrate with pedagogical strategies. Discourses concerning the concept of the local-global, and its implications for educational contexts, must also be explored. Furthermore, educational models should be developed with multiplicity and reflexivity in mind. That is, they should be reactive and adaptive to complex and dynamic contexts. Therefore, an integral component of pedagogical strategies will be teacher-researcher methodologies that allow educators to continuously analyze the unique and ever-changing circumstances of their classrooms.

Bricolage: A Trans/Interdisciplinary Method

This dissertation seeks to explore the complexities, connections, and layers of multiple discourses as they relate to each other, pedagogical strategies, and lived contextual experiences. I want to develop useable educational ideas and frameworks that draw on sophisticated theoretical concepts, yet recognize the complexities of real life. I believe this endeavor requires a holistic transdisciplinary approach that prioritizes the demands of lived experiences as the guiding force behind theoretical explorations. Human lives transcend disciplinary boundaries and tidy theories. For these reasons, I have chosen bricolage (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Kincheloe, 2005), a trans/interdisciplinary methodology that emphasizes complexity and relationships, as my research methodology for this theoretical dissertation.

Unlike multidisciplinary approaches, which combine disciplines in non-integrative ways that maintain each discipline's boundaries, transdisciplinarity allows a holistic approach that blurs, overlaps, and transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries

(Sense Publishers, 2010). The publishers for the book series *Transdisciplinary Studies* defined their approach as follows,

> …to generate new theories and practices to extricate transdisciplinary research from the confining discourses of traditional disciplinarities… [and] to accentuate those aspects of scholarly research which cut across todays [*sic*] learned disciplines in an effort to define new axiologies and forms of praxis. (Sense Publishers, 2010)

The Network for Transdisciplinary Research (2010) added,

> In a knowledge society, research questions, processes and results cannot be disconnected from everyday practices. Politicians, funding bodies and society at large increasingly demand of researchers to propose efficient ways of how to use abstract findings in concrete situations and as a common good. From the very start, implementation strategies should therefore include processes of embedding the research in its social and scientific contexts, recursiveness and negotiation with non-academic actors, and testing the expected impact through 'real-world' experiments. How exactly to bring research results to fruition, integrate theory and practice and build truly participative collaborations are key issues of… transdisciplinarity.

Academe has tended to hone in on particulars in terms of disciplines, and though I think there is great value in this pursuit, I believe there is a lack of holistic approaches to educational reform, in which the many pieces of one puzzle are examined and considered in relation to each other. As a cultural studies scholar, I am fortunate to have been trained

in a field that embraces and promotes transdisciplinary approaches. Therefore, my exploration of decolonial multiculturalism will examine the previously mentioned theorists with the goal of making connections, filling gaps, and developing approaches to praxes that consider multiple avenues with considerations for context. With the importance of context in mind, this dissertation will emphasize the need for reflexive practices that acknowledge the unique and dynamic circumstances of any environment for developing decolonial multicultural praxes.

Bricolage embraces the use of multiple modalities and disciplines–that include methods, theories and interpretations–as a necessary approach for addressing the complexities of "reality/ies" (Kincheloe, 2005). Thus, bricolage well serves my goal to synthesize discourses, pedagogies, and contextual data. With its promotion of "deep interdisciplinarity" (Kincheloe, 2004b, pp. 73–78), bricolage employs a dialectical relationship with disciplinarity that synergizes multiple perspectives. This synergistic interaction uses the integration of conceptual tools to explore the liminal zones and conduct boundary work in ways that traditional methodologies often neglect (Kincheloe, 2001). Thus, bricolage offers a means to focus on "processes, relationships, and interconnections among phenomena" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 324). Critics have accused bricolage of lacking depth and focus and promoting superficiality. However, proponents have argued that bricolage, through its use of multiple frameworks, provides the necessary rigor to help contemporary researchers avoid the forms of reductionism common among traditional research methodologies (Kincheloe, 2001). I believe bricolage provides the analytical approach I require to examine the ways multicultural

education discourses overlap and relate to each other, and how they play out in people's lived (educational) experiences.

Bricoleurs employ a mode of *tinkering* that makes use of the methodological tools at hand (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005), through an ever-evolving process that emphasizes responding to the research as it happens, rather than simply imposing a framework in which the research must fit. The production of knowledge is treated as unpredictable, as "bricoleurs enter into the research act as methodological negotiators" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 325). My own theoretical explorations for this dissertation have evolved as I have sought material that relates to and informs experiences I have had as a teacher, mentor, and tutor. My use of the article format will allow me to further the evolution of ideas as I continue and deepen the research in each article.

Bricolage encourages the use of philosophical and critical research to explore and question the ways knowledge is produced and validated, and the role power plays in these processes (Kincheloe, 2005). Epistemology, ontology, and critical hermeneutics inform the bricoleur's understandings of the ways in which dominant texts have influenced our perceptions and assumptions about the world, often in ways that serve to further subjugate or marginalize Others (Kincheloe, 2005). The positionality of the researcher, and the power inherent in interpreting, telling, and defining realities/knowledge, are of central importance to bricolage. Thus, thorough examination of researcher positionalities is a key component of the bricolage process (Kincheloe, 2005; Berry, 2006). As my literature review demonstrates, the critical and philosophical approach of bricolage mirrors and compliments that of critical multicultural and decolonial education theories.

For these reasons, which I expand further in Chapter 3: Method, bricolage is the ideal methodology for my dissertation. As described earlier, I embarked on this project in response to my experiences in schools and the emerging connections I made to relevant frameworks. In the following chapters, I examine the layered relationships between theoretical discourses, pedagogical strategies, and contextual lived experiences. Since I am emphasizing relationships and processes, bricolage offers an analytical framework necessary to my endeavor, as well as the critical and philosophical explorations of knowledge and power repeated throughout my theoretical explorations.

Finally, Kincheloe (2005) wrote that bricolage is the kind of complex undertaking that requires a life's work. Each piece we produce is just that: a piece of a larger picture that is necessarily and consciously incomplete. It is in this spirit that I begin a life's work with this dissertation. I have chosen an article format to initiate this beginning, because I believe each article to be a piece of a much larger picture, one that may not be encompassed in one life span, much less a dissertation.

Research Questions

My work is grounded in my belief that contemporary social and classroom dynamics call for local-global approaches to multicultural education that synthesize aspects of multicultural praxes, critical multiculturalism, and global education. Moreover, I argue that this synergistic framework should be strongly informed by decolonial education theories. I explore two decolonial approaches that provide distinct and crucial contributions for addressing the local-global in education: De Lissovoy's (2008, 2009,

2010) work outlining a critical and ethical globality, and Tejeda et al.'s (2003) exploration of internal neocolonialism.

My research questions are as follows, though in the spirit of bricolage, the questions may evolve and morph in response to new discoveries as the research exploration progresses.

1. What multicultural education frameworks might best serve children, schools, and society in the present (global) era? What are local-global educational contexts, and what might this mean for schooling?
2. How can the work that has been produced on MCE inform and integrate with other– i.e. global, decolonial, refugee–educational recommendations to create better frameworks more suited to contemporary, and unique, contexts? How do the literatures on refugee education help us better understand multicultural educational approaches that address the whole child (i.e. emotional and physical health, for example)? How might analyses of data derived from a local-global site inform such considerations?
3. What skills might decolonial multicultural practitioners utilize to create and implement sophisticated curricula and pedagogy in response to complex and dynamic, local-global educational environments?

Conclusion

The present political climate in the United States poses both immense challenges and exciting possibilities for education reform that reflects values of multiculturalism, social justice, and global awareness. Though George W. Bush's administration has left

the White House, the neoconservative agenda of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) still dictates schooling practices that emphasize decontextualized basic skills, standardized assessment, and punitive rather than supportive interventions for schools that are struggling (Apple, 2000; Meier & Wood, 2004). The high stakes demands of NCLB have left–and continue to leave–little room or time for curricula and pedagogies that address children's social-emotional development, critical thinking, creativity, citizenship skills, or complex contextual learning (Meier et al., 2004)

As I write this introduction chapter, President Barack Obama has been in office for just over two years. Though his administration originally embraced the accountability language of NCLB, offering little hope for real reform, more recent pronouncements from the White House have promised intensive revisions of NCLB in the near future (Paulson, 2010). One can only hope that Linda Darling-Hammond, a strong advocate and scholar of multicultural education and a member of Obama's Education Committee, is having a much-needed impact on these potential reforms.

This dissertation is premised on my belief that the current educational structure[20] is both socially unjust and highly inadequate for preparing students to not merely function, but to thrive in a multicultural global society. In the ensuing chapters, I provide a dialectical analysis of theories, pedagogies, and contextual data to explore possibilities for decolonial multiculturalisms, and the implications such frameworks may have for curricula, pedagogy, and teacher training. I assert that nothing short of radical reforms in

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[20] My use of the term "structure" implies a holistic framework for how education is done. This includes policies such as funding, assessment requirements, and hierarchies of command; curricula and pedagogies, and practices such as tracking, staff roles, class size, and teacher prep time.

the way we do schooling will prepare U.S. students for the complex and dynamic nature of the current era. As the literature reviews in this dissertation demonstrate, many education scholars agree with me.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review presents a dialectical investigation of multiple theories and praxes, thus beginning my research methodology of bricolage as I piece together multiple ideas and experiences to inform my conclusions. I begin with an overview of praxis-based multiculturalisms, followed by explorations of critical multiculturalism. I continue with a discussion of global education theories and pedagogical strategies that include definitions for local-global environments and global intelligence. I then follow with decolonial education theories that address curricula opposed to domination, pedagogies for sustainable coexistence, and internal neocolonialism.

The second half of the literature review contains sections more specific to Articles 2, 3, and 4, which draw on and integrate with the previously described literatures. My review of postcritical ethnography and feminist methodologies serves to explicate my epistemological orientation and to inform Article 4, in which I propose teacher training in these approaches to inform decolonial multicultural practices. The section on interventions for refugee students highlights the importance of multiculturalism, and provides deeper contextual insights for Articles 2 and 3. Finally, I provide socio-historical information on the Burundian refugees described in Article 3 to further deepen the context of the site-based considerations.

Praxis-based Multicultural Theories and Pedagogies: A Brief Overview

Multicultural education emphasizes equality of educational opportunity for all students regardless of gender, social class, ethnic, racial, linguistic, or cultural characteristics. Multiculturalism also advocates better education for all students through

inclusive school environments, curricula that teach about all peoples, and pedagogies that address many ways of learning. The goals of multiculturalists include providing more socially just forms of education through awareness about the needs of children and youth who experience social discrimination and marginalization. In addition, multiculturalism seeks to teach students the knowledge and skills to function in a diverse society, and to affect broader social reform by educating for the reduction of prejudice and discrimination. Multicultural education aims to increase marginalized peoples' access to power through educational practices that validate their experiences and learning styles, and proposes total school reform in order to model the values of equality and pluralism throughout schooling processes. These include curricula, pedagogy, human relationships and interactions, assessments, and the physical spaces of schools and classrooms (Banks, J. A., 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

Nevertheless, theoretical and pedagogical approaches to multiculturalism vary greatly, and there has been much debate as to the best ways to "do" multiculturalism. The following sections will explore some of these approaches in greater depth.

Equity pedagogy. One approach to multicultural education has been to focus on the culturally-based learning needs of students from non-mainstream backgrounds, as well as students with disabilities and those from lower socio-economic classes (Gay, 2000; Hernandez Sheets, 2004; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). This approach emphasizes minority students' academic achievement within the existing educational frameworks, helping them to better assimilate to and succeed in the existing social structure by "building bridges between the students and the demands of school" (Sleeter

& Grant, 2003, p. 40). Such bridges include support services like special and bilingual education programs to assist students' mastery of mainstream knowledge and success in mainstream evaluation systems such as standardized tests (Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

It is important to note that proponents and practitioners of culturally-based pedagogy can take extremely different approaches. Some practitioners take a strongly assimilationist approach that views non-mainstream students as *deficient*: that is, coming from backgounds or possessing skills that are inferior to dominant culture backgrounds and skills. Proponents of a deficiency orientation, though not usually explicit or even aware of the nature of their approach, often perceive students' differences as deficits to be corrected so they can be more like dominant culture students (Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Conversely, proponents of a *difference* orientation interpret students' differences as positive qualities that contribute to the school environment as much as they call for educational modifications (Hernandez Sheets, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). This second approach, sometimes referred to as equity pedagogy (Banks, J. A., 2005), is an explicitly articulated strengths-based approach that does not operate according to a perceived hierarchy of backgrounds and skills. Students' home cultures and languages are treated as valuable assets to incorporate and build upon (Hernandez Sheets, 2004; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). It is this second approach that is most compatible with the educational theories I will advocate in this dissertation, and will therefore explain in greater detail.

Nieto (1996) wrote that education that acknowledges culturally-based learning differences takes into account students' learning, interaction, and communication styles,

as well as language differences, when designing curricular and pedagogical strategies. Thus, attention is paid to: 1.) the varying ways in which individual students "receive and process information" (p. 139), 2.) culturally-based patterns of interaction and associated expectations that could lead to misinterpretations of student and teacher behaviors, and 3.) cultural variables inherent in communication styles that could affect differences in interpretation and meaning-making. Moreover, bilingual education and English as a Second Language (ESL) pedagogical adaptations are intended to address the specific needs of students from different linguistic backgrounds (Nieto, 1996). Sleeter and Grant (2003) added that cultural continuity between the school and the student's home, and the degree to which teachers adapt curricula to students' life experiences, have been shown to have a positive effect on student motivation and academic achievement. Therefore, awareness of culturally-based learning differences is not limited to assimilationist educational approaches, and should be an integral aspect of emancipatory multicultural education frameworks (Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

Nieto (1996) cautioned against over-generalizing or stereotyping students' cultural differences, emphasizing that neither culture nor people are static, and students are complex beings with myriad variables contributing to their development. Children can be affected by a variety of interrelated factors, including social (such as class and ethnic identity), environmental (such as neighborhood or birth order), and personal (such as emotional and psychological). Therefore, it is crucial that educators consider cultural variables as influential rather than determinant, and continuously subject to change (pp. 137-138).

Social reconstructionist multiculturalism. Sleeter and Grant (2003) wrote that social reconstructionist multicultural education promotes cultural pluralism and social structural equality within a framework that analyzes the complex nature of social inequalities and oppression. Sleeter and Grant advocated organizing academic content around current social issues that incorporate themes of oppression, such as racism and classism, basing classroom analyses on the life experiences of students, and teaching alternative viewpoints, critical thinking, social action, and empowerment skills. Instruction should utilize cooperative learning, be based on student learning levels and styles and involve students in democratic decision-making. Visual aspects of the classroom should promote cultural diversity, social action, and student interests, and teachers should avoid evaluation and tracking procedures that identify certain students as "failures" (p. 196).

On a school-wide level, a social reconstructionist multiculturalism establishes strong relationships with students' families and communities and involves parents in school activities, with particular care made for inclusion of minority and working-class parents. Such schools facilitate democratic decision-making processes about school-wide concerns in which students participate and foster action projects within the local community. In addition, special efforts are made to provide staff from various identity groups in diverse roles, to incorporate cultural pluralism throughout the school in the form of decoration, cafeteria menu options and events, and to provide multicultural books and materials in the library. Teachers and staff take the necessary steps to ensure that extracurricular activities are accessible to everyone and avoid reinforcing stereotypes,

disciplinary methods do not single out or penalize members of any specific group, and the building has been made fully accessible for people with disabilities (Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

Intergroup education. Vogt (2004) stated that education can have a great influence on students' developing beliefs, values, attitudes, and behaviors. While multicultural education has tended to focus on instruction and cognitive processes, intergroup, or human, relations has emphasized socialization and personality development through facilitated interpersonal contact. Social reconstructionist multicultural education has emphasized socio-political dynamics of oppression, and called for the integration of intergroup and human relations education as one educational strategy (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Nevertheless, I believe intergroup education's emphasis on developing skills to improve intercultural harmony among groups and individuals bears particular significance for local-global contexts. Therefore, continued explorations into the possibilities of intergoup processes for transformative learning are in order.

In multicultural human relations education, efforts are directed toward improving individual students' self-image and social and communication skills within an anti-bias framework (Vogt, 2004). Vogt (2004) explained, "the negative targets of our program actions include bias, prejudice, discrimination, hate crimes, ethnocentrism, racism, narrowmindedness, intolerance, and stereotyping. Positive goals have included tolerance, coexistence, broadmindedness, fairness, justice, difference, multiculturalism, and diversity" (pp. 9–10).

Proponents of multicultural education for social reconstruction have criticized human relations education for its lack of emphasis on the socio-political structures that perpetuate oppressive social systems in its focus on individual feelings and actions towards others, as well as for an overly simplistic and potentially assimilationist approach to cultural differences concerning student learning and achievement (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). While I agree with this criticism, I argue that intergroup relations theories have much to offer multicultural praxes because they are more learner-centered than other multicultural approaches in their attention to both context-specific group dynamics and the emotional and social developmental needs of individual students (Banks, C. A., 2005; Cohen, 2004; Stephan & Vogt, 2004). Therefore, I believe each approach complements the other, and should be combined to be most effective. Intergroup education addresses the complex and dynamic social relationships in which students are perpetually learning from–and teaching–each other through engaged participation, while social reconstructionist approaches acknowledge and address the socio-historical contexts–and their embedded power disparities–in which students' relationships and lived experiences play out.

Furthermore, research has indicated that students who are different from the majority of their peers will be more likely to be excluded, harassed, and/or bullied, and that such negative schooling experiences can have detrimental effects on children's mental-emotional states, learning processes, and academic careers (Dessel, 2010; Hamilton & Moore, 2003; Meyer, E. J., 2009). Bullying and harassment have become common features in many U.S. schools, and impede student learning and development by

creating hostile and unsafe learning environments in which prejudices and stereotypes are played out through violent and hateful words and actions (Dessel, 2010; Meyer, E. J., 2009). Social reconstructionist multiculturalism with a strong emphasis on intergroup relations education could address structural inequalities and oppressive discourses, as well as the complexities of child social development and community-building in cultures of prejudice, while creating safer, more inclusive atmospheres of learning for all students.

Conclusion. As the following section will demonstrate, critical multiculturalism offers praxis-based multiculturalisms a bridge to complex theoretical analyses and social critiques that can enable practitioners deeper understandings of their curricular and pedagogical options. Using these theoretical tools, multicultural educators can reflect upon, inform, and revise their practices as they see fit. Critical multiculturalism also offers critiques, such as those to be presented in the next sections on monoculturalism and liberal multiculturalism, which can help well-intentioned educators avoid adopting practices that may actually reinforce inequities. This is particularly pertinent due to the fact that multicultural education has become a catch-all phrase that means many different things to different people, and has even been misappropriated by those with monocultural intentions.

Critical multiculturalism, however, is nothing without praxis, and the praxis-based multiculturalisms described in the previous sections present methods for "doing" many of the theories espoused by critical multiculturalism. Social reconstructionist multiculturalism bears the greatest resemblance to critical multiculturalism, offering praxis-oriented methods for actively combating oppressive discourses. Equity pedagogy

that is difference-oriented also relates to critical multiculturalism's attention to different and equally valid ways of being and knowing. However, equity pedagogy runs the risk of taking an overly-assimilationist–or even deficit-oriented–approach, and therefore requires special awareness among practitioners that would be well informed by critical multiculturalism. Finally, intergroup education, while bearing some similarities to critical multiculturalism's focus on dialogue as an emancipatory learning tool, puts even greater emphasis on the crucial role social relationships play in human development and the positive impact facilitated interactions can have on this social development. Thus, intergroup activities offer greater attention to the role emotions and social interactions and reactions play among students' understandings of themselves in relation to others, and vice versa. Nevertheless, without critical insights, intergroup education also risks devolving into an assimilative process devoid of attendance to the socio-historical dynamics of oppression, power, and privilege that shape and influence human relationships.

In conclusion, I agree with Sleeter and Grant (2003) that the praxis-based methods described should not be reduced to a singular component, but rather should be implemented as integrated strategies. Moreover, praxis should be informed by ongoing theoretical discussions, not limited to but certainly including, critical multiculturalism. The following sections will provide a more in-depth exploration of the critiques and conversations critical multiculturalism has put forth.

Critical Multiculturalism

Critical multiculturalists, in defining critical multiculturalism, have described and critiqued other forms of multiculturalism to further illuminate the goals and ideologies of a multiculturalism informed by critical pedagogy (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). McLaren (1995) identified four types of multiculturalism, clarifying that his categories should be perceived as tentative and non-totalizing heuristic devices in order to avoid projecting a monolithic, reductionist discourse onto cultural dialogues about race and ethnicity. Mapping four approaches to multiculturalism, McLaren (1995) described his "ideal-typical labels" (p. 35) as conservative or corporate, liberal, left-liberal, and critical or resistance. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) developed similar groupings in *Changing Multiculturalism*, referring to various multicultural approaches as conservative monoculturalism, liberal, pluralist, left-essentialist, and critical.

Critique of conservative multiculturalism. According to McLaren (1995), conservative multiculturalism is embedded in a colonialist worldview that perceives a hierarchy of races in which whites are biologically and culturally superior to all others. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), referring to this framework as conservative monoculturalism, called it a neo-colonial paradigm that embraces the traditional white male supremacist orientation of Western patriarchal culture. Though adherents to a conservative perspective would prefer to publicly reject openly racist ideologies, the conservative perspective accepts as reality the idea that Black people are cognitively inferior to white people, and blames members of minority groups for failures to succeed. Rather than reflecting on unequal access to power and resources, the conservative view

posits that minorities possess deficits in cognitive ability and cultural backgrounds (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995), particularly a "lack of strong family oriented values" (McLaren, 1995, p. 36), that are responsible for their oppressed circumstances (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

In keeping with an ideology of cultural superiority, the conservative multiculturalist agenda includes creating a common culture through assimilation of non-dominant cultural groups to dominant Euro-centric values and practices (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1995). McLaren (1995) explained that diversity is used to describe an "ideology of assimilation" (p.37), in which Other groups must first conform in order to gain status as a legitimate ethnic group. Moreover, conservative ideologues fail to acknowledge whiteness as an ethnic identity, thus turning whiteness into "an invisible norm by which other ethnicities are judged" (p. 37). This norm, which embodies Western and white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant (WASP) values, is nevertheless considered "more American" (p. 38) and unquestionably superior to the values of cultural Others.

One method of assimilation is linguistic hegemony, or the delegitimization of languages other than that used by members of the dominant elite. Thus, languages other than English, dialects emerging from regional and ethnic differences, and nonstandard English become sites of contestation and degradation. In education, this linguistic hegemony has been most apparent in the conservative multiculturalists' strong opposition to bilingual education in favor of *English only* policies (McLaren, 1995).

In addition, conservative multicultural education utilizes standards for achievement that unquestioningly privilege the knowledge base–or *cultural capital* (Bourdieu, 1973)–of white, middle-class youth. Thus, education caters to the "high status knowledge" (McLaren, 1995, p. 38) of white, middle-class America without questioning whose interests are served by such knowledge, and whose interests are ignored or subverted (McLaren, 1995). McLaren (1995) wrote,

> Conservative multiculturalism fails to interrogate… dominant regimes of discourse and social and cultural practices that are implicated in global dominance and are inscribed in racist, classist, sexist, and homophobic assumptions. Conservative multiculturalism wants to assimilate students to an unjust social order by arguing that every member of every ethnic group can reap the economic benefits of neocolonialist ideologies and corresponding social and economic practices. But a prerequisite to "joining the club" is to become denuded, deracinated, and culturally stripped. (p. 38)

Thus, students from minority groups who master privileged knowledge may only gain a knowledge base that contributes to their own oppression and lower social status. By sacrificing their own identities and accepting the normalization of social injustice and Eurocentric patriarchy, such students are doomed to a lose-lose outcome, albeit with the possibility of minor economic advantages (McLaren, 1995).

Citing "national unity and harmonious citizenry" (McLaren, 1995, p. 38), proponents of conservative multiculturalism espouse a view that echoes earlier, Anglo-Christian ideology, in which followers claimed that it was God's desire that the U.S.

spread and secure civilization, as well as the social Darwinist philosophies that posited that the "fittest" individuals naturally rose to the top of human hierarchies. Even the languages of Western Europe were viewed as the only ones with the sophistication and capability for discerning Truth. In contemporary society, and in education, Truth is again the domain of Western practice, as the dominance of empiricism as an appropriate way to measure truth is enacted through the use of testing and bell curves to measure human capabilities (McLaren, 1995). Nieto (1996) wrote that conservative ideologues, in their idealization of European Western philosophy, rely on a conceptualization of truth that negates multiplicity and espouses dichotomous versions of reality. Such either/or quests for truth refuse the possibility of multiple truths and legitimize positivist quantitative methods as the only valid means of attaining "facts" (p. 194) in educational research, consequently controlling the research-based educational policies schools must implement. This has led conservative researchers to accuse many multicultural researchers of conducting "shoddy and unscientific" (p. 199) research because it does not fit the normative, positivist framework of Euro-western traditions.

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) wrote that conservative monoculturalists perceive multiculturalisms to be a threat to Western identity and have attacked multiculturalisms as being divisive at best and a precursor to the demise of Western culture at worst. The authors argued that the conservative position is misleading because it fails to acknowledge the divisive nature of oppressing, marginalizing and silencing members of a multi-group society, as well as the fact that members of oppressed groups who have tried to assimilate have still experienced marginalization and discrimination. In addition,

members of colonized groups have reacted angrily against attempts to assimilate them, seeing such "as a violent effort to destroy the cultures of ethnic groups and render them politically powerless" (p. 3).

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) identified another problem with the conservative perspective: namely, the "monoculturalist education's deprivation model" (p. 4) that locates academic and social problems within the student, while ignoring the impact of circumstances such as racism, poverty, or sexism on students' lives. The authors continued:

> White supremacy, patriarchy, or class elitism do not exist in this construction, and, as a result, no need exists for individuals from the dominant culture to examine the production of their own consciousness or the nature of their white, male privilege. (p. 4)

Insulated from exposure to and experiences of oppression, monoculturalists can avoid self-reflection while deflecting blame for educational problems onto individual students, who are often members of marginalized groups. Furthermore, social privilege and power confers upon dominant culture members the opportunity to define exactly what comprises common culture, while perceiving the imposed silences of marginalized peoples as acquiescence (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Critique of liberal multiculturalism. Both McLaren (1995) and Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) described another form of multiculturalism that they refer to as liberal. Unlike conservative multiculturalism, the liberal approach views people of all racial and ethnic groups as cognitive equals who have the same intellectual capacity to pursue

economic and social opportunities in a free-market capitalist society. Social stratification, according to liberal multiculturalism, occurs because educational and social opportunities are not equally available for all members. Thus, reforms that remove such barriers to economic success will resolve inequities (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

The authors problematized liberal multiculturalism in a number of ways. First, liberal multiculturalism does not question or critically analyze the larger social structure of free-market capitalism, nor does it acknowledge the role of hegemony in subjugating and erasing different ways of being and knowing. Instead, liberal multiculturalists have practiced a form of *color blindness* that assumes socio-cultural sameness, while sanitizing experiences of marginalized groups by ignoring them (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). Moreover, the appeal to sameness is based on an ethnocentric worldview that universalizes human experience according to a norm based on Anglo-American, middle-class culture (McLaren, 1995). This ideology of consensus erases differences such as race, gender, and class that "mediate and structure experiences for both the privileged and oppressed" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 11), and therefore undermines efforts that seek to improve social justice through critical analysis of oppressive dynamics (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

According to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997), liberal multiculturalism portrays multiculturalism as a problem, while failing to acknowledge power asymmetries such as racism, classism, and sexism. Embracing a political naïveté that assumes that education must–and can–be neutral, liberal multiculturalists have often called for a separation of politics and education that denies the inescapable politicization of all aspects of teaching,

such as one's choice of subject matter, textbooks, and pedagogies. In attempting to avoid political education, liberal multiculturalists default to offerings devoid of historical and social context, in which "oppression and inequality are virtually invisible" (p.13), thus providing lessons that serve the hegemonic purposes of silencing and erasing perspectives and stories less palatable to the powers that be.

Finally, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) critiqued the liberal multiculturalist fetishization of process. As such, abstract rationality devoid of consideration for emotions and "the subjective nature of consciousness" (p. 14) ignores complex power relations and human suffering, while blindly celebrating individualism and citizenship. Thus, people's lived experiences, including their families, communities, and loyalties, are subordinated to "the cult of the expert" (p.14) and hyperrationality dominates educational processes. Such fetishization of process is evidenced by the most accepted forms of educational research, which are often positivist quantitative studies that measure outcomes that disregard context, as well as the standardized tests used to supposedly measure student ability and mastery of educational content.

McLaren (1995) introduced his category of left-liberal multiculturalism as a form that focuses on cultural differences such as "behaviors, values, attitudes, cognitive styles, and social practices" (pp. 40–41). This introductory explanation is in alignment with Kincheloe and Steinberg's (1997) description of pluralistic multiculturalism; however, Kincheloe and Steinberg continued a critical analysis of what they called pluralism. Identifying pluralistic multiculturalism as the most commonly articulated mainstream version of multicultural education, Kincheloe and Steinberg asserted that, despite its

focus on difference, pluralistic multiculturalism still shares many similarities with liberal multiculturalism. This is because pluralism emphasizes a celebration of diversity divorced of any real critical analysis of oppressive dynamics or socio-historical context. Like liberal multiculturalism, pluralism operates as a form of regulation because it fails to explore or problematize disparities in power and privilege or the hegemony of whiteness and Western norms in U.S. culture such as "economic mobility, middle-class affluence, [and] family values" (p. 17). Thus, pluralistic multiculturalism denies students' real experiences with oppression, and operates through whiteness by assuming a right and invisible norm through which difference is celebrated, as long as that difference doesn't stray too far from expected conformities (Richardson & Villenas, 2000). Though pluralistic multiculturalism seeks to teach anti-prejudice curricula, the focus is on individual attitudes without inclusion of historical or socio-political context. In particular, the pluralistic approach avoids discussions of poverty and socio-economic class as a pertinent–and political–aspect of difference (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). According to Nieto (1996), racism as a topic is often avoided because it is considered too controversial or potentially inflammatory. Thus, softer, safer versions of multicultural education, such as sensitivity trainings and diversity dinners, displace any real confrontations of power and privilege in order to avoid anything deemed too political for the classroom.

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) wrote that such depoliticized celebrations of difference promote inclusion of traditionally marginalized groups' histories and cultures in curricula, aiming to reduce prejudice and stereotypes and increase dominant group members' multicultural literacy so they will be able to function competently in diverse

environments. Pluralistic multiculturalism, as a means to equal opportunity for non-dominant culture students, offers marginal culture members mainstream culture literacy so they can gain greater cultural capital and succeed in the dominant culture, as well as empowerment through validation of their own backgrounds. Teachers highlight successful minority examples to emphasize a "you can do it too" attitude, while ignoring power relations, growing economic disparities, and the powerlessness, violence, and poverty that so many marginalized children experience. Thus, pluralistic multiculturalism misleadingly treats psychological affirmation devoid of political empowerment as the key to emancipation. Ironically, as the symbolic visibility of minorities increases–Oprah Winfrey, Shaquille O'Neal, Naomi Campbell, etc.–poverty and deprivation have become increasingly feminized and racialized, as the disparities between dominant group and marginalized group members continue to increase (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Finally, pluralistic multiculturalism, in blindly adhering to Western norms, promotes "a form of cultural tourism" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 18) in which bits and pieces of decontextualized multicultural trivia are presented as "cultural artifacts" (Nieto, 1995, p. 196) for mainstream audiences. Through lessons about minority heroes and holidays (Nieto, 1995), the Euro-centric gaze consumes Others as exotic interests or as a means to an end, for example, learning about Others to improve one's ability to do business or compete with them in the global marketplace (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Kincheloe & Steinberg (1997) wrote:

> Such a multiculturalism consistently mistakes European ways of seeing for universal, neutral and objective methods of exploring reality. Such methods

> insidiously support the status quo, conveying in the process the deficiency of non-Western ways of producing knowledge. Make no mistake, the concept of difference is valorized in this context, but always from the position of whiteness. (p. 18)

Thus, the safe diversity paradigm of pluralistic multiculturalism enables the normalized Western *us* to understand the different, ethnic *them* through a lens of privilege and power devoid of critical analysis or self-reflection, further exploiting marginalized people and reinforcing disparities (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

McLaren (1995) continued his description of left-liberal multiculturalism with a focus on proponents' tendency toward essentialism. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) also presented the essentialist framework in their description of left-essentialist multiculturalism. This approach treats differences as natural, inherent essences rather than as complex and dynamic social, cultural and historical constructions (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). Thus, essentialists define themselves according to their authenticity as members of a particular group. This has often resulted in an oversimplification of socio-cultural identities that ignores the "competing axes of identity and power such as language, sexual preference, religion, gender, race, and class" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 20).

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) warned that essentialists can become authoritarian in their romanticization of a positionality of purity that claims a moral superiority over other identities. Left-essentialists have, at times, created a binary inversion of traditional canon that demonizes dominant culture while idealizing their

particular marginalized culture. This has often led to a group centeredness that excludes potential allies, while allowing in-group members who hold other positions of social privilege–for example, male, white, or heterosexual–to go unchallenged when engaging in oppressive communications or actions. Positing their own oppression as primary, essentialists have often ignored or underestimated others' experiences of oppression, emphasizing self-assertion over building alliances with others in pursuit of social justice. As educators, left-essentialists who fail to question or critically analyze their positionalities–or teach and/or permit their students to do so–have come dangerously close to performing a form of indoctrination in their classrooms (p. 20).

Reflections. Conservative and liberal forms of multiculturalism primarily serve the interests of people who are already privileged by the existing power structure: white people, people in the middle and upper classes, and males. Such frameworks present multiculturalism as an add-on to the normalized Eurocentric discourses that does nothing to question or challenge power inequities and oppression. In this format, multicultural education becomes an exotic treat to be consumed by privileged whites for their intellectual titillation, or perhaps to improve their business acumen among nondominant and foreign prospects. In some cases, as described earlier, multiculturalism is used as an avenue for assimilation of nondominant groups to Eurocentric discourses.

Critical multiculturalism, on the other hand, explicitly champions the needs and rights of oppressed and marginalized peoples,[21] while asserting that everyone benefits

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[21] This position is not free of potential hazards. The section on postcritical ethnography will address in greater depth critiques of critical theory's Western-based ideology, which claims a positivist description of the world that has been developed primarily by privileged members of the power structure: namely white,

from more just social systems and relationships. As described earlier, an examination of praxis-based multiculturalisms proves more ambiguous, necessitating explicit guiding theoretical frameworks. The following section will provide a thorough examination of the basic theoretical components of critical multiculturalism in order to begin a conversation among multicultural theories towards developing more appropriate guiding frameworks for contemporary, local-global educational contexts.

Theoretical components of critical multiculturalism. Critical multiculturalism is unapologetically rooted in the pursuit of social justice through a "transformative political agenda" (McLaren, 1995, p. 42). Grounded in critical theory, critical multiculturalism focuses on social dynamics of power, privilege, and domination, and seeks to unravel normalized *truths* through greater consciousness of oppressive ideologies and discourses. Thus, critical multiculturalism examines not only unequal social and historical relationships, but the language and frameworks with which we make meaning of–and assign meaning to–those relations (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). Critical multiculturalism employs poststructuralist reflections that emphasize "the role that language and representation play in the construction of meaning and identity" (McLaren, 1995, p. 42) and re-examine socially constructed categories such as race, gender, and class (McLaren, 1995). Thus, critical multiculturalism draws heavily on the field of cultural studies to inform its analysis of schooling practices. Central to critical multiculturalism is the position that schooling and teaching are never neutral, but instead often serve to reinforce the social discourses that describe, justify, and perpetuate

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Western men. Therefore, the dangers of speaking for others through a voice of privilege, as well as the potential for adopting a *white savior* (Titone, 1998) approach, begs further exploration.

social stratification (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) wrote,

> Working in solidarity with subordinate and marginalized groups, critical multiculturalists attempt to expose the subtle and often hidden educational processes that privilege the already affluent and undermine the efforts of the poor. When Western schooling is viewed from this perspective, the naïve belief that such education provides consistent socio-economic mobility for working-class and non-white students disintegrates. Indeed, the notion that education simply provides a politically neutral set of skills and an objective body of knowledge also collapses. (p. 24)

Thus, critical multiculturalism promotes a form of resistance multiculturalism that seeks not only to expose destructive narratives, but to develop new narratives in which "diversity must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice" (McLaren, 1995, p. 43). Poverty and class, and other intersectional identities of marginalization such as race and gender, are central concerns of critical multiculturalism, which demands critical analysis of inequalities and the role power plays in shaping consciousness (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 25).

Power. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) wrote that power is a central theme of critical multiculturalism and cultural studies, and is defined by both as a complex component of human existence that weaves throughout all human relations in ways that defy unidirectionality and can be productive or oppressive. *Power blocs* are ever-shifting strategic social alliances in which various actors work together to maintain their

privileges. Nevertheless, such privileges are also fluid as “individuals move in and out of empowered and disempowered positions” (p. 77). Contemporary power blocs include corporate/business interests that seek worker control to increase profits, working and middle-class whites who fear losing racial privilege, free-market social Darwinists, and the upwardly-mobile new middle class in pursuit of professional advancement. Forms of productive power include the creation of new “knowledge, meanings and values” (p. 78). Critical multiculturalists can use productive power to reinvent education, redefine social relations, and invent new narratives free of the cynicism and hopelessness that can accompany a model of power based only on oppression.

Erasure of power asymmetries in curriculum denies the existence of social injustice and inequities based on race, class, or gender, portraying instead an image of social harmony and equal opportunity. This curricular emphasis on social consensus disempowers marginalized students by treating their marginalization as if it did not exist, and therefore denies them the information and skills to question and resist their own oppression. Operating as a form of cultural imperialism, invisible power disparities reinforce victim-blaming attitudes among dominant-group members, as the only identifiable cause for the struggles of marginalized peoples becomes the people themselves (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

In this way, the technologies of hegemony serve to achieve dominance through consent rather than force: that is, by the social psychological development of consent “through cultural institutions such as the schools, the media, the family, and the church” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 89). Through these institutions, people learn to agree

with policies and ideas that benefit the elite even when such policies do not benefit, or even oppress, them. Critical multiculturalism seeks to expose pedagogical manipulations through analysis of complex representations and interpretations of power and politics. Corporate-controlled media structures misrepresent gender, race, and class in ways that reinforce subjugated positionalities. Meanwhile, schools act as disciplinary sites in which curriculums provide stories of surface harmony aimed at diffusing dissent in the face of domination. Textbook histories are re-written so that any references to conflict are superficial and decontextualized as a set of isolated events. Members of minority groups are excluded from the stories, or included marginally, as uncritical history lessons offer lists of "facts," creating public memories erased of subjugated knowledges (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Postmodernism and poststructuralism. Poststructural and postmodern critiques play an important role in critical multiculturalists' analyses of meaning-making, identity, and power disparities (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). Poststructuralism's focus on language examines the ways in which language helps construct how we perceive and define experience, while recognizing that signs and signifiers are always unstable and ever-shifting. Moreover, Western patterns of thought and language are organized into hierarchical, binary oppositions in which the positive connotations of one opposite are defined by the negative connotations of the other, and vice versa. Examples of commonly used dualisms include bad/good, Black/white, woman/man, and deviant/normal. In this way, language disciplines how we perceive and behave by shaping our epistemological frameworks, and by automatically assuming and

attaching value to words–and to the people to whom such words are ascribed (McLaren, 1995).

Thus, critical multiculturalists use poststructuralism and postmodernism to challenge the modernist assumption that one truth exists, and that the educator's job is to teach that truth to students (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). This is particularly relevant to critical multiculturalism's rejection of monocultural pedagogies and curricula that omit nondominant voices and experiences, and teach that dominant perspectives are central, important, and just "the way things are." In the modernist tradition, truth has been defined as that perceived through white, male experience, thus contributing to oppressions such as sexism and racism by identifying non-white, non-male experiences as wrong or inferior, or eclipsing them altogether.

Postmodernism rejects hierarchies of knowledge in which experts are empowered to claim and define truth for everyone, and critiques the modernist faith in reason, empiricism, science, and linear causality. Instead, postmodernism makes space for other ways of knowing, thus affording equal importance to the epistemologies of marginalized peoples. By opening the door to multiple voices and ways of knowing, postmodernism embraces a paradigm of multiple possibilities rather than a single, unequivocal truth. Critical multiculturalists have been able to employ postmodernism to disrupt the embedded assumptions of modernism concerning what constitutes knowledge, who can be knowers, and how knowledge can be explored and learned. Such critiques have included analyses of the modernist tradition of decontextualizing and fragmenting the

world, as well as the ways in which European languages tend to devalue relationship (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) concluded:

> …in a critical multiculturalism the postmodern critique empowers those marginalized by race, class and gender to take back their histories, epistemologies and ways of making sense of the world. By studying Eurocentric modernism and its virtues and limitations, a postmodern multiculturalist helps the oppressed to understand the ways power operates along the axes of race, class and gender and how they might respond to such power plays. In this way new identities and political strategies can be developed that work to reconstruct social relationships. (p. 39)

In addition, critical multiculturalism relies on reflexivity to inform its practice. In contrast to the essentialist logic of conservative and liberal forms of multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism views individuals as dynamic actors in a fluid social context in which "identity formation is constantly shifting in relation to unstable discursive and ideological formations" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 19). Referring to the development of border identities and cultures, McLaren (1995) described the increasingly eclectic and intercultural identities that are ever-evolving in multicultural spaces, writing that "knowledge is produced… through reflexive, relational understanding amidst the connotative matrixes of numerous cultural codes" (p. 57). Such reflexive interactions and relationships bear important implications for pedagogy. McLaren argued that critical pedagogy needs to work to create new border narratives in which teachers and students analyze the discursive associations of identity and enable new, subversive possibilities

through a “reflexive intersubjective consciousness” (p. 57) that deconstructs–and reconstructs–the social.

Identity. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) explained that critical multiculturalism views pedagogy as a form of identity production, that is, the way in which students learn to see themselves in relation to others and the social world. Education plays a central role in the self-formation of young people in regards to aspects of their social identities: race, gender, class, sexual orientation, ability, and other identities of difference are all organized according to discourses in which power defines them. Thus, one of the most important roles an educator can assume is teaching students not only “how power shapes lives” (p. 28), but how to question, analyze, and resist oppressive discourses. Such actions require teachers who have already undergone a transformative process themselves (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997), including the interrogation of “the discursive presuppositions that inform their curricular practices” (McLaren, 1995, p. 55).

In addition, critical multiculturalism draws on neo-Marxist, feminist, and antiracists theories to address the particularities of class, gender, and racial oppressions. Though critical multiculturalism recognizes the inseparability of each individual’s identity markers, the field takes a both/and approach that acknowledges the intersectionality of experience, while directing attention to the dynamics specific to gender, race, and class. Thus, critical multiculturalism incorporates in-depth philosophical and theoretical explorations of racism, sexism, and classism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Referring to social interactions in school environments, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) wrote that the role of identifiers such as race, sex, and class are unpredictable, never static and exceedingly complex. Individuals experience positionalities as dynamic intersectionalities. For example, one's experience of gender or race can be greatly affected by one's experience of class, and one's economic experiences are affected by gender and race. In the school environment, students are not simplistically categorized and forced into low-status tracks. Rather, "race, class and gender create a multi-level playing field" (p. 33), in which some students have more opportunities than others as they "gain a sense of their options and negotiate their educational and economic possibilities (p. 33).

Another defining feature of critical multiculturalism is its interrogation of whiteness (McLaren, 1995). Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) described three imperatives for critical multiculturalists: "(a) understanding the positionality of whiteness; (b) identifying and abandoning the practice of white racism; and (c) developing a critical and progressive white identity" (p. 207). McLaren (1995) asserted that we need to examine the ways in which whiteness is normalized and centralized as the cultural marker that defines all other positionalities. By ignoring whiteness as an ethnicity, we reinforce its hegemony by claiming whiteness to be neutral and natural (McLaren, 1995), even as we idealize and universalize white culture and values as simply the best way to be. Whiteness, though defined in opposition to Blackness, is equated with normality, and even nationality, as being more *American* (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

As an erased norm, whiteness affords privileges to white people of which they are often oblivious (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). In *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack*, McIntosh (1988) listed forty-six invisible privileges that she, and other white people, enjoy but rarely recognize. McIntosh explained that though she had been aware that racism disadvantages people of color, she had not been conscious of the advantages she was afforded because of her whiteness. Nor had she been aware of the ways in which her schooling experiences taught her and other whites "to think of our lives as morally neutral, normative, and average, and also ideal, so that when we work to benefit others, this is seen as work which will allow 'them' to be more like 'us" (pp.1-2). McIntosh's list included privileges such as being able to speak publicly without representing her race, being able to protect her children from hostile people most of the time, and being sure that she is not a subject of racial profiling if a traffic officer pulls her over. In acknowledging white privilege, McIntosh wrote that we have to relinquish "the myth of meritocracy" (p. 3). In recognizing that racism closes doors of opportunity for some, we must also acknowledge that "many doors open for certain people through no virtues of their own" (p. 3).

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) wrote that whiteness, like all racial identities, is an ever-shifting, socio-historical construction that grew from a colonial environment of domination. The influence of European Enlightenment values on the colonial system imbued upon the white, male colonist both power and *reason* to rule over foreign peoples and lands. Positioning the "transcendental white, male, rational subject" (p. 209) as superior to those not like him, a new scientific construction of race arose that privileged

"mind over body, intellectual over experiential ways of knowing, mental abstraction over passion, bodily sensations and tactile understanding" (p. 209). White power became more than economic control and physical domination. With whiteness came the power to shape knowledge production, identity formation, and human experiences of social reality.

Capitalism and the modern context. The modern industrial age introduced concepts aimed at increasing the efficiency of workers in order to maximize corporate profit. Factories began implementing scientifically-based methods for job completion that fragmented responsibilities into short, repetitive units that nearly anyone could accomplish. Thus, workers were treated as production units, their humanity and social, intellectual, and spiritual needs sacrificed for economic efficiency. Moreover, such workers were devalued, subjugated, and highly regulated, as failings of business were blamed on worker incompetence. Schools echoed the factory efficiency models, as well as the lower status afforded to vocational education that prepared students for such work. Thus, a class of workers was produced in which members were classified as failures who needed to be strictly controlled, taught to internalize self-loathing, and suffered dehumanizing work for wages that barely covered living expenses–despite excessive corporate profit margins and executive salaries (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

The 1980's and 1990's (author's note: and 2000's) saw a resurgence in conservative power that prioritized corporate control (read white, male, and wealthy) over the democratic imperatives of social justice and equal opportunity. School priorities were organized around training students for the employment needs of the private sphere, rather than preparing them for their public roles as citizens. Previous emphases on

gender, race, and class awareness that had been introduced in the 1960's and '70's were identified as wasteful spending and dispensed with, as a new individualistic approach expected students to adapt to a one-size-fits-all efficiency model of education that blames students for academic failures (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

The critical multicultural response to these social circumstances is a re-emphasis on revitalizing the task of Western democracy (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Central to this endeavor is developing alternative paradigms to the epistemology of modern science, which fragments and dehumanizes people into units of production devoid of emotional connections and needs. Critical multiculturalists seek to dispel the myths of inferiority that the corporate model has perpetuated and to challenge the modernist, economics-based purpose of education that has led to scientifically managed structural dynamics of educational practice. Critical multiculturalism criticizes as anti-democratic the authoritarian frameworks imposed on students in schools that teach submission, passivity, and conformity, calling instead for education that instills cooperation, critical analysis, and independent thinking in students. Thus, the revitalization of democracy requires taking education back from the business elite, while instilling in students the capacity to envision new possibilities of what can be. Rather than sites of discipline and manipulation based on rules, schools should become focused on learning, personal and social development, and democratic empowerment. For this to occur, critical multicultural educators will need to challenge and wrest power from the economic, political, and educational interests who have controlled educational policies and practices in pursuit of their own purposes (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Further implications for praxis. Critical multiculturalism promotes a democratic framework that embraces differences within unity, and recognizes the valuable opportunities that diversity offers for learning. Heterogeneous environments, unlike those characterized by sameness, can introduce individuals from different backgrounds and viewpoints to alternative possibilities that can broaden their perspectives, while inducing greater reflection on their own worldviews, and consequently enhance critical thinking and moral reasoning (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Therefore, a critical multicultural learning environment encourages intersubjective dialogue in which a multiplicity of voices and perspectives can interact without objectifying others (McLaren, 1995, p. 55).

Furthermore, curriculum reform, from a critical multiculturalist standpoint, recognizes the stratified nature of knowledge, in which masculine, Eurocentric ways of seeing and interpreting the world have been privileged, whereas other positionalities, such as *Third World*[22] inhabitants for example, bear stigmas. A reconceptualization of curricular knowledge would therefore include the subjugated knowledges of marginalized groups (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). This can serve to teach awareness and negate misrepresentations of difference, and expose "power relations embedded in disciplinary knowledge, the organization of schooling, popular culture and other cultural manifestations" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 41). Such curricular reform should not

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[22] I recognize the problematics of the Eurocentric discourse that classifies and otherizes people within a hierarchical, nation-based division of First and Third Worlds. Such identifications are imbued with a sense of self-proclaimed superiority by their white, colonial originators, and serve to erase stories of colonial and capitalist/imperialist exploitation of the Third by the First Worlds in favor of invented stories of countries/people that are developed and those that are developing, i.e. struggling to achieve the superior standards set by the developed through the global marketplace. The term Third World was coined by Alfred Sauvy, a French demographer, in 1952 as an analogy to the pre-French Revolution reference to commoners as "Third Estate." Similarly, nobles and priests comprised the second and first estates, respectively (Chaliand, n.d.).

rely on token add-ons to mainly Eurocentric materials, but should fully and equally integrate multiple sources of knowledge that actively explore relations and discourses of disparity, while reformulating disciplinary concepts. Stories that challenge dominant narratives, such as Native American historical perspectives on white territorial expansion in the Americas, for example, can interrupt normalized assumptions about U.S. culture and history. In addition, inclusion of subjugated knowledge improves education because exclusion greatly limits and distorts understanding of the world in which we live. Thus, curricular complacency with Eurocentric education contributes to both oppressive paradigms and inferior academics (Gay 1996; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Cultural studies. Cultural studies has been referenced throughout the previous review of literatures on critical multiculturalism, because critical multiculturalism draws heavily on cultural studies philosophies and theories. In the following section, I will explain the relationship and connections between the two fields. The parallels between cultural studies and critical multiculturalism are many, and since I am a student of cultural studies of education, this section will also serve to shed greater light on my positionality and approach.

Cultural studies emerged as a cross-disciplinary field that analyzes the relationships and production processes of "power, knowledge, identity, and politics" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 85) in late twentieth-century, industrial-capitalist societies, thus paralleling and infusing the theoretical basis of critical multiculturalism. Cultural studies critiques the modern fragmentation and isolation of academic disciplines, advocating instead a transdisciplinary, holistic approach that considers ever-evolving

themes and ideas. Rather than a limiting focus on *high culture,* cultural studies considers equally all avenues of cultural learning and communication, including lower status forms such as popular culture and media, and the ways in which they shape knowledge production and identity development (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

The transdisciplinary nature of cultural studies has allowed its scholars to examine theories such as Marxism and neo-Marxism, feminisms, postcolonialism, critical race, and critical feminisms; philosophical considerations such as postmodernism, poststructuralism, and hermeneutics; and myriad cultural topics such as politics, economic systems, globalization, youth cultures, television and media, technology, nationalism, and colonialism (Barker, 2003). Cultural studies pays particular attention to how knowledge is produced, and the ways in which power affects which knowledge is validated and how it is normalized. Thus, hegemonic discourses and the ways in which language, through signifiers and binary structures, shapes our perceived realities are recurrent themes in cultural studies literature. Cultural studies also emphasizes the political nature of difference in relation to social oppression and identity formation, attending to class and economic structures, race and racisms, gender and sexisms, and post- and neocolonialisms through multiple theoretical devices. Cultural studies is interested in the ways in which people are created *Other* through hegemonic discourses, the implications such marginalization imposes, and the production of analyses that expose and challenge oppressive paradigms (Barker, 2003). Cultural studies' attendance to global and colonial hierarchies will also be reflected in the upcoming sections on decolonial education.

Finally, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) explained that cultural studies emphasizes the practice of *radical contextualism*, that is, the concept that theories must be rooted in everyday, lived reality, and that such realities are site-specific and constantly changing (p. 88). Therefore, theory based in practice must be ever adapting to the fluid dynamics of the lived world. This "reconceptualization of analysis" (p. 88) posits that theoretical inquiry offers a starting point for understanding, but that better informed meaning-making must incorporate the "specific social, symbolic, encoded, technical and other types of analytical resources, i.e. the context of the lived world" (p. 88). Such radical contextualism allows for the adaptations and innovations necessary to address the rapidly changing contexts of a globalized world (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). This approach will prove particularly relevant to my discussions on postcritical ethnography and reflexive classroom practices.

Conclusion. Critical multiculturalism has much to offer practitioners. However, in order to be relevant for contemporary contexts, critical multiculturalism must expand to include local-global analyses that thoroughly examine the implications of colonialism, imperialism, and global capitalism for hierarchies and oppressive relationships among people everywhere. The following sections explore writings by proponents of various forms of global education, and reiterate the interconnectedness of local-global contexts in the present era. As I demonstrate, there exists a range of approaches and perspectives on the topic that includes pedagogical strategies, curricula, and philosophies. I conclude the discussion with an exploration of decolonial educational theory, and its implications for contemporary multiculturalisms. I argue that decolonial education picks up where critical

multiculturalism left off, so to speak, and offers to fill the global gaps in critical multiculturalism's approach. An analysis of other global multicultural approaches further illuminates tensions in the field, as well as areas for potential integrations and theoretical appropriations.

Global Multicultural Education

Severe worldwide problems have led some theorists to promote education that prepares students to be knowledgeable about and capable of addressing global crises. These critical issues include numerous and ongoing wars and invasions, genocidal attacks and ethnic cleansings, and other forms of violence and hatred, as well as multiple nations' technological capacity to destroy the planet through nuclear warfare. In addition, profound poverty and deprivation in the face of vast economic disparities between the over-privileged[23] and the underprivileged have contributed not only to violence (Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004; UNESCO, 1989), but also to extreme forms of exploitation, including slavery and human trafficking ("Caritas Says," 2008; Tumenaite, 2006), and sweatshop and child labor (Noddings, 2005). Finally, the rapid destruction of natural ecosystems in the pursuit of profitable resources has destroyed community bioregions, resulting in impoverishment, displacement, and even illness among inhabitants; endemic pollution of air, water, and earth; and threats to the ecological survival of our planet (Lowe, 2004; Mies & Shiva, 1993; Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004; Spring, 2004; UNESCO, 1989).

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[23] An interesting example of the discursive formation of reality: *underprivileged* is a word in the English vocabulary, a noun that defines and often stigmatizes a group of people. Yet *overprivileged* is not an official word, despite the English language's propensity for dualisms and conceptual binaries. Could it be that in a culture informed by market fundamentalism, there is no such thing as being too privileged?

Global multicultural education focuses on a vital element of a teaching and learning model that addresses the catastrophic concerns we face as a world community. This multicultural element emphasizes emancipatory social justice paradigms that analyze the complex dynamics of social inequalities, and promotes democratic principles of equality and human rights, intercultural understanding, respect for differences, and a sense of responsibility for fellow humans on both local and global levels that leads to proactive awareness and action. Such educational goals have been described by different names, most commonly *global education* and *global citizenship education* (Appiah, 2006; Banks, J. A., 2008; Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004; Spring, 2004).

The terms global citizenship and global education have been used to mean a variety of things by different people, however, and should be clarified for the purposes of this dissertation (Noddings, 2005; Spring, 2004). Spring (2004) wrote that there are four main paradigms bearing the name of global education. The first, nationalist education, prepares students to work in a global economy, but from a nationalist perspective. That is, loyalty, or patriotism, to the nation-state is prioritized, and citizenship is defined according to the needs of the country's government rather than "as a function of global civil society" (p. 1). The second definition of global education embraces free market ideology, and views education as a means to prepare workers for their specialized roles in the production of consumer goods in a global economy. This vision, promoted by the World Bank, considers the transition from small-scale production to transnational, corporate-owned, mass production to be a form of economic progress that benefits all. The third approach Spring identified is that of human rights, peace, and cultural diversity,

which is also described as an educational goal by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO (UNESCO, 1989; UNESCO 1995-2009). Finally, Spring addressed the pertinence of environmental education as a means to global viability and sustainability.

Noddings (2005) edited the book *Educating Citizens for Global Awareness*, in which she authored the introduction, conclusion, and a chapter on "place-based education" (p. 57). In her introduction, Noddings proposed a framework for global citizenship that encompasses the values and teachings of economic and social justice, environmental responsibility and repair, social and cultural diversity, and peace education. Noddings explained that current U.S. ideologies concerning global citizenship take economic and nationalistic approaches that focus on American interests and economic development through uncontrolled free trade among nations. Such unregulated economic growth has often had severe consequences for the natural environment, while increasing economic injustices and disparities in wealth. This capitalist focus on growth rather than the reduction of poverty, as demonstrated by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Trade Organization (WTO), have exacerbated extreme economic inequalities that have contributed to abusive forms of exploitation such as sweatshop and child labor (Noddings, 2005).

Noddings (2005) wrote that the global economy serves the needs and reflects the values of the most powerful nations, which at present prioritize the views and concerns of wealthy, transnational corporations at the expense of all other variables. In fact, such ideology has become so ingrained in many First World cultures, that national citizenry

have been convinced that going to war to protect the economic interests of the corporate elite is the equivalent of a patriotic duty: for example, protecting the *American Way of Life*, while imposing this lifestyle on other nations "for their own good" (p. 4). Such attitudes regarding patriotism also impact our understanding of peace and the role peace studies plays in global citizenship. Assuming that peace is vital to global citizenship, and thus peace studies necessary for education, Noddings acknowledged that peace studies have been at best controversial, mostly absent, and sometimes dangerous in a culture in which the promotion of peace is sometimes perceived as unpatriotic, or even aligning with the enemy.[24]

Global citizenship, cosmopolitanism and transformative education. In addition to educating young people to be prepared and capable of addressing global social justice crises, global citizenship education addresses the changing populations of North American school systems. Global migration trends have altered the general makeup of public school classrooms. Schools across the nation that were once relatively homogeneous are now more likely to represent a variety of cultures, languages, and national identities among their students. Therefore, multicultural educational theories and methods are even more pertinent to the average U.S. classroom than ever (Adams & Kirova, 2007; Brown & Kysilka, 2002). Teachers increasingly need the knowledge and skills–and systemic supports–to teach learners from different backgrounds, and to facilitate positive learning interactions among heterogeneous groups of students.

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[24] In "An Open Letter to Opponents of the War in Iraq," Herbert E. Meyer (2005) stated that war opponents were "unhelpful at best, and at worst you are actively working to insure our defeat" by refusing to support the war. Meyer served as Special Assistant to the Director of Central Intelligence and Vice Chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council during the Reagan Administration.

J. A. Banks (2008, 2009) wrote that current migration trends have resulted in unprecedented numbers of people living in countries in which they were not born. In addition, a number of people travel back and forth from one country to another, maintaining a sense of identity and connection to both countries that has been called "transnational" (Banks, J. A., 2008, p. 105). Thus, the increasing diversity and complexity of cultural identities among students challenges the traditional assimilationist model of citizenship education that focuses on one nation-state. J. A. Banks (2008) advocated a paradigm of global multicultural citizenship instead that enables students to develop the skills and knowledge they will need "to function in a global society" (p. 132).

Such knowledge includes a sense of connection and identification with the global community and an "internalization of human rights values" (Banks, J. A., 2009, p. 106), and has been referred to as *cosmopolitanism*. Rather than limiting one's sense of social responsibility to a nation-state, the cosmopolitan extends that sense of responsibility to the global community, making choices and acting with a greater consciousness of one's impact on others throughout the world (Appiah, 2006; Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009). Cosmopolitans, therefore, approach issues of equality and social justice from a global perspective, and concern themselves with world issues such as war, global warming, and epidemics (Appiah, 2006; Banks, J. A., 2008).

J. A. Banks (2008) wrote that in order for students to learn and truly understand interrelated identities through "cultural, national, regional and global" (p. 135) frameworks, they must experience transformative education. Rooted in transformative academic theories such as critical pedagogy, transformative education validates students'

diverse cultural backgrounds, while facilitating their development of the skills and knowledge they will need to challenge inequalities globally, nationally, and in their own communities. Therefore, transformative education helps students to develop a cosmopolitan perspective and the abilities "to take actions to create just and democratic multicultural communities and societies" (p. 135). Skill development in transformative education focuses on identifying and solving societal problems, decision-making, critical thinking, empathy, collaboration and cooperation, social justice and civic activism, clarifying one's values, and acquiring knowledge in relation to one's language, culture, community, and home (Banks, J. A., 2008).

A primary component of transformative education is the facilitation of equal-status interactions among students of diverse backgrounds in the classroom for purposes of deliberation and cooperative learning. J. A. Banks (2008) described multiple studies which have shown that teacher-facilitated, equal status intergroup education has had positive effects in increasing student tolerance for differences, improving intergroup attitudes–particularly towards students from marginalized groups–reducing prejudices and stereotypes, and increasing friendships between members of different ethnic or cultural backgrounds. J. A. Banks emphasized that teachers must create equal-status environments in order for such intergroup activities to be successful, otherwise prejudices, stereotypes, and negative attitudes toward marginalized students could actually increase. Using inclusive multicultural curricula and materials in the classroom that represent all students equally is one method to assist the development of equal-status interactions among students (Banks, J. A., 2008).

Cohen (2004) wrote that implementing an equal-status atmosphere in the classroom can be greatly assisted through complex instruction, which helps to alleviate the patterns of exclusion and withdrawal that often occur in diverse classrooms. In addition to creating hierarchies of status and ability that often mirror the prejudices and stratifications of the larger society, children in diverse groups have been observed ostracizing and devaluing low-status group members, while privileged-group members dominated processes by talking more and making more decisions. Teachers can help to alleviate these patterns by engaging in "status treatments" (p. 40), such as delegating different authorities to all students and assigning multiple tasks that require different abilities, so students can demonstrate various skills. Additionally, teachers can assign competence to low-status students by making public statements that recognize their achievements, and by altering curricula so that students can utilize and demonstrate an array of skills and abilities in performing classroom assignments (Cohen, 2004).

Carlsson-Paige and Lantieri (2005) called for a holistic pedagogical approach to global citizenship that instills appropriate skills and attitudes through social development that recognizes the developmental level of the learners. The authors conceded that such goals face many challenges for children who grow up submerged among toxic environmental factors such as violence, poverty, racism, and poor health, as well as negative media enculturation that aggressively promotes egoistic consumerism. Teachers also face the additional obstacle of narrowed curriculums focused on basic skills for high-stakes testing that neglect and leave little time for citizenship education. Nevertheless, powerful frameworks exist that educators can implement towards teaching children

positive, prosocial knowledge and skills such as civility and ethical behavior. The authors cited multiple teacher resources such as Sheldon Berman's *Children's Social Consciousness and the Development of Social Responsibility*, the Earth Charter, The Global Campaign for Peace, and Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR). ESR provides an educational model called The Peaceable Classroom that outlines critical principles for building "caring classroom communities" such as "Building Community and Mutual Respect," "Democratic Participation," "Caring and Effective Communication," and "Cooperation and Collaborative Problem-Solving" (p. 113).

Carlsson-Paige and Lantieri (2005) stressed that citizenship skills cannot be taught in a single lesson, but rather are gradually learned through developmentally appropriate activities as children grow. The authors explained,

> …these skills and awareness are not lightning strikes or knowledge that one can pour into a child's brain like sand into a pail. Children develop an understanding of the social world through a long, slow process of construction. They use what they see in their lives as a basis for constructing an understanding of how people treat each other. New learnings continue to build on earlier ideas through a dynamic process in which increasingly sophisticated ways of dealing with social concepts and skills develop and gradually expand to include more of the wider world beyond children's immediate experience. (p. 109)

Thus, it is crucial for educators to recognize that such pedagogies cannot be addressed through simplistic and isolated lessons on diversity, but instead require on-going processes throughout children's lives that incorporate and build upon children's prior

knowledges. Moreover, the nurturing of such skills require safe, caring environments in which adults actively model desired behaviors such as perspective-taking and confronting injustice (Carlsson-Paige & Lantieri, 2005).

Smith and Fairman (2005) asserted that conflict resolution skills are a crucial element of global citizenship, and advocated developmentally appropriate conflict resolution education through the elementary and secondary grades. In addition, conflict resolution education has greater impact when integrated into the core curriculum. For example, students can discuss how prejudice and state-sanctioned violence has led to tragedies such as the Holocaust, or how peace studies relate to various world religions and philosophies. Smith and Fairman described *Workable Peace*, an effective school program that "aims to teach general concepts and skills of conflict analysis and management in the context of historical and current events selected for relevance to high school social studies and history curricula" (p. 44). The Workable Peace framework uses role-play and civic learning projects to teach conflict analysis, perspective-taking, listening and communication skills, negotiation skills, and civic engagement.

Educational frameworks that emphasize peaceful resolutions to conflict and empathetic relationships among diverse students can benefit by adopting traditionally feminine socialization patterns for all students (McIntosh, 2005). McIntosh (2005) discussed the ways in which gender socialization in U.S. society has projected certain values onto females, such as caring, relationality, compassion, and pluralistic seeing, while males are expected to behave in individualistic, aggressive, risk-taking behaviors that ignore the consequences of one's actions for others. McIntosh argued that gender is

not so easily defined, and that human inclinations naturally overlap and vary greatly regardless of sex. Thus, many males would be just as likely to exhibit the stereotypically feminine attributes if allowed or encouraged to do so. Since global citizenship will require individuals who feel concern and respect for diverse others and their welfare, McIntosh argued that such stereotypically feminine virtues should be nurtured in everyone. Rather than a dichotomy of female and male attributes, we should develop positive human characteristics in all children regardless of biology in order to achieve balance and strengthen cultural values that support pluralism and global responsibility (McIntosh, 2005). McIntosh recognized that such an undertaking faces great obstacles in a country in which paradigms of leadership (rather than citizenship), dominance and personal interest govern economics, domestic politics and foreign policy.

Defining the local-global context. Spariosu (2004) emphasized the need to rethink issues of globalization in terms of local-global communities that are aware of their interconnections with other localities on regional, national, and international levels. This needs to be a self-awareness, and not a Western-imposed awareness such as those common among most Western globalization practices (p. 30). Similarly, Noddings (2005) advocated place-based education as a way to connect students to their local environments and communities and instill a sense of social responsibility, caring, and activism for the local which can then be expanded to global concerns. Additionally, local-global consciousness would mean an awareness of personal responsibility on multiple levels, and attendance to the ways in which individual and group actions and choices affect other people in both local and global communities. Noddings suggested a *caring for* model on

the local level that encourages helpful interactions and generosity that allow individuals to personally witness and connect to their actions, and a *caring about* model on a global scale that supports and encourages building social environments conducive to each locality's home-based, caring-for actions.

Calling for a new form of citizenship education that integrates the local, national and international contexts, Lynch (1992) wrote that contemporary global dynamics demand education that takes a multi-layered approach that addresses cultural pluralism and democratic aspirations on all levels. Such education would take an emancipatory approach that recognizes the interrelated nature of "power and hegemony, human rights, and social responsibility at local, national and international levels" (Lynch, 1992, p. 2). Lynch continued,

> The existence of an 'equally just' national society, based on reciprocity and mutuality, requires a just international society, and just communities are prerequisite to both. There can be no just citizenship of a just national society which ignores equal justice to other societies and communities, through social, cultural or environmental insensitivity, ignorance, exploitation or unequal economic, environmental or political covenants. (p. 2)

Thus, education for multicultural social justice cannot ignore the interdependent nature of local, national, and global systems and the necessity for attendance to the multi-layered interplay of each in social, cultural, environmental, and economic spheres.

Additionally, the substantial increases in global migration in recent decades have resulted in classrooms across the nation–and the world–that are not only increasingly

multicultural, but increasingly multilingual and multinational as well. Children from countries around the world who have immigrated to the U.S. integrate daily with U.S.-born children, bringing global issues, quite literally, into the local domain. Socio-political circumstances that once existed as vague awarenesses in many North American minds as "somewhere over there" and as affecting Other people in Third World countries–such as war, famine, and profound poverty, for instance–can now be represented in the life experiences of many immigrant students (Adams & Kirova, 2007).

Spariosu (2004) wrote that solutions to global concerns must be developed through conscious education: learning and knowledge reconstruction through intercultural, transdisciplinary dialogue. Such a process would engender multiple worldviews and voices, and would thus require ongoing participation from–and education of–members of multiple positionalities, as well as constant re-evaluation to assist in avoiding the traps of cultural bias and ethnocentrism. By re-educating ourselves in ways that reject worldviews and processes considered to be destructive, while learning those that support healthy, productive human interaction, we may be able to redirect the present patterns of abusive power, destruction, and exploitation. Critical to this process are educational environments that foster intercultural learning and communication among students of diverse backgrounds (Spariosu, 2004).

Spariosu (2004) called for the deliberate creation of "local-global environments" (p. 208) in which members of varying cultural backgrounds, belief systems, and values could come together to engage in intercultural dialogue as a means to develop students' "global intelligence" (p. 208). Spariosu defined global intelligence as "the ability to

understand, respond to, and work toward what is in the best interest of and will benefit all human beings and all other life on our planet" (p. 6). The multicultural and multinational classrooms of U.S. public schools provide atmospheres of local-global diversity that could potentially serve as educational local-global contexts if properly facilitated. Rather than perceiving and treating culturally different and immigrant students as a problem to be addressed, the local-global educational context would view the addition of culturally diverse students as an opportunity and a critical component for learning, while homogeneous classrooms would be considered lacking in the necessary social arrangements for fully developing global intelligence.

As always, educators would need to be vigilant in their efforts not to objectify, essentialize, and exploit culturally different students for the benefit of mainstream students. The development of positive, intercultural education that would equally benefit all students in the local-global environment would require sophisticated and careful planning, analysis, implementation, and reflection such as that advocated by critical multiculturalists and anti-bias, intergroup educators. Moreover, global multiculturalism requires further critique of Euro-centric, Western neo-colonial and neoliberal worldviews, and the ways in which these stratify human societies into *developed* and *developing* discourses (Spariosu, 2004). The local-global educator will need to have begun their own transformational education, and possess an awareness of, to start, the inequities and exploitative consequences of capitalist global systems, the differences in knowledge construction and perception styles among cultural groups (Nieto, 1996; McLaren, 1995; Spariosu, 2004), the stigmatization of indigenous and Third World

peoples (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Spariosu, 2004), the feminization and racialization of world-wide poverty, and the historically rooted relationship of colonialism and racism (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1885; Tejeda et al., 2003; Willinsky, 1998).

Global intelligence: critiquing critical. Spariosu's (2004) book, *Global Intelligence and Human Development: Toward an Ecology of Human Learning*, explores implications and potential solutions for the rampant, unsustainable human lifestyles that threaten both quality of life and long-term viability on our planet. As described in the previous section, Spariosu advocated education for global intelligence that emphasizes intercultural dialogue towards reconstructions of knowledge and strategies for healthy human relations on a local-global scale (Spariosu, 2004). Spariosu identified other proposed strategies for change–technological, political, religious, economic, and social and human engineering–as problematic, concluding that the only lasting way to affect such change "is through (self-) education" (p. 4). Spariosu maintained that "as we continue seeking sustainable solutions to world problems, we should concentrate our efforts on educating ourselves, our children, and our grandchildren" (p. 4).

Spariosu (2004) critiqued many of the dominant paradigms for global dynamics, as well as knowledge construction in general, prevalent in Western cultures. Describing them as "the current ailments of our worlds of education and learning" (p. 14), Spariosu claimed that "these worlds are largely dominated by a disciplinary mentality that organizes our cognitive and learning activities, as well as other human transactions, indeed reality itself, in terms of linear power relations, engaged in a continuous struggle

for achieving and/or preserving hegemony" (p. 14). Examples of such abound among religious institutions and spiritual schools of thought, as well as mainstream, contemporary science, which falsely claim objectivity. Thus, a remapping of knowledge is necessary, based on transdisciplinary–rather than the traditionally compartmentalized knowledge of academia–and intercultural dialogue that recognizes power in its construction and develops new paradigms for human interaction. In particular, the local and the global must begin to be perceived as complimentary within a globally intelligent worldview (Spariosu,2004). Spariosu continued,

> Knowledge is always bound to a specific time and place, to a specific culture or system of values and beliefs or, indeed, to a specific lifestyle. A global approach attempts to identify the cultural specificities of knowledge, explore commonalities and differences among them, and negotiate, if need be, among such specificities. It also presupposes that, in the process of exploration of cultural commonalities and differences in the way in which we acquire and utilize knowledge, new kinds of cross-cultural knowledge emerge through intercultural research, dialogue, and cooperation, and new kinds of integrative cognitive and learning processes become possible. (p. 16)

Moreover, such an approach to knowledge embraces the view that there are multiple reference frames of reality, each endowed with their own operating principles and logic. Islamic Sufism, the Western ideologies of General Systems Theory, early Taoist thinking in China, and early Buddhist thinking in India all share this nonlinear perspective of knowledge (Spariosu, 2004).

Current Western ideology focuses on economics as the primary indicator of success and happiness, dividing human communities into “developed” and “underdeveloped” (Spariosu, 2004). Spariosu (2004) argued that we need to shift this view to one of human rather than economic development, and realize that our societies are all “developing” (p. 5). Such a shift in perspective will allow us to holistically address global problems such as hunger, poverty, and violence (Spariosu, 2004).

Echoing Spring (2004) and Noddings (2005), Spariosu (2004) argued that the field of education in the United States has yet to develop a paradigm for global education that does not transcend a nationalistic approach that views global competence primarily as a means to increase security and economic gains. Explaining that a national, or even an international, approach is limited, Spariosu instead promoted a global perspective that, while attending to the needs of the nation, also analyzes the “long-range interests serving the entire global community” (p. 6). Thus, a truly global perspective must move beyond self-interest to embrace the interests and needs of every global member, and will require global intelligence. Spariosu continued,

> This kind of responsive understanding and action can only emerge from continuing intercultural research, dialogue, negotiation, and mutual cooperation; in other words, it is interactive, and no single national or supranational instance or authority can predetermine its outcome. Thus, global intelligence, or intercultural responsive understanding and action, is what contemporary nonlinear science calls an emergent phenomenon, involving lifelong learning processes. (p. 6)

Having defined and declared the need for global intelligence through educational and scholarly means, Spariosu explored and critiqued a variety of theories and paradigms that affect, and sometimes impede, the development of global intelligence.

First, Spariosu (2004) criticized the propensity for Western society's most influential social science theories of globalization–neoliberal capitalist, post-Marxist, and postmodern–to claim a universal perspective instead of a local one, and the problems this poses for true intercultural knowledge construction. By offering a power-based binary description of "western hegemony vs. non-western resistance" (p. 25), these theories ignore the vast and unique experiences, intersections, and perceptions of many of the planet's inhabitants.

The neoliberal capitalist view of globalism embraces greater access to consumer goods as a social improvement, while post-Marxist criticisms serve to expose the damaging cycles of easier, increased consumption and their effects on the environment and exploitation of people as labor. Nevertheless, Spariosu (2004) claimed that both viewpoints tend to essentialize human experience and ignore unique circumstances. Like neo-capitalism, post-Marxism also ignores the fact that billions of people are too poor to ever participate as consumers in these cycles of capitalist consumption. The middle class, though so prevalent in global imagery and ideology, is in actuality a small percentage of the human population. An essentialist approach also denies the members of the middle consumerist class who are critical of capitalist consumption (Spariosu, 2004). There are,

> …many different worlds that are not primarily driven by the utilitarian, free-market logic described by Western-style, neo-liberal, post-Marxist, and

> postmodern theorists. Therefore, it is our task not only to identify or imagine such worlds, but also to work collectively toward their (re-)emergence as alternatives to the current ones, which have largely proven to be unsustainable. (Spariosu, 2004, p. 45)

Spariosu (2004) also addressed the role of science and technology in Western paradigms, describing the current dominant ideologies as being incompatible with the goals of global intelligence. Spariosu critiqued reductionist claims that break down all life into smaller and smaller particles while relying on simplistic and universalistic laws. One example of such a law is the narrow interpretation of Darwin's theories reflected in the "survival of the strongest" ideologies that have been applied to global social interactions to justify colonialism, imperialism, and continuing military and economic exploitations of vulnerable nations. Spariosu also decried the hubris of many Western scientists' sense of superior knowledge compared to that of Eastern cultures, despite much historical offerings to the contrary.

Spariosu (2004) emphasized that global intelligence will require the emergence of an ethics of peace, defined not as the opposite of war, but rather, "as an alternative mode of being and acting in the world, with its own system of values and beliefs, and reference frame" (p. 19). Dubbing this alternative ethic *irenic mentality*, Spariosu described the potential for a concept of peace that is defined as "constructive, just and democratic" (p. 73). Thus, a concept of peace emerges that is not defined by an absence of war, but rather, exists independently, as a state of being divorced from power as the organizing principle. A new field of intercultural studies would transcend the ideological limitations

of cultural studies by equally including multi-global perspectives and voices in developing new theories and reference frames that can avoid being restricted by a solely Western, binary perspective based on power mentalities. Though Spariosu did not discourage individual explorations which can then be shared and discussed, he asserted that every new theory should be developed as an intercultural rather than a monocultural dialogue.

Throughout his discussions, Spariosu (2004) pointed to the need for continuous development of education for global intelligence through conversations among the many participants of human cultures. Thus, he presented his hypotheses as naturally incomplete, awaiting the contributions of others to evolve as an intercultural project. Spariosu offered strong critiques of the dominant ideologies of globalization, and presented important core goals around which to organize a global learning project, such as irenic mentality, the nonlinear complexity of life, and sustainable living. Thus, Spariosu's work bears important implications for multicultural, local-global classroom curricula, pedagogy, and interactions, as well as the potential for students to engage in productive, intergroup co-constructions of their classroom communities.

In addition, Spariosu (2004) offered some important critiques of cultural studies and critical theory, troubling the Western-based, binary logic of discourses of power. Despite Spariosu's preference to avoid paradigms of power, I think discussions of sexism, racism, poverty, and economic exploitation cannot be ignored in global terms lest they be made–like the impoverished, Third World factory laborers who make so many North Americans products–simply invisible. Many of the current global practices are too

inherently gendered, raced, and classed not to be acknowledged. The paradigms that propel these dynamics of militarism, environmental destruction, and free-market exploitation are rooted in white, male supremacist ideologies and generations of white, male domination. Thus, while power should not be the only framework with which to view global learning, it should still be a central theme for social justice discourses.

I would like to propose a both/and approach to developing local-global multiculturalism paradigms. I believe there is a need for an approach that reinvents new knowledge systems and languages, while emphasizing positive thoughts, actions, and possibilities. Spariosu's (2004) concept of irenic mentality, for example, is a mentality of peace that has been liberated by any reference, binary or otherwise, to war. Rather, the concept of peace and peacefulness exists on its own terms. Subjugated knowledges and stories can also serve as instigating forces for new ways to understand the world. Nevertheless, positive paradigms should not replace paradigms and languages of critique, but rather, co-exist with them as we humans work to disengage from unhealthy social dynamics, even as we attempt to construct healthier ones. De Lissovoy's (2010) work on anti-domination curricula paired with pedagogies of lovingness, which is presented in the coming section on decolonial education, demonstrates such a both/and approach to local-global education.

In addition, I would argue that not all cultural studies scholars and critical theorists rely on a simplistic dichotomy of power, as Spariosu (2004) described, but also recognize the complexities and layers inherent in human experiences and relationships.

Such approaches will be made evident in the sections on decolonial education and postcritical ethnography and feminist methodologies.

Finally, the subject of intercultural dialogue further highlights the importance of attendance to power disparities. Who gets to participate in such dialogues? What efforts will be made to include those who might not normally have access to such discussions? Within such conversations, who will be listened to and perceived as valid?[25] Not only does inclusion satisfy issues of fairness, but also enriches dialogue and increases the potential understandings to be developed. For these reasons, issues of power and privilege should be especially explicit when engaging in intercultural dialogues. Without an explicit critique of power, humans too easily, and often unknowingly, fall into patterns of elitism, in which those with privilege and power speak up, over, and for those without.

Conclusion. Theorists such as J. A. Banks (2008, 2009), Lynch (1992), Noddings (2005) and Spariosu (2004) have argued that we cannot ignore the interrelated nature of global, national, and local communities, and that educational praxes must reflect this reality. Both Noddings and Spariosu addressed global capitalism, and the complicity of First World international economic institutions in exacerbating poverty and exploitative labor relationships. The following authors will extend and deepen this conversation, discussing the roles colonialism and capitalism have played in shaping both material and epistemological local-global circumstances.

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[25] My perspective here is informed by Elizabeth Ellsworth's essay, "Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy" (Ellsworth, 1998), in which Ellsworth challenges an unreflective approach to power dynamics in dialogic groups.

This critical approach can infuse global educational praxes with more sophisticated understandings and questionings. For example, we can review curricula such as Workable Peace and Earth Charter through a decolonial lens to determine if the content adequately addresses socio-historical contexts and power disparities. If we find missing pieces in such curricula, we can refer to decolonial education theories to inform potential revisions. Moreover, decolonial education's roots in critical theory provide avenues to deeply explore–and challenge when necessary–Western language and embedded assumptions. For example, what exactly do we mean by democracy, social justice, or human rights? What prior assumptions are embedded in our words, from whose perspective were they formed, and whom do they serve? We cannot forget the many abuses of words like *democracy*, such as when the United States government invaded Iraq and killed tens of thousands of Iraqi citizens in order to "spread freedom and democracy."

I argue that as we begin to develop local-global perspectives for multicultural education, it is imperative that we employ a sophisticated approach that explores and addresses the complex layers of human social stories. As the following section will demonstrate, decolonial education theory can offer a more thorough critique of the socio-historical contexts in which local-global relations exist. By studying proposed models for decolonial educational practices, we can begin to imagine what a local-global critical multiculturalism can be: that is, a decolonial multiculturalism.

Decolonial Education

De Lissovoy (2008) stated that the reassertion of empire makes limiting analyses to local contexts inadequate. Troubling the term *globalization*, which has been employed to imply a variety of meanings, De Lissovoy (2009) explored two common usages and their implications for people around the world. One approach applies to neoliberalism, that is, "the global disciplining of workers, the poor, and developing societies in order to respond to a crisis of accumulation in the leading capitalist societies" (p. 189), as well as "to the spread of transnational corporations and consumerism" (p. 189). Another variant refers to the decline of the nation-state as an organizing social and political unit, as increasing cross-cultural interactions, migrations, and integrations redefine human identities and societies on a global scale. This second variant, which coincides with the concept of *globality*, must nevertheless be explored with awareness to the dominant role imperialism and market fundamentalism play in social processes (De Lissovoy, 2009). De Lissovoy (2008) wrote,

> …critical theory and pedagogy must be able to think through the existential challenge that the reality of the global forces upon all of us, as familiar identities and understandings no longer seem adequate to the scale of the transnational. In addition, at the level of strategy, the contest between hegemonic and counterhegemonic forces has to be rethought, since the mobility of capital makes it possible in many instances for power to evade decisive contests with oppositional movements. (p. 2)

De Lissovoy (2009) listed the many negative–and often devastating–effects these two forms of globalization have had on people, particularly children and youth, around the world. For those in the global North, globalization has meant the loss of stable jobs, benefits, and healthcare, increases in unemployment and incarceration, and the destruction of livelihoods as jobs are transported around the planet. Many other people around the world have suffered "the proliferation of conditions of superexploitation… the destruction of traditional economies and forms of life, forced migration, cultural imperialism and predatory consumerism, not to mention environmental degradation and perpetual war" (p. 190). Children have been among the hardest hit by these events, as child labor, human trafficking, and child slavery, and the conscription of child soldiers have achieved pandemic proportions (De Lissovoy, 2009).

Therefore, in the face of globalized human relationships that are characterized by dire social injustices, a critical pedagogy that fails to address the global is insufficient (De Lissovoy, 2009). De Lissovoy (2009) explained that under present circumstances, educators need "a *critical pedagogy of the global*" (p. 191) that incorporates "a consciously transnational perspective" (p. 191).

De Lissovoy (2009) called for an appropriation of cosmopolitanism by critical theorists, in which an embrace of human differences on a global scale is attached to thorough critiques of exploitation and inequalities. Expanding the concept of unity within differences, De Lissovoy added "that while people increasingly share in the experience of subjugation to the same free market fundamentalism, they also potentially share in new forms of oppositional identity" (p. 190). This can be particularly meaningful for

educators seeking ways to co-create classroom communities with diverse student groups. In addition to learning to respect differences, students and teachers can also develop points of connection to each other they might not otherwise have considered, potentially strengthening relationships with each other. Shared oppositional identities also present shared themes on which teachers and students can base activist educational activities. Conversely, a strictly cosmopolitan approach that fails to attach critique to difference can exacerbate relationships by reinforcing the status quo. As described earlier, a lack of critique eclipses the challenges oppressed students face, often leading to victim-blaming and deficit-oriented beliefs in oppressed students' lack of merit. Such misguided attitudes are not ingredients for positive community-building, much less socially just educational practices.

Pedagogies for an ethical globality. De Lissovoy (2010) proposed a decolonial education model that emphasizes "a *curriculum against domination*, oriented against the epistemic and cultural violence of Eurocentrism that underlies the politics of content and knowledge in education, and a *pedagogy of lovingness*, committed to building global solidarity based on non-dominative principles of coexistence and kindredness" (p. 279). Arguing that globalization has caused an increase in intercultural interactions, resulting in disturbances and alterations of previously sheltered knowledge systems, De Lissovoy asserted that the current moment in time presents an opportunity for affecting the development of our changing paradigms towards an "ethical and democratic globality" (p. 279). De Lissovoy described globality as our local-global interconnectedness with the world's peoples, asserting that this can occur only through the adoption of a decolonial

perspective, that is, analyses and critiques of the power relations that have shaped the historical, "political, cultural, economic, and epistemological processes of domination that have characterized colonialism and Eurocentrism" (p. 279). Such analyses should include philosophical and cultural questions about power and the assimilative project of colonial pedagogy, while recognizing the "deep collaboration between capitalism and imperialism" (p. 285).

Decolonial theory, as articulated by De Lissovoy (2010), extends anticolonialism to the ontological questions of being and knowing, and expands postcolonial theory to analyses of continuing material consequences of imperialism. In this way, decolonialism looks at the exploitative global relations between economic elites and poorer nations and people, and their historical roots in colonial dynamics, while linking theories of the hegemony of capital to concepts of ethics and ontology. Globality, then, highlights the need to pursue an ethical and ontological togetherness that seeks to work through, rather than deny, differences and inequities rooted in colonial projects. Important methods for deep explorations of difference include,

> …confronting conventional assumptions about culture and history, and challenging normally uninterrogated identifications that are latent in both teachers and students. It also means a more sensitive orientation to relationships, both within the classroom and at the level of the imagination of global society, than the contemporary progressive discourse in education allows us. (p. 281)

As various communities and people from different backgrounds interact, the condition of globality "reconfigures social and cultural relationships" (p. 281), as well as relational

subjects. In this way, ethical considerations that involve relationships with other social beings become ontological problems, as the interrelations of such beings continuously constitute new social subjects. De Lissovoy cited Heidegger's philosophies of *being-with* and *being-in-the-world* (Heidegger 1927/1996) to further articulate the nature of globality as one in which states of human *beingness* are necessarily constituted by their "essential referentiality to others and to the world" (De Lissovoy, 20010, p. 281). Therefore, the development of a democratic and ethical global community must begin with a dialogical construction of "human being, community, and morality… that starts from differences" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 281), and stay ever cognizant and reflective about whose vantage point is most prevalent in any imaginings of a global community (De Lissovoy, 2010).

Therefore, I believe a global multiculturalism is the critical starting point for constructing an ethical globality. In addition to understanding the impact of colonization on the material aspects of people's lives, De Lissovoy (2010) argued that we must also examine colonialism's influences on the "production of global culture, knowledge and subjectivity" (p. 282) in which colonized people have been subjected to "cultural domination, as populations have historically been forced into a fundamental condition of alienation by the imposition of Eurocentric values and forms of subjectivity" (p. 282). Predominant schooling practices in many Western nations, such as the United States, are permeated with Eurocentrism, where what is considered thinking, learning, and knowing is informed by colonial origins. For this reason, educational spaces need to be "deparochialized beyond the boundaries of the nation-state" (p. 284) and "sensitive to the complexities of globalization as a space of ongoing neocolonial relationships and cultural

hybridization" (p. 284). To this end, strategic priority should be given to curricula that explore subjugated knowledges and critical analyses and bring previously marginalized experiences and perspective, such as "Third World, Black and brown, and indigenous struggles" (p. 286), to the forefront as a way to decenter the dominant standpoints. Recognizing that culture is hybrid in nature and the colonizers are as affected by the process as the colonized, De Lissovoy wrote that another important decentering practice is to stop representing other people and places as developing: that is, trying to catch up with places like the U.S. and thus defined as behind or failing in comparison.

De Lissovoy (2010) asserted that traditional multicultural education needs to expand its inward-looking focus to one that includes a global perspective "that understands the problems of culture and power as linked to geopolitical and geocultural dynamics (McCarthy, 1998)" (p. 287). Traditional multiculturalisms are limited because they fail to make the connections between the new racisms, the state, and capital in the production of discriminatory attitudes. A decolonial education, therefore, would necessarily interrogate nationalism, an especially urgent undertaking for those in privileged and powerful nations, "since a deconstruction of nationalism in these contexts is at once an interrogation of one of the ideological pillars of global imperialism itself (De Lissovoy 2008)" (p. 287).

De Lissovoy (2010) advocated a "pedagogy of lovingness" (p. 288), which requires a reconceptualization of relationships among students, teachers, and global society that extends *caring* (Noddings, 1992) to incorporate sensitivity to difference and development of local-global solidarity. A pedagogy of lovingness would include

thoughtful action based on dialogical considerations to oppose the many forms of violence–militaristic, neocolonial, imperialistic–committed against beings around the world. Students could work to better understand their "ontological, anthropological, and historical" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 289) interrelatedness with other members of the global community, and learn to care about and respond to the exploitation or abuses of people they may never see. Additionally, De Lissovoy (2010) recommended that students of privilege learn "an attitude of listening, respect, and cautiousness that is informed by an understanding of" (p. 290) centuries of colonial violence–material and epistemological–against non-European peoples.

Such a pedagogy should offer students a framework for re-imagining "a new global knowledge, culture, and society" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 286) and emphasize "*coexistence* and *kindredness*" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 280). Dialogic construction of new paradigms, De Lissovoy (2010) wrote, would need,

> …to be sensitive to and respectful of the different locations of different groups within the complex community of the global. If critical perspectives have sometimes claimed to know the proper truth and path for all of the oppressed, a decolonial ethics should instead hold to the paradigm of coexistence (Mignolo, 2005), which allows for different paths and different truths, and to a sense of the complexity of a decolonizing solidarity and agency (Villenas, 2006). (pp. 289–290)

Therefore, the profound differences between indigenous and Western Eurocentric perspectives cannot be ignored, and difference itself cannot be separated from histories of

violence and oppression, as well as survival and resistance (De Lissovoy, 2010). The "political, cultural, and epistemological autonomy (Deloria, 1999; Grande, 2000)" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 282) of cultural groups must be respected, an approach that is particularly important within the context of contemporary appropriation of indigenous peoples' "lands, resources, knowledge and cultures" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 282) resulting from the globalizing processes of massive, transnational capital accumulation (De Lissovoy, 2010).

Moreover, any attempts to build a common vision of community must remain ever conscious of the ways in which Eurocentric assimilative paradigms have infiltrated concepts of commonality and solidarity. In order to avoid reproducing hegemonic narratives, a pedagogy of kindredness should be rooted outside the margins of normative, Western discourses (De Lissovoy, 2010). De Lissovoy (2010) explained,

> A global ethical and decolonial politics and knowledge ought to be centered outside of Western traditions while nevertheless reaching out to communicate with and include them. After all, the hallmark of imperialism and colonialism are their *partitions* and divisions of the world; this conceptual and cultural partitioning ought to be challenged from the standpoint of a global common, without covertly reinscribing the epistemological centrality of Eurocentric reason. Such a global standpoint cannot erase its particular nodes and moments in the process of constructing a singular vision, but should always be the provisional product of dialogue and collaboration between differences. (pp. 283–284)

Internal neocolonialism. Calling for a pedagogical "praxis of anticapitalist decolonization" (p. 11), Tejeda, Espinoza, and Gutierrez (2003) emphasized the role colonialism has played in developing racism as a concept and a social organizer, the normative status of whiteness and Eurocentrism, and the economic, social, and epistemological marginalization and subjugation of "indigenous and nonwhite peoples" (p. 11) in the United States. Moreover, the authors stressed that U.S. society is infused with internal neocolonialism, which "has its origins in the mutually reinforcing systems of colonial and capitalist domination and exploitation that enslaved Africans and dispossessed indigenous populations throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries" (p. 11). Therefore, education for social justice must necessarily address both the historical contexts of this subjugation of indigenous and nonwhite peoples and the contemporary "manifestations and effects of the corporal and cultural genocide that has been taking place in American society throughout the past four centuries" (p. 11).

Arguing that the present is ontologically connected to the past, Tejeda et al. (2003) asserted that the colonial and capitalist exploits of the preceding era fundamentally marked "social subjects, social relations, and forms of social organization" (p. 13) in such a way that "essential features of that domination and exploitation continue to structure the social relations among differing groups in American society" (p. 13). For example, neocolonial and Eurocentric domination is evidenced by recent legislation, such as California's Propositions 187, 209, and 227, to deny civil, language, and education rights to many indigenous Americans (Tejeda et al., 2003). Tejeda et al. wrote,

> A basic premise of our call for a decolonizing pedagogy is that the dominant economic, cultural, political, judicial, and educational arrangements in contemporary American society are those of an internal neocolonialism produced by the mutually reinforcing systems of colonial and capitalist domination and exploitation that have organized social relations throughout the history of what today constitutes the United States. (p. 13)

Tejeda et al. (2003) stated that internal colonialism and capitalism developed together as interrelated aspects of U.S. society, in which white and European colonizers developed concepts of race to identify brown and Black bodies as inferior to light-skinned bodies, justifying enslavement, exploitation, and theft of land and resources. These concepts of inferior beingness continue to permeate modern U.S. culture, in which the dominance of capitalism perpetuates systems of hierarchy and poverty that are visibly racialized, with white Euro-Americans holding the majority of wealth and power, while large percentages of indigenous and nonwhite peoples experience social powerlessness and economic deprivation. Seeking to distinguish the oppressive relations of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries from earlier colonial dynamics, Tejeda et al. characterized present-day circumstances as *internal neocolonialism* (p. 15).

Nevertheless, Tejeda et al. (2003) posited, in keeping with Freirean[26] pedagogy (Freire, 1997) and "the materialist philosophy of Marx and Engels" (Tejeda et al., p. 16), that social realities are malleable and praxis has the potential to induce transformative

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[26] Paulo Freire (1997) introduced the concept of transformative learning in his now classic book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Freire posited that literacy learning could be a transformative experience in which students explored the representations and contradictions in their daily lives to develop a broader understanding of their own oppression.

learning. Moreover, our understandings of social realities are rooted not only in discourse and ideology, but in the lived experience of human interactions, that is, through "the practice of our everyday lives" (p. 18) and in "the labor and mundane displacement of our bodies" (p. 19). Tejeda et al. explained,

> We live an internal neocolonialism because we engage in colonial relations of domination and exploitation in the production and reproduction of our material existence and its cultural expression… Our colonial domination and oppression materialize in the here and now of the processes and practices of our everyday lives – especially those related to securing the basic necessities of life. (p. 18)

The authors added that such participation in the reproduction of colonial and neocolonial inequities is not simply a choice, but rather practices that are made within an inherited set of circumstances. However, transformative pedagogies can assist the development of the kinds of critical consciousness needed to transcend such inherited structures and paradigms, and the authors advocated a Freirean (1997) approach that "engages with the oppressed in reflection that leads to action on their concrete reality" (Tejeda et al., 2003, p. 19). Since "how men and women act in the world is largely related to how they perceive themselves in the world" (Tejeda et al., 2003, p.20), "a critical decolonizing consciousness is fundamental to the transformation of the internal neocolonial condition of social existence in the contemporary United States" (Tejeda et al., 2003, p. 20).

De Lissovoy (2008, 2009, 2010) and Tejeda et al. (2003) illuminated the complex, socio-historically situated nature of the local-global, arguing for liberatory pedagogies

that fully engage these colonial contexts. In this dissertation, I argue in Chapter 7, Article 4 that a decolonial multiculturalism calls for sophisticated teacher-researchers capable of analyzing, adapting, and responding to the reflexive dynamics of educational environments. I propose that training in postcritical ethnography and feminist, praxis-based methods may support teachers' abilities to positively engage students from diverse backgrounds in liberatory learning. The following section provides a review of literatures on postcritical enthnography and feminist, praxis-based methods as the basis for part of the content in Chapter 7, Article 4.

Postcritical Ethnography and Feminist Methodologies

Postcritical ethnography. Noblit, Flores, and Murillo (2004) described postcritical ethnography as a collection of theoretically based methods that developed from the integration of critical theory and interpretive ethnography with the application of postmodernist and poststructuralist considerations. Postcritical ethnography draws upon the first two frameworks while attempting to address their limitations through a postmodernist turn, and has evolved from the synthesis of educational and social anthropologies and sociologies of knowledge and education to present new possibilities for educational research (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004).

To begin, critical theory offers the language and theoretical paradigms to analyze and critique relationships of power, privilege, and oppression and is rooted in emancipatory intentions. Originally examining hierarchy through a Marxist, class-based lens that critiqued economic stratification and oppression, critical theory expanded to include critiques of oppressions based on a variety of identity categories such as race,

gender, sexuality, and nationality. Critical ethnography is characterized by political purpose and critical epistemology, and seeks to empower and give voice to traditionally marginalized groups through ethnographic representation. The critical ethnographer opposes all inequalities, seeks to reveal, challenge, and change social and cultural oppressions through her work, and acknowledges that much of mainstream research reinforces inequity (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004). Furthermore, Noblit (2004) wrote,

> …critical ethnographers understand that knowledge itself is a social practice that employs power. To that end, critical ethnographers must explicitly consider how their own acts of studying and representing people and situations are acts of domination even as critical ethnographers reveal the same in what they study. (p.185)

Thus, critical ethnography analyzes the power relations inherent in the relationship between the researcher and the researched, recognizing the privilege, status, and control that the researcher embodies (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004), particularly in the act of "appropriating the rights of representation even as it seeks to emancipate" (Noblit et al., 2004, p. 2).

Interpretive ethnography, like critical theory, bears a leftist orientation. However, interpretive ethnography posits that all knowledge systems, including critical theory, are socially constructed. Thus, ethnography brought to critical theory both a method of inquiry and a means to greater ideological introspection, though critical ethnography's continued claims to realism will be explored further in this chapter. Despite charges of relativism, interpretive ethnography rejects positivist research paradigms that claim

objectivity and access to generalizable *truths* through empirical research, arguing instead for a methodology that acknowledges and addresses the complex, socially constructed, and subjective nature of human experiences (Noblit, 2004). Within the field of educational evaluation, in particular, positivism was criticized as being inappropriate for assessing decision making in the real world. Critical ethnography continues the critique of positivism, and aims to use educational research as a tool to highlight students' experiences and subjugated knowledges (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004).

The interpretive perspective led to explorations of semiotics, poststructuralism, and the *linguistic turn*, which in turn resulted in new perceptions of ethnographies as "interpretations of interpretations" (Noblit, 2004, p. 191). These cross-disciplinary explorations of meaning-making and representation created a *crisis of representation* (Lather 2004; Noblit 2004) in which qualitative researchers could no longer make claims that they were reporting objective truths about those they studied. Instead, such researchers acknowledged that ethnography could only claim to consist of "partial attempts to understand what others believe and do" (Noblit, 2004, p. 191).

Ethnography's greatest weakness was identified as its origins in colonialism (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004) as a tool of the colonizer to objectify and further subjugate the colonized (Willinsky, 1998). By applying critical theory to ethnography, the field of critical ethnography offers a framework with which to analyze power and oppression, including that of its own origins and methods. Nevertheless, critical ethnography has become a new canon, so to speak, in which its methods and theories have been regarded as the new legitimate frameworks within the

discipline. Moreover, in the United States, critical ethnography replaced its British sociology of knowledge origins with a new "critique of ideology that reified structure, materialism, realism, and rationalism" (Noblit 2004, p. 192). Thus, critical ethnography reverted to claims of objective truth regarding its own ideological positions.

These ideological limitations drew critique from feminists, poststructuralists, and anti-rationalists who objected to the foundationalist leanings of critical ethnography. Such theorists reinscribed interpretist concepts of socially constructed knowledge and emphasized the importance of including multiple voices, especially those of members of oppressed groups, such as women, students, and minorities (Noblit, 2004). According to Noblit (2004), "These critics argued that critical ethnography was in itself a form of hegemony – patriarchal, Eurocentric, individualistic, and white" (p. 191).

Therefore, postmodernism and poststructuralism served to confront and disturb the settling of critical ethnography into a canonized, foundationalist ideology that risked maintaining a new (academic) status quo rooted in modernity and colonialism. Such postmodern challenges have rejected claims to objective knowledge, and served to instigate a variety of approaches to postcritical ethnography that include feminist, postcolonial, and critical race theories, to name a few. Moreover, postcritical ethnography offers an alternative epistemology to that of critical ethnography: one that redefines knowledge as the product of a dynamic, relational process (Noblit, 2004), and in so doing, challenges Western, patriarchal hegemony over the production, presentation, and privileging of knowledge inside and outside academia (F.A. Maher with M.K. Tetreault, 1996).

Though postcritical ethnographic approaches can vary greatly, considerations for methodology include "positionality, reflexivity, objectivity, and representation" (Noblit 2004, p. 198). Positionality involves careful examination by the researcher of her own situated identities, experiences, and interests, particularly as they relate to the social environment of the study and the perceived positionalities of the other study actors. By exploring the components of one's own biography–including factors such as class, race, gender, political beliefs, and personal experiences–the researcher can reflect on potential power differentials between herself and the research participants, as well as other ways her positionality might influence her collection, interpretation, and representation of data (Noblit, 2004).

Reflexivity refers to the awareness that the identities of study participants, including the researcher, are fluid and ever-changing, and that social interaction contextualizes experiences of time and history. Objectivity extends the concept of reflexivity to the troubled position of the postcritical ethnographer in seeking to deobjectify that which is studied. In writing about instances, authors automatically make them static–make of them objects. The postcritical author, therefore, must remain conscious that her written works always represent her partial and positional interpretation, rather than the totality of what *is*. Representation, then, involves the ways in which the ethnographer chooses to express her research. Postcritical ethnography urges researchers to employ critical decision-making during this process that takes into consideration troubling practices of representation, such as displaying an *exotic other* for curious consumption (Noblit, 2004).

Lather (1991, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007) has contributed greatly to discussions of postcritical ethnography in a number of articles she has authored about methodologies, covering topics such as critical ethnography, feminist research, and the role of postmodernism and poststructuralism in methodological considerations. Lather (2001) highlighted critical ethnography's roots in British cultural studies and the field's use of "feminisms, post-colonialisms and critical race theories" (p. 479) to explore culturally specific power relations and normalized inequities. Advocating "openly ideological research" (p. 186), Lather (2003) critiqued positivist claims to neutrality and objectivity, asserting that all research is value-based. Lather (2001) has paid particular attention to the postmodern and poststructural, which, Lather stressed, is about deconstruction, not ideology critique. Poststructuralism calls upon us to examine the historically and culturally embedded nature of language and the ways that language as a conceptual tool affects what individuals perceive as reality (p. 479). Thus, research that incorporates "multiple voices and interpretive stances" (Lather, 1991, p. 162) can assist in attempts to avoid producing data that is mired in "power-saturated discourses" (Lather, 1991, p. 164) and totalizing conclusions (Lather, 2007). Such "deconstructing/deconstructive inquiry" (Lather, 1991, p. 155) applies the postmodern to research practices as a way to continually "think about how we think" (Lather, 1991, p. 154), while acknowledging the (mostly) hegemonic origins of what we think we know (Lather, 1991). Lather (2007) advocated "getting lost as a way of knowing" (p. 4) as a form of research that repudiates the authoritative voice while allowing for constant self critique. Troubling *reflexivity* as a potential tool to re-authorize the researcher's voice, Lather (2001, 2007) presented

deconstruction as an alternative approach that embraces *not knowing* as a means to produce research that offers one perspective among many, a participant in a conversation in which no party has absolute knowledge.

The following section on feminist research methodologies demonstrates that a postcritical approach shares many qualities with some feminist approaches. However, my discussion of feminist methods highlights emphases on praxis-based, interactive research that actively seeks to benefit the people being researched.

Feminist approaches to methodology. In *Feminisms in Education*, Weiner (1994) advocated feminist research methodologies for education, claiming that feminisms offer political, critical, and praxis dimensions to research, combining theory with "everyday realities" (p. 122). Furthermore, feminist researchers have focused as much on the process of research (the how) as on the findings (the what). Thus, researcher positionality and methodological considerations have been closely examined in the course of producing knowledge. Weiner (1994) wrote:

> …feminism has played a vanguard role in challenging science's epistemological foundations which are rooted in modernity by anticipating (and engaging with) many of the recent debates arising from poststructuralism and postmodernism. Thus challenges have been made to universal, patriarchal research paradigms, i.e. the study of 'man' (e.g. Stanley and Wise 1983); positivism's claim to neutrality and objectivity (e.g. Harding 1987); the distortion and invisibility of the female experience (Smith 1978); the notion of the autonomous and rational individual as the main goal of education (Walkerdine, 1990); the extent to

> which educational research itself can challenge inequality (Weiner 1990); and arguments put forth about the shifting category of 'woman' as outlined on the poststructural writing of Weedon (1987) and Riley (1988) and so on. (p. 127)

Therefore, feminist research and epistemological orientations have often challenged the traditional assumptions of positivist scientific methods, including the androcentrism that has commonly characterized scientific research and ignored or misinterpreted the experiences of girls and women (Weiner, 1994). This consciousness of marginalized experience can–and should–be extended to all possible positionalities that could be, and often have been, eclipsed or made peripheral by traditional research.

Weiner (1994) described feminists' advocacy for research that emphasizes "interactive, contextualized methods" (p. 128) that seek "pattern and meaning rather than… prediction and control' (Lather, 1991, p. 72)" (p. 128). An explicit goal of such research should be to improve the experience of those being researched, bringing questions of power relations to bear on the research process, as well as the need for researcher reflexivity and subjectivity (p. 128). Though Weiner pointed out that no single, agreed-upon feminist method exists, she asserted that feminist methodologies incorporate a social justice paradigm embedded in praxis, process, and practice. Feminist praxis in education would involve the full range of educational actors–teachers, parents, students, administrators, etc.–involved in reciprocal actions of conscious empowerment, and would constitute "a fusion of values, theoretical perspectives and practice with a specific grounding in feminist epistemology" (p. 129).

Though Weiner (1994) depicted critical, feminist praxis as complex and contested, she argued that feminist research should necessarily share certain features. These include, in addition to those mentioned above, being continuously subject to revision, widely accessible, and "explicitly political and value-led" (p. 130). Weiner also rejected the conventional dualisms of educational research, such as "theory/practice" and "epistemology/methodology" (p. 130).

Hughes (2002) rejected such dualisms as well in *Key Concepts in Feminist Theory and Research*. Hughes discussed the critical nature of the researcher's conceptual framework in determining expressions of outcomes and knowledge, asserting that meaning is historically and culturally situated. Referring to poststructuralist frameworks, Hughes wrote that language shapes perceptions of reality, making meaning inherently unstable, and that meaning "may be multiple, varied, and diverse" (p. 13). Moreover, power relations are expressed in language through dualisms that embody binary hierarchies. Thus, our perceptions of reality are imbued with "discursive power relations" (p. 13).

The following literature review on educational interventions for children with refugee status provides important considerations for the site I will analyze in article two, thus demonstrating the need for greater contextual understandings and adaptations to each unique educational environment. I studied these materials after–and in response to–my work as a researcher and tutor with children with refugee status. For articles 2 and 3 of this dissertation, I will reflect on the literature as it relates both to the previous

explorations on multicultural theories and to my analyses of teacher interviews and participant observations at Red Valley[27] Elementary school.

Educational Interventions for Children with Refugee Status

The 2009 World Refugee Survey reported that the number of asylum seekers and refugees worldwide was more than 13.5 million as of December 31st, 2008 (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2010). Children, the most vulnerable members of the refugee population, comprise more than 50% of refugees, and often suffer separation from their families, having little or no access to education (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). Refugees, as defined by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1951), are a legally classified group of people who have fled their own countries due to well-founded fears of persecution based on their "race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion" (p.16). Oftentimes, people with refugee status have escaped traumas that may include experiences with war, ethnic cleansing, sexual violence, or systematic government oppressions such as imprisonment, torture, and execution of family members. Many refugees spend time prior to resettlement–in some cases many years–in refugee camps, where deprivation, depersonalization, limited rights, violence, and further traumas such as family separation and suicides are not uncommon (Hamilton & Moore, 2004). The UNHCR refers those refugees who cannot return to their country of origin–about one percent of the refugee population–for third-country resettlement. The United States is one of ten countries that operates a refugee resettlement program. In 2008, the United States

[27] Red Valley is a pseudonym.

permitted seventy thousand refugees to be admitted for resettlement in various parts of the country (USCRI, 2009).

Children with refugee status entering schools in the U.S. present special circumstances and needs. Such students may have experienced multiple traumas and losses, including separation from homeland and family members, and the stress of adaptation to a new culture, environment, and language. Personal victimization or witnessing brutality prior to migration varies among individual children, yet is quite probable (Hamilton, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). Among host communities of resettlement, hostilities such as racism, nationalism, and xenophobia may exacerbate transition (Jones & Rutter, 1998).

Local agencies and school staff are likely to be unprepared to serve children and families undergoing the complex process of social, emotional, and psychological recovery during a time of transition and instability, and many educational systems lack the necessary support systems to adequately facilitate this process for their students (Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

In Hamilton and Moore's (2004) *Educational Interventions for Refugee Children: Theoretical perspectives and implementing best practice*, the chapter authors took a developmental, ecological approach that focuses on the environmental and contextual variables of a child's development, drawing from Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1992). Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1992) model consists of nested systems of interrelated ecological levels: the "microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem and macrosystem" (Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen, & Frater-Mathieson, 2004, p. 3).

Though I may not refer to Bronfenbrenner's model in my articles, I think it is important to mention the *Interventions* authors' guiding theoretical framework because I rely heavily on their work for this section on refugee education. In addition, I want to demonstrate how this framework utilizes more complex, multi-layered and holistic analyses in assessing children's lived experiences than do more traditional approaches to both education and mental health in the United States.

The *Educational Interventions* authors (2004) applied these four systems to various aspects of the refugee child's environments, dividing them according to the immediacy of their impact. Thus, the microsystem involves the child's most immediate influences, such as family, peers, and neighbors. The mesosystem consists of the next layer of the child's circumstances, and describes the relationships between various microsystems, such as home and school. The exosystem also refers to relationships between microsystems, but those with which the child has indirect contact, such as a parent's workplace. Finally, the macrosystem is the fabric of the larger society within which the child exists–laws, ideologies, values, and customs, for example. These systems may be seen as complex and interacting as one system nested within another (Anderson et al., 2004).

The *Educational Interventions* authors advocated a variety of educational interventions for refugee children, applying Bronfenbrenner's (1972, 1992) ecological approach to develop an educational model that distinguishes between pre-migration (the experiences the child had prior to leaving their country), trans-migration (the child's experiences while transitioning from home to the new host country), and post-migration

(the child's experiences after arriving to the new host country). Post-migration considerations include the child's adaptation to a new school environment, which introduces a full spectrum of potential stressors (Anderson et al, 2004). Anderson et al. (2004) presented some of the variables that can affect a child's acculturation process, which include "the degree of trauma experienced, how supportive the family is; and the child's and family's level of literacy in the first language" (p. 9). A school's positive response to refugee students serves as another important factor in refugee children's healthy transitions to their new life, and can be evidenced by supportive "changes in school policies, procedures, practices, and teacher development" (p. 10).

Interventions and considerations. It is important for educational professionals to recognize that refugees as a group are extremely heterogeneous, and represent great diversity on cultural, social, and personal levels (Hyder, 1998). Furthermore, the political circumstances of refugees' forced migration vary greatly from one group to another. For example, one refugee community may be especially affected by ethnic violence and stereotyping, another by systematic sexual violence, and still another by a profusion of land mines that results in physical mutilation and the loss of limbs (Miller & Rasco, 2004). The political climate within the communities and systems that affect interventions can also be widely differentiated. Some refugees experience resettlement locations that offer extensive support services and/or previously established immigrant communities (Blanch, 2008), while others may be relocated to under-resourced areas and/or unwelcoming local communities (Anders, Bates, Sprecher, & Spellings, 2009; Blanch, 2008; Jones & Rutter, 1998).

Nevertheless, there are recurrent commonalities among students with refugee status for consideration and potential interventions. Foremost among these factors are experiences of grief, trauma, and loss exacerbated by the complex process of migration, resettlement, and acculturation (Anderson et al., 2004). The following sections will describe with greater detail such experiences and common consequences for children with refugee status integrating into new schools, as well as interventions for addressing these challenges and successfully supporting refugee students.

As the following discussion of current literature will demonstrate, refugee student adaptation is greatly enhanced when interventions take both a public health and a multicultural education approach. A public health perspective acknowledges the student's needs from a holistic standpoint, and recommends interventions that address mental and physical health, including home and family concerns, such as poverty and stressed family dynamics. Additionally, many in the field of public health employ a social determinate model that examines the conditions in people's lives that promote good or bad health (World Health Organization, 2009). This ecological approach explores the circumstances "in which people are born, grow, live, work, and age, including the health system" (World Health Organization, 2009) and the ways in which these life conditions are affected by "the distribution of money, power and resources at global, national and local levels" (World Health Organization, 2009) Thus, a social determinant model acknowledges the policy choices that result in unfair and unequal access to health both within and between nations. Rather than focusing solely on the treatment of people's health problems and symptoms, the social determinant model seeks to address the

preventable socio-political causes of poor health that result from inequitable access to money, power, and health-promoting living conditions such as safe and sanitary neighborhoods and housing, fair employment, social protection, and universal healthcare (World Health Organization, 2009).

Within the field of education, a multicultural education approach emphasizes adjustments in teacher training and development, as well as school-wide policies and practices designed to create pro-diversity, multicultural schools that support culturally-based learning needs and healthy cross-cultural interactions (Banks, J. A., 2005; Grant & Sleeter, 2005). The following descriptions of public health and multicultural education interventions will show that, rather than being distinct from each other, the two approaches are quite integrated.

Grief, trauma, and loss. Frater-Mathieson (2004) wrote that children with refugee status present complex needs due to their experiences of multiple losses and traumas, and pose a significant risk for developing mental health challenges. Though not all have experienced brutal traumas such as witnessing murder or being victims of violence, every refugee child has suffered varying degrees of distress associated with the multiple losses of displacement and migration (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Anderson, 2004a). Resulting symptoms can include anxiety, fear, depression, bereavement, post-traumatic stress, survivor guilt, personality changes, and feelings of powerlessness. Such symptoms can be exacerbated when the child has pre-existing vulnerabilities due to earlier traumas or family dysfunction, and can last a lifetime, manifesting at different developmental stages or resurfacing in response to significant life events and/or triggered

memories (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Yule, 1998). Resulting behaviors can include "appetite disorder, stress-related physical ailments such as headaches or stomach aches, impulsive or regressive behavior, hyperactivity, and mood changes from aggression to depression or withdrawal… extreme reactions to mildly stressful events and an excessive physiological startle response… a fear of being alone, too much or too little sleep, and nightmares" (Frater-Mathieson, 2004, p. 15). Moreover, since refugee children's lives are definitively disrupted, learning or cognitive development may be delayed or complicated. This is further aggravated if the child's trauma symptoms include difficulties with concentration and learning (Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Prevailing literature on grief and loss in children has noted that children experience and express such feelings differently than adults, and often vary greatly in their reactions to painful occurrences. The grieving child's individual characteristics and developmental level, as well as the particular circumstances of the loss or losses, all contribute to the unique way in which each child responds to loss and trauma (Doka, 1995; Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Frater-Mathieson (2004) expanded this theme to include the complexities of the child's "ethnocultural, religious and socio-political contexts" (p. 14) as contributing factors for variation in grieving among children.

Studies of the effects of trauma among refugee adults and children have reported a high prevalence of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), commonly reaching 40 to 50%, and even 75% among children in one community sample (Lustig et al., 2003; Miller & Rasco, 2004). Children may be particularly vulnerable to traumatic stress because of their dependence on adult decisions, particularly when those adults have a reduced

capacity to protect them (Lustig et al., 2003). Nevertheless, diagnoses of post-traumatic stress disorder for refugee trauma survivors, while offering some helpful guidelines, are insufficient because such psychological frameworks are culture-bound to Western perspectives. Many non-Western definitions of experiences and explanations for symptoms can differ greatly from Western views (Blanch, 2008; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; Miller & Rasco, 2004), and PTSD ignores the potential influence of religion, culture, ethnicity, and socio-political context on individuals' perceptions of and reactions to events (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Furthermore, mental health diagnoses can lead to greater stress in communities in which social stigma is attached to such labels (Lustig et al., 2004; Miller & Rasco, 2003). In fact, Ryan, Dooley, and Benson (2008) argued that Western theoretical models apply stigma to mental health paradigms as well, by defining reactions to traumatic events as psychological deficits. Rather than viewing survivors of such traumas as incredibly resilient individuals, the Western model imposes on such persons a framework of psychological deficiency and damage.

Another limitation of applying a post-traumatic stress disorder framework to refugee circumstances is that PTSD criteria are not fully attentive to the multiple and complex variables–and often long-term, repeated nature–of refugee traumas (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Additionally, the stressors of resettlement, such as those described earlier in this paper, can contribute significantly to maladaptation regardless of earlier pre- or trans-migration experiences (Lustig et al., 2003; Miller & Rasco, 2004). Frater-Mathieson (2004) provided examples of chronic refugee circumstances, such as staying in a refugee camp or living with family members who suffer forms of post traumatic

stress, as better addressed with Herman's (1992) framework for complex post-traumatic stress, which encompasses broader, less fixed symptoms with consideration for long-term factors. Herman's model for CPTSD transcends the limitations of the criteria for PTSD, which are based on circumscribed events, and therefore not well suited to address chronic, long-term trauma. Herman's proposed criteria for complex post-traumatic disorder view responses to trauma "as a spectrum of conditions rather than as a single disorder" (p. 119), and include descriptions of instigating factors such as being taken hostage or as a prisoner of war, imprisoned in a concentration camp, or subjected to "domestic battering, childhood physical or sexual abuse, and organized sexual exploitation" (p. 121). Thus, Herman's CPTSD model would allow for and address the complications of multiple pre-, trans-, and post- migration stressors in the lives of refugee children.

Pre-migration conditions can include violence, war, life in refugee camps, and severe deprivation, while trans-migration issues involve the loss of everything familiar and beloved–one's family and friends, country, and way of life, as well as loss of "social status, of profession or occupation, of emotional security, of cultural and religious acceptance and belonging, and of being able to interact and communicate with the wider society" (Frater-Mathieson, 2004, p.21). Post-migration introduces the additional stress factors involved with adapting to a new environment, culture, and language, which can be compounded by the pre- and trans- migration experiences, resulting in a cumulative effect that often leads to seemingly extreme reactions to minor events (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Frater-Mathieson (2004) wrote,

> …for many young refugees the grief process can become more problematic or more intense and prolonged, not only because they have lost a whole world of relationships but because ongoing grief for missing relatives can cause debilitating psychological distress. (p. 18)

Moreover, the stressful process of resettlement involves a multitude of variables that can include financial instability and unemployment, as families often arrive with informal educational experiences and skills that are not transferrable to their new environments, thus beginning their new lives under conditions of poverty (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). Many resettled persons with refugee status experience sudden immersion in a culture and locale dramatically different from what they had previously known. Language barriers intensify confusion and frustration, and extended immersion in a foreign language environment can lead to mental exhaustion (Lustig et al., 2003). In addition to culture shock and language difficulties, hostility, anti-immigrant sentiment, and racism among the local community can create an unwelcoming environment. Furthermore, unaddressed health problems and a lack of social support resources such as affordable medical care and housing can contribute to severe post-migration distress among refugees (Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Thus, people with refugee status commonly suffer simultaneously from traumatic memories, cultural bereavement, and acculturative stress (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). For immigrant children and youth, this trauma can be accompanied by a heightened sense of difference as they try to fit in with their new peers, and commonly endure being ostracized, or worse, harassed or bullied by their schoolmates (Hamilton & Moore, 2004;

Lustig et al., 2003). Isolation and rejection combine with trauma and stress to pose great challenges for many refugee children trying to start a new life.

Additionally, the family, which is of primary importance to the psychological stability of all its members–but especially children–is usually disrupted by migration, leading to family disequilibrium (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Frater-Mathieson (2004) explained,

> The experience of exile, loss and transition disrupts the life cycle patterns of interaction, roles, boundaries and inner codes of family members. Migration in itself is so disruptive that it adds an entire stage to the life cycle for those families who must negotiate it (McGoldrick *et al.* 1986). …A significant dimension of family trauma and grief, then, relates not only to death or separation of family members, but also to the fragmentation of critical dimensions of the family microsystem and the family life cycle. (p. 22)

Frater-Mathieson (2004) added that coping strategies among cultural groups, families, and individuals can vary. Denial, silence, or minimization are common methods for parents who hope to protect their children from painful memories or fear, or who suffer feelings of guilt or shame for their inability to protect family members in the past, or for surviving when others did not. Culture, the shared beliefs, histories, communication processes, and ways of being of a group of people, plays a pivotal role in shaping the ways in which survivors perceive and respond to loss and trauma. Thus, within an ecological framework, children's experiences and interpretations of and reactions to trauma, grief, and loss are shaped by myriad interacting variables of their

micro-, meso, and exosystems. Though reactions and coping strategies differ, as described earlier, children of varied circumstances commonly react to loss with intense anxiety and fear, as well as “guilt, sadness, anger, withdrawal and confusion” (p.27).

School-based interventions. Schools, and in particular, teachers, play a central role in refugee children’s positive psychological development and adaptation process. Schools and teachers that have implemented strategies for assisting refugee children have demonstrated that such measures, particularly those that foster resilience, can vastly improve refugee children’s experiences in their new schools and social environments (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). These actions include appropriate assessment, therapeutic supports, physical security, nurturing caregivers, and a welcoming, inclusive environment (Cole, 1996).

Anderson (2004b) defined resilience as a set of tools for positive adaptation that individuals can develop when faced with adversity. Though some resilience determinants reside within the individual’s own characteristics, such as intelligence or attitude, or immediate environment, such as a supportive or dysfunctional family, other predictors for resilience can be provided by external sources. School-based interventions can support resilience by putting environmental scaffolds in place and teaching refugee children tools for improving their own resiliency (Anderson, 2004b).

Some interventions that promote resilience among refugee students are providing caring, informed adult mentors and counselors, implementing programs that improve self-esteem and social skills, and facilitating the development of friendships in classrooms through group processes (Anderson, 2004b). Additional qualities that foster

healthy integration among refugee and locally born students include “a nurturing, accepting and caring school climate characterized by tolerance and acceptance, and which includes structured opportunity for social interaction (peer support programmes and so on) in order to maximize the opportunity for newcomers to make friends and find a supportive social network…” (Anderson, 2004b, p. 62).

Literature on resilience among refugee children and adults often refers to protective and risk factors in individuals’ lives that may help or hinder resilience. For refugee children, post-migration external protective factors include consistently positive and supportive relationships with parents, support received by friends, teachers, or extended family, role models who encourage constructive coping methods, an inclusive, supportive, and welcoming educational environment, and the re-establishment of normal life patterns (Action for the Rights of Children, 2001). Factors that may increase risk for refugee children’s resilience are long-term unemployment of the father, family negativity, and disturbances of the mother’s mental and emotional health (Lustig et al., 2003). Since children’s well-being is directly connected to that of their parents, risk factors in the lives of parents–such as poor physical and mental health, marital tensions or separation, lack of resources, excessive demands on parents’ time, and no or limited access to health and support services–also affect their children. Parental protective factors include strong community relationships, extended family support, and a stable and adequate source of income (Action for the Rights of Children, 2001). Sadly, many refugee families are being resettled in the United States at sites that do not provide adequate support systems for

adequate periods of time, thus greatly exacerbating family struggles and challenges (McNeely et al., 2010; Gilbert, Hein & Losby, 2010).

Recognizing that the healthy adaptation of the family directly impacts the resilience of the child, Anderson (2004b) described supportive actions for refugee families such as offering second language instruction to children, parents, and other guardians, providing local information to assist with the relocation process, and organizing school-wide activities that bring families together and encourage new social networks. Moreover, caregivers can better support children's development of resilience by recognizing that resilience factors can be situation specific, calling for different approaches for different children. Finally, children perceived as difficult may be less likely to receive mentorship and the peer relationships they need to develop positive social skills, and may therefore require more systematic attention.

Incoming children with refugee status should be assessed not only for academic needs, but also for potential mental health interventions. Such assessments should take into account the culturally-specific nature of experiences and reactions to trauma, as well as the effect multiple, prolonged traumas can have on children's sensitivity to changes in their environment (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Additionally, educators must be aware of the short and long-term effects trauma and loss can have on learning challenges, as well as the ways in which trauma and grief can manifest in classroom behaviors (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Haasl & Marnocha, 2000; Wolfelt, 1983; Worden, 1996; Zill, 1990). Assessments should be ongoing, include documentation of pre-, trans-, and post-

migration events in the child's life, and describe coping strategies the child has demonstrated (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Frater-Mathieson (2004) explained,

> Learning difficulties associated with trauma are complex to assess in refugee children in the first months of arrival and any trauma-related reactions or blocks to social or learning situations need to be acknowledged and accommodated within a safe and predictable environment. However, when learning difficulties extend over time and the child fails to advance on a similar level to his or her peers, extra therapeutic support may be integral to the child's learning and development, given that attention and concentration skills can be significantly diminished by trauma. (p. 32)

Thus, therapeutic interventions become necessary not only for the child's overall well-being, but as crucial components for successful learning and academic development.

Such therapeutic interventions must be informed by an awareness of the child's cultural context, provide culturally relevant activities, and acknowledge the role cultural bereavement may play in the child's healing process. In addition, the child's family structure and values should be understood within their socio-cultural framework, and communication with and integration of families is essential. Positive, culturally appropriate home-school communications are critical to the refugee child's school success, and schools must prioritize involving parents in their children's education. This may require appointing an official liaison or coordinator to the effort, and acquiring interpreters and individuals competent in the refugee family's culture. Again, the role of

the school environment is also critical (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Frater-Mathieson (2004) wrote,

> School and individual therapeutic interventions need to be interlinked to reconstruct a sense of social belonging in a way that validates [the refugee children's] cultural identities. Consequently, both schools and families need to adapt and create a safe arena for supporting the child's transition. Recovery from trauma can only take place in the context of relationships; it cannot occur in isolation (Herman 1992). Therefore, empowerment of the young person in these social contexts is vital. (p. 33)

Thus, the social environment within the school and the relationship school personnel develop with the refugee student's family are primary factors contributing to the refugee child's positive or negative recovery and adaptation (Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Teachers and administrators play a significant role in producing atmospheres that foster resilience among traumatized immigrant children. At the core of their involvement is an understanding of both children's experiences with trauma and of cultural diversity (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Therefore, I argue that educators should participate in professional development and training that addresses the issues faced by refugee children. Unless properly prepared, educators may find themselves confronted with seemingly overwhelming hurdles: second language acquisition, learning difficulties or culturally-based differences in learning styles, trauma-related disruptive behaviors, lack of or limited prior education, and/or stressed family/home life and impoverished circumstances. Moreover, teachers may experience extreme emotional responses

themselves to the realities some of their refugee students have survived. In this vein, teachers of refugee children may need extra supports that include additional resources, as well as targeted professional meetings to address concerns and issues as they arise (Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Anderson (2004a) wrote that refugee children's healthy acculturation to the host culture is essential to their emotional health and academic success. Factors that could negatively impact refugee and immigrant children's acculturation to their host country include hostility and prejudice among host culture members. Conversely, inclusive host cultures that value pluralism and equity will be more likely to foster acculturation in which the child develops and maintains positive attitudes and connections to both the new culture and her or his culture of origin. As mentioned earlier, schools play a major role in the socializing process of both newcomer and locally born students (Anderson, 2004a). Anderson (2004a) stated,

> Schools are one of the prime acculturating agents within societies. It is here that the values, norms and tools of a particular culture are transmitted to its young. This includes the multicultural ideology of the dominant group as well as attitudes and beliefs about specific migrant groups. Furthermore, the values norms and goals of the dominant society will be reflected in the practices of institutions such as schools (p. 78).

Anderson (2004a) advocated newcomer orientation programs that acknowledge and address the many stress factors involved in acculturation and that assist youth and their families in the adaptation process. Refugee communities and families should be

central to the process of developing and implementing such programs, and schools should avoid assimilationist ideologies, pursuing instead a pluralistic approach. Additionally, languages of origin should be maintained during English language acquisition through bilingual materials and teachers whenever possible (Anderson, 2004a).

Frater-Mathieson wrote that a supportive, welcoming school environment that embraces cultural diversity serves to create safe learning spaces for children, as well as encourage involvement of parents from different cultural backgrounds–both integral components of education of refugee children. For children who often have survived many dangers "restoration of a sense of safety is a top priority" (p. 34). Proactive measures include after-school programs and activities that affirm refugee children's social identities and encourage self-expression, as well as instructional techniques that incorporate small-groups, allowing children to interact and learn to cooperate with each other across differences. Curriculum content and school-wide projects that focus on cross-cultural understanding and respect, as well as topics on human rights and refugees, can both validate refugee children's experiences while fostering greater acceptance by and integration with their peers (Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Multicultural education. As described in the previous section, a culturally inclusive school environment is a key component of positive psychological and academic development for refugee children. Interventions associated with multicultural education include multiple variables, such as changes in curriculum and pedagogy, school policies, and practices, and teacher training and development. These adjustments should include strategies for teaching second language learners, inclusive practices for students with

special needs, and strong administrative support. In addition, culturally appropriate assessments of student knowledge and abilities, healthy home-school communications, and the creation of safe learning environments are critical components of effective multicultural education interventions (Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

Teacher training and development. One of the most important interventions for refugee children is appropriate teacher (and principal) training and professional development in the area of cultural awareness, which includes analyses of one's own culturally embedded assumptions and beliefs. Intrinsic to this teacher development is multicultural education. Such education requires a multi-tiered process of learning about cultural diversity among children and families regarding customs, values, communication and interaction styles, and perceptions and expectations. This education does not focus on learning all about different cultures, per say, but rather teaches the understanding that there are multiple ways of being and seeing the world, and a certain level of openness and skill development can assist teachers in getting to know their classroom students, families, and communities. Highly pertinent to this process is continuous self-reflection that allows teachers to explore and question their own, often unrecognized, beliefs and assumptions (Hyder 1998; Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

Such training is important for a number of reasons, and leads to other areas of multicultural education designed to meet the needs of refugee students. Respect for difference is a critical component of a healthy, productive learning environment, and teachers and principals who lack such awareness can adversely affect students from diverse backgrounds either directly, through potentially harmful words and actions, or

indirectly, by modeling for other students inappropriate reactions to difference. This includes maintaining and expressing stereotypes and biases related to student social class, country of origin, and cultural or racial identity; low expectations for academic success; or negatively misinterpreting behaviors, values, and goals of students and their families. Conversely, educational professionals can behave in informed and supportive ways towards students from different backgrounds, while modeling appropriate reactions to difference for majority culture students. This includes creating pedagogical practices that are culturally appropriate and meet the needs of different learners; for refugee children, this often incorporates specialized teaching methods for students whose first language is not the language of instruction. All teachers, not just those instructing in bilingual classrooms, should be prepared to implement Second Language strategies in their classrooms (Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

As presented earlier, one of the most critical requirements for healthy adaptation among refugee students is a safe and welcoming environment. In addition to teacher and staff attitudes, peer attitudes among local students are an extremely important factor affecting refugee children's adaptation process. Unfortunately, among too many schools, ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and racism have characterized the educational atmosphere, serving to ostracize and alienate refugee students, rather than welcome and integrate them (Jones & Rutter, 1998; Hamilton & Moore, 2004) Unsafe environments in which students are "victimized, taunted, bullied, or worst, physically harmed" (Hamilton, 2004, p. 87) severely hamper children's efforts to learn, develop, and adapt. Writing that bullying has become a serious problem throughout schools in multiple countries, yet is rarely

addressed by adults, Hamilton (2004) emphasized the particular vulnerability of refugee students to such treatment. Since nonconformity to majority culture norms is one of the main factors that determines whether a child will be targeted, refugee students are highly likely to be subjected to such treatment. Hamilton (2004) continued,

> In order to create a positive educational framework that will allow refugee children to integrate easily into a new school environment, they need to feel safe and comfortable. …development and enforcement of clear policies on racism and bullying are critical features of a safe school environment for refugee students. (p. 94).

Hamilton cited educational initiatives for refugee students in Great Britain that proved to be especially effective by incorporating curriculum content that included human rights, bullying, and racism as topics.

Multicultural education that teaches students about the existence and value of diversity, as well as a school-wide commitment to celebrating differences, can nurture positive relationships and interactions among students. Moreover, school-wide policies, practices, and pedagogies that teach intergroup multicultural skills, tolerance, nondiscrimination, and anti-bullying, while supporting expectations for peaceful action through procedures and reactions to events, can contribute greatly to a healthier, more effective learning atmosphere for all students (Camden, n.d.; Hamilton, 2004). Such programs should be system-wide, including all school staff, parents, and students in the process of identifying problems and solutions. Effective interventions should include peer

to peer elements such as skill building in conflict resolution and social skills, as well as forums for students to express concerns about bullying (Hamilton, 2004).

Teacher support. Hamilton (2004) underscored the invaluable role principals play in supporting teachers' efforts and positively engaging teachers in adapting to new curriculums and pedagogies. Principals can assist their schools by publicly supporting and emphasizing the benefits of culturally sensitive programs, while allowing teachers the autonomy to tailor their methods to their individual classrooms. In addition, principals should create forums for teachers to discuss concerns and engage in the decision-making process about adoption and implementation of new procedures. Hamilton wrote,

> Schools where teachers engage in considerable job-related discussion and share in decisions about instructional programs and staff development are more effective than schools where decisions are made by hard and fast procedures and rules (Barth 1990; Schlecty & Vance 1983). (p. 85)

Hamilton (2004) concluded that teachers may need extensive support in order to engage in the process of school and classroom transformation, and may need extra time and resources for planning and development. Otherwise, teachers who feel overwhelmed and under-supported may be resistant to the addition of even more, complex variables to their job requirements. Moore (2004) recommended employing skilled professionals to assist schools with the design, development, and implementation of their context-based changes, as well as support staff trained in linguistic and psychological interventions. Other suggestions include creating a school coordinator position in which an individual is employed to assist and manage the refugee students' educational process (Camden, n.d.),

as well as providing resources for emotional support for teachers who may have painful reactions–such as grief, rage, or hopelessness–when confronted with some of their students' tragedies (Hyder, 1998). Finally, Hyder (1998) emphasized the need for refugee educational interventions to be a whole school venture, in which all staff, teachers, and administrators receive training and work together.

Second language acquisition. While this paper will not address to any great extent the multitude of literature and positions concerning schoolchildren learning in a language other than their native tongue, I will briefly discuss some of the relevant second language acquisition themes from the refugee education literature, primarily as it relates to acculturation. Loewen (2004) wrote that, for children with refugee status, successful adaptation to the host culture is directly related to acquisition of the host country's language. Factors that positively affect students' language acquisition include literacy and education in their first language. However, many refugee students experience limited, interrupted, or no access to formal education prior to migration. Furthermore, mental health concerns associated with trauma or stress can impede and delay learning processes (Loewen, 2004).

One of the main factors contributing to second language acquisition by refugee students is regular interactions and communications with members of the target language group. In addition, Loewen (2004) cited Schuman's (1986) acculturation model, which posits that successful acculturation is directly correlated to social and psychological proximity to the target language group, rather than adoption of their lifestyle and values. Thus, the degree to which refugee students engage in positive social interactions with

local students, the quality of their intergroup attitudes towards each other, and the equality of each group's social status in comparison to the other greatly impacts both the acculturation and second language acquisition processes of refugee students. Schools that encourage and support positive interactions among immigrant and locally-born students can therefore greatly enhance refugee students' ability to learn the local language and adapt to the local culture and lifestyles (Loewen, 2004).

Loewen (2004) advocated inclusion of second language learners into the mainstream classroom in order to immerse refugee students in the second language social atmosphere; however, Loewen lamented "that most second language submersion programmes involve virtually no concessions to the child's first language or culture and, as a result, have well-documented negative effects for many children" (p. 44). In order to be effective, such programs must be well-planned, and integration may need to be phased and flexible, with the addition of supplemental programs where necessary. Pull-out second language lessons are most helpful when they are based on the students' mainstream class content, and when mainstream and pull-out teachers communicate about and collaborate on students' educational needs. In addition, well-coordinated peer tutoring can provide extra academic support while fostering potential friendships and greater intercultural understanding between locally-born and refugee students (Loewen, 2004).

Teachers in the mainstream classroom can further support second language students by creating an environment in which the students' first language and culture are respected and valued. Bilingual staff and class materials can assist students in

maintaining and developing their first languages. In multilingual classrooms where such resources may be difficult to access, teachers can integrate immigrant students' experiences, language, and culture into classroom activities, and can engage immigrant community members as potential allies and volunteers for developing culturally inclusive classrooms. Teachers should also be conscious of their use of the language of instruction, using contextualized language whenever possible and taking time to explain linguistic forms used for teaching content when necessary (Loewen, 2004).

Pryor (1998) discussed the debate between proponents of bilingual education and those who support full-immersion in second-language classrooms. Research findings have supported claims that bilingual education allows students to achieve second language proficiency in four to seven years, while gaining content knowledge in their first language, thus allowing them to perform as well as native speakers by the end of high school. Opponents of bilingual education have claimed that students have often been segregated into bilingual classrooms, where they remained dependent on first language instruction for too long. In addition, increasingly diverse immigrant student populations have made it more challenging for bilingual education programs to meet the needs of multiple language groups. Pryor concluded that language acquisition education should be based on analysis of each context, and that communities and cultural groups may vary greatly in their needs and preferences. Therefore, determining the needs of any student group should involve creativity and informed choices that transcend politics and draw on educational research, knowledge of local circumstances, and the input of affected second-language students and their parents (Pryor, 1998).

Assessment. Linguistic diversity calls for greater attention to academic assessment measures. Inappropriate assessments can lead to misperceptions about a student's abilities and mastery of scholastic skills and content, resulting in educational decisions that can have long-term affects on a child's academic career (Cole,1996). Cole (1996) wrote that large scale, minimum competency assessments such as standardized tests are used extensively, even though they are often unsuitable for students who are not members of the cultural and linguistic mainstream. Moreover, educational professionals need to be cognizant that high-level conversational language proficiency does not equate to high-level "cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 1981, 1994; Ellis, 1994)" (Loewen, 2004, p. 37), and students who confidently converse in a second language may not be able to achieve high-level assessment scores in the second language. Such bilingual transfer is even more difficult to attain when students struggle with high levels of stress (Loewen, 2004). Therefore, Cole (1996) advocated the use of performance-based assessments which provide flexibility and contextualized representations of student learning. Moreover, such assessments measure students' mastery of the standards, rather than compare and rate their performance in relation to other students' scores, with the purpose of identifying obstacles to learning and potential actions to improve future learning (Cole, 1996).

Inclusion. Conversations about inclusion of refugee students in the mainstream classroom include, in addition to language acquisition and acculturation theories, themes related to students with special needs and to multicultural education. Moore (2004) wrote that educational research has seen a shift from deficit-model paradigms, which focus on

the weaknesses and strengths of the student, to ecological and social learning theories, in which learning is viewed as "an interactive and contextualized process" (p.98). Thus, the social and physical environment is just as important in determining learning and behavior as the individual, leading to a greater focus in the education field on school environments that meet the needs of all students. School environments that adopt ecological and social learning approaches no longer expect students to change and conform to a uniform school culture, but rather, continuously adapt the school environment and practices to student needs (Moore,2004). Hamilton (2004) added that schools that adapt to student needs must necessarily take a multicultural approach to a multicultural student body. Hamilton wrote,

> In order for comprehensive multicultural school-based programmes to be instituted, schools will need to adopt an ecological orientation to education (Cole 1996). An ecological multicultural perspective requires that schools and teachers move away from viewing any socialization or academic student problem as reflective of some underlying dysfunction on the part of the child to viewing these problems as being indicative of a poor fit between the school environment and the individual student (Hamilton, 1999). (p. 95)

Thus, for refugee students, an ecological multicultural approach means incorporating a variety of school support systems in response to students' observed needs.

Parent involvement and outreach. Another crucial variable for successful educational experiences for children with refugee status is a strong connection and line of communication with the students' parents (Hyder, 1998; Camden, n.d; Hamilton & Moore, 2004). In addition to an appointed home-school liaison and multilingual and

interpreter services, teachers and staff who embody greater cultural awareness–such as differing involvement needs and expectations among parents–will be able to maintain better relationships and communications with families of different cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, a pro-diversity environment will be more welcoming and better enable school-parent outreach efforts (Camden, n.d.; Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

Camden Refugee Education Policy. The Camden Education Authority of Camden, England (n.d.) created guidelines for school policies designed to meet refugee children's educational needs. Though each school context should be analyzed for site-specific needs, the Camden guidelines provide an important starting point for any school district seeking to develop their own policy guidelines for refugee education. The Camden Guidelines reflect agreement with the previously described literature and research on refugee education, and include suggestions throughout for developing environments and curriculums that embrace multiculturalism and intercultural understanding among school staff and students. Additionally, the Guidelines acknowledge the pertinence of addressing refugee children's emotional and psychological needs with pastoral care, identifying and supporting *unaccompanied* refugee children–children arriving without parents or guardians–and working to understand incoming children's health concerns to coordinate their access to medical care. The Camden Guidelines highlight the importance of continuous evaluation of relevant school policies, training of all school staff in refugee and cultural sensitivity issues, and the recruitment of staff who represent the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of members of the student body. Additional school positions include interpreters, home-

school-liaisons, and a school coordinator whose responsibilities include monitoring and managing all school activities related to refugee education. These duties include special attention to welcoming and culturally appropriate admissions, reception and induction, and assessment procedures. The Camden Guidelines also address the importance of school policies in relation to second language acquisition, as well as making links with community organizations that serve refugee communities. Finally, the guidelines advocate for school policies that address the educational needs of students beyond regular school hours, and provide additional supports such as helping to fund students' participation in field trips, and providing access to after school, weekend, and holiday programs such as trips, clubs, and "homework and examination courses" (p.8).

Concluding thoughts. Despite the educational challenges and needs of refugee children, it is important to avoid deficit-model approaches that see such students and their families and communities as problems, or as inherently lacking or inferior because their circumstances and values differ from Euro-Western norms (Cole, 1996). Education communities can and should recognize that children with refugee status bring positive contributions to schools and classrooms, such as new perspectives and experiences that can enrich learning for everyone (Jones & Rutter, 1998; Hamilton & Moore, 2004). For example, I assert that locally born students can gain greater intercultural competence through positive interactions with children from other countries and cultures. In addition, many refugee children are survivors, and have developed strength, courage, and resilience in the face of adversity (Refugee and Immigrant Services, 2008). The Refugee and Immigrant Services website (2008) stated that refugees often,

> …bring with… them a sense of what is important in life and a deep appreciation for the opportunity to rebuild. RIS has worked with victims of torture, people who have lost everything they owned, who have inspired us with their determination to move on. Working with refugees teaches us the value of hope and the strength of the human spirit. Those who volunteer with refugees meet individuals from across the world and develop an understanding of the people and places we hear of fleetingly in the news. We are sensitized to geopolitical issues and the role of the United States vis-à-vis their situation. We become better informed citizens, more sensitive to the situation of others. We see our own world with new eyes…

Moreover, children of all backgrounds present a variety of learning needs, as well as social-emotional concerns regarding grief, trauma, and loss, and educational systems that implement policies designed to meet these diverse needs will best serve all students, both locally born and immigrant (Jones & Rutter, 1998; Doka, 1995; Mayes et al., 2007).

I conclude by reiterating that the literature on refugee education repeatedly prioritizes multicultural education and the creation of inclusive, multicultural communities as primary factors contributing to refugee children's positive academic, acculturative, and psycho-social experiences. Hamilton (2004) summarized, calling for:

> …multicultural school communities which promote a multicultural perspective and address the needs of both immigrant and refugee families; that is, a multicultural curriculum, integration of multicultural community services, translation services, English language courses, and multicultural training for

> teachers. For many schools, transformation into a multicultural community will require multilingual services and staff professional development. (pp. 94–95)

Thus, the development of multicultural educational environments will require, for some school systems, extensive transformations that are, nevertheless, critical to the positive academic experiences and successes of refugee students.

Local Context: Burundian Refugee Children in a Southeastern, U.S. School

The following section will provide a brief socio-historical background on the Burundian refugee students who are the subjects of the ethno-analysis, thus providing greater context for this specific group's experiences and circumstances.

The 1972 Burundian refugees. The people known as the *1972 Burundian refugees* fled their country in 1972 to escape genocidal massacres perpetrated by people who identified with the Tutsi ethnic group against people identified with the Hutu ethnic group (UNHCR, 2007). The people who escaped to neighboring countries eventually settled in Tanzania, and have lived in Tanzanian refugee camps ever since. Many of the 1972 Burundi refugees were born in these camps, and the Burundian children at Red Valley Elementary school spent their entire lives in the refugee camps in Tanzania prior to immigrating to the United States. Over half of the people living in the Tanzanian refugee camps are under the age of eighteen (Ranard, 2007; UNHCR, 2007).

The Tanzanian government expressed that it will not allow permanent settlement of the refugee population in Tanzania, and passed legislation in 1998 and 2003 restricting the employment possibilities, freedom of movement, and right to property ownership for

people with refugee status. Thus, resettlement of people living in Tanzania's refugee camps has become an international imperative (Ranard, 2007; UNHCR, 2007).

The 1972 Burundian refugees cannot return to Burundi for a variety of reasons. Due to the development of radical opposition parties within the camps, all camp residents bear a political stigma that could prove dangerous to them if they returned. In addition, most Burundians were agriculturalists whose livelihoods depended upon the land they farmed. However, the 1972 Burundians cannot reclaim their lands because they have been gone so long. Burundi is a very small country and land is a critical resource; thus, the Burundi government seized and redistributed most of their properties. Finally, there is valid international concern that if the 1972 Burundians return to their country of origin, potential conflicts over land and/or political affiliation could reignite hostilities and destabilize the peace process, causing another round of violence and displaced peoples (Ranard 2007; UNHCR 2007).

As mentioned above, Tanzania will not integrate any more refugees, and has called on the international community to matriculate some of the Burundians into their countries. The United States has agreed to resettle approximately 9,000 of the 1972 Burundian population between 2007 and 2009 (Lutheran Services of Georgia, 2007). U.S. Refugee matriculation policy has been to disperse people with refugee status throughout U.S. Cities (Woods, 2008). This study focuses on one of those cities, a mid-size southeastern town that has seen a trickle of Burundian families resettle and begin to transition to life in the United States since 2007.

Cultural considerations for recently migrated Burundians to the U.S. are as follows: the Burundian population is 80% Christian, comprised of Roman Catholic, Anglican, Pentecostal, and Methodist denominations. A small number of Burundians are Muslim or practice more traditional African spiritualities. Kirundi and French are the official Burundi languages, and English is rarely learned (Ranard, 2007; UNHCR, 2007).

Burundi was colonized by Belgium, but gained independence in 1962. The country is 80% rural, and most Burundians live on and work small farms. The Burundi social structure is patriarchal. Men hold higher social status than women, and engage in the decision-making, while women perform most household labor (Ranard, 2007; UNHCR, 2007).

The hybrid, fluid nature of cultural traits that develop in the camps themselves should be considered when assessing the 1972 Burundians' cultural characteristics (Fouere, n.d.). It should also be noted that the 1972 Burundian refugees are comprised of members of the Hutu ethnic group. Nevertheless, such ethnic identifications are downplayed by most Burundian refugees, who wish to disassociate themselves from variables of identity linked to genocide and trauma (UNHCR, 2007).

Life in the Tanzanian refugee camps. As mentioned earlier, the Burundian children being observed spent their lives in the Tanzanian refugee camps prior to their recent immigration to the United States. Therefore, knowledge of the conditions in those camps is critical to better understanding their experiences. Refugee status imposed impoverishment and dependency on the camp residents because their employment rights were severely limited by the local government. People with refugee status had to rely on

the UN Refugee Agency, UNHCR, for shelter and rations of food and water. Camp residents were able to supplement these rations with infrequent low-paying camp jobs, as well as by growing small gardens and raising small farm animals. Residents lived in tents or traditional mud huts and used firewood for cooking. Education for children was limited to primary school, and was not well funded. Twenty percent of the 1972 Burundi population are literate, and camp residents were largely unfamiliar with modern technologies and machinery (Ranard 2007; UNHCR 2007).

Moreover, movement rights of people with refugee status were limited in the host country, and camp residents lived with restrictions some might describe as penal. Many residents survived the trauma of the violent massacres in 1972, and lived with post traumatic stress as well as the stress of displacement and confinement. The risk of domestic violence and rape was high, and residents were also subject to threats of violence and attacks for refusing to support various political groups that formed in the camps. (Lutheran Services of Georgia, 2007; Ranard, 2007).

Conclusion. The preceding literature reviews reveal important connections and possibilities for multicultural education paradigms. The refugee education literature establishes a strong link between multicultural education and the social-emotional health of refugee children, particularly as to the effect multicultural education has on facilitating positive peer relationships and inclusive learning environments. De Lissovoy's (2008, 2009, 2010) work on global critical pedagogy and decolonial education illuminates the connections between colonialism and imperialism, and the wars and forced migrations that resulted in students' status as refugees and immigrants in a new country. Not only

does this bear strong implications for the content of transformative teacher education, but decolonial education offers greater insights for multicultural paradigms that seek to incorporate the lived experiences of children who have immigrated from so-called developing countries and/or have lived through war and/or forced migration.

Moreover, the emphasis in the critical multiculturalism and decolonial education literatures on the importance of relationships begs further exploration of the possibilities of intergroup education within a decolonial context for diverse classrooms. The emphasis on student relationships brings to the forefront the oft-neglected impact of relationships and peer interactions on children's understandings of others and of themselves in relation to others (Thayer-Bacon, 2003). Such lived experiences can be enriched with facilitated learning activities, and will require teachers who are skilled facilitators capable of adapting and responding to events as they are happening.

With this in mind, the need for reflexivity as described in the literature on critical multiculturalism and decolonial education bears even greater consequence, as facilitated (and non-facilitated) student interactions are continuous and dynamic lived experiences that abscond prediction and control. Therefore, the literature reveals further reasons for training teachers in postcritical ethnography and feminist, praxis-based methods, in order to prepare them for such complex undertakings.

These and other themes and connections, as presented in the article outlines, are explored further in the following articles. Throughout, I use bricolage as a multilayered, relational approach to theoretical methodology to advocate and analyze possibilities for decolonial multicultural education.

Chapter 3, Methodology: Bricolage

In chapter 1, I explained that bricolage (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004) is an ideal methodology for my dissertation purposes for a variety of reasons. First, I need a methodology that responds to context while acknowledging complexity, multiplicity, reflexivity, and relationality. Bricolage allows me to explore the many layers and interrelationships among interdisciplinary theoretical and pedagogical discourses, as well as the unique and dynamic contextual variables that inspired my literature research. Second, bricolage aligns with my postcritical, feminist epistemological orientation, embracing philosophical and critical analyses of meaning-making and the role power plays in knowledge systems. Third, bricolage advances, rather than questions, the emancipatory intentions of any project, and thus supports a key aspect of my research. Finally, bricolage encourages me to move beyond *what is* to the possibilities of *what can be*, provoking me to imagine and create, to expand the role of researcher to that of social inventor (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).

I begin the following chapters with an explanation of the current socio-political context of educational research in order to position bricolage as a marginalized methodology within the present climate. I want to make explicit the politics of methodology, and of governmental, academic, and private research actors and their practices. The impact the politics of research has had on educational policy-making in the U.S. should not be ignored, as millions of lives have been affected by the resulting legislative reforms.

I then describe the theoretical underpinnings of bricolage and assert the value of new methods that articulate complexity and increase suspicion toward reductionism. I follow with a description of possible methods in the section "Doing Bricolage," that includes further explanations of *tinkering*, philosophical approaches, and examinations of self in research/text. Next, I detail my specific uses of bricolage for this dissertation project, elaborating on which tools I use and how. Finally, I conclude chapter 3 with a section that deeply analyzes my own positionality and epistemological orientation as it relates to the research, thus inserting myself in the text–an important element of bricolage work (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).

The Political Context of Educational Research

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) wrote that scientific research, including qualitative, is rooted in histories of colonialism and imperialism. Traditionally, such research–particularly in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology–was employed to objectify, categorize, and control populations being colonized in ways that positioned members of the colonizing class as superior and privileged. By observing, measuring, and defining the Other, Western Eurocentric research used the authority of science to claim truth and shape knowledge. The sciences were employed to maintain power, as information and reports about groups of people were "incorporated into colonizing strategies, ways of controlling the foreign, deviant, or troublesome Other" (p. 2).

Contemporary research has not escaped this historical shadow, as neocolonial elements continue to use research methods to further racist projects.[28] For these reasons, adopting methodologies that examine, question, and challenge colonial and imperialist assumptions and paradigms is especially pertinent for contemporary researchers. Too often, educational research–and research in general–still objectifies participants as objects, and national trends have been dominated in recent decades by ideological luminaries who fail to address–or actively oppose–these pursuits (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Educational researchers can draw on multiple methodologies that may help them to overcome unconscious habits of Western scientism that objectify and oppress others. Lincoln and Cannella (2004) explained that qualitative research reveals lived experiences, including those of subjugated peoples such as women, minorities, and the poor, and therefore has the potential to challenge regimes of truth with counter-narratives. Nonconventional research methods that unsettle conventional truths through the application of philosophical methods like postmodernism and poststructuralism, or theoretical approaches such as feminism, multiculturalism, or postcolonialism, threaten the status quo of Eurocentric patriarchal privilege. This threat has not gone unnoticed (Lincoln & Canella, 2004).

Lincoln and Canella (2004) demonstrated ways in which the radical political right has strategically developed discourses aimed at disqualifying emancipatory narratives and research. One method of disqualification has been to attack the research tools and

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[28] See Kincheloe, Steinberg and Gresson's (1997) *Measured Lies: The Bell Curve Examined* for a critique of contemporary research as a politically motivated, racist project.

methods themselves, while reifying the power and status of "objective" science to represent truth and knowledge. Another strategy has been to create new discourses that demonize difference and people working for justice, including researchers and academics. One reason the Radical Right has been so successful in perpetuating and normalizing their discourses of dominance is due to the extensive financing the movement has enjoyed through well-funded, radical right-wing foundations and think tanks (Lincoln & Canella, 2004). These politically-motivated philanthropies have provided multi-millions of dollars for "scholarship, and training that would support the conservative agenda" (Lincoln & Canella, 2004, p. 183). Lincoln and Canella (2004) explained,

> …conservatives mounted an aggressive and overtly political movement to construct a network of privately funded foundations that would engage in the promotion of their purposes. Symposia, leadership conferences, and scholarships were designed to train cadres of academics, activists, and policy makers who would serve the conservative Right. Books and other forms of scholarship that would (and do) influence public discourse were subsidized, advertized, and popularized. Examples of these include D' Souza's (1991) *Illiberal Education* and the Heritage Foundation policy used by the Reagan administration during the early years (Lemann, 1997). (p. 188)

Developed to counter academic research, conservative think tanks have been able to avoid the rigorous standards of academia, such as peer review and strict methodological oversight. Yet these same think tanks have been highly successful in

having their research adopted and validated by government, media, and public discourse. This has resulted in great influence on policy and legal decisions, as well as common public acceptance of such legislation (Lincoln & Canella, 2004). Lincoln and Cannella (2004) added that since many think tanks are located within or interact with universities, their radical conservative agenda affects academic research "by providing more support, increased financial resources, and greater voice for faculty associated with the think tanks" (p.191). The vast financial resources of these think tanks have also actively supported targeted attacks and harassment of left-leaning faculty and their work. Meanwhile, faculty financed by the think tanks are often freed from other academic responsibilities such as teaching, and thus afforded more time to do research, write, and publish. Examples of these wealthy, right-wing think tanks include, "the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute, the Cato Institute, the Hoover Institution, the Ethics and Public Policy Center, and the National Center for Policy Analysis" (p.191).

Therefore, to claim that the current research environment is highly politicized is an understatement. Educational research, in particular, has always been political, since such research informs the policies and practices that shape the discourses and perceptions of our nation's future citizens. Thus, education influences not only what students learn, but what they perceive as valid knowledge and who they perceive as valid knowers: that is, who is capable of producing knowledge and becoming *experts*. Schools also teach, whether blatantly or hegemonically, how to interpret what is ethical–and what is not (Spring, 2008a). As I described in chapter 1, the politically-charged legislation of

standards and accountability has promoted educational discourses that simultaneously eclipse and scapegoat difference through punitive measures that have had disastrous effects for minority and poor children.[29] The Bush W. administration's legacy of No Child Left Behind is one example of legislation instigated by conservative political manipulation of research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) wrote that federal legislation, most notably the No Child Left Behind Act, has reified the role of positivist research. This reification of *evidence-based research* was initiated by the National Research Council (NRC) as part of a "scientifically based research (SBR) movement" (p. 8) that negates the value of other forms of research. Devoid of social theoretical or philosophical guidance, this re-emergent scientism calls for (and only funds) researchers who engage in scientific methodologies in which they claim objectivity, validity, reliability, and generalizability through the use of causal models, controlled experiments, and independent/dependant variables (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Promoted and implemented by conservative administrations, evidence-based research has drawn criticism from qualitative researchers who claim the SBR movement is a politically motivated strategy to reinsert the primacy of racialized, masculinist ideologies into public policy. By disqualifying research that does not utilize the concepts of objectivity, validity, reliability, and generalizability in the way that SBR dictates, the

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[29] I recognize that phrases such as "minority children" and "poor children" discursively position the subjects in ways that are often interpreted as totalizing and essentializing. Working within the limits of my own language, I will alternate my terminologies throughout this dissertation (i.e. "children with minority status," or "children living with poverty," for example). However, I question our ability to ever fully divorce the language we use from socio-cultural contexts in which our learned meanings already totalize and essentialize certain subjects.

SBR movement has been able to omit the diverse stories of lived experiences and contexts from considerations that inform federal legislation regarding educational policy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). With its strict adherence to quantitative methodologies, and claims to a monopoly on rigor, the NRC has effectively eclipsed the complexities of "historical, contextual, and political criteria" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 9) from educational research.

Academia has demonstrated similar resistances to non-quantitative research, in which experimental sciences–such as physics or economics–have been considered pinnacles for the production of (Western) knowledge. Indeed, qualitative methodologies that acknowledge researcher belief as an integral component of any research outcome have been considered a threat to scientific claims to objective, value-free truths. The politics of knowledge production have been evidenced in academic realms that all too often validate and fund positivist work, while attacking non-positivist research as being unscientific (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Though positivists and postpostitivists have used the re-emerging discourse of scientism to critique alternative research approaches, bricolage offers exciting possibilities previously unexplored. This includes knowledge production that embraces difference and the different and nondominance and the nondominant. Bricolage promotes new ways of thinking about the world in which we live, and can help researchers transcend many of the current limitations of Euro-western linear, binary, causal, hierarchical thinking. In the following sections, I will explain bricolage in greater detail and describe my reasons for adopting this unconventional methodology in spite–or

perhaps because–of the current political environment of education research and policy-making.

The Value of Bricolage: In Pursuit of Complexity

Kincheloe (2004a) challenged the assumed validity of monological research, claiming that life is too complex for limited, one-dimensional methods that claim mastery of objective reality. Moreover, research that fragments, separates, and disconnects data into smaller and smaller components–as scientific methods do–loses sight of the interrelationships and interconnections that can inform our understandings of phenomena. Bricoleurs, in contrast, seek to avoid the trap of monological reductionism by employing multilogicality "that operates in concrete settings to connect theory, technique, and experiential knowledges" (p. 4). Kincheloe (2004a, 2005) asserted that such an approach does not imply anti-empiricism or anti-quantitative attitudes. Rather, bricoleurs eschew the overconfidence of positivism, preferring instead to acknowledge all research as an incomplete process. From this perspective, empirical data does not imply finality, but rather a single step in a larger process of inquiry that acknowledges the necessarily limited nature of all research and all researcher perspectives.

Monological research generally fails to acknowledge the relationship between human perception and material reality (Kincheloe, 2005). Kincheloe (2005) explained,

> Monological knowledge not only reduces human life to its objectifiable dimensions, that is, what can be expressed numerically, but also is incapable of moving beyond one individual's unilateral experience of the world. (p. 326)

Such unilateral representations of truth can be particularly harmful for those who have the least power to pronounce truth, since those with the power to define and represent material reality often inform and shape dominant ideologies and public policies. Therefore, failing to acknowledge the role of self in the research can radically distort interpretations and representations in ways that bear profound socio-political implications for others (Kincheloe, 2005). Asserting that researchers can never capture objective reality–but rather, only representations–Denzin and Lincoln (2005) added that even the qualitative strategy of triangulation, or multiple methods, falls short as a means to attain validity. Instead, multiple methods and approaches should be seen as strategies among many to enhance "rigor, breadth, complexity, richness, and depth" (p. 5).

Kincheloe (2005) asserted that educational studies require attendance to complexity, and therefore the rigor of bricolage to inform "new ways to understand the complications of social, cultural, psychological, and educational life" (p. 327). Researchers must avoid reductionism and, instead, address the complexity, reflexivity, and unpredictability of the lived world. This involves the troubling of universalism by acknowledging the role of unique contextual factors and living processes, rather than static entities, that comprise the "complexity zone" (p. 328). Bricoleurs, therefore, examine the influences and properties of relationships and connections on humans and human interactions, as well as the intersecting contexts "that provide separate entities diverse meanings" (p. 328). Such intersecting contexts might include, for example, social histories of groups to which participants belong, the unique circumstances of individuals' lives, or the political climate of research itself. Berry (2006) explained,

> Whereas traditional and modern research used only the research text itself as the context, bricoleurs expand the research beyond itself to a multitude of contexts. Because bricolage considers research to be a complex act embedded in and contested by a host of social, intellectual, historical, economic, institutional, local, global and political beliefs, values and relationships, it is imperative that contextualization plays a major part in the bricoleur's construction of knowledge through research. A bricoleur asks how the world being researched is connected to the policies, structures, discourses, and practices of the dominant political, economic, institutional, intellectual and other powers that govern social activity. (p. 105)

Thus, bricolage attends to multiple interrelating contexts and the role power plays in both people's lived experiences of these relationships and our interpretations and meaning-makings of such relationships.

Berry (2006) responded to criticisms that bricolage lacks depth and focus, is too big and messy, and lacks empirical evidence and logic. Berry argued that in order for academia and mainstream media to incorporate discourses and practices of "emancipation, inclusiveness, social justice, plurality… [and] diversity" (p. 88), new research tools and processes that address complexity, multiplicity, and relationality must be implemented. Furthermore, research should abandon perspectives that treat research subjects as problems, and instead problematize unjust socio-historical circumstances and relationships. Such a process cannot be entertained simplistically, however. Berry (2006) explained,

> [Bricoleurs] recognize that problematizing includes the complexity and multiplicity… of human relationships, of discourses that shape relationships of knowledge and power, of structuring the world at the individual, societal, institutional, and civilizational levels, of the shifting individual, historical, intellectual, social, economic and political experiences at local and global levels. Problematizing is done in order to rethink and re-see not solve. To re-think and re-see the world leads to transforming the policies, discourses and practices of exclusion, inequities and social injustice – research for Social Action. (p. 103)

Bricolage, therefore, enables rigorous and political research in which the bricoleur must have broad and deep understandings of a multitude of theories, methodologies, and philosophical insights, yet does not claim ultimate truth or final resolution. In addition, the bricoleur necessarily studies the relationalities and interconnections among the many layers that inform and shape social realities in order to develop complex understandings for instigating social action (Berry, 2006; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Kincheloe, 2005). Kincheloe (2005) referred to this as an "ontology of complexity" (pp. 333–334), in which neither the object of inquiry nor the enquirer and her methods are static entities, but rather, beings-in-progress that are ever influenced by socio-historical contexts, interactions, and relationships. Such complexity calls for the methodological approach of bricolage.

Trans/interdisciplinary layers and relationships. Trans/interdisciplinarity lies at the core of bricolage, because complexity requires an approach that moves beyond the

confines of disciplines to incorporate whatever disciplinary offerings may be appropriate for a particular research project. Rather than limiting research to the confines of disciplinary boundaries, bricolage expands knowledge possibilities by encouraging a dialectical approach to disciplines. In this way, scholars and their works can engage in conversations about ideas and experiences while escaping the confines and limitations of a single academic field. In addition, bricolage explores liminal spaces: the intersecting boundaries among disciplines that can lead to innovations not possible with a single discipline alone (Kincheloe, 2001, 2004). Thus, "blurred genres" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 3) help researchers transcend reductionism by adding multiple frameworks for seeing and thinking about phenomena.

Kincheloe (2001, 2004) asserted that bricolage calls for a dialectical relationship between the disciplinary and the interdisciplinary, arguing that each offers valuable, albeit different, contributions to scholarship. Kincheloe (2004b) wrote,

> …disciplinarians maintain that interdisciplinary approaches to analysis and research result in superficiality; interdisciplinary proponents argue that disciplinarity produces naïve overspecialization. The vision of the bricolage promoted here recognizes the dialectical nature of this disciplinary and interdisciplinary relationship and calls for a synergistic interaction between the two concepts. (p. 53)

Kincheloe (2004b) explained that before engaging in interdisciplinary work, bricoleurs should become familiar with at least one discipline in order to understand the ways in which traditional disciplines operate. In addition, bricoleurs may employ a sort of

"Foucauldian genealogy" (p. 53) to analyze the discipline's historically situated construction of knowledge, use of language, and relation to power blocs. In this way, bricoleurs can gain a "historically informed discursive understanding of a discipline [and] know a field in the context of how it has been used in the world and who used it and for what purposes" (p. 55). Thus, bricoleurs may develop the ability to question the assumptions and biases of any discipline, including their own, and work to avoid participating in colonialist projects of knowledge regulation. Kincheloe (2001) warned that bricoloeurs must also train this critical eye on interdisciplinarity, and avoid over-confidence in the infallibility of any approach. Interdisciplinarity, like disciplinarity, is subject to hegemonic influences and the social construction of knowledge (Kincheloe, 2001, 2004).

Writing that researchers have employed multiple approaches to interdisciplinarity, such as melding of disciplines, or an adding of disciplines that maintains their distinctions, Kincheloe (2004b) advocated for a form of "deep interdisciplinarity" (pp. 75–78). Deep interdisciplinarity modifies the traditional boundaries of disciplines according to the needs of the research context. Thus, the interdisciplinary framework is driven by context, and may morph into different variations for different projects. Often, this means combining disciplines to create something entirely new (Kincheloe, 2001, 2004).

Bricoleurs cultivate difference to improve researcher insights and creativity, and therefore pursue "relationship and dialogue with those who see the world differently" (Kincheloe, 2004b, p. 60). Careful not to romanticize or appropriate, bricoleurs respect

alternative perspectives for their potential to generate new understandings. As a methodology rooted in social justice, bricolage values subjugated knowledges for informing social justice concepts and actions, as well as expanding our understandings of the world. Bricoleurs reject "fundamentalist rationalism" (Kincheloe, 2004b, p. 61) in favor of complexity, challenging and decentering deeply rooted Western assumptions by engaging feminist, critical race, indigenous, working-class, and other voices in research dialogue (Kincheloe, 2001, 2004).

Doing Bricolage

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) presented conceptual categories for historical moments in qualitative research to demonstrate new discoveries and considerations for methodology. Chronicling the history of qualitative research, the authors described a moment in history from 1970 to 1986 they called "blurred genres" (p. 3) in which new interpretive perspectives were taken up that included cultural studies, feminism, and hermeneutics. During this phase, "the humanities became central resources for critical, interpretive theory… [and the] researcher became a *bricoleur*…, learning how to borrow from many different disciplines" (p. 3). This led to the phase known as "crisis of representation" (p. 3) from 1986 to 1990, in which "researchers struggled with how to locate themselves and their subjects in reflexive texts" (p. 3). In this way, researchers began to seek ways to identify and reject colonizing and reductionist approaches to research, while exploring alternative methodologies that offered more liberatory possibilities.

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) drew from Levi-Strauss' (1966) description of a "Jack of all trades', a kind of professional do-it-yourself" (Levi-Strauss, p. 17), using the metaphors of quilt making and montage to emphasize the bricoleur's layering of multiple resources (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). The authors wrote,

> In texts based on the metaphors of montage… many different things are going on at the same time – different voices, different perspectives, points of views, angles of vision. …works that use montage simultaneously create and enact moral meaning. They move from the personal to the political, from the local to the historical and the cultural. These are dialogical texts. They presume an active audience. They create spaces for give-and-take between reader and writer. They do more than turn the Other into the object of the social science gaze. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 5).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) indentified five bricolage approaches (see Table A1): interpretive, critical, political, methodological, theoretical, and narrative. First, the interpretive bricoleur recognizes research as interactive, a process that is "shaped by his or her own personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity and by those of the people in the setting" (p. 6). Second, the critical bricoleur implements hermeneutics to examine the role of the self in research, and in relation to diverse and interdisciplinary perspectives on a topic (Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Kincheloe, 2001). Kincheloe (2005) expanded this description, writing that "these perspectives or interpretations are viewed in relation to one another and in relation to larger social,

cultural, political, economic, psychological, and educational structures as well as … social theoretical positions" (p. 335).

Third, the political bricoleur recognizes there is no such thing as value-free science, as well as the integral role power plays in determining research and its effects on the political/public realm. Fourth, methodological bricolage incorporates numerous research methods as they are needed, ranging anywhere from ethnography to discourse analysis to historiography. Fifth, theoretical bricolage employs a wide variety of social theories–for example, feminism, constructivism, or cultural studies–in which to frame research. Finally, narrative bricolage recognizes that all research represents stories told by researchers, and that stories are framed within certain narratalogical conditions, such as positivism, postpositivism, irony, or tragedy. Such insights allow the bricoleur to analyze the ways knowledge is shaped and communicated (Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Kincheloe 2005).

Berry (2006) later critiqued these five forms of bricolage, arguing that by collapsing multiplicity into categories, bricoleurs run the risk of duplicating reductionist methods and losing sight of complexity. The complexities of bricolage include interconnectivity and overlapping approaches, as well as principles such as "the political and historical conditions between new knowledge and insights to human activities, relationships of power and conditions of exclusion, [and] inequities and social injustice" (pp. 101-102). Though I agree with Berry's assessment, I believe that Denzin and Lincoln's (2006) categories can be useful as organizational and structural tools

methodologically if, in light of Berry's cautions, researchers remain ever conscious that such categories are dynamic and overlapping heuristic[30] devices.

Berry (2006) offered other potential ways to organize methods of bricolage that she referred to as "elements of complexity" (p. 97). Berry's elements included "randomness with a purpose" (p. 97), which allows researchers to prioritize their goals rather than methods, thus randomly drawing on tools as necessary; "bifurcations" (p. 97), that is, deciding which directions to follow each step of the process, and "spontaneity" (p. 97), which means responding to serendipity and epiphanies. Berry also advocated the use of "feedback looping" (p. 97) to rethink concepts and ideas through conversations, challenging common sense knowledges through "far-from-equilibrium conditions" (p. 98), and "self-organization" (p. 98) that eschews step-by-step procedures to allow for continuous reconstruction of the research process and tools used in response to the process.

In light of the potentially overwhelming task of bricolage, Berry (2006) advised novice bricoleurs to start with what they know and where they are. Since multiplicity and complexity naturally lend to ever-expanding connections, bricoleurs may, at times, feel lost in the magnitude and seemingly limitlessness of their projects. Berry exhorted bricoleurs to consciously "keep rhapsodic intellect alive and not feel bogged down with intellectual paralysis" (p. 95). One technique for achieving such goals includes consciously identifying a stopping point for the research project, leaving other layers and

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[30] As a noun: "a commonsense rule (or set of rules) intended to increase the probability of solving some problem" (Wordnetweb, n.d.); as an adjective: "of or relating to or using a general formulation that serves to guide investigation" (Wordnetweb, n.d.).

connections to be explored in the future or by other researchers. Another challenge for bricoleurs lies in presenting/communicating complex research in ways that readers can comprehend. Berry recommended that bricoleurs consider creative, non-traditional ways to present their research: for example, creating visual media and diagrams, color-coded file cards, or a CD-ROM with hypertext links to demonstrate layers and multiple relationships.

Active-creative research: tinkering and innovation. Bricolage promotes active research, rather than a passive acceptance and implementation of prescribed methods. Such agency calls for drawing on those research techniques that most appropriately meet the needs of the research context as they present themselves. Rather than relying on a check-list of standardized methods, active researchers question the assumptions and knowledge systems in which such check-lists are often embedded, thus questioning their applicability for various contexts (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).

Bricoleurs participate in emergent methods that may change and adapt to research and progress by introducing new "tools, methods, and techniques of representation and interpretation" as needed (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005 p.4). Moreover, the bricoleur may innovate and create, piecing together or even inventing new techniques and tools to meet the needs of the research context (Denzin & Lincoln 2005). The bricolage toolbox may include a myriad of possibilities for the researcher's consideration. A partial list offered by Kincheloe and Berry (2004), and from which I draw, follows:

- multiple critical socio-theoretical discourses

- traditional and contemporary research genres/methodologies and their analytical tools
- cultural/social positionalities
- disciplinary/interdisciplinary departmentalization of knowledge
- philosophical domains
- modes of power…
- dismantling western grand narratives
- contexts of human activity
- accessing different sources of knowledge (Berry, 2006, p. 98; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004, pp. 115-127)

Berry (2006) warned that bricolage does not entail amassing an arsenal of tools, but rather, implementing "available tools as bits and pieces to construct new knowledge" (p. 99). Berry continued, "Bricolage works with 'bits and pieces' of theoretical, methodological and interpretive paradigms. It works with scattered parts, overlaps and conflicts between paradigms" (p. 102). Thus, the bricoleur prioritizes the process of knowledge production over the implementation of any specific tool or framework, choosing instead to allow the questions and answers sought to imply the approach at every turn.

Bricolage cultivates innovation and creativity by seeking "to produce concepts and insights about the social world that previously did not exist" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 346). In the bricolage, rigor takes new forms as researchers develop new methods for uncovering the obscure and unconsidered possibilities. Such a task requires imagination

to see what does not yet exist and what could be. The bricoleur applies this imagination to emancipatory projects, seeking to invent alternatives to existing oppressive circumstances, thus providing new pathways for liberatory actions. To the bricoleur, the world is full of possibility, and not simply limited to what we see or presently know. Like the scientific inventors who imagined light bulbs and computers into existence, the future-oriented bricoleur becomes an inventor for the social world, dreaming up new alternatives for the ways we live our lives and engage with each other (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).

Philosophical and critical approaches. Kincheloe (2004a) advocated philosophical research for bricoleurs to access tools to examine and question fundamental assumptions, such as the nature of knowing, *epistemology*, and the nature of being, *ontology*. Philosophy also offers tools to explore the role of the ethical and political features of research and knowledge production, assisting with the researcher's own process of conceptual clarification. Kincheloe wrote,

> Informed by philosophical research, bricoleurs become smarter, more self-reflective about their own role and the role of researchers in general in the knowledge - and reality - creating process. An appreciation of complexity… demands such insights, as it insists on an understanding that conceptual categories are human constructions and posits that such categorization exerts a profound impact on modes of perception and human action itself. (p. 8)

In this way, philosophical reflection can help bricoleurs acknowledge the ways in which their own subjectivities lead to the intersection of research discoveries and inventions.

Recognizing the social construction of knowledge and the myriad variables that affect meaning-making equips researchers with better tools for rigorous explorations. The philosophical informs the empirical, and vice versa.

Such philosophical reflections on the socially constructed nature of knowledge can enhance bricoleurs' understandings of historicity–both their own and that of others. By developing greater consciousness of "the historical, social, cultural, ideological, and discursive construction of science and the research it produces" (Kincheloe, 2004a, p. 11), bricoleurs can avoid naïveté and gain a deeper understanding of the complex dimensions that inform and produce knowledge. Employing critical hermeneutics further expands such understandings by helping bricoleurs to recognize and navigate the ways in which power historically and socially shapes meaning–and the material consequences of such meaning. As counter-hegemonic researchers, bricoleurs need such philosophical tools for socio-political projects that pursue justice and the reduction of suffering (Kincheloe, 2004a).

While bricolage embraces postmodernist and poststructuralist troublings of truth, universalism, and knowledge production, there is still room for modernist concepts. Kincheloe (2004a) explained that a dichotomous positioning of postmodernism against modernism is overly simplistic, and risks omitting concepts that are key to emancipatory projects. For example, ideas such as equality, civil rights and democracy have much to offer social justice researchers. Nevertheless, bricoleurs understand the transient nature of the terms they are borrowing, and that the meanings of words are interpreted differently by diverse people in different times and places. Moreover, such meanings may or may

not be appropriate for various contexts, and the bricoleur keeps a conscious eye on the words and concepts she applies to her work.

Complexity also demands greater understanding of multiple epistemologies, that is, different ways of seeing and knowing the world. In particular, awareness of diverse epistemologies, especially non-dominant ways of knowing, can help researchers move beyond the limits of Eurocentric paradigms. Moreover, bricolage calls for conscious critique of dominant knowledges through examination of the discursive construction of meaning and the interrelationship of power and knowledge. Such attendance extends to the ways both language and researcher socio-historical positionality affect interpretation and description of events. Thus, research findings always contain a fictive element; that is, each finding is one representation among many possibilities that is guided and shaped by a particular person's or group's experiences and interpretations (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2005).

Critical hermeneutics in the bricolage. As mentioned previously, critical hermeneutics can help bricoleurs question the assumptions embedded in texts, thus greatly assisting bricoleurs' attempts to reveal, critique, and avoid the ways power distorts meaning. This is especially important when engaging in analyses of academic literatures, since oftentimes the authority to define reality is automatically awarded the Western, educated author. Since this dissertation engages in a dialectical exploration of literatures and discourses, critical hermeneutics bears particular significance for my research process.

Grounded in the philosophy of interpretation, hermeneutics asserts that meaning making is a highly complex process that transcends even one's socio-historical positionality or the impact of social forces (Kincheloe, 2005). For researchers, this means considering the multiple contexts in which any object of inquiry is embedded and "appreciating the relationship between researcher and that being researched" (p. 342). It also means bringing human experience to the forefront of meaning making and textual analysis, and connecting hermeneutically informed understandings to action (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2005).

According to Kincheloe (2005), bricolage engages hermeneutics with critical theory for a hybrid approach that examines the ways power influences meaning making. Critical theory is rooted in explorations of power, and the ways in which power operates in the social world. Power may be a tool employed by institutions, groups, or individuals to maintain control and dominance over others. Power can also be productive, such as when institutions, groups, or individuals work to improve people's lives. Critical theory posits that human beings "are the historical products of power" (p. 342), and that our identities are "shaped by entanglements in the webs that power weaves" (p. 342).

Critical hermeneutics, therefore, explores how power-driven socio-historical intricacies impact cultural meanings and interpretations within and about the social world we are studying. Such rigorous and thick descriptions enable bricoleurs to offer more sensitive interpretations and representations of events and phenomena that take the pertinence of social, historical, and political circumstances into account (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2005). In employing critical hermeneutics to examine and critique my own

meaning making processes as a researcher, I must also analyze my positionality, which is intricately entwined with my textual interpretations.

Self and Positionality

Philosophical explorations of meaning making pair well with the anthropological tradition of examining researcher positionality, and bricolage embraces an approach that integrates both. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) explained that the bricoleur consciously inscribes and defines herself as part of the research, which may include the bricoleur's "life story, or biography" (p. 4). Indeed, conscious exploration of researcher positionality is a critical component of bricolage, because bricoleurs acknowledge the deeply embedded assumptions that guide all human expectations and interpretations of the world. All researchers, like all people, occupy specific, albeit intersecting and dynamic, social locations informed by their personal histories (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). The bricoleur, therefore, necessarily explores "the social construction of self, the influence of self on perception, and the influence of perception on the nature of inquiry" (Kincheloe, 2004a, p. 6). Every researcher enters every study with previous knowledge that shapes what she thinks she knows about the subject, and thus, what she learns from the process (Berry, 2006). By overtly situating themselves in the research, bricoleurs "write themselves into the texts as active participants in the construction of knowledge" (Berry, 2006, p.107).

Researcher positionality is further complicated by intersectionality, impermanence, and context. Berry (2006) stated,

> Shifting positionalities [based on place, time, gender, race, class, sexuality, etc.] from which a researcher reads, writes, analyzes, indicates a recognition of the part played by the socializing texts of scholarly discourses, academic expectations and contexts throughout time and space. (p. 90)

Researcher self-examination in bricolage therefore extends to discourse and context, and the ways in which power affects both. Bricoleurs call into question both the researcher's assumptions and the dominant forms of knowledge and knowledge production that inform one's own and others' research (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2005). Berry (2006) explained,

> Situating examines not only the bricoleur's taken-for-granted assumptions about the topic but the established and unexamined 'common sense' knowledge and beliefs of the society, institutions, media and cultural artifacts related to the topic. The countless number of socializing texts (tools) and processes ranging from oral to printed; family to media, from birth to date and multiple other texts adds another dimension to the knowledge, interpretation and understanding of the research as bricolage. (p. 107)

For bricoleurs, self and power-saturated texts are always embedded in the discursive practices that inform and shape research, interpretation of meaning, and production or validation of knowledges. Discourses cannot be separated from power, that is, "power relations and the struggle to create particular meanings and legitimate certain voices" (Kincheloe, 2004a, p. 6). Power shapes the research process through dominant discourses that operate best through common sense knowledges. These hidden assumptions determine methods, processes, interpretations, conclusions, and

representations of others. Many researchers remain oblivious to hegemonic influences, while maintaining faith in the objective quality of their work (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2005). Therefore, in the following sections, I will describe how I position myself in this research project, and examine sites of critical awareness and potential tensions and limitations.

My Approach/Use of Bricolage

Bricolage requires of the bricoleur creative decision-making about which tools to use and how to proceed. Therefore, I will spend some time detailing my bricolage approach more specifically. To begin, I am undertaking a complex project that seeks to explore multiple layers that include a variety of theoretical and pedagogical discourses related to multicultural education. In addition, I am drawing on qualitative data gathered through ethnographic observations and interviews to demonstrate the lived, contextually-based nature of educational experiences. This also introduces additional literatures from the disciplines of public health and psychology, making this an interdisciplinary project. Oriented from within the education discipline, I participate in a dialectical process with the other disciplines to enrich my analyses. Through this multiplicity, I explore the relationships among the literatures and data, emphasizing the blurred areas in which they inform–and contradict–each other to create new knowledges. Rather than highlighting static objects (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), I focus on processes and the ever-reflexive nature of ideas in relation to educational contexts.

I do not consider my conclusions final or absolute truths, but rather, part of an on-going conversation that is shaped by my interpretations, personal history, and social location. Therefore, a thorough exploration of my positionality follows this section, in

which I insert myself into the text in order to increase the transparency of my epistemological orientation. This includes a philosophical consciousness of multiple and subjugated epistemologies, critical hermeneutics, ontology, hegemonic discourses, and the continuous feedback loop between power and knowledge. Though I cannot apply an in-depth philosophical analysis of each concept for the scope of this dissertation, I maintain each awareness in my methodological tool belt throughout my readings and writings of others' and my own texts. While I employ this consciousness in order to reduce the likelihood of taking dominant discourses for granted and participating in a destructive otherizing project, I recognize that my humanness still limits my understandings and perceptions of phenomena to that which I am familiar.

I embrace postmodernist and poststructuralist troublings of the nature of knowledge, truth, texts, and language. Nevertheless, I also base my work in modernist Western concepts such as social justice and human rights. Like Kincheloe (2004b), I eschew a simple binary logic that posits one against the other–postmodernism versus modernism–in favor of complexity. This complexity seeks languages and frameworks committed to ending or reducing human sufferings, yet always remains cognizant of the socially constructed nature and power-saturated contexts in which such languages and frameworks are created (Kincheloe, 2004b). Tools are temporary, meanings are transient, and understandings are situated in the knower's socio-historical location. With this in mind, I reassert that my project is a political project in which I am committed to work that contributes to social justice and improved quality of life for those who have been denied. Moreover, my research questions seek ways to contribute to better education for

all through enhanced understandings and discovered possibilities for teacher preparation and professionalism, and for educational curricula, pedagogies, policies, and practices.

As I described above, I implement multiple tools for this project as it unfolds, and as the research calls for new approaches. My methodology combines "bits and pieces" (Berry, 2006, p. 102) of philosophical, theoretical, and qualitative analyses of discourses and data that I developed in response to my experiences as a teacher, tutor, and researcher with schoolchildren from diverse backgrounds. Thus, my research has evolved from contexts, and my desire to relate theory, pedagogy, and policy to my lived experiences and observations in schools. I therefore emphasize the reflexive nature of living processes, and highlight human relationships as a crucial component of this "complexity zone" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 328). My methodology employs a fluid exploration of ideas and experiences that, I believe, allows room for creativity and innovation. My innovative attempts are fueled by my desire to imagine new and better possibilities for education that are rooted in my commitment to social justice and human rights and to improved educational practices for the benefit of students, schools, and local, national, and global communities.

Finally, bricolage allows me to take up one piece of a life-long project in which I am one voice among many. Despite the size and complexity of this project, I have chosen my stopping point (Berry, 2006) for this dissertation, honing in on four specific explorations that allow an undertaking of great breadth to also engage in depth. Following Berry's (2006) recommendations, I use a nontraditional means of communicating my research–the four article approach–that I feel organizes and

represents my work more appropriately than a historical, five-chapter dissertation format. I incorporate multiple voices in this endeavor, including my own. I present the writings of educational theorists from Western academic orientations who come from a range of social identities such as male, female, white, Black, Latino/a, middle-class, and working-class origins. Through interviews, I analyze the perspectives of teachers and a principal–all white and middle-class–of a small school in a semi-rural southeastern town. I also represent experiences, behaviors, attitudes, and expressed feelings of Burundi refugee and U.S.-born students through my observations at the school. I acknowledge that my inclusion of voices stops there, and that accessing further voices, such as indigenous and non-Western philosophical perspectives, for example, remains open to future projects or other researchers/collaborators.

My positionality. Since I introduced my positionality and epistemological orientation in chapter 1, I use this section to add to, rather than reproduce, what I shared in the previous writing. In chapter 1, I introduced my epistemological orientation as postcritical feminist, and expanded my discussion of this orientation in chapter 2 and the previous section. Therefore, the following paragraphs describe my personal experiences in greater depth, and their relation to the work I am doing for this dissertation.

I am a white person who was born in 1968 and has grown up in the racialized, white supremacist society of the United States. At present, I am aspiring middle-class, but have had past experiences with both childhood and adult poverty. My socialization and educational experiences taught me a worldview in which I was a citizen of the best country in the world, the most advanced in every way. I was taught to believe that other

countries did not quite match the greatness of the USA, and that poorer nations–such as those in Africa, Latin America and Southeast Asia–were backwards, populated by inferior peoples doomed by their own inadequacy to lives of poverty, disease, violence, and misery. I was not taught about the brutal destruction of peoples and their lands by colonization or continued capitalistic imperialisms. Instead, I was taught I was naturally superior to the lesser, dark-skinned peoples of the world. I was a member of the *First World*, while they were trapped in an abstract *Third World* of which I and my peers wanted no part.

I began the work of unlearning these attitudes when I went to college, earning a bachelor's degree in women's studies and a master's degree in social and cultural anthropology. My studies emphasized confronting and shedding the oppressive worldviews I had internalized, such as sexism, classism, racism, ethnocentrism, and First World bias. I began exploring emancipatory socio-political theories, such as feminist, critical, and postcolonial studies, as well as postmodern challenges to the construction and privileging of knowledge systems. In addition, I learned how to conduct critically informed ethnographic research in the social anthropology tradition that emphasizes attendance to objectification, researcher positionality, and potential effects of researcher bias on the collection, interpretation, and representation of data. I continued developing my intellectual-epistemological orientation through my Ph.D. coursework in Cultural Studies, as I was drawn to continued discussions on discourse and knowledge construction, critical pedagogy, and global multiculturalism.

Throughout my university studies, I have been an activist. As an undergraduate employee of the Women's Center, I coordinated events and spoke publicly on topics such as date rape and feminism. I demonstrated with the Gay Straight Student Alliance against campus homophobia and marched on Washington for reproductive rights, GLBTQ equality, and freedom of artistic expression. I started and facilitated The Feminist Collective, where students gathered to discuss how sexism affected our lives and plan actions. I joined and coordinated a women's spirituality group that offered feminist workshops on topics such as abortion and healing from abuse. I also volunteered to work with abused adolescent girls and at a battered women's shelter. I share this history because it demonstrates my lifelong commitment to activism in various forms, and because I believe my dissertation research is a form of activism.

I am influenced by theoretical discourses of feminist epistemology that combine poststructuralist and postmodern critiques of truth and knowledge production with analyses of power and gender. My feminism is also informed by socialism and gendered critiques of capitalism, as well as anti-racist and Third World feminisms. I embrace a postcolonial approach that considers global systems from a gendered perspective that includes issues of environmentalism and eco-justice, women's labor and the feminization of poverty, and international violence against women such as sex slavery and systematic rape. I am also strongly influenced by earlier, Western feminist theories on misogyny, violence against girls and women, and patriarchal colonization, appropriation, and control of female sexualities. This has included an emphasis on the feminist politics of lesbian and queer sexualities.

Though this dissertation emphasizes racisms and classisms born of local-global colonial projects, my commitments to social justice encompass resistance to both homophobia and heteronormativity, too. Of the two, homophobia may be more easily identified through more obvious expressions, such as verbal and physical attacks and discrimination against perceived non-heterosexuals. Homophobia is rampant in U.S. society and schools, and is bolstered by legal discrimination, such as laws barring same-sex marriage and protections from employment discrimination, historic military exclusion of homosexuals from service, and frequent religious demonization of non-heterosexual peoples. In U.S. schools, the cultural demonization and legal marginalization of homosexuality has fostered climates of severe bullying and harassment against students who are perceived to be gay or lesbian (Meyers, 2009), as well as a dearth of support systems for young people struggling with non-heterosexual identities in a hostile world (Bowden, 2011; Meyer, 2009)

Heteronormativity is less obvious and exists as a hegemonic normalization of culturally sanctioned expressions and behaviors regarding gender, sex, and sexuality. Through myriad cues and messages, including taken for granted definitions of "what is" and "what is right," as well as rejection of and reprisal against those who to not conform to expectations, heteronormativity regulates and disciplines social and sexual subjects (Foucault, 1980; Sullivan, 2003). Foremost among expectations is marriage between a feminine female and a masculine male for the purposes of procreation and narrowly defined sexual relations (Sullivan, 2003). This *compulsory heterosexuality* (Rich, 1986) requires male/masculine dominance and female/feminine submission, thus presenting a

social justice issue that intersects feminism and LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) rights in a complex interplay of identities and resistances. For women, in particular, to reject orthodox sexual relations in order to claim one's erotic power (Lorde, 2007) is a political act against those who would appropriate female sexualities and procreativity for their own uses (Sullivan, 2003). Like Eurocentrism, heteronormativity permeates schooling (Foucault, 1976/1990; Pinar, 1998) through curricula, school décor, and teacher and student attitudes, behaviors, and verbalizations, including self-closeting by LGBTQ students and staff as a necessary survival strategy.

I am aware that a lifetime of socialization, as well as daily immersion in a society that still holds and promotes oppressive perspectives, may affect my perceptions of people from nondominant groups despite my best intentions. Thus, I am conscious of the need to remain vigilant regarding my assumptions and biases, however subtle or hidden they may be. I must consciously battle any latent worldviews derived from my racist, Eurocentric socialization. Additionally, as a white activist working against Eurocentric paradigms that negatively affect minority students, I am conscious of the potential to fall into a *white savior* (Titone, 1998) mentality. Having been socialized according to Western, hegemonic discourses, I must constantly check myself to make sure I am not assuming that I have superior knowledge and problem-solving abilities that allow me to solve *other* peoples' problems. Rather, I must commit myself to working collaboratively with people from all walks of life to improve our collective situations in ways that respect epistemologies and experiences different than my own.

I implement a critical hermeneutic awareness throughout my readings of literature, interviews, and observation notes that considers the role of power in shaping and creating discourse. My research process is also a self-reflective one, in which I ponder the role of my own positionality and interpretations in the production and representation of meaning. When I analyze data concerning the Burundian students, I want to be sure to approach them as unique individuals navigating their circumstances according to their own needs and experiences. I do not want to racialize the Burundian children as *Black*,[31] or label them as *refugees*, yet must recognize that their new culture does just that.

Nor do I want to adopt traditional, Euro-Western attitudes of cultural superiority towards people from a formerly colonized country that is still reeling from the effects of that colonization. I do not want to perpetuate an ethnocentrism that views societies that embrace technology as more advanced or culturally superior to those that live with less technology. Nor do I want to unknowingly adopt the common victim-blaming attitudes that Euro-Westerners often project onto people who are survivors of poverty and trauma, especially those who are of color[32] or who enter our communities with the outsider status of immigrant.

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[31] I am not suggesting that I wish to take a color-blind approach that denies the social and historical impact of racism and colonialism on children's lives. Rather, I seek to avoid adopting the Eurocentric form of human categorization that identifies and perceives people through a hierarchical binary of white/Black, good/bad, civilized/uncivilized, and so on.

[32] This demonization of people of color who have been victimized was exemplified by the media's treatment of survivors of Hurricane Katrina in 2005. News images simultaneously described white survivors leaving a store with food as "residents… finding food," while describing Black survivors wading through the same floodwaters with food as "looters" (bairey [sic], 2005).

I apply the same considerations concerning my work with the Burundian students to my work developing a decolonial multicultural framework. As an educated member of Western society enjoying the privileges of higher education, I am aware of the danger of assuming a Western perspective is universal and that an educational framework of Western origin is best for all. Once again, with privilege comes a greater need for humility and self-awareness.

As I stated in chapter 1, I am a former teacher, trained in California with educational specialization in teaching diverse cultural groups with sensitivity to immigrant, ESL (English as a Second Language), and bicultural experiences. My credential preparation emphasized multicultural, pro-diversity education and student-centered, cooperative learning environments that address multiple intelligences and learning styles. I spent four years working in public schools with diverse student groups, many of whom were immigrants and learning English as their second or third language, and I am a strong proponent of the educational techniques in which I was trained. Nevertheless, my tutoring experiences with the Burundian children taught me not to assume the infallibility of my own "expertise" when working with new people in new situations, regardless of my training and work history.

I am aware that my educational experiences may prejudice me toward the more traditional, teacher-centered school environment at Red Valley Elementary School, the site I review in chapter 6 (Article 3). Nevertheless, I intend to maintain an open mind and to not pre-judge teachers, the principal, and the school culture, as I proceed in analyzing the interviews and observation notes. I believe that each student body, and each student,

is unique according to geographic and socio-cultural factors, and that no one method or practice can or should be uniformly imposed generically on schools or classrooms. Additionally, as a teacher working in the build-up period just before the passage of the No Child Left Behind Act, I experienced being targeted for generalized scapegoating by political actors who found it easier to blame lower-status social members for national problems than to actually address those problems themselves. I also learned first-hand how overwhelming a teacher's tasks and environment can feel with insufficient training, resources, and support. Therefore, I enter my research as a strong teacher advocate who has personally experienced how quickly and easily mistakes can happen, and recognizes that student success is directly related to teacher support. I intend to avoid taking a blaming approach, preferring instead to begin this study in a spirit of collaboration and respect.

That being said, I should also clarify that my teacher training and personal epistemology extends this non-blaming attitude to students. I reject deficit-model approaches that view students and/or their families as deficient and thus responsible for their "failure," but instead embrace an ecological approach that posits that schooling and teaching must adapt to the learning needs of the student. Therefore, any perceived failures imply an inappropriate match between the student's needs and the school environments and/or methods. Nevertheless, I also believe that schools are not adequately equipped to address some of the more extreme consequences of social inequalities, such as lack of safety, inability to satisfy basic needs, and associated traumas in children's lives.

Finally, my experiences as an anthropologist and as an outsider adjusting to a different country, culture, and language has given me some insight into the dynamics of culture shock and adjustment. I hope to be able to utilize these experiences to maintain greater empathy and understanding for the children with refugee status, and when considering multicultural interventions for all children living with the stress of immigration, cultural adaptation, and/or cultural marginalization.

Conclusion

This chapter on my methodology, bricolage, provided the current socio-political context of educational research. I also described the theoretical underpinnings that demonstrate the need for bricoleurs in an era of educational research dominated by politically-motivated reductionism. I demonstrated various ways that bricolage can be executed, and the more specific ways I utilize bricolage for this dissertation. I concluded with a section on my positionality, in which I inserted myself into the research process. The following chapters, 4 through 7 (Articles 1 through 4), employ bricolage to explore four avenues of possibility for decolonial multiculturalism. Chapter 4 proposes possibilities for decolonial multicultural education for local-global contexts that include a re-emphasis on students' intercultural, relational learning. Chapter 5 links this framework to the context of children with refugee status in U.S. schools, and discusses integrating ecological interventions to address students' social-emotional learning and development. Chapter 6 applies the framework discussed in chapter 5 to a pilot case study of African refugee children in a southeastern U.S. school, and utilizes qualitative data from ethnographic observations and interviews to identify relevant themes. Finally, chapter 7

discusses teacher training in postcritical ethnography and feminist, praxis-based research methods for decolonial multicultural practices in local-global classrooms.

Chapter 4, Article 1: Revisioning Multiculturalisms for a Global Age: Bringing Decolonial Education into Praxis

The increasingly local-global nature of students' lives and classrooms calls for a re-emphasis on multicultural education that incorporates critical and global dimensions (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Brown & Kysilka, 2002; De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Spring, 2008b). Using bricolage as a methodology to engage in a dialectical analysis of theories and pedagogies, this article explores particular multicultural, critical, global, and decolonial educational approaches, arguing for a holistic integration of frameworks toward the development of decolonial multiculturalisms.

I start by describing my methodology of bricolage and it's relevance to this endeavor. Next, I briefly explore the concept of the local-global, and the implications this has for U.S. classrooms and the crucial need for praxes that address increasingly diverse student populations (Banks, J. A., 2005), the inequities that have evolved from colonization, including continued capitalist exploitations and dominations (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Tejeda, Espinoza, & Gutierrez, 2003), and the local-global interrelatedness of diverse peoples (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010). Once I have presented the need for local-global praxes, I discuss, in the following order, multicultural, global, and decolonial education theories and pedagogies, and the ways they may inform each other toward improved local-global educational frameworks. In particular, I review how combining praxes such as social reconstructionist (Sleeter & Grant, 2003) and intergroup multiculturalisms (Banks, C. A., 2005; Vogt, 2004) with critical multicultural (McLaren, 1995; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997), global (Banks,

2008, 2009; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005), and decolonial education approaches (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003) may foster positive facilitation of student relationships as a powerful learning strategy. I conclude the article with deeper explorations concerning the possibilities for relational and intergroup learning within a decolonial multicultural education framework.

Bricolage

In this section, I explain bricolage as a methodology, and how and why I am using it for this article. Kincheloe and Berry (2004) wrote that bricolage embraces complexity and multiplicity, seeking alternative ways to explore the many-layered, dynamic world of education. I believe bricolage is an excellent methodology for attending to the myriad layers of lived experiences that comprise local-global classrooms. Multicultural and intercultural dynamics are imbued with socio-historical, economic, and socio-political, and epistemological[33] variables, to name just a few. Bricolage promotes recognition of the myriad contextual factors that influence lived realities, including learning and schooling (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). My impending discussion of decolonial multiculturalism demonstrates attendance to such influences.

As a bricoleur, I conduct a dialectical analysis of literatures, reviewing multiple concepts and pedagogies in order to consider their connections and contradictions in pursuit of new knowledges. While I discuss themes that I will develop more fully in future papers,[34] my approach for this piece is more holistic. My dialectical conversation

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[33] Referring to *epistemology*: the knowledge systems that shape individuals' worldviews.
[34] Themes I will examine in greater depth in future articles include the local-global nature of U.S. classrooms (including relevant socio-political contexts), critical analyses of existing pedagogies using a

emphasizes meanings to be made through the relational implications theoretical and pedagogical *discourses*–that is, the language we use that simultaneously describes and shapes our perceptions of reality–concerning the local-global and multiculturalism may have for each other and for teachers and teaching. For example, how might decolonial multiculturalism influence praxis-centered, critical, and global educational discourses as they are implemented and experienced in schools and classrooms through curricula, pedagogies, and teacher training? How might existing multicultural and global education practices enrich a decolonial multicultural framework with models and materials for consideration and adaptation in teacher preparation programs, schools, and classrooms? Through explorations such as this, I hope to present a potential path of reform for future educational purposes and practices. Thus, part of my methodology is rooted in creativity and innovation, which Kincheloe and Berry (2004) described as the educational bricoleur's attempts to imagine new possibilities for students, teachers, and schools.

As an emancipatory methodology, bricolage employs tools of critique that trouble assumptions, truths, and texts and that work toward more socially just relations and liberatory discourses. Bricolage attends to reflexivity and power, and requires researchers to accept the limitations of their positionalities and continuously re-evaluate their impact on their work (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004) Rather than imposing a static methodology, bricoleurs respond to the research as it happens, and draw from various methodological tools, as needed, to engage in a form of *tinkering* (Berry, 2006) that reacts to lived experiences (Kincheloe, 2005). My own explorations for this article were instigated by

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decolonial multicultural framework, and philosophical and pedagogical explorations of local-global, relational learning.

my search for materials that related to and informed my experiences as a teacher, tutor, and mentor with minority, immigrant, and refugee students.

Finally, bricolage seeks knowledge production that is non-totalizing. The bricoleur recognizes the ever-changing, multi-layered dynamics of lived experience that may only ever be partially represented through the limited interpretations of individuals. Bricoleurs try to avoid reductionist research by making no claims to universal or final truths, but rather, to offering their voices to necessarily collaborative and continuing processes (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). The framework I discuss in this paper may be helpful to some, but not for all. It may offer possibilities for adaptation in various contexts and times. Most certainly, this discussion will benefit from additional voices, particularly those that represent subjugated and non-dominant perspectives.

I begin my contributions to this conversation in the following section, in which I explain the conceptual relevance of the local-global for schooling.

Local-global Contexts

Schools are microcosms of their communities, and in the United States, increasingly reflect the local-global for multiple reasons. The local-global as described in this article, refers to complex, interrelated social, cultural, political, and economic variables on local and global scales that deny the binary implications of their terminology (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010). The most obvious form of the local-global may be reflected in increasingly intercultural and multilingual classrooms, as children with immigrant, transnational, refugee, and minority identities become the majority of U.S. students (Adams & Kirova, 2007; Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009). De Lissovoy (2009) noted that

growing cross-cultural interactions, migrations, integrations, communications, and collaborations around the world continuously redefine human identities and societies as people adapt to and learn from each other and their changing environments.

Globalization. Less obvious are the ways in which globalization has intensified the interrelationships of the local-global in domains beyond interpersonal interactions. The term globalization has been used to describe multiple phenomena, so I will specify the ways in which I am using it for this paper. I draw, in particular, on De Lissovoy (2009), as he described neoliberal globalization as "the global disciplining of workers, the poor, and developing societies in order to respond to a crisis of accumulation in the leading capitalist societies" as well as "to the spread of transnational corporations and consumerism" (p. 189). Critics of economic globalization have argued that global actors such as powerful wealthy nations, multinational corporations, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization have imposed economic policies on poorer nations that have frequently had detrimental consequences. Such actions have included conditional lending and structural adjustment policies that devastated local economies and social safety nets, and trade laws that prohibited national protections for workers, communities, and environments when such protections impeded profit (Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2007; Apple, 2010; Cavanaugh, Anderson, & Pike, 2002; Parenti, 2002; Noddings, 2005; Somers, 2002).

De Lissovoy (2009) explained that, in the global North, economic globalization has caused increased unemployment, incarceration, and the destruction of livelihoods as benefits and healthcare have been sacrificed for profit, and jobs have been transported to

lower cost economies around the world. Many others around the planet have endured "the proliferation of conditions of superexploitation… the destruction of traditional economies and forms of life, forced migration, cultural imperialism and predatory consumerism, not to mention environmental degradation and perpetual war" (p. 190). Such events have dramatically affected children, as situations such as enslavement and human trafficking, child labor, and militia conscription of child soldiers have reached pandemic levels (De Lissovoy, 2009). As consumers of products and resources often obtained through exploitative means, and as citizens who potentially support or oppose international policies and policy-makers, students in U.S. classrooms are integrally related to local-global phenomena resulting from globalization.

World crises. While corporate and consumer practices have global reverberations, other crises demand attention as well. Global education proponents have identified world problems that include ongoing wars and genocides, the potential for nuclear annihilation of our planet, ecological destruction, and profound poverty and deprivation (Lowe, 2004; Mies & Shiva, 1993; Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004; Spring, 2004; UNESCO, 1989). Their vision of global education would address the catastrophic concerns we face as a world community, and emphasize student agency as informed critical thinkers, problem-solvers, and activists. Concepts of equity and social justice would be extended to include the right to basic human needs such as economic stability, peace and safety, access to medical care, and unpolluted living environments. Within this framework, the local-global refers to a sense of social responsibility that recognizes the impact one's behaviors can have on others locally and globally, and the potential for

individuals to positively affect local and global events and actors through greater awareness and activism (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; Noddings, 2005).

Nevertheless, I argue that global education frameworks that extend their focus to project outward to a global dimension, yet lack strong correlating analyses of *internal neocolonialisms* (Tejeda et al., 2003), neglect the interrelated multiplicities of the local-global. Such complexities influence identity in relation to those who have been marginalized, centralized, privileged, and/or oppressed (Tejeda et al., 2003) and inform individual perceptions of–and actions toward–the world and the human family. Thus, student agencies should be guided by complex analyses of the local-global that illuminate our own complicities in unequal dynamics on multiple geographic levels. The following sections explore possibilities for synergistic frameworks that could inform such an approach, which I refer to as decolonial multicultural education.

Multicultural Educations

Multicultural education emphasizes inclusive curricula and learning environments, pedagogies that address different learning styles and languages, and education for prejudice reduction and social justice (Banks, J. A., 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Nevertheless, theoretical and pedagogical approaches to multiculturalism vary greatly. In the following section, I address the approaches of equity pedagogy, intergroup education, and social reconstructionist and critical multiculturalisms. I note major principles, similarities, and differences among these frameworks to provide the reader with a landscape in the field of multicultural education.

Equity or culturally-based pedagogies emphasize adjusting teaching techniques within existing educational frameworks to meet the learning needs of minority students by "building bridges between the students and the demands of school" (Grant & Sleeter, 2005, p. 40). Education that acknowledges culturally-based learning differences takes into account students' learning, interaction, and communication styles, as well as language differences, when designing curricular and pedagogical strategies (Banks, J. A., 2005; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Pluralistic multiculturalism focuses on inclusive curricula and school environments that celebrate students' diverse qualities and experiences, with special consideration for the representation of previously marginalized groups (Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

Intergroup or human relations education directs efforts toward prejudice reduction through facilitated interpersonal communications and activities for conflict resolution. While other forms of multiculturalism tend to focus on instruction and cognitive processes, intergroup and human relations emphasizes personality development and socialization through structured intergroup conversations and activities (Sleeter & Grant, 2003; Vogt, 2004). Thus, students' developing values, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors are addressed on emotional and relational levels within an anti-bias framework that seeks to eradicate discrimination, ethnocentrism, and stereotyping, while increasing students dispositions for "tolerance, coexistence, broadmindedness, fairness, justice, [and] difference" (Vogt, 2004, pp. 9–10).

Social reconstructionist multiculturalism, as proposed by Sleeter and Grant (2003), absorbs the previously mentioned approaches into a framework that investigates

oppression and inequalities, while promoting social justice. Social reconstructionist multiculturalism is characterized by academic content organized around current social issues, as well as themes such as racism and classism, and schoolwork connected to students' life experiences. Additional elements include cooperative learning and democratic decision-making, as well as teaching alternative viewpoints, critical thinking, social action, and empowerment skills. This form of multiculturalism also endorses school-wide practices: for example, involving parents and community members in school decision-making, fostering community activism, and employing individuals from diverse backgrounds in non-stereotypical roles (Sleeter & Grant, 2003).

Critical multiculturalism applies critical theory to multicultural concepts, focusing on social dynamics of privilege, power, and domination, while seeking to expose and deconstruct normalized *truths* that perpetuate oppression and hegemony–that is, the normalization of dominant worldviews (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). Grounded in social justice pursuits and a "transformative political agenda" (McLaren, 1995, p. 42), critical multiculturalism employs philosophical tools such as postmodernism and poststructuralism to reexamine socially constructed categories such as race, gender, and class and hegemonic ideologies such as Eurocentrism and patriarchal, white supremacy. Critical multiculturalism unravels whiteness as a social category that has been centralized and normalized in ways that marginalize or stigmatize other ways of being. Other targets of critical multicultural scrutiny include the exploitative labor relations and wealth disparities characteristic of capitalist economic systems (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). Critical multiculturalists believe

that pedagogy serves as a method of identity production, and can strongly influence how students view themselves in relation to the social world and others (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997). Therefore, advocates call for critical dialogue as a liberatory methodology for learning (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

Pedagogy-based multiculturalisms can employ critical multiculturalism to access complex social critiques and theoretical analyses that can help educators gain deeper awareness concerning their pedagogical and curricular options. By implementing such theoretical tools, practitioners can reflect on and revise their practices to avoid adopting frameworks that reinforce inequities. This is especially important since multicultural education has sometimes been employed as a catch-all phrase for diverse meanings, including monocultural, exoticizing, assimilationist, and deficit-oriented interpretations.

Social reconstructionist and critical multiculturalists share critiques of multicultural approaches that fail to address the socio-political structures that cause oppressive social systems, and thus serve to perpetuate inequalities. Essentialist approaches that treat people and cultures as static essences, and Eurocentric, white supremacist worldviews that treat multiculturalism as an exotic add-on to “real” education have all been called to question. Critics have also warned of the dangers of liberal and pluralist approaches that naively embrace diversity devoid of socio-political analyses (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1996). For example, some forms of culturally relevant pedagogy, implemented without social analysis, have treated differences as deficits to be corrected through minority student conformity to dominant culture norms (Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & grant, 2003). Likewise, certain

intergroup education practices have operated within an overly simplistic analysis of differences that focuses on individual feelings and actions towards others without consideration for the socio-historical dynamics of power and privilege that infuse human interactions and relationships (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). These critiques are extremely important when examining ways educators might "do" multicultural education, and how they take up the discourses that inform their practices. Sophisticated critiques can help educators avoid discourses that can misdirect good intentions toward oppressive practices. This includes contemporary public schooling policies that are dominated by neoliberal and corporate ideologies that prioritize the needs of business over those of students. Such ideological frameworks, while prevalent, perpetuate discourses of economic growth and worker preparation that further marginalize subjugated knowledges and non-dominant students (Apple, 2001; Spring, 2008a, 2009). Thus, educators will need powerful tools to resist the hegemonic paradigms in which they must often work. As the following sections demonstrate, such considerations apply to discussions about incorporating global dimensions into multicultural praxes as well.

Educational scholars such as J. A. Banks (2008, 2009), Spring (2008b), and Brown and Kysilka (2002) have advocated for global multicultural education, claiming that the global nature of contemporary society requires multiculturalisms that address international students, cultures, and events. Brown and Kysilka suggested a framework that combines multicultural and global educations, and offered one possible approach to global multiculturalism that includes themes of diversity, human rights, multiple perspectives, interconnectedness and interdependence, co-responsibility, and global

society. In the following section, I further explore global education discourses in order to consider their implications for the development of global multicultural education frameworks that are critical and decolonial.

Global Education

Many global education proponents have called for pedagogies and curricula that highlight the local-global interrelationships of the current era. J. A. Banks (2008) advocated a global citizenship model in which multicultural praxes impart a cosmopolitan (Appiah, 2006) sense of connection and identification with the global community. This form of global citizenship education would enable students to develop skills and knowledge to "function in a global society" (p. 132) and extend social responsibility to world issues such as global epidemics and wars. These curricula and pedagogies would attempt to instill students with greater consciousness concerning the impact their choices and actions might have on others throughout the world, as well as a sense of agency for addressing global problems (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005). Noddings (2005) advocated a global citizenship framework that incorporates socio-cultural diversity, economic and social justice, peace education, and environmental responsibility and repair.

Hicks (2007b) wrote that the trend in global education has been the development of "issue-based educations" (p. 5) that each focus on a particular theme. Themes have included global interdependence, development and economic inequality, peace and conflict, anti-racism and diversity, human rights, social justice, environmentalism, and sustainable development (Hicks & Holden, 2007). Peace education originally directed

attention to opposing violence, from personal assault to war, but has evolved to include nonviolent social change for local and global equity and justice, nonviolent conflict resolution, human rights, and intercultural understanding. Education for sustainable development imparts an environmental and social consciousness to discussions concerning international development, and considers the needs of peoples and ecosystems in the development process. Since the 1960's, this fractured approach to global education has been more common than holistic, integrated models (Hicks, 2007b).

Global education models have commonly promoted student agency, employing experiential and collaborative pedagogies that require students to analyze information, problem-solve, and oftentimes take action (Hicks, 2007a). For example, the United Kingdom-based World Studies projects have emphasized not only greater knowledge about global issues, but the development of skills such as communication, critical thinking, and inquiry; and attitudes such as empathy, curiosity, and respect for diversity. Concepts have included conflict and cooperation, power inequities and fairness, interdependence and systems consciousness, and proactive social change (Hicks, 2007a). Other global education frameworks, such as "Workable Peace," have placed great emphasis on conflict resolution pedagogies that teach skills such as perspective-taking, creative thinking, cooperative negotiation, and compromise within a local-global framework (Hicks, 2007a; Workable Peace, 2010).

While global education frameworks offer valuable curricular and pedagogical resources, critics have warned of the potential for models to operate within Eurocentric ideologies that normalize and universalize Western perspectives (Cannella & Viruru,

2004). This caution bears particular significance because many global education models originated in Western countries and have been met with distrust by some as "a 'rich world' initiative" (Hicks & Holden, 2007, p. 22). Both Spring (2004) and Noddings (2005) described global education paradigms in which nationalism and free market ideology dominate the global education discourses. In these contexts, global education is treated as a way to learn more about global opponents in order to improve the competitiveness of one's own nationals and/or prepare workers for the production of consumer goods in the global marketplace (Spring, 2004).

In addition, frameworks for development education and sustainable development have drawn critique from postcolonial theorists that warrant careful consideration. Cannella and Viruru (2004) cited multiple critics who argued that development and sustainable development theories are rooted in Western neocolonial ideologies that impose a global hierarchy onto peoples that privileges the so-called developed First World over the developing Third. Viewing modern industrialization and scientific rationalism as qualities to which poorer nations should aspire, some economists have employed development theories to otherize and blame people for their own poverty and environmental problems. This perspective simultaneously fails to acknowledge the over-use of resources by dominant nations and the role of imperialism in impoverishing colonized and indigenous peoples in ways that pressure them to stress their environments for basic survival. Within such discourses, poverty is the enemy, economic growth the solution, and Western scientists and business people the saviors who must manage and

control less powerful people and their environments toward efficient capitalist market expansion (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Escobar, 1995).

In describing the major tenets of these discourses, I do not mean to oversimplify the many manifestations and approaches employed by global education proponents, including those working within development and sustainable development frameworks. Nevertheless, I believe it is important to identify hegemonic and potentially dangerous discourses in order to avoid unwittingly employing or reproducing them. Hicks (2007b) warned against uncritical global education scenarios that describe the world and world events without analysis and decried the popularity of approaches that deem mere mention of the global to be sufficient. For example, global education for anti-racism, like multicultural education, has experienced misappropriation by conservative forces and, at times, been transformed into apolitical diversity initiatives or "subsumed under the notion of opportunities for all" (Hicks, 2007b, p. 10).

Therefore, critical analyses of global education are necessary to prevent watered-down versions of social justice that may actually serve to reify hegemonic ideologies and reinforce the status quo. Just as critical multiculturalism provides helpful analytical tools for educators who want to avoid implementing assimilationist and oppressive multicultural praxes, global education can benefit from critical examinations that explore the deeply-held assumptions and embedded ideologies that shape them. Postcolonial and decolonial theories that situate dominant epistemologies in dynamic socio-historical contexts may offer important insights for liberatory, local-global education frameworks. Such insights may serve to further inform and enrich existing curricular and pedagogical

tools, or redirect some approaches in more emancipatory directions. It is here that I want to advocate for decolonial education as a crucial element of multicultural education. Below, I describe work in the field produced by De Lissovoy (2009, 2010) and by Tejeda, Guttierez, and Espinoza (2003) to illuminate the important implications of decolonial education for multicultural approaches.

Decolonial Education

Decolonial education scholars assert that we cannot separate our perceptions of social inequities such as racism, poverty, and sexism from socio-historical, epistemological, and material inequities and exploitations promoted through colonialism and capitalism (De Lissovoy, 2008, 2009, 2010; Tejeda, Guttierez, & Espinoza, 2003). Decolonial pedagogy therefore calls for social justice education that is transformative and attends to the complex interrelationships among local-global events and actors that affect people's lives. This encompasses the primary roles of capitalism and colonialism in the evolution of socioeconomic hierarchies and oppressive, hegemonic discourses and ideologies. Decolonial educators deconstruct and resist the assimilative project of colonial pedagogy, once aimed at deculturalization of indigenous and enslaved African peoples, that continues in contemporary schooling through Western, Eurocentric curricula, pedagogies, and regulatory educational structures (De Lissovoy, 2008, 2009, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). In this article, I focus primarily on decolonial education scholarship produced by De Lissovoy (2008, 2009, 2010) and by Tejeda, Guttierez, and Espinoza (2003). De Lissovoy's (2008, 2009, 2010) work provides insights on the local-global that inform a decolonial approach to global multiculturalisms. Tejeda et al.'s

(2003) chapter emphasizes the impact internal neocolonialism has on education in the United States, thus reconnecting the discussion of the local-global to complex and correlating internal complicities.

De Lissovoy (2010) argued that multiculturalism must reflect globality, which he defined as the interconnectedness of local and global relations on historical, social, epistemological, and economic dimensions. Thus, traditional multiculturalisms should expand inward-looking, or nation-based, foci to include a global perspective of geopolitical and geocultural dynamics that explores the connections between capital, the state, and the new racisms. For example, a decolonial approach would include critiques of nationalism, and the ways in which powerful actors have employed it to justify, promote, and further projects of global imperialism, particularly against non-white and non-European peoples (De Lissovoy, 2008, 2010). As residents of an especially powerful nation, U.S. students, in particular, should engage in critical analyses of historical moments when our leaders manipulated patriotic emotions and beliefs to garner support for military and economic actions against foreign nations that impeded U.S. corporate interests (Chomsky, 2004, 2006, 2007; De Lissovoy, 2010).

In addition, De Lissovoy (2009, 2010) urged critical theorists to adopt elements of cosmopolitanism, proposing an approach that embraces differences among peoples on a global scale, while attaching thorough critiques of inequalities and exploitation. Based in the pursuit of an "ethical and democratic globality" (2010, p. 279), De Lissovoy's (2010) proposed framework emphasizes "a *curriculum against domination*, oriented against the epistemic and cultural violence of Eurocentrism that underlies the politics of content and

knowledge in education, and a *pedagogy of lovingness*, committed to building global solidarity based on non-dominative principles of coexistence and kindredness" (p. 280). Thus, decolonial education pairs complex critiques with proposals for alternative paradigms designed to teach a sense of caring and social responsibility for all of humanity.

Decolonial theory expands anticolonialism to incorporate ontological[35] questions of knowing and being, while extending postcolonialism to analyses of the ongoing consequences of imperialism. Thus, decolonialism examines exploitative relations on a global scale that include the economic domination of wealthy nations and elite minorities over poor nations and peoples. Decolonial analyses recognize the socio-historical, colonial dynamics from which such relations have emerged, and connect theories of capitalist hegemony to concepts of ontology and ethics (De Lissovoy, 2010). De Lissovoy's (2009, 2010) notion of globality therefore proposes an ethical and ontological togetherness that works through, rather than denies, inequities and differences grounded in colonial projects. Methods for in-depth examinations of difference include,

> …confronting conventional assumptions about culture and history, and challenging normally uninterrogated identifications that are latent in both teachers and students. It also means a more sensitive orientation to relationships, both within the classroom and at the level of the imagination of global society, than the contemporary progressive discourse in education allows us. (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 281)

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[35] Referring to *ontology*, that is, the study of being or the state of being; thus, how one experiences/perceives existing as oneself.

As diverse communities and peoples interact, the state of globality "reconfigures social and cultural relationships" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 281) and relational subjects. Ethical considerations involving relationships with other people therefore become ontological concerns, as the interrelations of social beings continuously construct new social subjects (De Lissovoy, 2010).

The conceptual elements of decolonial theory are crucial to multicultural education because they illuminate our understandings of social injustice, oppressive human relationships, and the complex interplay of the local-global. If educators wish to avoid assimilationist, marginalizing, deficit-oriented, and apolitical multicultural paradigms, then decolonial critiques are necessary components of comprehensive learning. In addition, critical approaches that advocate social responsibility need to reframe their perspectives to the local-global, or risk over-simplistic analyses that may misguide understandings and actions. Decolonial education theorists assert that schooling practices in most Western nations are thoroughly Eurocentric, and reify the colonial origins of validated ways of learning, thinking, and knowing. Thus, colonial projects have not only impacted the material dimensions of people's lives, but the epistemological and ontological as well (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). De Lissovoy (2010) asserted that critical educators must examine how colonialism has influenced the "production of global culture, knowledge and subjectivity" (p. 282) and subjected colonized peoples to "ontological domination, as populations have historically been forced into a fundamental condition of alienation by the imposition of Eurocentric values and forms of subjectivity" (p. 282).

Due to the prevalence of Eurocentrism, educational spaces should be "sensitive to the complexities of globalization as a space of ongoing neocolonial relationships and cultural hybridization" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 284). Educators should strategically prioritize curricula that present both critical analyses and subjugated knowledges in order to decenter dominant paradigms. Previously marginalized perspectives and experiences–such as "Third World, Black and brown, and indigenous struggles" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 286)–should be brought to the forefront in decolonial education. Furthermore, Western discourses should stop describing other nations as *developing*, which defines people in other countries as lagging behind or failing compared to nations with *developed* status (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 287).

Decolonial education therefore prioritizes and repositions subjugated knowledges as a way to resist domination and envision paradigms of equitable coexistence. In addition, De Lissovoy's (2010) "pedagogy of lovingness" (pp. 288–289) requires a revisioning of relationships among teachers, students, and global societies that expands caring (Noddings, 1992) to encompass local-global solidarity and sensitivity to difference. A pedagogy of lovingness therefore includes thoughtful action to oppose all forms of violence perpetrated against peoples around the world. Students could strive to improve their understandings of their "ontological, anthropological, and historical" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 289) interrelatedness with other global community members, and learn to respond to and care about the abuses and exploitations of those whom they may never know. Moreover, students of privilege would need to be taught attitudes of "listening, respect, and cautiousness" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 290) informed by

sophisticated awareness regarding the colonial violence committed against non-Europeans for centuries.

Dialogic construction of new paradigms would necessarily be conscientious of different groups' locations in the local-global continuum, and respectful of their epistemological, political, and cultural autonomies. Western-based critiques and claims to truth, as well as attempts to build a common vision of community must attend to the ways in which Eurocentric assimilative paradigms have infiltrated concepts of commonality and solidarity (De Lissovoy, 2010). De Lissovoy (2010) explained,

> A global ethical and decolonial politics and knowledge ought to be centered outside of Western traditions while nevertheless reaching out to communicate with and include them. After all, the hallmark of imperialism and colonialism are their *partitions* and divisions of the world; this conceptual and cultural partitioning ought to be challenged from the standpoint of a global common, without covertly reinscribing the epistemological centrality of Eurocentric reason. Such a global standpoint… should always be the provisional product of dialogue and collaboration between differences. (pp. 283–284)

A decolonial multiculturalism would seek to decenter, yet never exclude. Students would learn that we are all "multicultural," yet histories and relations of domination call upon us to seek alternative ways of relating, while remaining cautious of the unconscious hegemonic assumptions that guide us.

Internal neocolonialism. As I explained earlier, the linguistic dichotomy of the local-global may cause individuals to separate the dimensions and emphasize one to the

detriment of the other. While global education approaches can assist educators to extend learning beyond the regional and the national, decolonial education that attends to internal neocolonialisms (Tejeda et al., 2003) can refocus over-emphases of the global to correlating–and interrelated–local complicities.

Tejeda, Espinoza, and Gutierrez (2003) emphasized colonialism's role in the development of racism as a construct and a social organizer; the normalization of Eurocentrism and whiteness; and the social, economic, and epistemological marginalization and subjugation of "indigenous and nonwhite peoples" (p. 11) in the United States. Stressing that U.S. society is permeated with internal neocolonialism, the authors defined the phenomenon as having "its origins in the mutually reinforcing systems of colonial and capitalist domination and exploitation that enslaved Africans and dispossessed indigenous populations throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries" (p. 11). Social justice education must therefore address the historical subjugation of nonwhite and indigenous peoples, as well as the contemporary "manifestations and effects of the corporal and cultural genocide that has been taking place in American society throughout the past four centuries" (p. 11).

Like De Lissovoy (2009, 2010), Tejeda et al. (2003) argued that the current era is ontologically linked to the past, asserting that previous capitalist and colonial exploits fundamentally marked "social subjects, social relations, and forms of social organization" (p. 13) so that "essential features of that domination and exploitation continue to structure the social relations among differing groups in American society" (p. 13). They explained that capitalism and internal colonialism evolved together as interrelated components of

U.S. society, motivating European and white colonizers to develop constructs of race that categorized Black and brown bodies as inferior to white bodies. Such racial concepts served to justify the exploitation, murder, and enslavement of other peoples deemed inferior, as well as the appropriation of indigenous land and resources. Concepts of racialized inferiority continue to infuse modern U.S. culture in myriad ways, the most visible being that white Euro-Americans continue to monopolize wealth and power, while great numbers of nonwhite and indigenous peoples live in conditions of economic deprivation and social powerlessness. Additionally, they asserted that our perceptions of social realities are shaped not only by ideologies and discourses, but through human interactions, lived experiences, and "the labor and mundane displacement of our bodies" (p. 19). Thus, colonial domination is reinscribed "in the production and reproduction of our material existence and its cultural expression… [and] in the here and now of the processes and practices of our everyday lives – especially those related to securing the basic necessities of life" (p. 18).

I would like to expand on this argument by explicating that, in the U.S. capitalist system, I believe people are often defined by the category of work they do. These definitions are experienced on multiple levels that include a worker's position in a hierarchy in which white men are usually at the top, whether the worker serves or is served by others (and whom they serve or by whom they are served), and the joy or misery one may experience while working (due to the nature of the work). Moreover, the economic reimbursement a worker receives for their labor, and the resulting joy or misery associated with whether those wages afford the purchase of pleasures or fail to supply

basic needs, infuse such work-based definitions. Many Americans have limited choices for securing their basic needs through employment and, I would argue, perceive capitalist employment as a form of indentured servitude. In the neocolonial society of the United States, people of color disproportionately comprise workers who serve and are managed by others for low status and low pay that too often fails to secure life's basic necessities (Brown & De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003).

As products of internal neocolonialism, students and teachers have learned to relate to each other in racialized ways that reflect class-based origins and expectations. The daily labor of students' parents often predicts how they are perceived by others, how they perceive themselves, and how their children are taught (Anyon, 1980; Bourdeau, 1973; Tejeda et al., 2003). Moreover, social justice education that fails to recognize the relationship between the capitalist exploitations and survival strategies of students of color and their families omits critical dimensions for analysis that include the larger social dimension, as well as the more personal dimension of understanding students' life experiences. Both the social and the personal are indispensible layers of understanding for multicultural and social justice pedagogies.

Synergizing Praxes for Global Multicultural Educations

In the preceding sections, I defined U.S. classrooms as increasingly local-global microcosms that call for changes in teaching and schooling and provide new opportunities for learning. I proposed a framework for decolonial multicultural education that I assert offers highly relevant strategies to address these educational dynamics. This framework could integrate aspects of multicultural, global, and decolonial educations in

order to adequately address the local-global realities of the present era. Rather than inventing entirely new strategies, I advocate integration and adaptation of existing pedagogies, theories, and curricula to synthesize complementary elements in ways that employ critiques for appropriate revisions. The following paragraphs outline some of my considerations for such a synthesis.

Numerous scholars have called for multicultural education that reflects the local-global dimensions of our lives (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Brown and Kysilka, 2002; De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Spring, 2008b). Global education movements have developed a variety of educational models that incorporate multifaceted aspects of the global dimension that expand definitions of social justice to issues such as war, eco-justice, global poverty, and development (Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005). Critical multiculturalism and postcolonial critiques offer further analyses of the roles of socio-historical context, power, and hegemony in the production of Western discourses that guide our educational ideologies and practices (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). A decolonial framework would expand the postcolonial and the critical to local-global analyses of capitalist relations and the continuing global inequalities and exploitations perpetuated by neoliberal institutions and policies. Thus, the interrelatedness of epistemological and material domination, the transition from colonial to imperial projects and the role of global capitalism in the new imperialisms would be recognized as crucial elements of liberatory multicultural pedagogies. Additionally, the local and the global would be treated as neither separate nor distinct entities, but rather, composed of interrelated variables on material,

ideological, and epistemological levels connected through dynamic socio-historical and political contexts (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003).

Therefore, a commitment to critique is crucial to helping educators avoid adopting discourses and frameworks rooted in hegemonic and destructive paradigms. This is especially pertinent in light of multicultural education approaches that operate within assimilationist, deficit-oriented, apolitical, and exoticizing models (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1996). Global education discourses, too, have sometimes perpetuated hegemonic, Eurocentric assumptions regarding economic development, a hierarchy of nations, and the supremacy of capital. Moreover, global education frameworks that otherize people in developing countries while positioning members of First World nations as saviors equipped with superior knowledges and cultures must be recognized as oppressive and rejected.

Work such as that produced by Tejeda et al. (2003) could refocus discourses to help avoid simple binary constructs of the local-global that neglect correlating local complicities. The racialization of poverty, the primacy of neoliberal capitalism, and the continued destruction of indigenous peoples and their lands in the U.S., for example, shape identities and perceptions of others in ways that affect lives and relationships on local and global dimensions (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). In perpetuating the destructive and oppressive relations and paradigms of our home sites, neocolonial and exploitative practices naturally extend to the global. Attitudes and ideologies about other people, and ourselves in relation to others, shape how we treat other people, and what we will tolerate and allow those in power to do to them. Such

attitudes and ideologies are learned, emulated, and perpetuated by students and teachers through their everyday interactions, and are rooted in deeply embedded, socio-historical, relational perceptions of others and each other. A decolonial multicultural framework that synergizes multicultural and global education praxes with critical, postcolonial, and decolonial analyses might better prepare teachers to meet the complex demands of social justice oriented, local-global education.

Nevertheless, Cannella and & Viruru (2004) warned that educational models in and of themselves are colonizing forces. Richardson & Villenas (2000) cautioned that even well-intentioned multicultural education frameworks have continued to operate through whiteness, unable to divorce themselves from the embedded paradigms of white, Eurocentric epistemologies that serve to eclipse other ways of knowing and being. How, then, might teachers use existing pedagogies and strategies for decolonial multicultural educations? Perhaps such an educational framework, like bricolage (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), could embrace complexity, multiplicity, and reflexivity, while encouraging consistent re-evaluation that is responsive to changing contexts, unique circumstances, and teacher positionality and power.

My argument is that educators might benefit from transformative, decolonial teacher education that incorporates skill development for perceptive observation, analysis, self-refection, and creative and responsive teaching. Educational scholars and teachers could use a decolonial lens to analyze–and revise when necessary–new and existing pedagogies and teaching materials. In this way, teachers could have a collection of tools from which to draw and adapt according to the needs presented by their specific

classroom communities. Finally, one approach that may be especially conducive to decolonial multiculturalism is a re-emphasis on the learning potential inherent in student relationships. The following section will explore ways in which decolonial multiculturalism might inform and shape praxes for relational learning.

Decolonial Multiculturalism and Relational Learning

Critical multicultural, global and decolonial education scholars have emphasized the importance of relationships among students as dynamic sites for learning and co-constructing new, liberatory knowledges (McLaren, 1995; Tejeda et al., 2003; De Lissovoy, 2009; Thayer-Bacon, 2003). Spariosu (2004) asserted that global crises demand new knowledges that are purposefully and continuously co-constructed by intercultural actors. De Lissovoy (2009) agreed, adding that our dialogues and new knowledges should center perspectives, experiences, and epistemologies that have been previously marginalized.

Thus, attendance to interpersonal power dynamics and the hegemonic assumptions, values, and ideologies that shape them must necessarily guide our collaborative learning processes. For example, across students and teachers there may exist multiple intersecting power disparities in connection with social identities such as race, gender, sexuality, age, class, nationality, or ability. Such identities can imply varying degrees of status among individuals, coupled with beliefs and biases that validate and privilege the experiences, assertions, and desires of higher status community members over those with lower status. Relational learning practices that employ a

decolonial multicultural framework would necessarily identify and work to ameliorate such disparities.

The decolonial theorists previously described placed particular emphasis on the importance of relationality for developing more just local-global understandings (De Lissovoy, 2009; Tejeda et al., 2003). De Lissovoy (2009) called for recognizing our globality, or global interconnectedness, and proposed a pedagogy of lovingness based on solidarity, coexistence, and kindredness. This, he wrote, would require a reconceptualization of social relationships and relational subjects that begins with awareness and attendance to classroom relationships among students and teachers that extends to the global imaginary. Similarly, Tejeda et al. (2003) described our social subjectivities as rooted in colonial and capitalist dominance, and our perceptions of being and knowing as shaped by both historical and ongoing social-material relationships.

Therefore, as students interact with teachers and each other, they continuously co-construct relationships and subjectivities that inform their understandings of themselves and others (De Lissovoy, 2009; McLaren, 1995; Tejeda et al., 2003; Thayer-Bacon, 2003). Educators can help to foster relational learning rooted in caring (Noddings, 1992) and social justice that extends to people yet unmet, or reinforce relationships of inequity and dominance by failing to challenge invisible hegemonies (De Lissovoy, 2009). Such inequities exist not only in the abstract or conceptual, but in the lived realities of people's–and students'–experiences and interactions (Tejeda et al., 2003). U.S. schools continue to become progressively more multicultural, as immigrant students and children with ethnic minority status grow in numbers throughout the nation, and are projected to

comprise more than fifty percent of all U.S. schoolchildren by the year 2040 (Spring, 2008a). In light of the increasingly local-global nature of U.S. classrooms, liberatory relational learning bears particular significance and presents special opportunities, as children from vastly different positionalities learn with and from each other. Such learning, however, has the potential to take harmful or oppressive directions, and may require educators to introduce conscious facilitation toward positive relational learning. The next section explores possibilities for thoughtful and careful strategic navigation of student diversity that may guide relational learning toward positive and emancipatory, rather than destructive or hurtful, directions.

Adding or including intergroup and human relations education. Intergroup and human relations education offers strategies that may help educators who seek tools for decolonial multicultural, relational learning. Intergroup education focuses on students' classroom interactions and relationships, and includes pedagogies for conflict resolution and prejudice reduction. Thus, human relations education attends to both context-specific group dynamics and the emotional and social developmental needs of individual students (Banks, C. A., 2005; Cohen, 2004; Stephan & Vogt, 2004), while addressing the complex, changing relationships through which students perpetually learn from and teach each other. This is particularly relevant in light of the widespread increase in bullying in schools, in which hostile and unsafe environments often target non-majority students and impede learning and development (Dessel, 2009; Meyer, E. J., 2009). Too often, students of difference have been ostracized, marginalized, and subjugated in local-global classrooms, rather than embraced by teachers and other

students as valuable, contributing teachers and learners (Dessel, 2009; El-Haj, 2007; Meyer, E. J., 2009; Olsen, L., 1997; Sprecher, 2011b). Human and intergroup relations education might be a learning tool that could help counter these destructive trends if employed with critical, decolonial insights.

Rather than perceiving and treating culturally different and immigrant students as a problem to be addressed, the local-global educational context would view the addition of culturally diverse students as an opportunity and a critical component for relational learning. Educators who adopt local-global attitudes toward non-mainstream students work directly against deficit-oriented perspectives of difference, while actively embracing and promoting attitudes that highly value and recognize the rich contributions of children from various, nondominant backgrounds. As always, educators would need to be vigilant in their efforts not to objectify, essentialize and exploit culturally different children for the benefit of mainstream students. The development of positive, intercultural education that would benefit all students in the local-global environment would require sophisticated and careful planning, analysis, implementation and reflection such as that advocated by critical multiculturalists and anti-bias, intergroup educators.

Problematizing and adapting intergroup and human relations pedagogies. Without critical insights, intergroup education risks devolving into an assimilative process devoid of attendance to the dynamics of oppression, power and privilege that shape and influence relationships (Sleeter & Grant, 2003).Thus, intergroup education might offer powerful learning tools if employed with critical, global, and decolonial perspectives that infuse relational learning with greater awareness of the power-saturated,

socio-historical, local-global contexts that inform human relations. For example, a U.S. student who harasses an African classmate for her origins (Sprecher, 2011b) is not necessarily acting solely within a racist paradigm, but likely a neocolonial framework that implies a First World superiority and Third World stigma. I argue that such stigma is fueled and complicated by images and ideologies that blame people for their problems with poverty, famine, and war; yet decontextualizes their circumstances from histories of colonization, imperialism, and predatory global capitalism (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). Intergroup education that neglects such complexities will be over-simplistic and serve to reinforce hegemonic inequities.

Possibilities. If implemented with critical, local-global insights, however, intergroup education's focus on values and assumptions (Vogt, 2004) could assist students' and teachers' processes of self-examination and re-evaluation of oppressive or destructive beliefs. Such beliefs may include not only prejudices against other people, but also internalized neocolonialist ideologies such as, for example, the normalization of neoliberalism and market fundamentalism, hierarchical divisions of the world's peoples, and the supremacy of rationalist, scientific thinking. Rather than limiting learning to intellectual development, human relations education offers pedagogies that address, respond to, and work through people's emotional processes as their deeply held worldviews are often challenged on conceptual, personal, and relational levels. The importance of affective and emotional learning cannot be underestimated, as students of all ages have demonstrated resistances to information and ideas that were emotionally uncomfortable for them (Goodman, 2001).

Critical multiculturalism promotes intersubjective dialogue as one form of relational learning, in which students learn from the multiple perspectives and positionalities of classmates. Such dialogues can help to broaden their perspectives, moral reasoning, critical thinking, and self-reflection skills (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). Nevertheless, Ellsworth (1998) warned of the potential for dialogue to mirror the social power disparities among participants. In the stratified society of the United States, individuals with privileged positionalities have often learned that they are entitled to speak assertively and frequently, and that their views and ideas are likely to be received positively and as valid. Conversely, individuals with subjugated positionalities have often been taught by social messages and cues that they should be silent; that they are less entitled to speak and what they think and have to say is less important, invalid, and likely to be received negatively by listeners (Ellsworth, 1998). Thus, decolonial intergroup educational approaches must necessarily address the stratifications that often characterize human interactions and communications in unequal societies.

Heeding the cautions of critical and decolonial scholars, in particular De Lissovoy (2009, 2010) and Tejeda et al. (2003), educators can re-examine intergroup pedagogies through decolonial analyses to try to expose any embedded assumptions and ideologies that may clash with those of students, reinforce the supremacy of dominant ways of thinking and communicating, or eclipse alternative worldviews. For students with whom such frameworks may be inappropriate altogether, intergroup education offers other potential insights for practice. Facilitation toward equal-status environments, in

particular, may apply to informal interactions or team oriented pedagogies such as cooperative learning, while addressing the problem of stratified communications. J. A. Banks (2008) described multiple studies which have shown that teacher-facilitated, equal-status intergroup education has had positive effects in increasing student tolerance for differences, improving intergroup attitudes–particularly towards students from marginalized groups, reducing prejudices and stereotypes, and increasing friendships between members of different backgrounds. J. A. Banks maintained that the facilitation of equal-status environments may be necessary for some intergroup activities to be successful. Otherwise, prejudices, stereotypes, and negative attitudes toward marginalized students could actually increase (Banks, J. A., 2008).

J. A. Banks (2008) wrote that multicultural curricula that equally represent all peoples as valuable is one way to support equal-status learning environments, while Cohen (2004) explained that implementing an equal-status atmosphere in the classroom can be greatly assisted through complex instruction. Using highly conscious facilitation strategies, complex instruction can help to alleviate the patterns of exclusion and withdrawal in diverse classrooms that often mirror the prejudices and stratifications of the larger society. Teachers can help to assuage these patterns by engaging in “status treatments” (Cohen, 2004, p. 40), such as delegating different authorities to all students, openly commenting on all students’ accomplishments, or altering curricula so students can utilize and demonstrate an array of skills and abilities (Cohen, 2004). Such practices might assist the development of equal-status interactions among students if combined

with decolonial multicultural curricula, pedagogies, and environments that challenge social hierarchies and emphasize subjugated knowledges and epistemologies.

Decolonial education also calls for methodologies to engender equal-status relations among students. As described earlier, De Lissovoy (2010) promoted dialogue in which students of privileged groups listen actively and respectfully and contribute cautiously and consciously to intergroup conversations with students from dominated and exploited groups. Such conscientious dialogue would proactively decenter Eurocentric knowledges and epistemologies, while including them as one voice among the many. Nevertheless, subjugated knowledges and epistemologies would need to be prioritized in order to achieve greater balance for previously ignored and/or disparaged worldviews and experiences in the face of the hegemonic ideologies and normalized assumptions of dominant, Euro-western discourses (De Lissovoy, 2010). While learning to understand others across difference, students can also identify shared identities, such as subjugation to the structures of market fundamentalism, for example. Teachers can base activist educational activities on such shared oppositional identities in ways that help build community and a sense of unity in their classrooms (De Lissovoy, 2009).

A strong emphasis on relationships, which are complex, dynamic, and multi-layered, would require teachers who are highly skilled communicators and facilitators. In the unpredictable social world of the classroom, students often learn whether or not they are valuable or even safe, and who has the power to speak, act, define, or control. Thus, teacher-facilitators are called upon to be highly perceptive and reactive to classroom power dynamics. This includes continuously reflecting on their own power as an adult

expected to regulate student behavior, and their own embedded assumptions and ideologies. Decolonial multicultural educators might seek to develop and hone skills for positive intergroup facilitation, including when to intervene and when to recede in order to give up power and space for students to take on facilitating roles themselves.

Other multicultural praxes may assist relational learning as well. The theoretical underpinnings of equity pedagogy and culturally based learning strategies can help teachers to revisit not only Eurocentric assumptions about thinking and learning, but also expectations concerning communications and interactions between students and students, teachers and students, and teachers and communities. Applying decolonial critiques of dominating epistemologies to classroom and school-community communications and interactions, teachers may be better equipped to avoid colonizing practices that reinforce inequities. These considerations are particularly pertinent to relationship-based learning practices, in which the teacher's power and role as facilitator, students' unequal positionalities, and any pedagogical model bear the potential to reify Eurocentric paradigms.

Finally, social reconstructionist multiculturalism, as described by Sleeter and Grant (2003), emphasizes developing strong relationships with local communities in which the school serves as a community center, developed with, by, and for local families. In this way, relational learning extends to community members, allowing for a reciprocal process between teachers and parents that informs the unique teaching and learning approaches for any specific location (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). In the increasingly intercultural and transnational neighborhoods of the U.S., such community-based

relational learning is necessarily a local-global endeavor. Only through strong student and family relationships can educators work to transcend their own socio-cultural frameworks and engage in collaborative, cross-cultural dialogue toward new, co-constructed knowledges.

In a globalizing world in which young people increasingly need advanced intercultural competencies to thrive as social, civic, and economic agents, diversity presents exceptional opportunities for relational learning. Concurrently, differences among children require responses that facilitate student interactions away from prejudices, bullying, and exclusion toward positive interactions and relationships. The need to develop empathetic and critical thinkers capable of responding to local-global world crises rooted in profound inequities begs relational pedagogies for "coexistence and kindredness" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 280). Relational learning that draws from decolonial multicultural frameworks that include intergroup pedagogies may present opportunities for complex social development. As intercultural students interact with different others, their interrelational subjectivities continuously reform in ways that may be conducive, transformative, counter-productive, or even dangerous to local-global communities and processes (De Lissovoy, 2010). Such crucial human developments require thoughtful, informed, and ethical guidance.

Conclusion

Educational practices that neglect the local-global nature of the present era will be, I fear, highly inadequate for preparing future generations to live in, work in, and be contributing members of local-global societies. Traditional basic skills and monocultural

education does not address the complexity of the global age, or prepare students for the real world in which they must live. Difference influences our social realities on material, historical, epistemological, and cultural levels, while multiplicity and change drive local-global events and interactions. Global crises of epic proportions (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004) demand ethical, educated citizenry with the skills to collaborate and problem-solve with people who think and communicate in radically varied ways. Extreme inequities contribute to miseries and losses, further complicating solutions and what we think we know.

Decolonial multicultural education may offer local-global teaching tools and frameworks that draw on and synergize aspects of multicultural, global, and decolonial praxes. Teachers and scholars could draw from a wealth of existing pedagogies, applying decolonial analyses to inform their implementation and revision of praxes. Relational learning, in particular, may offer special educational opportunities, as local-global classrooms increasingly mirror the inter- and transnational communities of the United States. Employing multicultural pedagogies such as intergroup and human relations education within a decolonial framework could provide sophisticated, deep, interpersonal learning experiences for students. Such local-global, relational learning may be an ideal strategy for preparing many young people for futures in a changing world characterized by multiplicity, complexity, and relationality (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).

Chapter 5, Article 2: Decolonial Multiculturalism and Students with Refugee Status: Ecological School Praxes for Local-global Dynamics

In past writings, I have argued for the necessity of decolonial multicultural education to meet the demands of local-global, educational contexts. [36] Throughout my arguments, I have asserted that any such framework must take into account the unique and dynamic contextual variables of any single locale. This article focuses on an exemplary local-global dynamic–that of refugee[37] children matriculating to U.S. schools–and presents a theoretical-pedagogical discussion to promote new directions for praxes. Using an interdisciplinary bricolage as a methodology of complexity (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), I perform a dialectical analysis of literatures to develop frameworks specific to school spaces with students with refugee status. Drawing from the disciplines of education, public health, and educational psychology, I propose integrating praxes to produce a framework for decolonial multicultural education that incorporates ecological interventions.

The discussion begins by describing common socio-political and social-emotional challenges faced by displaced children pre-, trans-, and post-migration and how such challenges may interfere with their healthy adaptation and learning. I describe recommended school-based interventions that correlate refugee children's emotional

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[36] Sprecher, K. (2011). *Revisioning multiculturalisms for a global age: Bringing decolonial education into praxis.* Manuscript in preparation.

[37] I am conscious of the potential for the linguistic terms "refugees" and "refugee children" to be interpreted as totalizing discourses that categorize, essentialize, and/or define individuals. Throughout this article, I alternate usage with phrases such as "children with refugee status" and "resettled persons" to try to avert any such consumption of my words. While it would be grammatically awkward to do this in every instance, I hope I have done it enough to serve my purpose, and I bring it to the reader's attention to encourage conscientious reading of the text.

wellness and academic success with the presence or absence of inclusive, multicultural education. I then explore practitioner-based, critical, global, and decolonial multicultural approaches, arguing that the complexity and multiplicity of local-global, socio-political, and intergroup variables, as they are expressed in everyday classroom dynamics, beg sophisticated teacher competencies and responses. To further inform such approaches, I examine interconnections among emotional health, social relationships, learning and development, and socio-political inequities such as global hierarchies, new racisms, Eurocentrisms, and poverty in children's lives.

I believe my findings serve multiple purposes. First, my work contributes to developments in the field of multicultural education, and offers insights for approaches that are decolonial, ecological, and adaptive to the needs of various local-global learning environments. This includes strategies that address the whole child and recognize and respond to intersecting socio-political and social-emotional variables in children's lives such as poverty, inequity, trauma, and loss. Second, I offer new considerations for the research and literatures on educational interventions for refugee children. I argue that interventions should be informed by complex critiques that include decolonial multicultural explorations of local-global inequities and correlating consequences. Third, my work serves to demonstrate and reinforce the need for contextual understandings of the local-global when developing policies, curricula, and pedagogies. Nevertheless, my research, while context-specific, simultaneously imparts insights and considerations that could be applied to numerous educational environments and circumstances. Practitioners working in schools with diverse student bodies that include immigrant children, members

of minority, subjugated, and marginalized groups, and/or students living with poverty, trauma, or loss may find this article meaningful for their contexts and praxes.

In the following sections, I describe in greater detail how I attain these objectives by explaining bricolage as a methodology and the ways in which I implement bricolage for this article. I then define the concept of local-global as it pertains to schooling environments, and make clear the ways in which the matriculation of students with refugee status into U.S. schools exemplifies a local-global dynamic.

Methodology

I have chosen bricolage, as described by Kincheloe and Berry (2004), as the research methodology most suitable for this project for numerous reasons. To begin, bricolage requires that research be informed by and respond to lived experiences in the pursuit of emancipatory knowledges that further goals of social justice and reduced suffering. The bricoleur, therefore, is an innovator who seeks to offer new ideas and possibilities for the public good (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). This project is my attempt to do just that. Working with children in diverse urban schools, and with refugee children in particular, [38] has motivated me to seek alternative educational paradigms and praxes that might better support students in public schools. This includes helping children who are suffering to recover and enjoy healthy, happy lives, and preparing all students to become compassionate and informed agents of change in local-global societies. Bricolage further supports these aims by rejecting the deficit approaches

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38 Sprecher, K. (2011). *Applying decolonial multiculturalism to a local-global context: Children with refugee status in a southeastern, U.S. school.* Manuscript in preparation.

common in educational research that treat students as “problems” (Berry, 2006, p. 103). Rather, bricolage emphasizes the proactive identification and problematizing of inequities and injustices that negatively impact students’ lives.

Furthermore, bricolage embraces complexity as a natural characteristic of educational environments, and actively seeks to avoid reductionist methods that oversimplify and universalize human experiences. Bricoleurs therefore attend to multiplicity and reflexivity–the unique and ever-changing contextual variables of any circumstance (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). As a bricoleur, I make no claims to final truths, but rather, attempt to offer insights and possibilities to a necessarily ongoing conversation.

Complexity also demands interdisciplinary approaches that prioritize the research context and goals over any discipline or *discourse*–that is, the often power-saturated terminologies and linguistic patterns we use to define our realities. Kincheloe (2004b) advocated “deep interdisciplinarity” (pp. 75–78), a dialectical method that seeks to develop innovations that could not be surmised by any single discipline alone. This technique employs relationality, seeking the connections and overlapping boundaries–the “liminal spaces” (p. 80)–among disciplines, literatures, and discourses. Relying heavily on this relational method, this article presents a dialectical analysis of theories, models, and pedagogies from multiple disciplines that include multicultural education, ecological psychology, and public health. Thus, I present a conversation of ideas that seeks to discover what the concepts might mean for each other and for application in school environments. Throughout, my intellectual investigation explicitly treats these

discourses–theories, models, and pedagogies produced by the various disciplines–as heuristic devices: temporary linguistic and conceptual tools that are both useful and necessarily limited.

This article is part of a larger project in which I have incorporated additional layers into the discussion by describing relevant qualitative data in order to explore how the literatures and lived experiences might further inform each other (see Footnote 3). While this article does not include the case study, my theoretical explorations are nevertheless informed by, while informing, my qualitative work, representing a "chicken or egg first" dilemma. I therefore believe bricolage best serves my nonlinear approach through its emphasis on *tinkering*: that is, drawing on and adapting multiple research tools as needed, rather than allowing research techniques to dictate the process of knowledge production and communication (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe, 2005).

Bricoleurs draw from critical theories, hermeneutics, [39] and philosophical questions of epistemology[40] and ontology[41] to challenge and resist paradigms of domination. Bricoleurs recognize the role of power in knowledge production, as well as the role of knowledge production in maintaining power. Thus, postmodernism and poststructuralism are useful tools with which the bricoleur ever troubles meanings and

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[39] Hermeneutic theory is concerned with the interpretation of texts, and the meaning readers/audiences apply to texts (i.e. books, films, art, etc.). The cultural studies tradition asserts that audiences interact with texts by incorporating their own assumptions and biases into their interpretations, thus projecting new meanings to texts that originate from the reader/audience's positionality (Barker, 2003).

[40] Epistemology is the study of knowledge with inquiry into the sources of and status accorded to various knowledges (Barker, 2003).

[41] Ontology is the study of "the nature and relations of being" (Merriam-Webster Online, 2010). Critical explorations may ask how discourses affect an individual's conception of her or his own "beingness."

assumptions, including her own (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). Throughout this article, I consider biases and embedded worldviews, as well as the multiple contexts that drive and are driven by them. Berry (2006) explained this approach this way:

> Whereas traditional and modern research used only the research text itself as the context, bricoleurs expand the research beyond itself to a multitude of contexts. Because bricolage considers research to be a complex act embedded in and contested by a host of social, intellectual, historical, economic, institutional, local, global and political beliefs, values and relationships, it is imperative that contextualization plays a major part in the bricoleur's construction of knowledge through research. A bricoleur asks how the world being researched is connected to the policies, structures, discourses, and practices of the dominant political, economic, institutional, intellectual and other powers that govern social activity. (p. 105)

Thus, as a bricoleur, I continuously examine the interrelationships among socio-cultural, socio-historical, socio-political, and contextual variables on local-global dimensions. In this way, I highlight the ever inter-weaving dynamics that affect and are affected by multiple intersecting domains as they relate to this research.

Finally, the bricoleur's troubling of the role of power in perpetuating privileged knowledge systems begs careful self-examination of researcher positionality. This requires acknowledgment and explicit demonstrations of the ways in which researchers are always embedded in their research (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe,

2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). In addition to briefly introducing my positionality below, I insert my voice and reactions to my research findings throughout the text.

Positionality. I am a white, U.S. citizen who has had some experiences living in poverty in the United States. I have never experienced being a racial, ethnic, or linguistic minority trying to start a new life in a foreign culture and country, and I have never known the forms of deprivation and/or brutality often endured by people with refugee status. As a member of intersecting Euro-American identities, I believe it is especially pertinent for me to be as conscious as possible of the dominant norms that may shape my worldview in ways that are unhelpful. Throughout this article, I confront certain hegemonic[42] influences and consider their potential to interfere with well-intentioned practices. Operating from a position of privilege and power, I acknowledge my own limitations to claim truths for others, and offer my discussion as one element of a necessarily collaborative process that should prioritize subjugated voices.

That being said, I hope my experiences as a former teacher working with racial and language minority students in low-income, urban schools may add a valuable perspective to the conversation. As a recipient of a California teaching credential, I received training and certification specific to cultural and linguistic diversity that emphasized the learning needs of immigrant and minority students and English language learners. More recently, I mentored and tutored African children with refugee status who had resettled in a southeastern, white majority town. I also worked as an investigator for a national, comparative case study of school-based services for refugee and immigrant

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[42] *Hegemonic* refers to normalized discourses and knowledge systems that reify power blocs and inequities.

children. I have drawn from all of these experiences to guide and inform my explorations for this project.

In the next section, I introduce my research endeavor by defining refugee matriculation to U.S. schools as a local-global context, and explaining the relevance of the local-global to all U.S. classrooms. Then, in subsequent sections, I engage in an interdisciplinary, literary dialogue to develop new considerations for praxes relevant to these contexts.

Local-global Contexts

The local-global refers to the interconnectedness of peoples and systems–economic, government, communications, and socio-cultural, to name a few–throughout the world. The local-global transcends any notion of a simplistic, binary construct to encompass complex webs of interrelationships that remain ever linked to their socio-historical origins, yet are always in transition (De Lissovoy, 2010; Spariosu, 2004). In this sense, all classrooms are local-global to some degree, since all people are interconnected, and even students in homogeneous classrooms live an increasingly local-global existence. For example, such students might buy and wear clothing made in other countries and inadvertently support sweatshop or child labor, or feel it is their patriotic duty to further the cause of a war abroad. It is highly likely the petrol burned to transport them to school came from another land, and quite possible that the resulting pollution contributed to climate changes that affect peoples on other continents.

Many classrooms in the U.S. are becoming intensively local-global in another aspect as well: namely, the increasing number of immigrant students that are

matriculating into U.S. schools (Banks, 2008, 2009; Brown & Kysilka, 2002; Spring, 2008a). In the 1990's, the United States experienced the greatest flow of immigrants than any previous decade, doubling the percentage of foreign born residents in the U.S. from five percent in the 1970's to just over ten percent in 2000 (Capps et al., 2005; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). By 2000, foreign born children represented one in five U.S. students in pre-kindergarten to twelfth grade (Capps et al., 2005). U.S. Census Bureau projections estimate that immigration trends will continue to change the racial and ethnic demographics of the U.S., due in part to the shift in immigration from primarily European countries prior to 1965 to immigration primarily from Latin America and Asia. Such trends have contributed to projections that white U.S. residents will continue to decrease from seventy-one percent of the population to approximately fifty-eight percent by 2035 and fifty-two percent by 2050 (Spring, 2008a; U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

Moreover, settlement trends indicate that foreign born families are increasingly migrating to previously homogeneous regions of the U.S., rather than the more traditional gateway locales such as California and New York (Spring, 2008a). Thus, more schools throughout the nation are experiencing–and will continue to experience–growing classroom diversity characterized by global migration. Due to these circumstances, increasing numbers of locally and internationally born students communicate and interact with each other daily in U.S. schools. As such children learn with and from each other, their schools and classrooms become intercultural climates in which varied socio-cultural, linguistic, and epistemological positionalities blend (Banks, 2008, 2009; Brown & Kysilka, 2002; Spring, 2008a).

The context of refugee students in U.S. schools represents a local-global environment for the reasons above, and because their circumstances are interlinked to global, socio-political events. Children with refugee status have endured forced migration, and may have experienced global crises such as war, political upheaval, and/or camp internment. Their legal status as refugees directly links them as survivors of the consequences of complex global interrelationships that are oftentimes connected to legacies of colonialism, imperialism, and predatory capitalism. Such experiences may become real, rather than abstract, for locally born children who befriend–or simply listen to–the stories and worldviews of children with refugee status. Children who previously lived with Third World deprivation or survived war led or escalated by First World powers may bring home the human consequences of vast global inequities and injustices when they stand beside their peers in the flesh.

Educational Interventions for Children with Refugee Status

The 2009 World Refugee Survey estimated the number of refugees and asylum seekers worldwide to be over 13.5 million (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2010). People who have been legally defined as refugees are those who have been forced to flee their countries to escape persecution based on their "race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion" (UNHCR, 1951, p.16). One percent of the world's refugee population cannot return to their countries of origin, and must be referred for third-country resettlement by the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), or remain in refugee camps. Though displaced persons have sought refuge in the United States at various historical periods,

the U.S. introduced formal refugee resettlement legislation in 1980. Since then, the U.S. has been one among ten countries that provide programs for refugee resettlement (BRYCS, 2010; USCRI, 2009), and has matriculated roughly 1.8 million people with refugee status to various states over the last thirty years. Recent arrivals have ranged from about forty thousand to seventy-five thousand refugees annually. Approximately thirty-five to forty percent of these resettled peoples have been children (BRYCS, 2010). As a result, schools throughout the country have integrated students with refugee status into their classrooms, and will continue to do so as additional refugee children migrate to the U.S. each coming year.

Many people with refugee status have survived pre-migration tragedies and traumas associated with war and oppression. These may include interethnic violence or genocide, rape, imprisonment, torture, execution, and/or murder. Displaced peoples often have spent extended periods of time–sometimes years–in refugee camps, where violence, deprivation, and family separation frequently exacerbated previous traumas (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; Rutter, 2003). Children, the most vulnerable among displaced populations, may have endured multiple atrocities, including forced military conscription or enslavement. In addition to experiencing victimization and witnessing brutalities (Hamilton, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003), refugee children often suffer separation from their families, and commonly have little or no access to formal education (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; Rutter, 2003).

While pre-migration traumas can be profound, it is important to recognize that people who have been identified and labeled as refugees represent great heterogeneity.

Cultural, social, and personal diversity (Hyder, 1998), as well as the political circumstances of forced migration, vary tremendously among individuals and groups (Jones & Rutter, 1998). Furthermore, persons with refugee status are subjected to a wide range of resettlement experiences. Some resettlement locations may offer transitioning refugees numerous support systems and/or previously established immigrant communities (Blanch, 2008), while others may be severely under-resourced and/or characterized by unwelcoming local communities (Anders, Bates, Sprecher, & Spellings, 2009; Blanch, 2008; Jones & Rutter, 1998).

Nevertheless, many students with refugee status have presented special circumstances and needs in common that beg further explorations concerning educational interventions. These include experiences of grief, trauma, and loss that are frequently exacerbated by the complex and often painful process of migration, resettlement, and acculturation (Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen & Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). In addition, poverty, culture shock, and host community hostilities such as racism and xenophobia can greatly challenge the emotional wellness of refugee children trying to overcome past traumas (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Jones & Rutter, 1998; McNeely, Sprecher & Bates, 2010).

The following sections explore these patterns in greater depth, as well as recommended interventions for supporting and assisting students with refugee status as they transition to their new schools, communities, and countries. Throughout, I draw on the disciplines of psychology, educational psychology, public health, and education–multicultural education, in particular–to conduct a conversation about which approaches

and practices might be most helpful for refugee students. I treat the languages and discourses of each discipline as heuristic tools and discuss or footnote my concerns about potentially harmful implications where appropriate.[43] In this way, I conduct an interdisciplinary, dialectical analysis that prioritizes the needs of students above the primacy of any discipline or discourse.

Ecological Approaches. The following ecological approaches are derived from theoretical literatures that, I believe, do not reflect actual practice in most school and mental health service environments. My goal, therefore, is to examine and discuss several discourses to consider what *could* be, while troubling potential limitations and exploring possible solutions.

Among the five contributors to *Educational interventions for refugee children: Theoretical perspectives and implementing best practice* (Hamilton & Moore, 2004), [44] three are educational psychologists and one a counselor. Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen, & Frater-Mathieson (2004) employed the psychologist Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1992) ecological systems theory to address the experiences of many refugee children in a way that recognizes the environmental and contextual variables that affect children's development. Thus, children's lives are framed as a series of nested, interrelated systems that include micro-, meso-, exo-, and macro- levels. The microsystem entails immediate

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[43] I recognize that, as a cultural studies of education scholar, it may be easier for me to identify and trouble the discourses of other disciplines than my own… or harder, since my discipline promotes the questioning of "truths" within all discourses–even our own. I have already embarked on a process of consciously troubling some of my own discourses (multicultural education, global education, critical multiculturalism) in previous articles.

[44] While I cite multiple authors, I rely heavily on Hamilton & Moore's text. This is due, in part, to the dearth of literature on the intersections of education and refugee child wellness, particularly those that advocate ecological models for interventions. See Pinson and Arnot's (2007) "Sociology of Education and the Wasteland of Refugee Education Research" for a more detailed description of the problem.

influences such as family, friends, and neighbors, while the mesosystem consists of the relationships between various microsystems, such as home and school. The exosystem refers to indirect relationships between microsystems: for example, the effect a parent's workplace might have on a child's life. The macrosystem represents the characteristics of the larger society in which the child lives, such as laws, ideologies, values, and customs (Anderson et. al., 2004; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1992).

Anderson et al. (2004) adapted and expanded Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1992) ecological model to describe stages of transition among refugee children. These stages include pre-migration (the experiences the child had prior to leaving their country), trans-migration (the child's experiences while transitioning from home to the new host country), and post-migration (the child's experiences after arriving to the new host country). In this way, a refugee child's transitional process may be holistically described as a series of personally unique, historically situated, and reflexive circumstances that are affected by and affect the complex, nested, and continuously interacting systems of that child's life (Anderson et al., 2004). Such a heuristic device may help teachers and service providers to tease apart the complexity of children's experiences, while recognizing the crucial role of relationality within and among those experiences, in order to better support them.

The discipline of education offers ecological concepts by incorporating social learning approaches that treat learning as "an interactive and contextualized process" (Moore, 2004, p. 98). While previous approaches to learning have employed a deficit model that emphasizes students' weaknesses and strengths, social learning approaches

address the central role the physical and social environment of the school plays in shaping child behavior and learning. Rather than focusing on ways to change children that expect the learner to adapt and assimilate to a uniform school culture, social learning approaches promote the continuous adaptation of school practices and environments to meet students' needs. From this perspective, a struggling student implies the need for changes in the school, as it is the school's responsibility to meet all students' needs (Moore, 2004).

Like education, educational psychology, and psychology, the public health discipline also offers an ecological theoretical approach called the social determinate model. This model is important not only for its holistic emphasis, but also for its political examination of the impact of social inequities on children's physical and mental health. Public health advocates who employ a social determinate approach consider the circumstances in people's lives that contribute to bad or good health (World Health Organization, 2009), including "the distribution of money, power and resources at global, national and local levels" (World Health Organization, 2009). Linking variables such as stressed family dynamics and poverty to children's health, social determinate discourses explore multiple circumstances, including the ways "in which people are born, grow, live, work, and age, including the health system" (World Health Organization, 2009). Using this paradigm, public health scholars can avoid a reductionist focus on the treatment of health problems by examining their socio-political causes, such as unfair policies and inequitable access to resources. Analyses, therefore, might include explorations of living conditions such as neighborhood safety and sanitation, universal healthcare, social

protection, and fair employment (World Health Organization, 2009). Such analyses are especially pertinent for refugee students, whose physical and mental health may be strongly affected by past and present circumstances of poverty, danger, inequity, and limited access to resources (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; McNeely et al., 2010).

This section has introduced ecological approaches to interventions for refugee children to examine various disciplinary models that promote holistic, rather than reductionist, approaches to children's school experiences. Psychological models provide ways to better understand the nested, overlapping personal and social variables that influence a child's mental-emotional health, and the impact this can have on learning and development. The public health social determinate model recognizes and responds to social, political, historical, and international contexts, with attendance to the crucial role power and inequity play in many children's lives. Social learning approaches to education emphasize the impact school environments have on children's learning, and actively eschews deficit and assimilation discourses. Each offers tools for practitioners to address the complicity and multiplicity of children's realities, yet exhibits limitations if employed alone.

In order to develop potential frameworks for what *could* be, therefore, it is important to explore the potential contributions and limitations of ecological models, and the ways in which they might overlap and inform each other. Social learning approaches do not transcend the boundaries of the school environment to fully address the complexity of children's whole lives. The psychological models address these multiple

layers, yet lack critical analyses of the socio-political factors that negatively affect children. Social determinate models explore the implications of inequities, but do not fully meet the needs of educational research and practice because they do not extend analyses beyond health and learning to educational praxes. Furthermore, it is my intent to demonstrate that social determinate critiques might be more deeply informed by critical and decolonial multicultural analyses of local-global inequities and their consequences.

Additionally, since these ecological approaches are models of Western origin, it is especially pertinent to examine any embedded socio-cultural assumptions and limitations that might misguide practitioner interventions for non-Western children. This includes the problem of using Western psychological models to define non-Western people's experiences and dictate appropriate responses. For example, Western models tend to focus on clinical diagnoses, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, that frequently position people who experience distress within a deficit discourse. Rather than viewing survivors of trauma as highly resilient individuals who may have gained unique strengths and qualities, discourses of mental health often assign stigma and a singularly "fix-it" approach to such peoples (Barber, 2009; Ryan, Dooley, and Benson, 2008). This Western psychological emphasis on pathologizing suffering does not parallel the view of many survivors, as well as survivor advocates, who view subsequent problems and behaviors as normal human responses to abnormal life stressors, rather than symptoms of pathology (Barber, 2009).

Another major barrier to employing ecological approaches is the hegemony of dominant political discourses in the fields of education and health that prioritize

reductionist approaches that serve particular agendas. I argue that few practitioners have been trained in or have taken up ecological approaches to students; nor has predominant educational research acknowledged or addressed holistic options. While social learning approaches represent an ideal, actual schooling practices have been greatly affected to the contrary by the politically motivated No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, which imposed standardized curricula, pedagogies, and assessments on public school systems (Bigelow, 2003; Christensen & Karp, 2003; Darling-Hammond, 2004; Karp, 2003; Meier & Wood, 2004; Tyack, 2003; Themba-Nixon, 2003). Underfunded and scrambling to invest in the required testing regimes, few schools have had the resources for implementing ecological frameworks. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) added that the "scientifically-based research movement" (p. 8) has all but eradicated funding for non-quantitative and non-empirical educational research through discourses of "evidence-based research" (p. 8), effectively eliminating the influence of non-dominant (and anti-reductionist) research methods on policy development.

Rail, Murray, and Homes (2010) wrote that health-related disciplines have also been politically regulated by powerful actors who have shaped the discourses that govern health care and inquiry to assume totalizing ideologies dominated by neoliberalism[45] and Western scientific authority. This "biomedicalization of health care management and delivery" (p. 221), as well as health research, is entangled in the agendas of numerous actors that include "Big Pharma[cology], innumerable government lobbies, government

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[45] *Neoliberalism* refers to an economistic ideology that assumes a free market logic characterized by autonomy and consumerism. As the prevailing ideology among dominant nations, corporations, and global financial organizations, neoliberalism frames social theories in economistic terms (i.e. human capital, labor markets) that omit social and environmental priorities (Hursh, 2008).

agencies and public policymakers, academic health sciences and its research sponsors, the convergence of research and business with its multiple public and private 'stakeholders,' and the insurance industry" (p. 221). Within this health care regime, economic imperatives and efficiencies pair with the domination of Western scientism to dictate the definitions of and strategies for health and wellness in ways that may not always serve the needs of diverse recipients.[46]

Such hegemonies may be especially difficult to identify, much less resist, by practitioners alone, and call for a collaborative movement informed by critical discourses. Moreover, practitioners can engage in their own transformative educational processes and continuous self- reflection informed by awareness of both hegemonic influences and subjugated knowledges. Therefore, well-intentioned practitioners working within disciplines in which the dominant paradigms reify and perpetuate ethnocentric, deficit-oriented and pathologizing language and assumptions might benefit from tools that strengthen their oppositional positions. I believe familiarity with decolonial multicultural critiques–which will be explained in greater detail in following sections–may be an especially useful tool for helping practitioners re-examine their own assumptions and behaviors in the quest to resist hegemonic biases and practices.

The following section describes common experiences among refugee children in order to begin a conversation about how ecological approaches might be applied to their

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[46] See Rail, G., Murray, S. J., & Holmes, D. (2010) for a more detailed analysis of "biofascism" as a set of regulating discourses concerning health and health care imposed and perpetuated by powerful actors with self-serving agendas.

needs. Throughout, I build an argument to stress that decolonial multiculturalism is a necessary component for ecological educational approaches in such local-global contexts.

Refugee Children: Trans- and Post-migration Stressors

In addition to the pre-migration traumas described earlier, refugee children face trans- and post-migration trauma and stress as well. Trans-migration involves the loss of all that is familiar: home, way of life, friends, and even family members (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; Rutter, 2003). Moreover, refugee families often face the loss of "social status, of profession or occupation, of emotional security, of cultural and religious acceptance and belonging, and of being able to interact and communicate with the wider society" (Frater-Mathieson, 2004, p.21).

Post-migration introduces additional–and often profound–stress factors. Many families begin their lives in extreme poverty. This may be a new condition resulting from loss of belongings and income due to forced migration, parental labor skills that are not transferrable to the new country, or loss of income-earning family members through murder, imprisonment, or separation during chaotic incidents (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). In other cases, children with refugee status may have been impoverished prior to migration, frequently coming from countries in which people have been left destitute by years of war, famine, post-colonial chaos, neo-imperial exploitation, and/or corrupt and abusive governments. Some families have spent many years in refugee camps that denied residents employment in the local economy.

In many cases, local resettlement services are severely under-resourced and can provide families with only minimal supports for limited periods, as parents struggle to

learn a new language and culture and develop skills to survive in their new societies. Resettled families commonly have been expected to function in major U.S. cities on less than a thousand dollars per month, and such subsidies may only have been provided for three to six months after resettlement. Numerous stakeholders have argued that this is simply not enough time to become self-sufficient in a radically new environment (McNeely et al., 2010; Sprecher, 2011b).

Language barriers can further impede employment opportunities, while intensifying confusion and isolation. Sudden immersion in an extremely different culture and environment can lead to intense anxiety and mental exhaustion, as resettled peoples try to navigate myriad new life variables (Lustig et al., 2003). Communication patterns, cultural expectations and assumptions, transportation, food, clothing, technologies, employment, and education are only some elements that may have changed radically for a resettled person. Moreover, members of refugee groups commonly contend with hostilities such as racism and anti-immigrant resentments among host community members (Jones & Rutter, 1998; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Rutter, 2003).

As a result, refugees frequently experience forms of acculturative stress, cultural bereavement, and traumatic memories simultaneously, so that each compounds the other (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). For children, these emotional struggles are often accompanied by a heightened sense of difference among their new peers, which can be greatly exacerbated by schoolmates that ostracize, harass, or bully them for their difference. Rejection and isolation combined with trauma and stress make adaptation

immensely challenging for many resettled children (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003).

Grief, trauma, and loss. The multiple traumas and losses frequently experienced by refugee children can present complex needs that call for sophisticated responses. While not all refugee children have been brutalized or witnessed atrocity, all have suffered the traumas of trans- and post-migration (Anderson, 2004a; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). Therefore, it is crucial for practitioners working with refugee students to understand common coping strategies and expressions of grief, trauma, and loss among children.[47] Children's coping mechanisms usually differ from those of adults, and may take on unique qualities based on their own developmental level, personality, or extenuating circumstances (Doka, 1995; Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Emotions may include extreme fear, confusion and anxiety, intense anger and frustration, and/or profound sadness and depression. Children with refugee status may experience bereavement, survivor guilt, feelings of powerlessness, low self-esteem, posttraumatic stress, and personality changes (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Haasl & Marnocha, 2000; Wolfelt, 1983; Worden, 1996; Yule, 1998). Related behaviors may include withdrawal, restlessness, irritability, crying, volatile emotions, and acting out in violent or self-destructive ways (Doka 1995; Haasl and Marnocha 2000; Wolfelt 1983).

It is especially noteworthy for practitioners to recognize that children's experiences and expressions of grief, trauma, and loss can resurface at any time. Earlier traumas, possibly compounded by post-migration stressors and/or family problems, may

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[47] As I explain in future paragraphs, understanding the nature of grief, trauma, and loss in children's lives may be applicable to any environment in which there are children.

affect a child for the rest of his or her life. A child who appears to be coping well may periodically, for months or even years, exhibit behaviors triggered by memories or significant life events such as holidays or anniversaries. In addition, past traumas may manifest in varied ways throughout a child's stages of development (Doka, 1995; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Yule, 1998).

Additionally, practitioners who work with children from diverse cultures and backgrounds should be aware that perceptions of and reactions to trauma, grief, and loss are often influenced by "ethnocultural, religious and socio-political contexts" (Frater-Mathieson, 2004, p. 14). Western assumptions about the meaning and relevance of events and relationships may not align with those of the people who have experienced them (Blanch, 2008; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; Miller & Rasco, 2004).

Emotions and behaviors associated with grief, trauma, and loss can hamper a student's ability to focus on academics and develop positive peer relations (Doka 1995; Jewett Jarratt, 1982). I argue that children express their feelings and humanity organically, not according to the demands of efficiency schooling. In my research with teachers (McNeely et al., 2010; Sprecher, 2011b), I found that school staff frequently identified disruptive behaviors as an impediment to their ability to teach and focus on academics. Conversely, teachers described a reduction in behavior issues as a result of interventions that focused on social-emotional supports (McNeely et al., 2010). As people who interact–and hopefully develop healthy bonds–with refugee students for roughly thirty hours a week, teachers are logically positioned to influence their students in helpful or unhelpful ways. For these reasons, schools and school staff are of particular

importance in the development and implementation of interventions for students with refugee status (Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

School-based Interventions

Anderson et al. (2004) argued that interventions should respond to children's needs from an ecological standpoint, thus recognizing the interrelated and complex nature of all children's realities. Therefore, schools, which comprise an immense part of any schoolchild's life, play a pivotal role in the healthy adaptation and development of refugee children. Practitioners who have implemented educational strategies to support refugee students have demonstrated that employing measures to foster resilience–that is, tools to assist positive adaptation to adversities (Anderson, 2004b)–can dramatically improve their students' experiences (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Anderson (2004b) explained that schools can promote resilience by implementing environmental scaffolds and teaching students strategies for increasing their resiliency. Examples of interventions include nurturing staff and counselors, programs to bolster refugee students' social skills and self esteem, therapeutic supports and continuous assessments to evaluate new students' academic and emotional needs. Both assessments and therapeutic supports should be culturally appropriate (Cole, 1996; Lustig et al, 2003; Hamilton & Moore, 2004), and take into account the limitations of Western models discussed in the previous section.

Nevertheless, designing culturally appropriate, social-emotional supports is no simplistic task, particularly in a field so highly regulated by powerful special interests (Mollica, 2006; Rail et al.,, 2010). Mollica (2006) argued that mental health supports

should reject the medicalized models of hospitalization and medication–avenues most often available to poor and marginalized people–and, instead, allow for alternative methods in which the client dictates the course of their own healing. For example, Mollica advocated a form of story-telling through which individuals apply their own language, meanings, and healing strategies to their experiences and processes. Practitioners who employ alternative methods that are more culturally sensitive may need to actively oppose some dominant mental health paradigms in order to provide appropriate services. Such actions could potentially bear consequences such as withdrawal of funding, collaboration, or other system supports.

While therapeutic interventions may be very helpful for some survivors, other interventions–particularly those that help to alleviate poverty–may actually provide greater socio-emotional support than therapy in certain situations. As I described earlier, many children with refugee status live in conditions of poverty upon resettlement in their host country. In their study of five U.S. sites serving refugee and immigrant students, McNeely, Sprecher and Bates (2010) reported that one of the fundamental challenges described by parents and service-providers was ensuring children's access to basic life necessities such as food, shelter, clothing, and safety. Moreover, such economic struggles frequently caused families and their children extreme stress and even, at times, additional traumas. Conversely, interview subjects described interventions that provided families access to things like a bed, meals, or housing to be among the most valuable services provided by the support programs. Thus, interventions that address refugee families'

access to basic life necessities may prevent further traumas and anxieties that could compound previous trauma.

McNeely et al. (2010) also found that both service-providers and families receiving services implicated that supports that helped students and their families adapt to their new culture and environment were extremely beneficial for alleviating stress and additional trauma. School-based programs that worked with students to help them integrate and adapt socially, linguistically, and academically, and that assisted families in their navigation and comprehension of the many systems of their new environment, were touted as the most successful for supporting refugee children. Thus, an ecological approach rooted in family engagement was key to supporting the social-emotional health of refugee students.

McNeely et al.'s (2010) findings are mirrored by Frater-Mathieson's (2004) assertion that a family's well-being directly affects a child's ability to develop resilience. Frater-Mathieson claimed that schools that take an ecological approach understand that building relationships with–and supporting–parents is vital. To this end, schools should implement home-school communications based in cultural awareness and employ interpreters and cultural liaisons. Ideally, cultural liaisons would be members of the parents' cultural group (Camden, n.d.; Frater-Mathieson, 2004), serving to strengthen community relations, while providing employment opportunities for resettled people. Additionally, interventions that respond to family needs–such as language classes or assistance accessing local resources–should be incorporated as necessary student supports. Finally, schools that view parents and community members as valuable

resources can benefit from their knowledges and understandings by involving them in decision-making and planning about program developments for their children (Anderson, 2004a).

An ecological approach consistently recognizes the importance of the child's socio-cultural context, avoiding assimilationist educational practices that marginalize non-mainstream students. This means offering bilingual teachers and materials when possible, as well as pluralistic curricula that embrace diversity (Anderson, 2004a). Equally necessary to improving resilience in refugee children is the establishment of welcoming and inclusive environments that assure children's physical security and facilitate healthy relationships with schoolmates. Frater-Mathieson (2004) explained,

> School and individual therapeutic interventions need to be interlinked to reconstruct a sense of social belonging in a way that validates [the refugee children's] cultural identities. Consequently, both schools and families need to adapt and create a safe arena for supporting the child's transition. Recovery from trauma can only take place in the context of relationships; it cannot occur in isolation (Herman 1992). Therefore, empowerment of the young person in these social contexts is vital. (p. 33)

Host culture members–especially schoolmates–who express hostility and prejudice toward refugee children will likely have a negative impact on their adaptation (Anderson, 2004a; Rutter, 2003). Sadly, xenophobia, racism, and bullying have been frequent problems throughout schools in multiple countries, yet adults have often failed to recognize or address these unsafe environmental factors, despite their negative impact

on children's learning and development (Dessel, 2010; Jimerson, Swearer, & Espilage, 2010; Meyer, E. J., 2009; Rutter, 2003). Since children who do not conform to dominant culture norms are especially vulnerable, refugee students are at high risk for such victimization. For children who may struggle with pre-, trans-, and post-migration traumas involving brutality and violence, the importance of a safe learning environment cannot be understated (Jones & Rutter, 1998; Hamilton, 2004; Anderson et al., 2004). Hamilton (2004) explained,

> In order to create a positive educational framework that will allow refugee children to integrate easily into a new school environment, they need to feel safe and comfortable. …development and enforcement of clear policies on racism and bullying are critical features of a safe school environment for refugee students. (p. 94).

Anderson (2004b) also emphasized the importance of positive peer interactions for refugee students, writing that schools should foster the healthy integration of refugee and locally-born students through a "caring school climate characterized by tolerance and acceptance, and which includes structured opportunity for social interaction (peer support programmes and so on) in order to maximize the opportunity for newcomers to make friends and find a supportive social network…" (p. 62). In this way, schools can help refugee students develop social support systems that increase their sense of belonging, safety, and happiness; while reducing social triggers, such as bullying and ostracizing, that can exacerbate refugee children's anxieties, fears, stress, and sadness.

Interventions to promote resilience affect not only refugee students' social-emotional development and well-being, but have immense implications for their learning process and academic success. Trauma and prolonged anxiety can contribute to disruptive child coping behaviors that interfere with learning. Such stressors can inhibit a child's ability to pay attention, concentrate, and participate in their own cognitive development (Doka, 1995; Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Furthermore, Loewen (2004) explained that students' acquisition of the host community language is greatly improved through regular, informal communications and conversations with their host community peers. Therefore, educational interventions that improve students' intercultural interrelationships and address children's social-emotional needs can positively impact multiple dimensions of their academic experiences and outcomes. The application of appropriate multicultural praxes is a key element to supporting these processes.

Multicultural education for refugee students. The educational psychologists and counselors who contributed to Hamilton & Moore's (2004) book asserted that multicultural education is a critical element of ecological interventions to support refugee students. For students who have experienced the trauma of losing all that is familiar and been forced to migrate to a foreign place and culture, emotional health and adaptation have been shown to be greatly assisted by welcoming, inclusive environments characterized by respect for differences. This includes healthy peer interactions, such as friendships and buddy systems, as opposed to unsafe learning environments characterized by bullying and harassment (Anderson, 2004b; Hamilton, 2004).

Important aspects of recommended multicultural education strategies include a school environment that respects, celebrates, and includes children from all cultures. Thus, variables such as curricula, décor, and assessments should reflect different socio-cultural experiences. In addition, group processes should be implemented to engage students in dialog and conflict resolution in order to promote cross-cultural friendships and reduce prejudices and bullying behaviors (Anderson, 2004b; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Hamilton, 2004). Schools should respond to language differences by having translators and bilingual teachers and staff when possible. Such human resources should be accessed regularly for parent outreach in order to engage families and strengthen ecological approaches to student interventions. Additionally, strong relationships with community members may serve as a multicultural teaching and learning resource if individuals from different cultures and communities come to classes to speak to or work with students (Camden, n.d.; Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

All of these initiatives would require supportive principals for school-wide implementation that might include new teaching materials, extra time for teachers to plan and collaborate, and additional staff (Hamilton, 2004). Teacher and staff training and development in topics such as cultural and linguistic diversity, English language acquisition, refugee experiences, and cross-cultural expressions of grief, trauma, and loss among children would be crucial. It is important to note that training in cultural competence does not necessarily mean learning about various cultures, but rather developing in teachers the skills to get to know their students and their families. This requires openness to culturally different ways of being, perceiving, and communicating

and continuous self-reflection on one's own assumptions, beliefs, and ethnocentrisms (Hyder, 1998; Hamilton & Moore, 2004). Finally, studies have demonstrated that similar initiatives have been most effective when teachers were afforded greater autonomy to respond to their unique classroom circumstances and student needs. Thus, principal support would mean allowing teachers the authority and time for reflexive, situation-based decision-making (Hamilton, 2004).

While other authors on refugee education have discussed the importance of inclusive, bilingual, anti-bullying, and anti-racist education (Cole, 1998; Rutter, 2003), they have not fully explored the potential for forms of multicultural education to serve these–and other–purposes. I believe this represents a gap in the literature, and I hope to buttress Hamilton and Moore's (2004) claims with my work. I believe their calls for multicultural education as a critical element of ecological interventions for refugee children beg a deeper exploration of multicultural strategies. In the following section, I briefly describe some common multicultural education paradigms, and argue for the implementation of a decolonial multicultural framework for local-global contexts. I believe my discussion demonstrates the need for a complex, multicultural approach that addresses issues of inclusion, bullying, and anti-racism in addition to other educational factors.

Decolonial Multicultural Education for Students with Refugee Status

As the previous section demonstrated, scholars and practitioners have recommended multicultural educational strategies as integral components of ecological interventions designed to support students with refugee status. Such a strong

recommendation nevertheless begs the question: “What kind of multicultural education?” What multicultural frameworks, exactly, might make a school-community more inclusive, culturally aware, and harmonious? In the following paragraphs, I briefly summarize a reflexive and adaptive framework for decolonial multiculturalism (Sprecher, 2011c), which I assert offers sophisticated and important insights and approaches for local-global contexts and, in this case, students with refugee status. In my article, *Revisioning multiculturalisms for a global age: Bringing decolonial education into praxis* (Sprecher, 2011c), I outlined potential considerations for decolonial multicultural praxes that embody the local-global. Therefore, I provide a short summary of my proposed decolonial multicultural framework for this article, connecting themes most pertinent to the topic of refugee education, and refer readers to the previous essay for more detailed explorations.

Decolonial multicultural education might best be described as a collection of synergized tools that educators can draw from and adapt for their unique educational contexts. While the specialists in refugee education recommended certain multicultural strategies for school-based interventions, I argue that such interventions should be informed by critical, global, and decolonial approaches in order to meet the complex demands of the local-global and avoid unknowingly perpetuating unequal dynamics. Such a synergy would incorporate practitioner-centered and critical multiculturalisms with global and decolonial education theories and pedagogies (Sprecher, 2011c).

The recommendations for multicultural educational strategies in the previous section mirror practitioner-centered multicultural educations. These include equity

pedagogies, or culturally-based teaching techniques, that recognize cultural differences in perceiving, communicating, and behaving and adapt instruction and assessment needs accordingly (thus aligning with social learning approaches to education) (Banks, J. A., 2005; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Pluralistic multicultural education is also promoted through inclusive educational environments that celebrate and teach about diversity (Banks, J. A., 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Intergroup, or human relations education, is strongly emphasized through directives for group processes to promote friendship within safe and inclusive learning environments free of bullying and harassment (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). In fact, the scholars on refugee education deemed positive peer interactions to be a crucial element in the healthy adaptation and learning of refugee students, promoting anti-racism education as one means to improve school relationships across differences (Hamilton, 2004; Rutter, 2003).

Nevertheless, multicultural education scholars who take critical approaches have warned against multicultural practices that fail to incorporate social justice themes. Critics have argued that multicultural praxes must examine and question social inequalities, or risk engaging in practices that are over-simplistic or assimilationist. Educational practices that celebrate diversity, yet deny the causes of stratification serve to marginalize oppressed students by ignoring their experiences. Moreover, assimilationist practices normalize white, Eurocentric values and beliefs in ways that devalue non-dominant students' own backgrounds and worldviews (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Thus, it is extremely important for

practitioners to seek social justice oriented multiculturalisms that apply social critique, analysis, and transformation to praxis.

Social reconstructionist multicultural education integrates the previously described practitioner-centered approaches within a holistic framework that prioritizes and infuses social justice throughout. Thus, social reconstructionist multiculturalism not only celebrates diversity, but also teaches students to analyze the inequities and injustices that imbue such differences and shape our perceptions of others (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). In this way, a social reconstructionist approach can reinforce inclusive and welcoming environments by revealing and opposing hierarchical relations and assumptions that oppress and divide people–and students. Strategies include not only curricula and pedagogies, but also school policies, environments, processes, and relationships (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). For example, a social reconstructionist multicultural school would embrace the refugee education scholars' advocacy of culturally competent home and school communications that respect and engage culturally diverse parents and families.

In addition to a social justice orientation, multicultural education approaches should incorporate elements that highlight the local-global nature of the current era (Brown & Kysilka, 2002; De Lissovoy, 2010; Spring, 2008b). Global education frameworks (Hicks & Holden, 2007) can provide a global dimension to multicultural education that is crucial for local-global school contexts that include locally born and international students. Multiple approaches have included emphases on topics such as socio-cultural diversity, human rights, peace, and social and economic justice (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005).

Such education can promote better understandings among globally diverse students, as well as increase their knowledge about the international and interrelated world in which they live. Proponents offer a variety of approaches that include helping students' develop a sense of compassion, connection with, and responsibility for the global community. This includes understanding and being open to culturally different ways of living, thinking, and being in the world. In addition, global frameworks can teach students about international problems such as war, environmental destruction, and epidemics through pedagogies that emphasize critical thinking and a sense of agency (Appiah, 2006; Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005). Teaching the global dimension may be especially helpful for improving understanding and empathy among students and teachers whose social and educational worlds are increasingly shared by children who have endured and survived such global events. Nevertheless, it should be noted that global education, like multiculturalism, is vulnerable to Eurocentric and assimilationist approaches, calling for critical analyses that address the local-global (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Spring, 2004).

I maintain that social justice and global approaches are necessary components of multicultural education praxes for local-global contexts. Nevertheless, social justice implies complexity and multiplicity, as human relationships and hierarchies are embedded in myriad, overlapping socio-historical, political, cultural, economic, and epistemological contexts. These overlapping social variables are further complicated by the dynamic, interrelated global elements of the present era (De Lissovoy, 2010; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Tejeda, Espinoza & Gutierrez, 2003). Therefore, theoretical

conversations and insights that inform approaches to local-global, social justice multiculturalism must be equally complex. For these reasons, I argue that global and multicultural strategies should be informed by critical and decolonial educational frameworks.

I assert that critical multiculturalism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995) could provide educators with sophisticated, theoretical insights for education that is social justice oriented, and could serve as a valuable, informative tool for global, multicultural programs. Critical multiculturalism examines human identities formed through social hierarchies such as race, gender, class, and ability by exploring the socio-historically rooted inequities members of such groups experience and applying these insights to education. Using postmodern and poststructural analyses, critical multiculturalism examines the role of power and dominance in the ways people perceive and describe reality, while applying critiques of capitalist relations to material domination, exploitation, and disparities. Critical multiculturalists advocate transformative education that challenges Eurocentric ideologies and curricula while recentering subjugated knowledges and epistemologies. By examining the social construction of knowledge and the privileging of dominant knowledge systems within a social justice paradigm, educators can reexamine their own ideologies and assumptions about students, families, and communities served by their schools, and what constitutes knowledge, teaching, and learning (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

Decolonial education extends critical multiculturalism to the global (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010), and claims that hierarchies based on constructed identities such as race, sex,

and class are deeply embedded in the socio-historical inequities and exploitations of colonialism and capitalism (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). Decolonial education therefore embodies postcolonial critiques, yet extends postcolonial analyses to include the continuing consequences of imperialism in people's lives (De Lissovoy, 2010). Like critical multiculturalism, decolonial educators eschew neoliberal hegemonies in favor of emancipatory pedagogies that decry the material domination of others in both local and global domains. Recognizing the perpetuation of economic disparities as a material and epistemological project, decolonial education, like critical multiculturalism, examines the ways discourses have been manipulated to justify and perpetuate inequities. This includes the colonial legacy of categorizing human beings into races that were stratified into inferior and superior beings so that "superior" races could enslave, subjugate, and steal land and resources from "inferior" races (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003).

Such racialized imaginings of superiority continue to thrive in contemporary discourses and social relationships (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). For example, white Euro-Americans continue to own the majority of resources and land and occupy positions of power in the U.S., while people of color are disproportionately represented among those living with powerlessness and poverty (Tejeda et al., 2003). These stratifications are mirrored in global dimensions, where North American and European organizations, governments, and multinational corporations continue acts of

neo-imperialism against formerly colonized nations through predatory capitalist relations.[48]

Colonial and neocolonial projects of epistemological domination are rooted in colonial efforts at deculturalization and assimilation, as well as forms of psycho-social subjugation in which, it was hoped, indigenous and nonwhite peoples would accept their own oppression and exploitation by whites as normal and correct. To this end, white, Euro-American beliefs, values, and behaviors were (and often continue to be) touted as central and superior to those of non-Euro-Americans. Eurocentric schooling reifies this project through curricula, pedagogies, environments, and assessments that normalize white, Euro-American perspectives and experiences, while eclipsing, marginalizing, and/or distorting those of others (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). Such schooling becomes a double-edged sword that fails to meet the educational needs of non-dominant students, while simultaneously reinforcing biases and prejudices against them.

Such marginalization is prevalent in U.S. schooling in relation to the global as well, since many U.S. students learn very little about international events and actors or people in other countries and cultures. In fact, predominant practices in U.S. schools have emphasized nationalistic assumptions of American superiority and entitlement, commonly coupled with ignorance and apathy for the rest of the world (Brown & Kysilka, 2002). This includes an emphasis on global economic competition, rather than

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[48] Just a few examples of predatory capitalism include national trade agreements that favor powerful nations and multinational corporations to the detriment of local peoples, and conditional lending schemes that require nations to implement structural adjustments that impoverish their citizens and make them dependent on foreign imports and exports–all regulated by and for wealthy nations (Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008; Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; McLaren and Farahmandpur, 2005; Tikly, 2004).

global collaboration (Spring, 2004). Within the discourses of global competition, neoliberal ideologies that promote a form of market fundamentalism devoid of social responsibility are normalized and unquestioned as simply "what is" or "what should be." These hegemonic assumptions serve to justify the domination and exploitation of peoples around the world for the sake of U.S. corporate profits (Alexander, 1996; Marable, 2008; Apple, 2000a, 2000b, 2001; Chan-Tiberghien, 2004).

Moreover, neoliberal ideologues frequently ignore causal relations that can illuminate our understandings of global crises. For example, a refugee child may have escaped ethnic violence, which itself may have been exacerbated by colonial and capitalist events. In some cases, colonizers created divisions among the colonized and privileged one group over another, inciting tensions that transferred to postcolonial relations.[49] In others, neo-imperialist and predatory capitalist practices severely impoverished local populations so that members subsequently had to struggle and compete with each other for basic necessities (Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2007). And in others, members of wealthy nations earned immense profits by selling weapons to government and independent militias who then used those weapons to terrorize civilians (Chomsky, 2004, 2006). I mention these examples to not only trouble the simplistic and self-gratifying basis of neoliberalism, but also to demonstrate the complex, socio-historically interrelated nature of the local-global.

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[49] For example, the Belgians colonized Burundi in 1916 and exploited the Tutsi and Hutu ethnic divisions and their associated prejudices as a way to reinforce their colonial power. Treating the Tutsis as a "superior race" and the Hutus as inferior peasants, the Belgian colonizers educated and elevated the Tutsis into a collaborating class. The Belgians' introduction of identity cards that indicated ethnic origin deepened divisions and exacerbated tensions even further (Watt, 2008).

These socio-historical contexts illuminate some of the ways in which colonial and imperial globalization have contributed to "global culture, knowledge and subjectivity" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 282), and, hence, the ideologies that undergird "the ongoing neocolonial relationships and cultural hybridization" (De Lissovoy, 2010, p. 284) of the local-global. These ideologies and relationships play out among students and teachers as they navigate their school environments and each other.

Among and between school community members, new bigotries continuously emerge within Eurocentric discourses of international relations (De Lissovoy, 2010; Harrison, 2008; Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008; Mullings, 2008; Winant, 2008) that divide the world into *First* and *Third*, *developed* and *developing* (Willinsky, 1998). Within such discourses, developed nations–composed primarily of Western European and North American countries–are treated as more advanced than developing nations, as demonstrated by their superior wealth and high technology lifestyles. Developing nations need only emulate the developed in order to "catch up" –so the discourse goes–and any failure to do so lies in their own weaknesses and inferiorities.

Within this paradigm of stratified nations and peoples, a form of blind presentism[50] ignores the histories of capitalism and imperialism in which powerful nations exploited, dominated, and impoverished others. Additionally, this presentist vision remains devoid of any awareness or critique of the roles neo-imperialism and predatory capitalist practices have had in perpetuating exploitation and impoverishment (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). Rather, this paradigm

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[50] Presentism refers to "an attitude toward the past dominated by present-day attitudes and experiences" (Merriam-Webster Online, 2011).

employs a sense of misinformed meritocracy that blames poor people and nations for their circumstances (Mullings, 2008), and fails to connect vast economic disparities to past and continuing contexts of colonialism, imperialism, and neoliberal capitalism. Wealthy nations and actors take no responsibility for maintaining dominance through actions such as inciting civil wars, deposing democratically elected, populist leaders, or imposing development schemes designed to benefit elite investors, corporations, and nations (Alexander, 1996; Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008; Chomsky, 2004, 2006, 2007; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). In addition, any resulting social unrest is commonly blamed solely on the affected people, rather than those who contributed to the inhumane conditions under which peoples in developing countries frequently live.[51]

Furthermore, this paradigm assumes the naturalness and necessity of economic development based on Western ideologies of neoliberalism, science, and technology. Many peoples, such as some indigenous nations, small-scale subsistence communities, and religious groups, embrace holistic understandings of the world that prioritize human relationships, spirituality, and the sanctity of the natural world above material gain, technological advancement, and Western-style economic imperatives. Western, neoliberal discourses commonly treat ways of being and knowing that do not conform to the privileging of material lifestyles as primitive and inferior (or even nonexistent!). This

[51] I do not wish to oversimplify global relations into a dichotomy of victim/victimizer. I recognize that events and consequences are complex and involve multiple actors, including corrupt leaders and social elites who participate in the abuses of their own peoples, and individuals and groups who propagate their own agencies and actions for better or worse. My goal is to shed light on elements of international relations that are frequently absent from mainstream, Western discourses.

positions the lives, experiences, and values of many human beings as marginal or counterproductive (Spring, 2009).

This presentist, neoliberal Eurocentrism shapes the way that many who live in developed countries come to identify and perceive others as Third World. Moreover, such biases are persistently racialized in what some scholars have called a system of *global apartheid* (Alexander, 1996; Harrison, 2008; Marable, 2008; Richmond, 1994). Both between and within nations, formerly colonized and subjugated peoples are most often Black and brown peoples who continue to struggle for survival in social hierarchies in which mostly white people maintain wealth and power (Alexander, 1996; Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008; De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). Thus, racisms against immigrant and refugee students from so-called Third World states may incorporate bigotries against peoples from developing nations as inferior (non-white) beings responsible for their own conditions of wretched poverty and political unrest. I assert that such Eurocentric attitudes can impact how school staff perceive and respond to their students and students' families in ways that impose deficit discourses. Locally-born students, also, are likely prone to this dominant Eurocentric ideology. Without interventions, such Eurocentric bigotries might contribute to bullying or exclusion of other students based on their racialized national status.

Critical multicultural and decolonial frameworks are of particular pertinence for schools with refugee students, since such students are oftentimes members of groups that have been racialized by Western discourses as Black or brown, and are therefore vulnerable to racisms. Moreover, refugee students may have originated in formally

colonized countries, or nations categorized as Third World by Western discourses that both label and stigmatize non-Western peoples. Further complicating racist discourses affecting refugee children is the fact that many live in conditions of poverty upon resettlement in their host country and have often escaped pre-migration circumstances of severe deprivation and impoverishment. Therefore, local-global racisms against refugee students may incorporate multiple interrelated tiers of bias and hostility toward their ethnic, national, and economic status. Such racisms might be perpetuated blatantly by other students, teachers, or community members; or unknowingly by well-meaning educators through daily communications or curricula that exclude or distort marginalized students' experiences. I argue that decolonial multiculturalism is crucial to improved student understandings and interactions because it describes the complex colonial and capitalist roots of racialized categories and relations, as well as their continuing consequences.

While embracing thorough discourses of critique, decolonial education theorists also advocate for discourses of possibility that acknowledge the complexity of the local-global (De Lissovoy, 2010). Like global education, decolonialism rejects a dualistic perception of the local and the global, treating the dimensions as interrelated. Within this paradigm, human lives are viewed as interconnected, and transformative education should seek to instill in students a sense of caring, compassion, and social responsibility for others regardless of their identities, differences, or locations on the planet (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; De Lissovoy, 2010; Noddings, 2005) . Described by De Lissovoy (2010) as a "pedagogy of lovingness" (p. 280), such decolonial strategies must nevertheless be

informed by “a curriculum against domination” (p. 280) that employs sophisticated critical analyses such as those described in the preceding paragraphs.

Both global and decolonial education scholars have argued that new paradigms and discourses of possibility must be co-created by people from diverse backgrounds and understandings. This will require intercultural collaborations that decenter destructive, Western hegemonies, and privilege those subjugated knowledges that are more conducive to peaceful, non-exploitative co-existence. For this purpose, diverse peoples will need to learn how to work together to develop solutions to complex local-global crises such as war, famine, ecological devastation, pandemics, and profound poverty (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Spariosu, 2004). The local-global classrooms of U.S. schools may provide ideal conditions for such pursuits, as children from a wide range of experiences and understandings come together for the purpose of learning.

Decolonial multicultural education could integrate human relations/intergroup educational strategies with decolonial concepts of relational learning to re-orient local-global school interactions toward positive relationships. This would serve multiple purposes. First, it would engender the positive relations ecological psychologists have deemed so important to the well-being and success of refugee students. Locally-born students would also benefit from a learning environment characterized by caring and supportive friendships, as opposed to exclusion, harassment, and bullying. Second, both locally and foreign born peers could learn high-level skills for intercultural competence that are highly valued, and likely necessary, for living and working in our globalizing societies.

Finally, the rich contributions that refugee students might offer to classroom co-constructions of knowledge could blatantly negate deficit discourses and reposition them as valuable assets to group learning. Previously homogeneous schools would have the opportunity to learn from and with students who not only represent diverse knowledges and experiences, but likely have developed unique qualities of resilience, strength, compassion, and/or courage. Such qualities might prove especially valuable to the process of co-creating new discourses and paradigms, as well as to developing the problem-solving skills needed to confront global crises.

Further Implications

While the previous section demonstrated how decolonial multicultural education is highly pertinent to ecological interventions for refugee students, I believe the ecological models, likewise, have much to offer multicultural approaches. Such models remind us that children, like all people, are complex beings best served by educational methods that recognize and address the many layers that comprise their human development. Children's lives are not defined solely by culture, but myriad and interrelated aspects and experiences that shape and alter who they are ever becoming. I assert that multicultural educators should incorporate ecological approaches, such as those presented by educational psychologists and public health advocates, in order to better meet the needs of all–but especially underserved–children. Children's physical and social-emotional health should be educational concerns because learning and development are challenged if students are not well, and a moral concern because helping children who are suffering is the ethical thing to do. Finally, children's health is a social

justice issue, because gross inequities and disparities in resources often contribute to, or even cause, many of the events and circumstances that are detrimental to children's well-being and happiness. Moreover, such inequities frequently limit many children's access to the kinds of resources and supports that might assist and improve their recoveries and successes.

Trauma and loss among children in the U.S is not uncommon, and oftentimes children's exposure to violence and grief is exacerbated by social inequities and injustices (Children's Defense Fund, 2009). A child may not have to live in a war zone to lose a family member to prison, gang violence, or drug dependency, for example. In neighborhoods that are unsafe for play or walking to school, in homes where families struggle to provide three meals a day and hunger is frequent, a child may experience repeated and intense stress and anxiety. An ecological approach that recognizes the impact of multiple conditions on children's wellness while employing critical analyses to better understand the causes and disparities that lead to such suffering would well serve large numbers of children in U.S. schools.

Poverty is not a circumstance endured by refugees or immigrants alone. Both internationally and within the United States, exploitative and inequitable economic relations and policies have dramatically increased disparities and intensified poverty among children and families in our nation and throughout the world (Abouharb & Cingranelli, 2007; Alexander, 1996; Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008; Brown & Kysilka, 2002; Children's Defense Fund, 2009; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005). Critical and decolonial multiculturalisms must necessarily address class and poverty on local-global

levels if they are to be social justice oriented and relevant to students' lives (De Lissovoy, 2010; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Tejeda et al., 2003). This includes resisting and subverting the discourses that normalize and justify child poverty, such as socio-cultural deficit orientations and the assumed naturalness of neoliberalism.

Furthermore, decolonial multicultural educators can do more than oppose economic injustice philosophically and pedagogically. We can also consider social determinate and public health approaches that help us see how such exploitations manifest in students' everyday lives, particularly in the realms of mental and physical health. Practitioners can demonstrate to students in caring and tangible ways that their needs and circumstances of poverty matter to us. By recognizing and acting on the necessity of ecological interventions, such as coordinating access to basic needs and health care, educational practitioners can model, as well as teach, social responsibility. This includes working for changes in both schooling and government policies to build systems of social support for children and families and oppose the systems of exploitation and inequity that induce and increase poverty (Anyon, 2005, 2009). Such efforts are necessary to support teachers who cannot accomplish needed interventions without systematic supports that include collaborative partnerships and institutional and financial backing.[52]

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[52] U.S. schools and teachers serving low-income student populations generally remain severely under-resourced and under-supported due to educational funding disparities (Kozol, 1991, 2005), and political discourses that emphasize punitive measures over investments (Darling-Hammond, 2007b). In contrast, countries with reputations for educational excellence, such as Finland and Singapore, fund their nation's schools equally, while investing heavily in teacher education and ongoing development and school infrastructures, supports and resources. Such conditions, coupled with high teacher status, wages, and professional input concerning curricula and pedagogies, have made the field competitive, allowing universities to screen for the most highly qualified individuals (Darling-Hammond, 2008; Lombardi, 2005).

Conclusion

Though refugee resettlement in the United States consistently declined between 1990 and 2001, the number began to steadily increase in 2002. As a result, children with refugee status have been matriculating into schools across the United States in increasing numbers, as the U.S. refugee resettlement program continues to integrate politically displaced persons annually (Batalova, 2009). [53] While these new students represent great heterogeneity, such as variations in country of origin, culture, geo-political circumstances, personal experiences, and local supports, some common patterns have emerged that require the attentions of educational practitioners and policymakers. Primary among these are social-emotional factors related to grief, trauma, and/or loss associated with pre-, trans-, and post-migration experiences. Left unattended, the social-emotional struggles experienced by many refugee children could interfere with their healthy adaptation, overall wellness, and academic learning.

As the disciplinary conversation I presented in this article suggests, addressing the social-emotional and learning needs of refugee students may be better accomplished by ecological approaches. Such approaches trouble the assumptions and narrow foci of traditional education and health discourses that operate through deficit and reductionist paradigms. Rather, ecological approaches are more likely to embrace holistic interventions that integrate children's experiences with their families, communities, and

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[53] The actual number of persons with refugee status admitted to the United States was roughly thirty thousand in 2002, rising to approximately 50,000 in the years 2004 and 2005. In 2006, these numbers dipped to about forty thousand, but continued to increase each subsequent year to roughly sixty thousand in 2008. In 2008, the U.S. government raised the ceiling for refugee admissions to eighty thousand (Batalova, 2009).

school peers, with health and wellness, and with socio-political factors such as poverty, discrimination, and marginalization with their learning and development. As frameworks that respond to students' lives and needs, ecological approaches would be necessarily dynamic and adaptable, rather than defined by a static or universal set of rules imposed on various unique contexts. Furthermore, adaptable frameworks that are ecological could be expanded for inclusivity, recognizing that interventions need not be limited to any subset of students. Ecological interventions could be made available to all students, as needed, as a way to address all children's complex realities and humanities.

I have argued that a crucial element of ecological frameworks for many local-global school environments in the United States–particularly those that involve resettled refugee children–may be decolonial multiculturalism. I reiterate that the local-global nature of modern societies and classrooms demands new approaches to education that adapt to changing student populations and prepare all students for local-global futures. Merely focusing on standard content and assessment falls far short of addressing the complexity and multiplicity of contemporary life. I advocate for ecological educational methodologies, within a decolonial multicultural paradigm, that address children's social-emotional learning and development. This will require formal systems that support students recovering from grief, trauma, and loss and ensure child safety and welfare in all environments. In addition, the suffering and dangers that poverty imposes on children cannot be ignored, and ecological educational approaches must recognize and respond to causes and consequences of child impoverishment.

Therefore, practitioners will need critical knowledges and tools for deciphering and resisting the complex, socio-historically embedded systems of local-global inequities that shape children's lives. A decolonial multicultural framework could potentially improve student relationships and relational learning, while informing teacher attitudes toward students and families in ways that reject deficit, essentializing, racist, and Eurocentric discourses. As a nation rooted in colonial histories, U.S. schools are often permeated with Eurocentrisms that influence curricula, pedagogies, and teacher-student and student-student interactions and relationships (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). Decolonial multicultural frameworks could provide teachers with critiques and insights to identify and resist destructive and divisive paradigms, including hegemonic influences in the education and health fields that reify and perpetuate socio-political and socio-economic inequities.

Chapter 6, Article 3: Applying Decolonial Multiculturalism to a Local-global Context: Children with Refugee Status in a Southeastern, U.S. School

In past writings, I have advocated for decolonial multicultural education frameworks to address the complex, local-global contexts of contemporary U.S. schools.[54] I have also honed in on an exemplary, local-global educational context: that of children with refugee status matriculating to schools in the United States.[55] This article parallels the theoretical work, in which I discuss potential frameworks for refugee students that incorporate decolonial multicultural education as a crucial element of ecological educational approaches. While my previous discussions have employed bricolage to engage in a dialectical analysis of interdisciplinary literatures, this article introduces lived experiences, through ethnographic data, as an additional layer to the larger conversation. This conversation is by no means linear: the themes that emerged from the ethnographic data inspired my literary research, and my research further informed the ethnographic themes through new theoretical and pedagogical discoveries.

In the following pages, I present a pilot case study–not a comprehensive empirical study–of recently resettled Burundian students in a southeastern U.S. school. As a member of an interdisciplinary research team working with the Burundian families, I gathered some, though not all, of the data–participant observations and interviews–presented in this article. The themes that I produced from my analyses–ecological

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[54] Sprecher, K. (2011). *Revisioning multiculturalisms for a global age: Bringing decolonial education into praxis.* Manuscript in preparation.
[55] Sprecher, K. (2011). *Decolonial multiculturalism and students with refugee status: Ecological school praxes for local-global dynamics.* Manuscript in preparation.

educational approaches, deficit and assimilationist attitudes, and student interactions and peer relationships–have both informed and been informed by my theoretical work. I therefore employ bricolage as a methodology of relationality and complexity (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), which I explain in greater detail in the next section. After describing my methodology, I briefly summarize the relevant theoretical discussions from my other work (footnoted in the preceding paragraph), though I refer readers to those articles for more in-depth explanations. This article serves to integrate lived experiences into a discussion about incorporating decolonial multicultural education with other ecological interventions to support refugee students. My goal is to explore local-global contextual circumstances to provide insights for educational policies and practices, teacher preparation, and future research.

Methodology

Rather than presenting a comprehensive empirical study, this article offers a pilot case study that serves to integrate additional layers of lived experience into a theoretical bricolage. While I describe my qualitative techniques later in this article, this section explains my employment of bricolage as a methodological framework. Kincheloe and Berry (2004) presented bricolage as a methodology that responds to lived experiences in the pursuit of liberatory knowledge production. Thus, bricoleurs aim to not only describe and critique in pursuit of reduced suffering and social justice, but to innovate and imagine new possibilities. I employ bricolage for this article as a means to analyze educational contexts and explore how they might inform and be informed by emancipatory praxis developments.

Bricolage acknowledges and embraces the complexity of educational environments, and seeks out creative ways to work with the multiplicity and reflexivity of lived educational experiences (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2005). Bricolage therefore promotes a form of *tinkering* in which the researcher draws from and adapts various research tools as needed, instead of restricting the research to the requirements of any particular technique (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe, 2005). Moreover, Kincheloe (2004b) claimed that bricolage requires "deep interdisciplinarity" (pp. 75–78), in which researchers draw from multiple disciplines as needed, exploring their relationalities and overlapping boundaries for new insights and understandings. My research mirrors these approaches because I have forgone a traditional empirical study in favor of a multilayered montage. This montage blends an interdisciplinary theoretical dialogue with lived experiences in such a way that each simultaneously informs the other. I employ these tools to examine the relationality among discourses–the words and phrases that simultaneously convey and shape meaning–as they are used in both literatures and people's lives.

Complexity also demands that research attend to multiple correlating contexts: for example, the socio-historical, socio-political, local-global, economic, and epistemological[56] variables that intersect with any lived experience (Berry, 2006). Employing philosophical and critical tools that trouble and question hegemonic[57] concepts of power and knowledge, bricoleurs acknowledge the politically embedded

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[56] *Epistemology* refers to systems of knowledge that inform individuals' worldviews.
[57] *Hegemonic*, as in *hegemony*, refers to knowledge systems and discourses that reify dominance and stratification, yet have been normalized as "common sense" or simply "what is."

nature of research (Kincheloe, 2004a, 2005). Throughout my research, I consider the role of various contextual factors in my findings, reexamine normalized paradigms for hidden and assumed biases, and make conscious efforts to avoid and confront deficit discourses.

In light of the commonality of deficit discourses in education and health research, bricolage provides another crucial element to my endeavor: namely, the abandonment of approaches that treat research subjects–oftentimes students–as problems in favor of research that identifies and problematizes inequities and injustices (Berry, 2006). To this end, bricolage prioritizes subjugated knowledges in order to expand knowledge production beyond the understandings and interpretations of privileged and powerful actors (Kincheloe, 2001, 2004a). Employing qualitative research as one component of the bricolage can assist this goal by presenting narratives and experiences of peoples often made invisible or silenced and objectified by traditional research methods (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).[58]

Finally, bricolage makes no claims to absolute truths or static realities, and as a methodology, proposes findings that are necessarily limited. Thus, bricolage seeks to produce knowledge that is explicitly only one piece–and one interpretation–of a larger reality (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). Moreover, bricoleurs recognize that the researcher is always embedded in the research, and that the researcher's perception of reality guides the design, implementation, analysis, and communication of any research.

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[58] Qualitative research also risks objectifying and distorting human experiences. Denzin and Lincoln (2005) troubled the impact power and privileged positionalities have on qualitative research designs, methodologies for data collection and analysis, interpretations of findings, and representations of others in qualitative writing. They strongly advocated for methodological approaches that examine and question power and researcher positionality, and cautioned researchers to proceed with utmost care and respect.

Therefore, examination of researcher positionality and the ways a researcher's intersecting identities might shape and influence the research process is an important component of bricolage (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). The following section briefly describes my own positionality, and ways in which I think it may influence my processes and perceptions.

Positionality. I am a white woman who has experienced poverty, working, and middle-class socio-economic circumstances. I am also a U.S. citizen who was born and raised in the suburbs of Baltimore, Maryland, though I have lived in cities throughout the Pacific Northwest and the southeastern United States. While I personally understand some of the challenges of poverty, I have never experienced racism. For many years, I took my white privilege and nationality for granted. Nor have I known firsthand the kinds of deprivation commonly endured by peoples in war-affected regions and refugee camps. Though I know what it is to relocate, I have never had to start over in a country in which I was a minority and did not know the language or culture, or been the target of anti-immigrant hostilities or Eurocentric nationalisms (Jones & Rutter, 1998; Hamilton & Moore, 2004).

Therefore, I approach this work not only as an outsider in relation to the refugee children and families, with an etic perspective, but as a member of intersecting, dominant identity groups: a white, U.S., *First World* citizen and native English speaker who is educated and aspiring middle-class. I must, therefore, be especially cognizant of my own assumptions and interpretations of events and others, and careful of how I employ power in representing research subjects.

I earned my teaching credential in California, where, unlike most southeastern states, certification in cultural and linguistic diversity was required for all new educators. As a public school teacher, I worked primarily with urban, low-income, children of color, many of whom were learning English as a second language. Thus, my practitioner training gives me some perspective on varying educational discourses and approaches, particularly concerning immigrant and minority students.

Moreover, my status as a former teacher gives me a bit of an insider, or emic, perspective in relation to the teachers–also white, aspiring middle-class, U.S. nationals–who were observed and interviewed in this research. I believe teachers constitute an underclass in both research and the administrative hierarchies of formal education. Therefore, their narratives, like those of their students' and the families they serve, are a form of subjugated knowledge not frequently accessed by traditional research practices.

The next section briefly summarizes concepts developed through my dialectical analysis of interdisciplinary literatures, and highlights the themes most relevant to the qualitative findings. I begin by introducing the concept of local-global contexts in U.S. schools and explaining its relevance to refugee students.

Local-global School Contexts

Transcending any notion of a simple dichotomy, the local-global alludes to the complex interrelationships of systems and peoples around the world. As globalization intensifies local-global interconnections among socio-cultural, economic, communications, and government systems, to name a few, school environments reflect these dynamics (De Lissovoy, 2010; Spariosu, 2004). For example, students may engage

in Internet chatting with youth in other countries, likely wear and use products made beyond U.S. borders, and develop perspectives and beliefs that may ultimately affect U.S. foreign policies when they are old enough for political participation. In addition, many classrooms throughout the nation have been experiencing an increase in international and immigrant students, bringing increasing socio-cultural and linguistic diversity into local students' lives (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Brown & Kysilka, 2002; Spring, 2008a).

Schools that have matriculated refugee students represent an exemplary local-global climate for multiple reasons. First, children with refugee status in the U.S. are emigrees from a variety of countries around the world, who bring with them a wide array of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. They are also survivors of international geopolitical events such as war or interethnic violence, forced migration, and second or even third country resettlement–events that may be socio-historically embedded in complex global interrelationships such as neo-imperialism and/or colonialism. As refugee children interact daily with locally born students, their local-global experiences and worldviews contribute to new relational knowledges and socio-cultural hybridities.

The following section explores such experiences in greater detail, and introduces a discussion about potential schooling approaches for students with refugee status.

Children with Refugee Status in U.S. Schools

In 2009, the worldwide refugee population stood at an estimated 13.5 million (U.S. Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2010). Refugees are legally defined as individuals who have been forced to flee their homes due to persecution for their "race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion" (United

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951, p.16). The United States instituted a national policy for refugee resettlement in 1990, and has since admitted thirty to one hundred thousand politically displaced persons annually to cities and towns across the nation (Batalova, 2009). About thirty-five to forty percent of recent arrivals have been children and youth below the age of eighteen (Bridging Refugee Youth and Children's Services, 2010). As a result, communities across the U.S. have matriculated students with refugee status into their schools and classrooms.

As targets of persecution, refugees may have survived and/or witnessed atrocities associated with war, ethnic violence, and/or repressive governments. Thus, people classified as refugees may have experienced events such as mass killings, violent attacks, sexual assault, and/or torture. Children, who are especially vulnerable, may have endured slavery or forced military conscription. They may have lost family members, possibly even witnessing the brutal attacks that ended the lives of parents or siblings. Furthermore, many people with refugee status have had to spend time, in some cases many years, in refugee camps frequently characterized by violence and deprivation. Such isolated internments commonly disrupted lives, divided families, and forced residents into lives of stagnation and dependency (Blanch, 2008; Hamilton, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003).

It is important to note that resettled children represent a vast array of experiences that may differ according to country and culture of origin, the geopolitical circumstances of their forced migration, their social and economic status, their personal experiences and characteristics, and levels of local resettlement supports, among others. Nevertheless, some patterns have emerged among a significant number of refugees students that call for

analysis and response (Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen & Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; McNeely, Sprecher and Bates, 2010).

While not all refugee children have endured pre-migration atrocities, all must struggle with trans- and post-migration losses and stressors, which for some children may prove to be traumatic (Anderson, 2004a; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; McNeely et al., 2010). During trans-migration, refugee children suffer immense losses, as all that was once familiar is left behind: home, family members, friends, and cultural and social belonging, to name a few (Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Post-migration also introduces profound stressors to the lives of resettled children that can include culture shock, language barriers, racisms and xenophobia among host communities, and poverty. Resettled families frequently struggle to procure basic necessities such as shelter, food, medical care, and clothing as a result of nontransferable parental labor skills and inadequate resettlement supports. Additionally, sudden immersion in a different culture, environment, and language can contribute to mental exhaustion and intense anxiety (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). Resettled children, as they matriculate into U.S. schools, may feel severely out of place among their new peers, which can be exacerbated if schoolmates ostracize or bully them (Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003). As a result refugee children and their families may experience cultural bereavement, traumatic memories, and acculturative stress simultaneously, causing each to compound the other (Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Practitioners working with resettled refugee children should be aware of some important factors that commonly characterize children’s strategies for coping with grief,

trauma, and loss. First, children's coping methods often differ from those of adults, and are further influenced in divergent ways by variables such as individual personality, developmental level, and extenuating circumstances (Doka, 1995; Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Second, perceptions of and reactions to grief, trauma, and loss are influenced by "ethnocultural, religious and socio-political contexts" (Frater-Mathieson, 2004, p. 14), and Western expectations concerning experiences and expressions of grief, trauma, and loss may not reflect those of non-Western individuals (Blanch, 2008; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Lustig et al., 2003; Miller & Rasco, 2004; Summerfield, 2000). Third, Experiences of grief, trauma, and loss can manifest throughout a child's life, resurfacing at any time in response to triggers such as new stressors or traumas, significant anniversaries and/or memories, or progressive developmental stages. Thus, a child who appears to be coping well may suddenly and inexplicably exhibit signs of emotional distress. Such cycles can last for years (Doka, 1995; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Yule, 1998).

Therefore, educational practitioners are likely to encounter expressions of grief, trauma, or loss among resettled children with whom they work. Children with refugee status may experience posttraumatic stress, bereavement, feelings of powerlessness, and survivor guilt. Common emotions include extreme anxiety, fear, confusion, anger, and sadness (Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Haasl & Marnocha 2000; Wolfelt 1983; Worden, 1996; Yule, 1998). Volatile emotions, crying, irritability, restlessness, withdrawal, and acting out in destructive or violent ways are just some of the behaviors associated with grief, trauma, and loss (Doka 1995; Haasl and Marnocha 2000; Wolfelt 1983). Children might display frenzied behaviors and hyperactivity in response to feelings of panic and attempts

to suppress traumatic memories or overwhelming emotions (Jewett Jarratt, 1982), or exhibit hypersensitivity, reacting explosively to seemingly minor events. Traumatized children may also have "difficulty staying on task…problems [with] working independently [and]…dependence seeking behaviors" (Haasl & Marnocha, 2000, p.28–29).

The following section presents recommended strategies for supporting refugee children through their often painful processes of transition to new homes and schools.

Recommended education interventions.

Ecological approaches. Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen, & Frater-Mathieson (2004) recommended ecological strategies for educational approaches with refugee children. Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1992) ecological systems theory, such a framework would recognize the interrelated and nested systems that compose and infuse children's lives. The school, home, and community environments, family dynamics and circumstances, and larger social variables such as laws and morays would thus be considered important factors related to a child's learning and development (Anderson et. al., 2004; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1992).

Another ecological approach includes the social determinate model employed by many in the public health discipline. This model considers both local and international variables that may interfere with people's health and wellness, particularly social and economic inequalities. A social determinate approach therefore analyzes socio-political access to power and resources that affect individuals' health. Resources that may indicate socio-political health disparities include medical care, clean water, nontoxic living

environments, nutritious food, and/or safe housing and neighborhoods, for example. Thus, poverty and the social inequities that cause and exacerbate poverty are targets of disciplinary analysis (World Health Organization, 2009).

Finally, social learning approaches, as they have been applied in the academic discipline of education, call for an ecological approach to students that recognizes the role of the school environment in student learning. Advocates of social learning approaches reject schooling models that require students to conform to uniform school cultures and pedagogies, arguing instead that schools should adapt to the learning needs of their students. Thus, a student who is struggling academically represents a bad fit between the learner and the educational practices of the school, and it is the school's responsibility to identify and respond to every student's learning needs (Moore, 2004).

While I propose such approaches as an ideal, I recognize the numerous barriers to their implementation. Foremost are the socio-political hegemonies that shape discourses and policies in the fields of education and health in ways that serve certain political agendas. In education, the standardization and reductionism promoted through the No Child Left Behind Act and the scientifically-based research movement dictate assimilationist, efficiency schooling (Christensen & Karp, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Meier & Wood, 2004; Tyack, 2003). In the health disciplines, powerful, moneyed actors such as Big Pharma and the insurance industry regulate and define health and health care according to economic imperatives (Rail, Murray & Holmes, 2010). Despite these barriers, I believe it is important to imagine alternative possibilities in order to resist, and hopefully replace, dominant structures that reinforce the status quo.

School-based interventions. Schools and school practitioners are ideally situated to respond to refugee children's needs, because they comprise such a large percentage of students daily lives and play such a huge role in children's learning and development. Anderson et al. (2004) therefore advocated for ecological, school-based interventions for students with refugee status to foster resilience. Thus, caring and supportive staff, culturally appropriate assessments of academic and social-emotional needs, and therapeutic and/or social-emotional supports are indispensable for helping students develop tools to overcome adversities (Anderson, 2004b; Frater-Mathieson, 2004). Moreover, any social-emotional supports should recognize the socio-culturally embedded experience and interpretation of any event, and avoid imposing Western definitions and assumptions on others' feelings and processes (Cole, 1996; Lustig et al, 2003; Hamilton & Moore, 2004). This includes the tendency within the discipline of psychology to pathologize normal human responses to tragic events and positions survivors within deficit discourses (Barber, 2009; Mollica, 2006; Ryan, Dooley, and Benson, 2008).

Recognizing that a child's wellness and success is strongly correlated with that of their family, schools implementing an ecological approach would employ interpreters and cultural liaisons when possible, and would engage in regular, culturally sensitive, home-school communications. In addition, such schools would provide or access system supports and/or resources to help new families navigate their resettlement processes (Camden, n. d.; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; McNeely et al., 2010).

A crucial element of ecological interventions for refugee students would be the rejection of assimilationist educational practices that ignore minority students' socio-

cultural contexts and reify their marginalization. Equally critical is a welcoming, inclusive environment in which children feel safe physically and emotionally. This would require multicultural educational strategies that embrace and represent pluralism throughout curricula, pedagogies, the school site, and human interactions (Anderson, 2004a; Frater-Mathieson, 2004).

Frater-Mathieson (2004) explained that both teacher-student and student-student relationships can have a profound impact on the healthy adaptation of resettled children. Therefore, negative interactions characterized by racism, xenophobia, and bullying–circumstances all too common in U.S. schools–should be actively addressed. To this end, multicultural strategies such as anti-racist, intergroup, and conflict resolution education should be employed to avoid or counteract unhealthy student interactions and prejudices (Anderson, 2004a; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Rutter, 2003). Anderson (2004b) promoted schools characterized by tolerance, and that include structured opportunities "for social interaction (peer support programmes and so on) in order to maximize the opportunity for newcomers to make friends and find a supportive social network" (p. 62).

These initiatives would necessitate school-wide participation and administrative supports, and would likely require relevant educational materials, extra planning time for teachers, and additional staff (Hamilton, 2004). Of primary importance would be training and development for teachers and staff in cultural competence. In the case of refugee students, this would mean emphases on linguistic and cultural diversity, common refugee experiences, English language acquisition, and culturally influenced expressions of trauma, grief, and loss among children. Paramount is an understanding that cultural

competence does not necessarily mean learning everything about a culture–a notion that defies the dynamic, hybrid and personal nature of cultural experiences and influences–but rather, attaining skills for getting to know one's students and families across differences. This includes an openness to diverse ways of communicating, perceiving, and being in the world, coupled with persistent reflection on the ways one's own ethnocentrisms and assumptions may lead to misinterpretations of intercultural interactions, intentions, and expectations (Hyder 1998; Hamilton & Moore, 2004; Shaules, 2007). Moreover, I assert that such awarenesses should be informed by critical understandings of local-global inequities, which I believe could be well expressed by a decolonial multicultural education framework.

Decolonial multicultural education. As I have demonstrated, Anderson et al. (2004) argued that multicultural education is a key component for supporting refugee students' resilience and adaptation. I propose that a decolonial multicultural education framework (See footnote 2) would offer excellent tools for working in schools characterized by the geo-political, local-global dynamics of forced migration and refugee resettlement. Such a framework would incorporate methods such as culturally-based pedagogies that acknowledge and respond to children's varied ways of knowing and diverse understandings of the world (Banks, J. A., 2005; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003), school-wide pluralism that promotes and celebrates diversity (Banks, J. A., 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 2003), and intergroup and human relations education to foster positive peer relations and reduce prejudices and bullying (Banks, C. A., 2005; Sleeter & Grant, 2003; Vogt, 2004). Additionally, decolonial multiculturalism would draw from

global education frameworks to incorporate themes such as cultural diversity, social and economic justice, peace, human rights, and other socio-political dynamics on a local-global scale. Of particular relevance to classrooms with refugee students are the themes of global interconnectedness and interdependence, the complex consequences of geo-political events such as war or imperialism, and social responsibility and caring on a local-global continuum (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005).

Moreover, a decolonial multicultural framework would attend to critiques that some multicultural and global educations have adopted Eurocentric, assimilationist, and deficit-oriented approaches that reify social inequities and further marginalize minority students (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Sleeter & Grant, 2003; Spring, 2004). Taking a proactive stance of resistance against oppressive paradigms, decolonial multicultural educations could draw from Sleeter and Grant's (2003) framework for social reconstructionist multicultural education. Social reconstructionist multiculturalism incorporates the previously described multicultural praxes, while infusing social justice themes throughout schooling processes. Curricula, pedagogies, family and community relations, the site environment, hiring practices, and both practitioner-student and student-student relations emphasize inclusion and equity, while critically exploring and rejecting social relations that perpetuate injustices.

In addition to drawing from these practitioner approaches, decolonial multicultural education would be heavily informed by the critiques and strategic

proposals of critical multicultural (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995) and decolonial education (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda, Espinoza & Gutierrez, 2003) theories. Both theoretical frameworks offer sophisticated analyses to respond to the complexity, reflexivity, and multiplicity of human experiences and interrelationships (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).

Critical multiculturalism critiques the stratification of human beings into socially constructed categories such as race, class, and gender, and the role such socio-historically embedded hierarchies play in schooling. In addition, critical multiculturalism examines the role neoliberal capitalism has played in perpetuating the continued exploitations and vast material disparities that intersect with social identities. Applying critical theory and the philosophical insights of postmodernism and poststructuralism, critical multiculturalists examine the relationships among power, knowledge, and pedagogy. Critical multiculturalism proposes transformative education that critiques and challenges hegemonic knowledge systems such as Eurocentrism, racism, patriarchy, and neo-liberal capitalism, to name a few, and that re-centers subjugated epistemologies and knowledges (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

Decolonial education theorists incorporate and expand the critiques of critical multiculturalism to include local-global dimensions (De Lissovoy, 2010), and assert that material and epistemological hierarchies are embedded in the socio-historical contexts of colonialism and capitalism (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). Decolonial education draws from postcolonial theories, while extending analyses to continuing consequences of neo-imperialism (De Lissovoy, 2010). As an emancipatory framework,

decolonial education opposes all forms of domination and exploitation, and seeks to expose the ways dominant discourses have normalized and perpetuated local-global injustices and inequities (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003).

For example, the racialization of human beings into stratified categories is a colonial legacy that continues to define human relations in contemporary society. Both in the U.S. and globally, *white* people maintain the majority of power and wealth, and *Black* and *brown* people comprise the majority of those living under circumstances of profound poverty and/or exploitation. Racist and Eurocentric discourses justify these relations by omitting the details of colonization, imperialism, and the continued capitalist domination of poor nations and people by wealthy nations and multinational corporations (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003).

Traditional schooling in the U.S. fails to address these historic and continuing local-global relations. Rather, most schools are still imbued with Eurocentric curricula, pedagogies, assessments, and relations that marginalize and distort the experiences of minority students. In such schools, Eurocentric education continues the colonial legacy of epistemological domination, deculturalization, and assimilation of nonwhite and indigenous peoples by presenting Euro-Americans stories, perceptions, values, and beliefs as normal and superior to others (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). This includes a nationalistic assumption of superiority and normalization of *neoliberalism*–an economistic ideology that prioritizes free market over social and environmental imperatives–that justifies the exploitations and abuses of (nonwhite) peoples overseas in the pursuit of corporate profit (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002). A key aspect of this

hegemonic ideology is a hierarchical division of nations into First (developed) and Third (developing) Worlds that positions poor nations as inferior to wealthy nations (Willinsky, 1998). Within this racialized discourse, the "Wretched of the Earth" (Fanon, 1961/2004) are responsible for their own supposed shortcomings and need only emulate First World nations in order to "catch up" and be successful.

Decolonial analyses are especially pertinent for classrooms with resettled students because oftentimes such students are not white, and have emigrated from nations deemed Third World. Thus, racisms and xenophobias expressed against them likely incorporate these dominant, Eurocentric paradigms that include prejudices toward their national status. Since accepting and inclusive relationships are key to refugee students' positive adaptation (Anderson, 2004a; Frater-Mathieson, 2004), such knowledge systems could prove especially detrimental if they permeate the worldviews of teachers and other school staff, classmates, and host community members.

Finally, decolonial education, as described by De Lissovoy (2010), promotes a "pedagogy of lovingness" (p. 280) that prioritizes social responsibility, caring (Noddings (1992), and conscious interconnectedness with diverse others on the planet. This pedagogy would employ relational learning to allow students to learn with and from each other's diverse positionalities in order to develop better understandings of and empathy for differences (De Lissovoy, 2010). Classroom collaborations could decenter destructive hegemonies, while privileging subjugated knowledges more conducive to peaceful, local-global coexistence (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). A decolonial multicultural

framework could integrate this approach with intergroup strategies for transformative, intercultural education.

Such a framework would, I believe, be especially useful for U.S. classrooms that have matriculated refugee students. A decolonial multicultural framework could employ the strategies described to resist new local-global bigotries that influence school relationships and interactions in negative ways. In addition, decolonial relational learning could teach students of all backgrounds the high-level multicultural skills necessary for life in globalizing societies. Finally, the rich contributions refugee students could make to the co-construction of knowledges better suited for a global era might negate deficit-oriented perspectives and, instead, reposition their identities and experiences as highly valuable to intercultural learning.

Socio-historical, Site-based Context

The following section of this article focuses on what can be learned from an actual, local-global school context involving students with refugee status. For this purpose, I review qualitative data from a school in the southeastern United States that had recently matriculated displaced, Burundian children. Rather than presenting an empirical study, I explore the data to make connections with the theoretical and pedagogical concepts I discussed earlier–ecological interventions and decolonial multiculturalism–in order to show how the data and literatures might inform each other. The themes that I produced from my research and data analysis include practitioner perceptions of and approaches to ecological interventions, as well assimilationist and deficit-oriented attitudes among teachers and staff. Thus, teacher preparation and training is a key

element throughout this discussion. In addition, I present and discuss data concerning student interactions and relationships, which connects to the literary themes of inclusive schooling and relational learning.

While limited, I believe the qualitative data provides ample material for discussions concerning educational policies and practices. Additionally, my brief foray into these empirical findings may serve as a pilot for future studies of greater length and depth. As the following paragraphs demonstrate, my work bears implications for research in areas that include experiences of refugee students, school-based interventions for children who experience trauma, grief ,or loss, transition supports for immigrant students, ecological educational strategies, bullying and conflict resolution, behavior management[59], complexities of local-global classrooms, and the possible role of decolonial multiculturalisms in relation to all of the above.

The Burundian children. The children of this study are members of a group known as "the 1972 Burundians," (UNHCR, 2007) who escaped massacres committed by the Tutsi ethnic group against the Hutu ethnic group in the early 1970's. Their native country, Burundi, borders Rwanda, and has suffered similar bouts of interethnic genocide in which Hutus and Tutsis have targeted each other. Unable to return to their home country for multiple reasons, the 1972 Burundians spent more than 30 years in Tanzanian refugee camps before the international community instigated a resettlement process (Ranard, 2007; UNHCR, 2007). The United States volunteered to resettle roughly nine

[59] Here, I am borrowing from the ubiquitous teacher training discourse of behavior management (TeacherVision, 2011). While I oppose forms of rigid behavior regulation often promoted for efficiency schooling, I believe my work offers insights that may expand understandings of behavior patterns among children struggling with trauma or loss, and appropriate adult responses.

thousand of the 1972 Burundians between 2007 and 2009 (Lutheran Services of Georgia, 2007), and subsequently dispersed them throughout U.S. cities (Woods, 2008). The Burundian children involved in this study, therefore, were born in the Tanzanian camps and had spent their entire lives there prior to their resettlement in a southeastern, U.S. city.

Camp residents lived in mud huts in a rural location, and engaged in small-plot farming and small animal husbandry to supplement their UN rations. They had minimal access to modern technologies and formal schooling, and roughly eighty percent of Burundians did not read or write prior to emigration (Lutheran Services of Georgia, 2007; Ranard, 2007; UNHCR, 2007). Thus, Burundian lifestyles were radically different from those in the urban-industrial, high-technology environments of their resettlement placement in the United States.

Life in the Tanzanian camps was characterized by frequent deprivation and danger. The Tanzanian government restricted employment rights for the refugees, who relied primarily on UNHCR rations of food and water, supplemented by their own small-scale, subsistence farming. Hunger was common. Violence manifested in camp life in numerous ways. Residents were subjected to attacks by various militia and political groups, and girls and women, who were responsible for much of the day to day labor, such as fetching water and firewood, were frequently vulnerable to sexual assaults by militia group members. In addition, symptoms of post traumatic stress among the 1972 Burundians were not uncommon, since many of the residents had been victimized by or witnessed atrocities, which contributed to high incidences of domestic violence. The

camps were environments of fear, stress, and trauma and were frequently troubled by mental health and emotional struggles (Lutheran Services of Georgia, 2007; Ranard, 2007; UNHCR, 2007).

In addition to pre-migration traumas, the Burundian children experienced the immense stressors of trans- and post-migration, which included extensive losses. Family members, friends, and the only homes they ever knew were left behind. They were also separated from a society where their language and culture was the norm, and immersed in a radically different world of foreign technologies, lifestyles, infrastructures, languages, and cultural expectations.

Furthermore, language barriers and labor skills that did not transfer to their new economy, in addition to insufficient resettlement supports,[60] resulted in impoverishment of the Burundian families in their new country. The resettlement subsidy for families in Riverhill was far below the cost of living expenses, which have risen to an estimated $216 in additional costs per year since 2007. Since 2008, the federal resettlement subsidy has been a one-time $850 per person, half of which is reserved for agency operational costs associated with service provision. Thus, each refugee received $425 cash in federal monies upon arrival (Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service, n.d.). Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service (n.d.) reported that federal funding covers only 39% of resettlement costs, and the remaining costs are met, when possible, through agency and volunteer resources that vary greatly across locations. For the Burundian families, agency

[60] All of the school staff interviewed complained that the resettlement supports fell far short of what families needed to realistically transition to self sufficiency. This theme was echoed by service providers for refugee youth in sites across the nation (McNeely, Sprecher, & Bates, 2010).

support services were provided for a ninety-day period. Thus, families were expected to navigate their new societies and support themselves financially–and pay back the U.S. government for their flight costs–before they had fully adapted and gained independence. This was exacerbated for some families because they were not assigned local sponsors[61] due to lack of availability. Subsequently, many of the families struggled to obtain medical care when needed, pay rent, and cover their children's basic needs for food and clothing. The Burundian children at Red Valley School lived in a public housing project, and families struggled against possible evictions despite their impoverished living arrangements. The school principal, complaining about the lack of resettlement supports, described some of the children's housing conditions as "deplorable" (Fall, 2008).

The school. Red Valley School was a K–5, public elementary school in a semi-rural neighborhood in a midsize, southeastern town. The school served just over 250 children from the surrounding neighborhoods, two thirds of whom came from low income families.[62] White students comprised 79% of the student body, Black students 15%, and Hispanic students 5% (Great Schools, 2008). The principal was a white man, and nearly all the teachers were white women. The average class size was roughly twenty students.

At the time of my participant observations, there were less than ten Burundian children enrolled at Red Valley School, the majority of whom were boys ranging in age from five to eleven years old. In 2007, the students had begun the academic year

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[61] Sponsors are local volunteers who commit to assisting a new family with their resettlement processes, i.e. housing, employment, school enrollment, language acquisition, and socio-cultural adaptation.
[62] 68% of the student body qualified for *free and reduced* lunches based on their parents' or guardians' incomes (Great Schools, 2008).

distributed among the general education classrooms according to age appropriate placements. However, the principal and a school staff member said that the Burundian children exhibited disruptive and destructive behaviors. In response, the district funded an extended ESL pull-out time, in which the Burundian students were isolated while they learned English and school rules. After a semester in the transition classroom, the Burundian children were gradually re-integrated back into the general classrooms. When the school year ended, the Burundian students were also provided a special summer school to help them remember what they had learned and prepare for the upcoming year.

Research description. The following descriptions and analyses were drawn from qualitative data collected between 2007 and 2009 by an interdisciplinary academic team, of which I was a member. The data set consisted of observation notes and an unpublished paper based on my own participant observations, and five interviews conducted by the project's two principal investigators. The interviewers recorded and transcribed their conversations, which consisted of talks with the school district's ESL (English as a Second Language) supervisor, the school principal and two teachers.[63] One interviewee was a floating ESL teacher for the district. The other teacher was a general education practitioner who had finished her credential just before being hired. All four district employees were interviewed over the course of a semester, and an additional interview was conducted with the general education teacher twelve months later.

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[63] Pseudonyms are used for all individuals described in this article in order to protect identities. For school staff, my choice of first-name reference or titles such as *Mr.* reflects the name usage I witnessed during my observations.

My participant observations took place at Red Valley School in the fall of 2008. Over a two-month period, I visited the school four times for two hours each, observing two of their classrooms, the ESL pull-out room, the school cafeteria, and the recess area. I talked informally with students, two classroom teachers, the ESL teacher, and the lunchroom attendant. I subsequently completed a twenty-page report based on my observation notes.

Using Atlas.ti ethno-analysis software, I open-coded (Contreras, 2010; Hardy & Bryman, 2004) six documents–my paper and the five interview transcriptions–to identify relevant themes. The following section describes these themes and connects them to the refugee and decolonial multicultural education concepts discussed earlier in this article. I begin with a discussion about practitioner training to introduce the subsequent themes of ecological approaches, deficit and assimilation discourses, and student interactions and peer relationships. As I demonstrate, the multicultural concepts I discussed earlier are integral to the themes throughout.

Qualitative Descriptions and Themes

Practitioner training. All of the interviewees, except for the ESL teacher, expressed a lack of training and a desire for more training and preparation for teaching their refugee students. Though the interviewer asked them specifically about "cultural competence training" (Fall, 2008), the interviewees' concept of cultural competence focused on learning ESL instruction techniques. The school staff members also defined cultural competence as better understanding aspects of Burundian culture and refugee experiences. While I don't belie the value of such pursuits, I believe their perception of

cultural competence reflected a belief in the mastery of static cultural essences, rather than developing skills for identifying and resisting their own ethnocentrisms while learning about, with, and from culturally different students.

The supervisor of ESL for the district, which is in an *English only* state that disallows bilingual instruction, admitted she had had no formal training in ESL instruction. Her position combined supervision of foreign language and ESL instruction, and her professional experience was as a foreign language instructor. Courtney, the new teacher just graduating from her intern experience, was the most vocal about wishing she had had formal ESL and cultural competence training. Her response to her lack of experience and training was to focus on behavior management procedures. Erin, the ESL teacher, responded to the cultural competence question by asking, "What's that?" (Fall, 2008).

I believe the interviewees' responses about cultural competence training demonstrates a common misperception among practitioners who have not received preparation in multiculturalism. Namely, cultural competence, to them, meant knowing how to teach ESL and knowing facts about the cultures represented in their classrooms and schools. Thus, cultural competence was viewed as a set of static essences and pedagogies, rather than skills for reflexive and reflective learning and adaptation to classroom dynamics. In this view cultural competence does not entail learning how to be open to, learn about, and respond and teach to other ways of being in the world.

I assert that educational practitioners who have not had appropriate multicultural education training commonly do not know what it is–and how could they? How can

practitioners understand a transformational process in which they learn to subvert and question their own worldviews, assumptions, and ethnocentrisms if they have not experienced it? The school principal stated that he believed caring, "patience," (Fall, 2008) and "commitment" (Fall, 2008) were more important than cultural competence, adding that he believed teaching was "a heart thing" (Fall, 2008). In some aspects, he was right. He and the teachers at Red Valley School demonstrated obvious caring and compassion toward their students that had a positive impact on the Burundian children that I was able to witness on multiple occasions. However, the principal also stated repeatedly that they all just "didn't know what to do" (Fall, 2008). As I describe in the following sections, many circumstances existed that might have been better ministered with competences that employed decolonial multiculturalism and ecological understandings of refugee children's experiences.

Ecological approaches to students with refugee status. The school staff engaged a semi-ecological approach to the children, in which they worked to develop caring supportive relationships with them and with their families. The county hired an interpreter to work with both children and their parents across various schools, and the two teachers who worked with the transition class attempted to learn some basic Kirundi. Some of the teachers visited the children's homes, and helped parents navigate life in the U.S. by assisting them with tasks such as filling out paperwork and deciphering new laws and procedures. They picked children up for after-school trips to the movies, bought them food, coats, and other clothing, and took parents to doctor's visits. The school had a

donation drive, and collected and distributed food and clothing to the refugee families. Courtney explained:

> As teachers we have these Maslow's hierarchy of needs, and we're very familiar with that, and you know, we can't teach if our kids are hungry or scared or tired. They're not gonna learn. You know, learning is way down on the list, so you know, those other needs have to be met first. So, we want to make sure that they're clothed, that they have food at home. So, [Greenland] [the resettlement agency] wasn't doing it, so we started.

Though not explicitly stated, Red Valley School employed a semi-ecological approach with the Burundian children that included building relationships with their families, helping them procure basic necessities, and building strong teacher-student bonds rooted in genuine caring and affection. However, there were important elements missing that might have been available if their approach had been informed by training in multiculturalism and refugee interventions.

First, I believe the school practitioners would have greatly benefitted from training about refugee experiences with grief, trauma, and loss, as well as the culturally influenced ways in which children experience and express these emotional aspects of their lives. While the practitioners knew the children had been traumatized, they demonstrated a lack of understanding of how such traumas and losses can manifest in behaviors and might best be treated. Specialized training in patterns of pre-, trans-, and post-migration experiences among refugee children may have increased staff understandings beyond vague notions of trauma. An emphasis on post-migration stress

and adaptation processes, in particular, might have helped Red Valley staff better comprehend and respond to the children's behaviors and needs.

For example, when the children first arrived, several of them were subject to repeated crying "fits" (Fall, 2008) that sometimes lasted for hours and involved destructive behaviors or collapsing on the floor. These crying fits were treated and responded to as misbehavior. Children engaging in such "fits" (Fall, 2008) were punished, ignored, and sometimes carried to the school's "Personal Accountability Room" to reflect on their misbehavior. Later, the transition teachers created a "no crying" rule that they posted on the board. Courtney expressed her frustration and intolerance for what she considered to be inappropriate crying in two separate interviews:

> ...here we were, a minor meltdown, and we, we're just like, over a coloring book… but, sorry. This is not something to cry over and I ignore it. This is not behavior that we can allow. You need to stop crying so we can go in the hallway, and you can get on the bus.

In her follow-up interview the following year, Courtney elaborated:

> You're not allowed to cry at school, cause that's a big problem. And it needs to be defined. It needs defined that, when you're hurt or you don't feel good, then it's okay. But if your feelings are hurt or you're just unhappy, then it's not okay. Because from the beginning they learned that because, and this sounds a little cutthroat, they learned that they could be easily manipulative... This is something we didn't catch soon enough with one of ours and they are battling with it right now. I left. And it started in summer school. We battled it all through summer

> school. We got to the point where we were like, you wanna cry, you can go home. Depressed? And there's things going on at home, home life is not good. You know, America does not solve everything. And we try to be very careful and I don't want people to think I'm callous when I say that, but you know, we don't let our children cry at school. That, we have to be careful that we don't treat them with too easy of a hand. Because if we do, when they do transition into a general classroom, they'll be looked upon as babies, or as people who get special treatment.
>
> Every once in a while one of the others would just be "whoooooo," nonsensical crying. Just crying to be crying… If they were hurt... it's okay to cry when you're hurt…

Courtney described another student who "had been fine in spring" (Fall, 2008) suddenly becoming withdrawn, sad, and easily frustrated during summer school. Courtney expressed dismay at this change in behavior because, she explained, summer school was "fun" (Fall, 2008). In response to the student's moodiness, Courtney took him to the principal who, she said, told the student, "[Red Valley], you happy. You not happy, go home. This isn't normal... we don't want you here if you're not happy."

The school staff's reactions to the Burundian students' crying, sadness, and frustration demonstrated a lack of understanding about refugee children, grief, and trauma. Though the cause of the children's crying was not always explicit–and at times appeared petty and "nonsensical" (Fall, 2008)–the literatures on grief and trauma among

children highlight the probability that the Burundian children's intense expressions of emotion may have been connected to, or compounded by, grief, trauma, and associated anxieties (Anderson, 2004a; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Haasl & Marnocha, 2000; Wolfelt, 1983). If the staff had had some training, they may have recognized that when children survive tragic events and/or are experiencing profoundly stressful circumstances (like resettling in a new country), minor and seemingly unrelated triggers can set off an avalanche of emotions. In addition, the teachers may have understood that grief and loss can be suppressed for months and even years (Doka, 1995; Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Yule, 1998), and a child who was "fine in the spring" (Fall, 2008) was likely not crying every day just to get attention, as Courtney assumed; but rather, experiencing a very real resurgence of pain and suffering. While there may have been moments when the children used their crying for somewhat manipulative purposes, it was still behavior predicated on complex emotions that begged a more sophisticated response than simple rewards and punishments.

Rather than treating the symptom as misbehavior and having a no crying rule, an approach that helps children work through their overwhelming emotions and/or the causes of their distress may have been more helpful. Though a novice play therapist was brought in for two weeks to see "what was going on with the children" (Fall, 2008), there were no other mental health or formal emotional support systems in place. Having an experienced, culturally competent counselor or mentor work with the children to help them adjust and develop tools for resiliency may have been a worthy investment. Such an individual, with the help of an interpreter, may have been able to learn from and about the

children in ways that might have guided the school staff's actions more appropriately. This, in turn, might have made the transition easier for everyone, while reducing the need for other costly and time-consuming interventions. If the school had had access to culturally sensitive, social-emotional and/or therapeutic supports that reject pathologizing and deficit perspectives, it may not have been necessary to hire two teachers and one aide for nine children, or rent additional space for their classroom, or pour energies and resources into a strict, hyper-regulating behavior management plan.

Nancy Trautwein, the district ESL supervisor, stated that the district spent what she considered a lot of money on interventions for the refugee children. This budget included the district sending the teachers to receive special training in discipline and behavior management. The district did not, however, provide or fund training for the teachers in ESL instruction, cultural competence and multiculturalism, or interventions for refugee students. Moreover, Ms. Trautwein admitted to having economic resources that she chose not to use:

> Interviewer: When you think about your support and resources that you need now, what does that look like?
>
> Ms. Trautwein: Well, actually I have it. We decided not to use it.
>
> Interviewer: Okay.
>
> Ms. Trautwein: But I have it.
>
> Interviewer: So it's there?
>
> Ms. Trautwein: Yeah.

Ms. Trautwein then changed the subject rather than elaborate.

In addition to addressing the refugee children's crying "fits" (Fall, 2008) (and underlying distress), mental/emotional supports might have also helped to alleviate some of the Burundian students' other coping behaviors. During the initial phase of the Burundian students' matriculation to Red Valley School, some of them were described by school staff as expressing a great deal of anger (a common symptom of trauma, grief, and loss). At times, their angry outbursts became violent, and the Burundian children were reported to having hit, kicked, bitten, and spit on school staff and other students. During my participant observations at Red Valley School in fall 2008, I did not witness any incidents in which a Burundian student engaged in an act of violence or harassment against school staff or other students. While I am not suggesting that violent behavior should be tolerated, I do believe interventions that focus on improving children's mental and emotional health can go a long way toward diminishing violent expressions of distress. An emphasis on prevention, in this case, mental-emotional support, might radically reduce the need for behavior management schemes that simply respond to the effect rather than the cause. Of course, such supports should be predicated on specialized training and understandings of culturally influenced interpretations of and reactions to trauma and stress, as well as common experiences among refugee children pre-, trans-, and post-migration. This calls for highly trained and experienced personnel, as opposed to new interns who lack the aforementioned preparation and are just entering their profession. Where such practitioners are not available, district investments in targeted professional development and training for school staff are crucial for increasing their knowledge and skills.

Other interventions for mental-emotional support include ensuring that children are safe and free from violence. The teachers and staff at Red Valley recognized the importance of basic necessities such as food, shelter, and clothing to a child's ability to function socially and academically. However, child safety was not viewed by all as a necessary component for healthy child development that called for school interventions. Both teachers described incidents of violence at some of the Burundian children's homes in which they did not feel it was necessary to intervene. Courtney called her students "tattletales" (Fall, 2008) when they told her that their parents beat them or their fathers beat their mothers, claiming that while the children told many stories of abuse, she never found bruises or marks.[64] Erin described an incident in which one of the Burundian students severely beat his five-year-old brother on the bus ride to school. She subsequently punished the student not for the violent attack, but for committing it at school rather than at home.

> Erin: I had him sent home. He beat the snot out of his brother on the bus on the way to school.
>
> Interviewer: Eric[65] beat Freddy up?

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[64] I did learn during my participant observations that the teachers reported one of the Burundian parents to local authorities for child abuse based on the student's testimony accompanied by extensive physical bruising.

[65] In a past publication, the Burundian children chose their own pseudonyms. In this instance, I am consciously using pseudonyms that the research team originally chose for them. My reasoning is that, first, this passage is quoted from a teacher, and reflects how she describes/perceives the students indicated. Second, the English pseudonyms reflect the English names that resettlement facilitators and school staff sometimes used to replace children's African names. (As the passage indicates, not all children took on English names. Some kept their Burundian names.) These imposed names/identities were then used by the English-speaking school staff when describing or addressing their renamed students. While I am sensitive to the power–and problem–in naming, renaming, and representing others (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004), I want to accurately reflect the teachers' interpersonal perceptions of and communications with their Burundian students. I also believe that being addressed on a daily basis by one's teachers with an imposed,

> Erin: He beats the snot out of him at home all the time. And that's, you know, that's the issue for his mom to deal with, but…that's where I tell him all the time. Rukundo [another student] will get really mad at Shabani [Rukundo's brother] for misbehaving. Rukundo is really, really good at keeping Shabani in line. And, like, telling him to stop talking or stop doing this, and then he'll tell him, "I'm gonna beat your butt when we get home. 'Cause you're acting like an idiot and dad told you not to do this at school. We get off the bus, I'm gonna kick your butt." And I've had to tell Rukundo, like, I know you want to hit him in the head right now; I know he didn't listen to me; I know he didn't do what your dad told him to do, but you gotta wait 'til you get home. You can't do it at school. And I tried to tell Eric that - I know you want to beat the snot out of Freddy because whatever he did on the bus. You can't do it at school. You do it at school, you're in trouble. You're in big trouble. And he beat the crap out of him. And I was really upset because Freddy is a wonderful little child, and he's tiny, and he hurt him really bad.

While the teachers did report suspected child abuse involving one family, their attitudes toward violence among students appeared to be inconsistent, particularly when violence was perpetrated by students against each other.

Principal Faith described a meeting the school held with the Burundian parents that brings to light an important consideration when addressing child abuse across cultures. When asked what the school should do about their children's behaviors, the

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English name might affect a Burundian child's dynamic sense of self, and therefore merits a description that reflects these circumstances, albeit critically.

parents responded with directives to “Beat them, beat them” (Fall, 2008), thus highlighting a culturally different perspective on discipline. While culturally different approaches to discipline should be navigated carefully and respectfully, it should not be used as an excuse to ignore severe and chronic child abuse. At least one child suffered such forms of abuse at the hands of his father, and another at the hands of that very child, who was his older brother. I discerned, based on my observations, that both children struggled with immense anger, anxiety, and frequent outbursts that added to their misery (because they were punished) and interfered with their own and other students’ learning.

Finally, the Burundian children regularly experienced a form of emotional violence from many of their locally-born classmates that was not viewed as a serious matter by all of the Red Valley staff. I explore this phenomenon and it’s implications in greater depth in a later section on student interactions and peer relationships.

Discourses of deficit and assimilation. Another aspect of cultural competence and multicultural training that I found missing was that which opposes deficit discourses of cultural others. The ESL district supervisor, who had not received training in ESL or multiculturalism, made multiple statements that indicated a deficit-oriented perspective:

> You know, there were some serious problems that I knew to expect, but that I would expect with any refugees. Physical needs. Parenting failures, but that is from our perspective… We’re accustomed to that in ESL. …this is always an ESL problem. It’s not just for these kids.

> Many classroom teachers have an attitude that the ESL teacher is supposed to fix whatever is wrong with the student. And we frequently get phrases like "your kids." Well, they're our kids. And the ESL teacher can't fix them any more than the classroom teacher can.

Thus, the district supervisor of ESL described both refugee students and ESL students in general as "problems" (Fall, 2008) that needed to be fixed, and their home lives frequently characterized by "parenting failures" (Fall, 2008). She went on to express mixed emotions about serving immigrant children:

> …Now we also went to our congressman… And we said, "You know, if you're going to say that you're letting in large numbers of families from other countries that are so vastly different. You can't just do that and dump them on school systems. It's not that we mind to have them. That's, that's not it. Taking care of kids and meeting their needs is what we do. But if you're going to, as a government, say that, that this is the way it will be, then you also need to give us the resources to do it."

While Ms. Trautwein stated she "did not mind" (Fall, 2008) having immigrant students, she described their matriculation process as one in which congressmen "let in" (Fall, 2008) people from other countries and "dump" (Fall, 2008) them on the school system, thus requiring extra resources. Her linguistic choices bear some light on her attitude toward immigrant families and their children as burdens; and while she "does not mind"

(Fall, 2008) their presence, she does not appear to view them as having valuable knowledges and experiences to contribute to, and thus enrich, their new communities.[66]

While the school staff also applied deficit discourses to the students' behaviors, describing them in terms of "problems" (Fall, 2008) and something to be fixed, their interviews emphasized no resentment toward the refugee families. Rather, the teachers and principal approached their refugee students and families with a sense of needing to save them from themselves. Though coming from a place of compassion, they still adopted a discourse of cultural deficit that could only be resolved through assimilation to U.S. (white) culture. Thus, students were described as successful when they learned to conform to school rules such as hanging up a backpack, raising their hand to speak, or lining up to walk through the hallway. The ESL teacher described the students' acquisition of English by saying, "They can talk now!" (Fall, 2008) rather than, "They can speak English now," perhaps indicating a subtle perception that speaking Kirundi isn't really talking.

The school staff also seemed to adopt an otherizing and exoticizing view of the Burundians, and ESL students, in general. The teachers used the terms "Burundi whisperer" (Fall, 2008) and "foreign language student whisperer" (Fall, 2008) to describe separate interactions with a Burundian parent and ESL students, referencing a U.S. film in which a (white) man calms and tames an injured horse. Courtney, in particular, tended to make vast generalizations about the Burundians that exhibited a kind of cross-cultural

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[66] I can't help but wonder if Ms. Trautwein's deficit-oriented perspective, as well as her apparent resentment toward immigrant students from cultures that differ from Euro-American norms, had any influence on her decision not to spend available funds to further assist the refugee children.

naïveté that exoticizes and oversimplifies different others. This included an essentializing belief about cultural expressions of love and affection among Burundians that lacked consideration for circumstances and her own potential for misinterpretation. Courtney stated,

> They [the Burundian children] really want the one-on-one. They don't get any attention at home. They're sent out, they play alone. Their parents are not affectionate. It is not in their culture to be affectionate in any way, shape or form. They had never mentioned a hug, they had never been loved on, you know patted...

Thus, Courtney related a deficit discourse about the Burundian parents and culture, in which she had to rescue unfortunate children from their parents' neglect.[67] She did not reflect on whether she had interpreted her observations correctly, or whether there were extenuating circumstances to which she was not privy. Nor did she acknowledge that she only knew a tiny subset of Burundian people, who were struggling against unusual and profound life challenges.

Courtney also described an interaction with a new Burundian mother in her hospital room, in which Courtney had to "teach" her how to love her child:

> I had to show her how to love on her baby, how to hold her and nuzzle her. It blew my mind. Like she would feed her and put her away, like put her to the side.

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[67] To contradict Courtney's assumption, I mention my own observations of some middle- and high-school Burundian girls during my participant observations at a soccer camp the university team held for children with refugee status. The girls displayed a high level of physical affection, more so than I have observed among most U.S.-born children. The girls sat leaning on, holding, and hugging each other and braiding each other's hair while they chatted and laughed together.

> And I was like “no, no, look.” And I would hold her and rub her cheek until she makes little faces and I would blow on her... rub her nose and make her smile, like “look, look” and she finally started warming up to her. She didn't want anything to do with her baby. It was an annoyance. Feed, take it away. Feed, take it away. Feed, set it aside... That totally blew my mind. It's just not part of their culture.

In this incidence, Courtney did not demonstrate cross-cultural skills in which she might view individuals as complex and unique: influenced, but not defined by, a culture that itself was hybrid and dynamic. Nor did she consider the myriad possible causes for or circumstances surrounding the behaviors she was observing. As a staff member who had limited interactions with the Burundian parents, Courtney made quick and totalizing conclusions about another person without spending the time to get to know her or better understand her situation. Instead, Courtney assumed an exotic and deficient cultural essence to be driving the Burundian woman’s actions; in effect, drastically oversimplifying her life and her very being. Training about decolonial multiculturalism, ecological approaches, and refugee experiences may have helped Courtney develop more sophisticated intercultural and interpersonal skills.

Student interactions and peer relationships. During my participant observations in the school, one of the most pressing concerns I witnessed was the consistent ostracizing, harassing, and bullying of the refugee students by locally-born children. This included racial slurs by white students and taunts of “You African!”–used as a pejorative–by both white and African-American students. During lunchtime, the two

Burundian girls each sat at separate tables, surrounded by locally-born girls who neither spoke to nor looked at them (that I could see) for the entire lunch period. In the lunch line, one of the Burundian boys accidentally brushed against a white girl as he passed her, and she contemptuously curled her lip in disgust and "wiped off" the spot where their skin had touched. On another day, locally-born boys taunted a Burundian girl, laughing at her pronunciation of English, and trying to get her in trouble with teachers for allegedly cursing. The teacher to whom the boys tattled explained to me that the Burundian girl was not capable of cursing unless she had been tricked into it, because she was still "very much a child" and was both innocent and very obedient to authority.

Later, in the ESL teacher's pull-out room, four Burundian students complained that their classmates were lying to their teacher to get them in trouble. Emile explained that these students told his teacher that the Burundians had hit them, used curse words and threatened to kill them. He said that every day his classmates told his teacher lies and she believed them and punished the Burundian children. But the lies were not true, Emile insisted, visibly angry and upset. The ESL teacher later explained to me that such bullying of the Burundian students had become a real problem. This class, in particular, had "ganged up" against the Burundian students, who were then targeted by their teacher when she consistently supported the U.S.-born students. The Burundian students, Erin claimed, had yet to make friends with any of the locally-born students. I observed Erin ask the Burundian children if they could think of any American students who had been nice to them. They remained silent, shaking their heads.

Erin added that the locally-born children regularly harassed the Burundian

children, whispering epithets and hateful words in their ears, including derogatory comments about being African, and then denied it if confronted by adults. Bus rides home were especially abusive, as minimal adult supervision allowed students to engage in verbally and physically violent attacks on others without intervention. Erin, who sometimes rode the bus home to try to assist the single attendant amidst the chaos, explained, “It's so stressful. The kids are beating each other up, cursing each other, throwing things at each other, spitting at each other... it terrifies me and I hate it and the kids hate it.” Courtney also described an incident of violent bullying, in which a U.S.-born girl “beat up” (Fall, 2008) one of the Burundian boys in her class.

Despite these incidents, Erin complained that she couldn’t get the other teachers or the principal to take the bullying and exclusion of the Burundian students seriously. “He [the principal] thinks it’s just normal child behavior, that they’re just establishing their pecking order,” she explained. Erin had suggested to the other school staff that they pair each Burundian student with a local “buddy” who could help them adjust and become a supportive friend, but she could not get any of the other staff, or the principal, to agree to implement her idea.

Both Erin and Mr. Faith brought up the concept of a “pecking order” (Fall, 2008) among the residents at the housing project where many of the students lived. In this highly racialized climate, deeply held racisms defined relationships and perceptions of others. In the housing project pecking order, according to Erin and Mr. Faith, whites were at the top of the hierarchy, African Americans beneath them, and the African immigrants at the very bottom. Though they did not give examples of how this pecking order played

out, the student relationships at Red Valley School appeared to replicate this racial stratification among students. White students were the majority, and engaged in racist discourses against students who were not white. African American students, in turn, (along with white students) engaged in a discourse of African inferiority against the Burundian students.

Further Implications

In this school, neighborhood, and community of the southeastern United States, blatant racism, anti-immigrant hostilities, and Eurocentric prejudices against other countries and cultures were prevalent among locally-born students, as well as some staff. These attitudes appeared to negatively impact student interactions and learning at Red Valley School, as well as the Burundian children's healthy adaptation to their new home. In addition, Eurocentric curricula and materials demonstrated a Western, white view of the world throughout the school. Multicultural educators have argued that such Eurocentric schooling is problematic for multiple reasons, which I described in the first sections of this article. Of particular relevance to the Red Valley context are the ways in which Eurocentric schooling reifies unequal dynamics among students that contribute to environments of prejudice and hostility against those who are different. The anti-African hostilities and bullying demonstrated by many of the locally-born children highlights the need for decolonial troublings of discourses that promote such racialized, international hierarchies.

In my original paper, a qualitative case study based on my observations in Red Valley School, I reflected on the impact of these student relationships for learning and

social-emotional development, as well as the role of the school's practices in these dynamics:

> Though the school environment employs a strict, rigid behavioral management style, the focus appears to be on obeying external domination rather than learning and internalizing values of respect and peaceful interactions. The children are docile and obedient under adult eyes–they follow rules well when observed by the rulemakers. However, once these adult eyes look elsewhere, these same children revert to demeaning, sometimes violent, physically and verbally abusive behaviors towards each other. The Burundian children have born a great deal of this bullying behavior as racialized outsiders living with poverty and immigrant identities.
>
> My observations leave me with the following questions: does the school or its teachers employ curriculums that promote violence prevention, peaceful resolutions to conflict rather than bullying, and respect for differences? Does the library offer multicultural books that celebrate people from various countries and cultures, and do teachers promote respect for diversity? (Sprecher, 2008)

Thus, I recognized the pertinence of multicultural education for developing an environment of peaceful interactions among students from different backgrounds. For refugee students, as described earlier, a safe, inclusive, and welcoming environment is key to healthy adaptation and academic success. The same can be said for locally-born students, who also need safe and peaceful places to learn. In this highly racialized school

community that suffered extreme racisms, multiculturalisms that embrace social justice, explicit anti-racism, and sophisticated critiques of power and socio-historical relations are of special relevance.

Furthermore, multicultural education that prioritizes intergroup and human relations approaches within a decolonial paradigm could capitalize on students' relational learning. I believe intergroup and human relations education would have been especially helpful for assisting the Red Valley students learn how to positively resolve conflicts, become allies and friends, and develop intercultural skills. In my original report, I made the following observations:

> On three occasions, I spoke to the Burundi students in the company of their American-born peers. As a "new" adult, I was novel and exciting, and their peers sought my attention. I began to attempt to integrate interactions between the Burundi students and the local children, and realized that with a little positive adult guidance, connections–and possibly even friendships–could be nurtured. The classrooms of Red Valley School are places of adult supervision where children do not interact with each other. In the places where children do interact with each other, adult supervision is limited. I do believe that, with just a little guidance, the children of Red Valley could learn to overcome their fears of difference, gain pro-social communication skills, and learn to be friends (Sprecher, 2008).

In addition to improved student relations, intergroup pedagogies may have helped the students develop abilities to think critically about their own behaviors, and act on their

own ethical considerations, rather than being regulated solely by external actors. I assert that students who do not learn the value of difference and how to engage peacefully with diverse others will be sorely undereducated and underprepared to function in modern, local-global societies. Such individuals will likely be left behind by a rapidly changing world that has little patience, regard, or place for intercultural ignorance.

While the bullying caused them great distress, the Burundian children did enjoy caring and supportive relationships with certain, though not all, teachers. I witnessed multiple incidences of verbal and physical affection between teachers and Burundian students that left the children smiling broadly and giggling. The teachers that were interviewed expressed their strong feelings for their students, and described occasions on which they acted for the benefit of the Burundian children outside of their job hours and description. One evening, I observed another teacher pick up Burundian students from their apartment to take them out in her van for a "movie night," which she funded. While waiting, the children could barely contain their excitement. In their interviews, all of the school staff stated that the students enjoyed school, and preferred coming to class every day rather than staying home. It appeared that the caring, supportive relationships the Burundian students enjoyed with some of their teachers may have had a very positive impact on their schooling experiences and transition in general.

Nevertheless, the school staff's application of deficit discourses to the students and their families highlights the importance of training and professional development for practitioners who work with diverse populations. A critical and decolonial approach to multicultural training might have helped teachers transcend their own embedded

Eurocentrisms and increase their understandings of their school community members in ways that might have better informed their ecological educational strategies. A single day of professional development about common experiences among people who have suffered forced migration and resettlement could have provided staff with crucial information for working with their school population. For example, what if Courtney had taken steps to find out more about the new Burundian mother, such as asking a translator to help her talk to the mother about how she was feeling or what she was experiencing? If the new mother was experiencing sadness or depression and was willing to share that with a trusted school liaison, then Courtney or other staff members may have been able to help her access supportive resources, rather than try to "teach" her how to "love" (Fall, 2008) her baby. In this instance, such an informed strategy would likely have better served the directives, advocated by ecological psychologists, to support children by supporting their families. Conversely, deficit discourses, as demonstrated by this example, are highly likely to interfere with appropriate ecological interventions.

In addition, preparation in decolonial multicultural education might have provided teachers the necessary knowledge and resources to offer their students curricula and pedagogies that resist discourses of white and Euro-Western superiority. Such training would also encompass understandings of equity pedagogies that align with social learning approaches that adapt school practices and environments to children's learning needs, rather than expecting students to conform to (Eurocentric) uniform standards. By challenging Eurocentric ways of knowing, decolonial multiculturalism troubles both curricula and assessment methods that privilege the understandings and experiences of

white middle-class males. Decolonial multicultural approaches would embrace pro-difference discourses that seek out subjugated knowledges and value the varied worldviews and experiences students bring to learning environments. Rather than adhering to discourses of deficit and assimilation, practitioners trained in decolonial multiculturalisms might recognize the rich learning opportunities diverse students, such as the Burundian children, offer homogeneous classrooms.

The three school staff members interviewed for this research were among the most caring and empathetic at Red Valley School, and felt great affection for the Burundian children. They committed to working in conditions that I, as a former special education teacher, can attest to be extremely stressful. Like the Red Valley practitioners, I too have been spit on, screamed at, punched, and kicked by students and had to chase after children as they ran off school grounds and down the street. Despite similar incidents, the interviewed teachers and principal continued to operate from a position of compassion and care for their students, doing what they believed was best for the Burundian children. In my opinion, these were good individuals who unfortunately lacked the necessary training to fully prepare them for the complexity of their jobs.

This includes training that fully imparts the profound impact bullying and unsafe learning environments have on student learning and development, and on refugee children's adaptation in particular. The school principal demonstrated a need for training about school bullying and harassment, the role of difference in the execution of such abuses, and ways practitioners can address these problems through school-wide curricula, pedagogies, and interventions. Many anti-bullying, conflict resolution, and intergroup

education resources exist, and it is highly unfortunate that there persists among many teachers and administrators attitudes that underestimate the harm caused by these problems and the urgent need for interventions. For this reason, strong administrative leadership that instigates and requires all staff to participate in school-wide, anti-bullying programs is especially important.

The responsibility for properly preparing and supporting teachers and administrators for local-global schooling rests with policy-makers who decide what is important for practitioners to learn and know, and which resources to fund. Whether it is federal policies that prioritize standardized tests over investments in staff and resources, or district administrators who subsidize professional development in behavior management rather than multiculturalism and English language instruction, school staff should not be blamed for their lack of guidance and support. For these reasons, competent leadership at federal, state, and district levels is critical for developing the kinds of ecological supports all students need to thrive. This means continuous education at all levels to maintain leadership competence in a field that is experiencing rapid and complex change characterized by local-global multiplicities. Such leaders will not be capable of providing the education necessary to prepare future generations for life in local-global societies if they themselves are not well prepared.[68]

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[68] Despite political pronouncements asserting the crucial role public education plays in developing our nation, there has been no real public discourse or action concerning appropriate changes needed to create a public school system that meets these professed demands. Rather, budget woes and outmoded educational practices have been touted, while teachers and schools have remained under-resourced, under-supported, under-appreciated, and over-worked. Conversely, nations whose educational systems remain a model to which the U.S. aspires, such as Singapore and Finland, invest heavily in teacher training and professional development and school supports, infrastructures, and resources. In such high-performing school systems, teachers have high professional status and wages, generous time allotted for planning, collaboration, and

Conclusion

Through their struggles and triumphs, the staff and students of Red Valley School have provided readers of this article a window to their story. I believe their story demonstrates both the complexity and humanity of educational environments. We see humanity in their emotions, commitments, relationships, and flaws. Complexity characterizes multiple dimensions, including the interpersonal, socio-cultural, academic, international, socio-political, and socio-historical. I have tried to demonstrate how the relationality of so many dimensions affect lived experiences and learning. The Burundian children's story encompasses interrelated themes of colonialism, imperialism, global apartheid, interethnic genocide, forced migration, internment, racisms, trauma and loss, economic injustices and disparities, culture shock, efficiency schooling, multicultural education, second-language acquisition, caring, commitment, and friendship. Their experiences do indeed exemplify multiplicity.

The three emergent themes I have described are consistent with my theoretical and pedagogical discussion. The school staff recognized the need for, and implemented, some ecological supports: a clothing drive, family assistance, an interpreter, and caring attitudes toward their students, for example. However, there were elements missing from their schooling approach, particularly social-emotional supports in the forms of culturally relevant counseling and/or mentorship, multicultural inclusiveness, and facilitation of safe and supportive peer relationships. Rather, school staff had little understanding of refugee experiences, grief, trauma, and loss among children, or cultural competence. This

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training, and decision-making roles concerning curricula, pedagogies, and schooling policies (Darling-Hammond, 2008; Lombardi, 2005).

contributed to a lack of school-based emotional supports, inappropriate responses to child behaviors likely triggered by grief or trauma, and deficit-oriented and assimilationist practitioner attitudes. Furthermore, most staff did not consider bullying and racist harassment of the refugee children to be a serious matter, and forms of multiculturalism and conflict resolution that may have reduced or prevented such dynamics were nonexistent. As a result, the Burundian children's schooling experiences were pervasively hostile, exacerbating their already stressful transition.

Finally, the teachers and staff of Red Valley School (as well as the district ESL supervisor) exhibited and openly bemoaned a lack of training and preparation for working with children from diverse socio-cultural and geo-political backgrounds. I believe targeted professional development in ecological educational strategies for refugee students, within a decolonial multicultural framework, might have provided the practitioners with excellent–and transformative–insights and tools. Ecological interventions would fully recognize and respond to the complex and layered dimensions of children's lives, while a decolonial multicultural framework could critically address dimensions of difference and equity on a local-global scale. This includes shifting traditional educational practices from outdated modes of standardization and efficiency to those that adequately prepare all students for futures in local-global societies characterized by complexity and multiplicity. An important element for such decolonial multicultural education would be relational learning that capitalizes on the local-global dynamic of classroom members to teach high-level intercultural and interpersonal skills, including collaborative problem-solving. In such a framework, children who bring

diverse knowings and experiences, including strengths and resiliencies gained through perseverance against profound adversities, would be viewed as an exceptional asset to their learning communities. After working with the Burundian children at Red Valley School, I firmly believe they offered their new classmates and community a unique opportunity for growth and new understandings. Whether their host community can learn to accept this gift remains to be seen.

Chapter 7, Article 4: Preparing Teacher-researchers for the Global Age: Postcritical Ethnography and Feminist Praxis-based Methods for Decolonial Multiculturalism

Student populations in the U.S. are becoming increasingly diverse, as global migration and immigration bring increasing numbers of peoples from around the world to our already multicultural communities and schools (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Brown & Kysilka, 2002; Spring, 2008a). In this sense, U.S. classrooms are local-global environments, in which children from widely varied ethnic, socio-cultural, national, and linguistic backgrounds interact daily. Such student interactions mirror the local-global dynamics of a world in transition, in which globalization rapidly instigates myriad interconnections among peoples and systems–economically, culturally, epistemologically,[69] and diplomatically–on local and global levels (De Lissovoy, 2010; Spariosu, 2004). The local-global microcosms of classrooms, schools, and communities therefore serve as preparatory environments, in which students learn and practice the art of intercultural communications, understanding, and co-existence.

Nevertheless, local-global dynamics introduce new complexities to social environments that, if not addressed with appropriate praxes, may exacerbate tensions and misunderstandings among students from different backgrounds (Banks, J. A., 2008). Such learning outcomes could radically under-prepare students for futures in local-global societies. Additionally, diverse student bodies bring multiple epistemologies,

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[69] Referring to *epistemology*, or the systems of knowledge that guide one's perceptions and understandings of the world.

communication styles, and cultural assumptions, experiences, and expectations to teaching and learning that must be attended to pedagogically. These circumstances are further complicated by the disconnection between student positionalities and those of the majority of U.S. teachers, who are predominantly white and middle-class (Brown & Kysilka, 2002). The increasingly local-global context of societies and schools demands changes in teacher preparation and practices that prioritize pedagogies, curricula, and policies to support local-global learning. This includes a re-emphasis on multicultural educations that are adaptive to the ever unique and evolving dynamics of local-global classrooms. In past writings, I proposed a reflexive framework for decolonial multicultural education to address the multiplicity and complexity of local-global schooling (Sprecher, 2011c). While I briefly describe this framework in the following sections, I assert that the demands of contemporary schooling call for targeted skill-building for educators in qualitative methodologies that embrace critical and philosophical insights for emancipatory learning.

I therefore propose a recognition of and re-emphasis on the role of teacher-researcher to inform both localized practices and cross-regional considerations. Due to the complex nature of student learning, the multiplicity and reflexivity inherent in local-global classrooms, and the potential interference of hegemonic[70] power and inequities, I believe postcritical ethnography and feminist praxis-based methodologies may offer especially useful tools for decolonial multicultural schooling. As I will demonstrate, these

[70] Hegemonic: referring to normalized assumptions and worldviews that perpetuate systems of dominance and inequity.

approaches integrate emancipatory epistemological orientations with methods for knowledge production that embrace and respond to multiplicity.

For too long, educational research has been shaped by political trends rooted in positivism and conservatism that exclude teachers from the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004; Lankshear & Knobel, 2004). Furthermore, an over-emphasis on quantitative studies has oriented research as a tool for comparison, rewards, and punishments rather than a means to assess and immediately inform future directions and strategies for pedagogy in various and unique locales (Darling-Hammond, 2007b; Karp, 2003; Lankshear & Knobel, 2004; Neill, 2006). Teachers are logically situated as trained observers and first responders in their classrooms. Thus, the role of teacher-researcher is wasted if policymakers fail to see the value in teachers' work as they observe, interact with and report on their students on both daily and long-term bases (Lankshear & Knobel, 2004).

In the following pages, I use a methodological bricolage to present a description of these research approaches and the ways in which they may be especially useful tools for teachers utilizing decolonial multicultural frameworks. This includes an examination of conceptual elements employed by these approaches in attempts to conscientiously avoid practices that may inadvertently objectify, exoticize, marginalize, and/or oppress students. I begin this discussion with an explanation of my methodology and its relevance for this work.

Bricolage

Kincheloe and Berry (2004) advocated bricolage as a methodology of rigor suited for the complexity, multiplicity, and reflexivity of educational research contexts. Bricolage employs a form of *tinkering*–that is, drawing from or developing research methods as they are needed–so as not to restrict knowledge production to the confines or dictates of any technique or model (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe, 2005). A bricoleur examines many dimensions that affect educational contexts that may include the socio-historical, political, cultural, epistemological, material, and local-global (Berry, 2006). In addition, bricolage is oftentimes interdisciplinary, allowing processes of knowledge production to transcend disciplinary boundaries. Rather, bricoleurs seek a dialectical relationship among disciplines, in which overlaps and liminal spaces lead to new understandings (Kincheloe, 2001; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). For this article, I conduct a literary conversation to examine relationality among theoretical, pedagogical, and methodological *discourses*–the language employed within disciplines that both describes and shapes perceptions of realities. My goal is to explore ways in which they might be integrated to become useful tools for teacher-researchers and teacher educators in a local-global era.

Like the other discourses I discuss in this article, bricolage takes an emancipatory standpoint, and sets researchers to the task of promoting social justice through their work. Rather than simply describing, bricoleurs seek to innovate, imbuing their research with creativity and imagination for what could be (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). This mirrors my own strategy, as I attempt to develop new approaches to

schooling, the professional role of teaching, and teacher education that I believe are more conducive to equity and excellence in local-global learning environments. Additionally, I adopt the bricoleur's commitment to anti-reductionism, in which the researcher makes no claims to final or universal truths. Rather, as a bricoleur, I offer my naturally partial interpretations to ongoing, collaborative conversations (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004).

Bricoleurs inform their research with theoretical and philosophical insights on human conditions, such as power, the nature of knowing, and hierarchical relations. Thus, bricolage is heavily informed by discourses such as critical theory, postmodernism, poststructuralism, and hermeneutics[71] in order to check dominant assumptions and linguistic frameworks that shape hegemonic worldviews, including those of the researcher (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). Researcher positionality is under constant self examination, and bricoleurs acknowledge that they, and their understandings of the world, are always embedded in the process of knowledge production (Berry, 2006; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). While bricolage embraces complex theoretical explorations, bricoleurs inform their projects with lived experiences, recognizing that discourses cannot ever fully describe or contain the reflexive and multi-dimensional realities of the lived world (Kincheloe, 2005; Kincheloe & Berry, 2004). My own work is responsive to and inspired by my experiences as a mentor, tutor, and teacher with children from international backgrounds and subjugated group identities.

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[71] Hermeneutics is the study of texts and attends to the ways each consumer interprets texts uniquely according to their understandings and experiences.

The following section begins my dialectical exploration by discussing a synergistic framework for decolonial multicultural education, to be followed by a section on postcritical ethnography and feminist praxis-based methodologies as potential tools for teacher-researchers employing such a framework.

Decolonial Multicultural Education

The local-global nature of contemporary societies and schools calls for multicultural educations that meet diverse learning needs and prepare all students for life in a globalized world (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Brown & Kysilka, 2002; De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Spring, 2008b). In past writings, I developed a potential framework for decolonial multicultural education (Sprecher, 2011c) that incorporates practices such as culturally relevant pedagogies and pluralism throughout curricula, assessments, and the physical school environment (Banks, J. A., 2005; Gay, 2000; Nieto, 1996; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). In addition, intergroup or human relations educational techniques could assist students' intercultural relational learning. By explicitly exploring and teaching against bigotries and intergroup conflicts, schools might reduce negative interactions and improve and expand their sense of community, while preparing students for futures in a globalized multicultural world (Sleeter & Grant, 2003; Vogt, 2004). I also advocated for social reconstructionist multicultural education (Sleeter & Grant, 2003) as a tool to incorporate social justice throughout practices and resist assimilationist and deficit-oriented multiculturalisms that marginalize and disserve minority students. Such an approach, however, calls for the application of sophisticated theoretical critiques to counter hegemonic narratives that silently reify inequity.

Critical multicultural education (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995), in particular, offers useful tools to reveal and oppose unconscious assumptions that contribute to oppressive human relations. Exploring the socio-historical dynamics that have stratified peoples according to socially constructed concepts such as race, gender, and class, critical multiculturalism challenges the dominant narratives that privilege some people over others. This includes thorough critiques of the hegemony of *whiteness* as a normalized status by which all other identities are measured. Employing critical theory and philosophical tools such as postmodernism and poststructuralism, critical multiculturalism seeks to deconstruct the systems of language and knowledge that perpetuate colonial domination through patriarchal, Eurocentric ideologies and discourses. This includes resistance to capitalist exploitations and material dominations of the majority of the world's peoples by an elite minority (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

Critical multiculturalism can be especially useful to teachers on multiple accounts. First, it can help teachers to examine their own embedded worldviews and perspectives, while providing tools to transform understandings that might be harmful or oppressive to students. Second, critical multiculturalism can enrich the social justice pedagogies teachers employ in their classrooms with deeper understandings of the complexity and multiplicity of human relations. This can assist attempts to avoid assimilating or marginalizing practices. It can also bolster classroom relationships by revealing the complex dynamics that imbue bigotries and hegemonic assumptions (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995).

In addition, the multiplicity of local-global classrooms requires approaches that acknowledge the interrelationship of the local and global in children's lives. Thus, A decolonial multiculturalism should draw from global education frameworks (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005) that integrate global dimensions and teach students about the interconnected world in which they live. This includes extending concepts of social justice and responsibility to issues like global poverty, international development, war, and ecological sustainability. Future generations need to be educated to participate as local-global citizens (Appiah, 2006; Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005), and students can better engage their intercultural learning processes with their classmates if they are taught relevant local-global contextual information. Like multicultural education, global education frameworks can benefit from critical explorations that seek to avert Eurocentric, assimilationist and marginalizing approaches.

Global and multicultural frameworks should be informed by decolonial approaches (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003), which draw from critical and postcolonial theories to analyze the socio-historical contexts that shape knowledge production and educational paradigms. Expanding critique to the local-global, decolonial education explores the continuing exploitations and inequalities perpetuated by capitalist and neo-imperialist practices. Thus, multicultural education that employs a decolonial approach would examine the material and epistemological subjugation of peoples that originated in projects of colonialism, imperialism, and the

expansion of neoliberal[72] global capitalism (De Lissovoy, 2008, 2009, 2010; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2005; Tejeda et al., 2003). This includes the categorization and division of the world's peoples into races that privileges and elevates the knowledges and values of those with paler complexions, while reifying and justifying the exploitation and impoverishment of nonwhite and indigenous peoples. Anti-racist pedagogies must not omit the complex and ever-changing dynamics that inform our understandings of race and racism. This is especially true in the United States, where histories of subjugation blend with contemporary ideologies that stratify the world's peoples according to a racialized, neoliberal economic hierarchy of *developed* and *developing*, *First* and *Third World* (Alexander, 1996; De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008; Richmond, 1994; Tejeda et al., 2003; Willinsky, 1998).

Such hierarchies and dynamic bigotries play out in school relationships among teachers, staff, students, and families. Thus, relational learning happens, whether facilitated or not, among individuals as worldviews integrate and sometimes oppress. As students engage with teachers and other students, their subjectivities continuously reflect new relational understandings of themselves and others (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003; Thayer-Bacon, 2003).

Decolonial (De Lissovoy, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003), global (Banks, J. A., 2008; Spariosu, 2004), and critical multicultural (McLaren, 1995) education theorists have argued that student relationships are dynamic learning processes in which participants can co-construct emancipatory knowledges. Spariosu (2004) claimed that global crises–

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[72] *Neoliberal* refers to an economistic ideology rooted in market fundamentalism, thus prioritizing free market imperatives above environmental and social needs.

such as war, genocide, nuclear proliferation, and ecological devastation, to name a few– require the collaboration of intercultural actors to develop new paradigms for problem-solving and for sustainable and peaceful coexistence. De Lissovoy (2010) promoted similar co-constructions of knowledge that decenter hegemonic narratives, while recentering subjugated epistemologies and perspectives more conducive to local-global kindredness. As students participate in relational learning, teachers can help to facilitate environments that foster positive interactions, in which students co-construct valuable skills and knowledges for intercultural competence and local-global agency. Conversely, unattended student relationships could potentially devolve into stratified interactions that mirror the bigotries and inequities of the larger social world (Banks, J. A., 2008; Cohen, 2004).

Teachers who seek to foster positive local-global relational learning might benefit from intergroup and human relations frameworks informed by decolonial multicultural critiques of power and inequities. This would require more than transformative teacher education in decolonial multiculturalism. This would also call for enhanced skills of observation and analysis in regards to the interplay of difference and power in the classroom. Such skills would envelop understandings of reflexivity to reject static interpretations of students and their interactions, as well as extensive self-reflection on teacher positionality, perceptions, and reactions. Therefore, teaching would necessarily involve ongoing research to assess social and individual educational dynamics and future pedagogies. The following section describes additional benefits of teacher-researcher skills that may enable educators to better assess their complex educational environments.

Teacher-Researchers for Local-global Classrooms

The deployment of decolonial multicultural approaches calls for teachers who embody the tenets of multicultural education and social learning approaches, which require teachers to learn about and get to know their students (Ladson-Billings, 1992; Moore, 2004). Such pedagogical orientations serve multiple purposes. This includes scaffolding, or building bridges, between classroom lessons and students' lives and prior knowledge to inspire and improve learning (Ladson-Billings, 1992). In addition, teachers can develop caring relationships with students and build strong classroom communities by modeling and promoting intercultural awareness and respect, and by creating inclusive learning environments that reflect the experiences and perspectives of all students.

As I explained, differences in a stratified society are complicated by social inequities and injustices, power, and privilege. Teachers who seek to know their students must necessarily delve into the complex socio-political circumstances that imbue their students' material and epistemological realities (De Lissovoy, 2010; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995). This necessity is exacerbated by the disconnection between teacher and student demographics. As student populations in the United States become increasingly representative of racial minorities and poor children, the teaching force remains composed primarily of white, middle-class individuals (Brown & Kysilka, 2002). Thus, a gap exists between the positionalities of many teachers, who enjoy intersecting identity privileges associated with race and class, and those of their students. Such a gap may result in teachers having limited understandings of their students' lives

and experiences, potentially leading to miscommunications, misguided educational approaches, and possibly even distrust between teacher and student.

The dangers imposed by teacher-student disconnects are exacerbated by the power inherent in the teacher's role over students in traditional schools. Teachers are given authority to control children's behaviors and, to some extent, what and how they learn. Though public schoolteachers have been afforded little decision-making powers concerning curricula and assessment, the absence of any requirements concerning multiculturalism allows teachers to choose whether or not to employ inclusive curricula or pedagogies. In addition, the implementation of tracking systems and strict regulation of student behaviors in many schools conveys a hidden curriculum that teaches students' obedience, passivity, and conformity often in accordance to class and racial distinctions (Anyon, 1980; Bourdieu, 1973).

The complex dynamics of difference highlight the need for teachers capable of analyzing their own positionalities and those of their students. Such reflections should encompass the power inherent in teachers' identities and goals as authorities, both individually and as representatives/reinforcers of social authority, over children. Moreover, as frequent group facilitators, classroom community builders and keepers of the peace, teachers can greatly benefit from better understandings of the relationships and interactions among their students that take into consideration power disparities among children. This calls for sophisticated research skills involving observation and analysis of complex and dynamic human environments.

The following section describes postcritical ethnography and feminist praxis-based methods, which I assert provide excellent tools for teacher-researchers employing decolonial multicultural pedagogies.

Postcritical Ethnography and Feminist Praxis-based Methods

Noblit, Flores and Murillo (2004) presented postcritical ethnography as an integration of theoretically based methods, derived from interpretive ethnography and critical theory, that are infused with postmodernist and poststructuralist insights. Critical theory provides language and analyses that critique human relations based in power, privilege, and oppression. Originating in Marxist, class-based analyses of economic stratification, critical theory expanded social critiques to encompass other categorical discriminations such as racism, patriarchy, and homophobia. Critical ethnography is committed to emancipatory intentions and the advancement of social justice, and employs critical epistemologies to actively reveal, oppose, and change social oppressions. Recognizing that the act of research and knowledge production is a political one that usually reifies inequities and those in power, critical ethnographers seek to give voice to those who are typically excluded from representation. Nevertheless, the critical ethnographer remains ever conscious of the unavoidable power relations between researcher and research subjects, and recognizes the control and privilege embodied in "appropriating the rights of representation even as [the researcher] seeks to emancipate" (Noblit, Flores & Murillo, 2004, p. 2).

Interpretive ethnography is based in the theoretical assumption that all knowledge systems are socially constructed, and offers tools for ideological introspection regarding

one's research methods. Interpretive ethnography rejects positivist claims to objectivity and generalizable *truths* to be discovered through empirical research, and asserts that methodologies must address the complex, subjective, and socially constructed quality of human experiences (Noblit, 2004, p. 186). Such claims have been applied to educational evaluation, and criticized positivism as inappropriate for real world decision-making. Critical ethnographers echo this critique of positivism's over-simplistic analyses, while seeking to employ educational research to highlight students' subjugated knowledges and lived experiences (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004). Interpretive ethnography's attendance to one's own assumed truths, sense of objectivity, and tendencies to generalize may be helpful for teachers who strive to be respectfully inclusive and avoid student objectification.

Interpretive ethnography's contributions include examinations of poststructuralism, semiotics, and the *linguistic turn* (Toews, 1987, p. 879), leading to the perception of ethnographies as "interpretations of interpretations" (Noblit, 2004, p. 191). These new cross-disciplinary analyses of meaning-making led to a *crisis of representation* (Lather, 2004; Noblit, 2004), in which ethnographers abandoned claims that their research presented objective truths about their research subjects. Rather, such ethnographers embrace the understanding that ethnography consists of "partial attempts to understand what others believe and do" (Noblit, 2004, p. 191)

Despite the emancipatory intentions of many of its practitioners, ethnography remains a methodology rooted in colonial origins. Thus, ethnographers must remain cognizant of the earlier purposes of their method to serve as a tool of the colonizer to

study, objectify, and inform strategies to subjugate the colonized (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Noblit et al., 2004; Willinsky, 1998). Teacher-researchers must also remain conscious of the potential for their tools to objectify, marginalize, and colonize students (Cannella & Viruru, 2004; Richardson & Villenas, 2000). Critical ethnography assists this endeavor by providing tools for critique of power and oppression, including those that may exist within its own framework. Nevertheless, in certain cases, critical ethnography has been canonized within its own discipline and touted as *the* legitimate framework. In such instances, Critical ethnography has promoted universalized ideological positions "that reified structure, materialism, realism, and rationalism" (Noblit, 2004, p. 192).

Such ideological limitations inspired critiques from poststructuralists, anti-rationalists, and feminists, who reinscribed interpretist approaches to counter disciplinary hegemonies such as the privileging of "patriarchal, Eurocentric, individualistic, and white" (Noblit, 2004, p. 191) ideologies. Understandings of the socially constructed nature of knowledge were employed to re-emphasize the need to include multiple voices in research, particularly those from marginalized and oppressed groups such as minorities, women, and students (Noblit, 2004). Postmodernist and poststructuralist insights further unsettled the canonization of critical ethnography into a foundationalist ideology that promotes hierarchies linked to colonialism and modality. Postmodernism's rejection of objective truths instigated new approaches to ethnography that included postcolonial, feminist, and critical race theories, among others. By embracing such epistemological orientations and techniques, postcritical ethnography offers an approach

that “redefines knowledge as a product of a dynamic, relational process (Noblit, 2004), and in so doing, challenges Western, patriarchal hegemony over the production, presentation, and privileging of knowledge inside and outside academia (Maher with Tearteault, 1996)” (Sprecher, 2011a, p 125). As individuals who work daily in environments shaped by top-down hierarchies and discourses that reify the canonization of knowledge and certain knowers, teacher-researchers may benefit from theoretical challenges to such practices. Moreover, teacher-researchers can use postmodernist, poststructuralist, and feminist tools to address their own internalization or resistance to both dominant and oppositional discourses that become hegemonic.

Researchers may implement postcritical ethnography in a variety of ways. However, common methodological considerations include attendance to “positionality, reflexivity, objectivity, and representation” (Noblit, 2004, p, 198). The concept of positionality describes the researcher’s careful consideration of her own situated knowledges, identities, experiences, biases, assumptions, and interests, and the impact these have on her research and her perceptions of other research actors. Exploring elements of her own biography–such as her political beliefs, gender, race, class, and personal experiences–may assist researcher reflections on possible power disparities between her and research participants/students. This includes the ways her positionality influences her intentions for her research and how she collects, interprets, and represents her data (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004). For many teachers in the U.S., this will mean deeply exploring positionalities of whiteness and middle-class socio-economic status in relation to the social stratifications in which their intersecting identities are embedded.

Teacher identities and positionalities are relational and frequently contrast those of the many students living with poverty or subjugated identities. Teachers who do not engage in deep explorations of power and positionality will not be well informed or prepared for working with and relating to diverse children.

Postcritical ethnographers employ reflexivity to remain conscious that people's identities are ever-changing, rather than static, and social interactions are experiences contextualized by the fluidity of time, history, and identity. Objectivity extends this concept to trouble notions of deobjectification, since the postcritical ethnographer makes interactions and occurrences static–and hence objects–by writing about them (Noblit, 2004; Noblit et al., 2004). Thus, the postcritical author explicitly offers written representations of others that are her "partial and positional" (Noblit, 2004, p. 199) interpretation of what is, rather than an objective claim to totality or reality. Representation is of particular importance to postcritical ethnographers, as the manner in which authors choose to express their findings and describe research subjects has the potential to misrepresent others and may inform social and political actions that affect those she describes. Postcritical ethnography therefore promotes critical reflection and decision-making during the writing process in order to trouble potentially harmful avenues of representation. Displaying research subjects as *exotic others* for curious consumption (Noblit, 2004), or adopting deficit oriented or ethnocentric perspectives, no matter how subtle, should be avoided (Berry, 2006). Such tools may prove helpful for teacher-researchers to avoid static, essentializing and objectifying interpretations and representations of their individual students and classroom communities.

Lather (1991, 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007) advocated feminist ethnography that is post-critical, stressing the value of postmodern and poststructural tools applied to critical ethnography's use of "feminisms, post-colonialisms and critical race theories" (2001, p. 479) to explore normalized inequities and power relations. Lather (2003) advocated "openly ideological research" (p. 186), critiquing positivist claims to objectivity and neutrality. Since all research is value-based, postmodernism and poststructuralism can be applied as a means of deconstruction. Poststructuralism can be used to explore the historical and cultural embeddedness of language and the ways language affects individuals' perceptions of reality (2001, p. 479). This can assist research that includes "multiple voices and interpretive stances" (1991, p. 162) to avoid producing knowledge mired in "power-saturated discourses" (p. 164). Lather's proposition for "deconstructing/ deconstructive inquiry" (p. 154) employs postmodernism as a tool to enable researchers to continuously "think about how we think" (p. 154) in ways that explore the often hegemonic nature of our knowledges and assumptions. Lather (2007) proposed "getting lost as a way of knowing" (p. 4) as a research method that rejects the authoritative voice and embraces continuous self critique. Such critique may be applied to tools such as reflexivity to avoid the potential for overconfidence and the reauthorization of researcher voice. Deconstruction, on the other hand, can allow researchers to embrace *not knowing* in order to produce research that provides one perspective among many in a conversation in which no participant has absolute knowledge (2001, 2007).

Feminist praxis-based methods. While approaches to feminist methodologies are diverse, I briefly discuss some of the perspectives that mirror, inform, and enrich

postcritical ethnography. Weiner (1994) proposed feminist methodologies for educational research, asserting that feminisms can combine critical elements with praxis to integrate theory and "everyday realities" (p. 122). Thus, an emphasis on praxis attends to the daily lived experiences and interactions that compose teaching and learning. Like postcritical approaches, some feminist methodologies have emphasized the research process, or the *how*, as much as the findings, that is, the *what*. This has called for careful examination of researcher positionality, as well as methodological considerations, throughout the knowledge production process (Weiner, 1994). Weiner (1994) wrote:

> …feminism has played a vanguard role in challenging science's epistemological foundations which are rooted in modernity by anticipating (and engaging with) many of the recent debates arising from poststructuralism and postmodernism. Thus challenges have been made to universal, patriarchal research paradigms, i.e. the study of 'man' (e.g. Stanley and Wise 1983); positivism's claim to neutrality and objectivity (e.g. Harding 1987); the distortion and invisibility of the female experience (Smith 1978); the notion of the autonomous and rational individual as the main goal of education (Walkerdine 1990); [and] the extent to which educational research itself can challenge inequality (Weiner 1990)…

Thus, feminist methodologies have frequently sought to challenge positivism's traditional methods and assumptions, such as the common androcentrism within scientific research that ignores or misinterprets the experiences of women and girls (Weiner, 1994). Such attendance to marginalized experience should extend to all nondominant positionalities,

as traditional research has often eclipsed or made peripheral subjugated realities and perspectives.

Feminist researchers have also promoted "interactive, contextualized methods" (Weiner, 1994, p. 128) that seek "…pattern and meaning rather than… prediction and control' (Lather, 1991, p. 72)" (p. 128). This research approach seeks to improve circumstances for research subjects, and is rooted in commitments to social justice that are embedded in process, praxis, and practice. Such feminist methods employ reflexivity, attendance to researcher subjectivity, and critiques of power relations both in the larger society and between researcher and researched (Weiner, 1994). Seeking to dislocate the authoritative power of the researcher, feminist methods seek reciprocity and empowerment, in which "a fusion of values, theoretical perspectives and practice" (Weiner, 1994, p. 129) involve research subjects in knowledge production. In the realm of education, this means students, teachers, parents, administrators, and other educational actors participate in the co-construction of research and knowledge (Weiner, 1994).

Teacher-researchers who take up such approaches may benefit from allowing the collaborative, contextual process of teaching and learning to inform their understandings, rather than trying to force rigid techniques and systematic inquiries onto the organic complexities of living and learning. Such an approach bears particular significance for spaces that seek to facilitate decolonial multicultural, relational learning, since teacher-facilitators must actively assess and respond to dynamic and unpredictable processes as they occur. Emphasizing interactive contexts and reflexivity in reciprocal meaning-making, feminist teacher-researchers could challenge machinations of power and control

through methodologies that prioritize students' perspectives, needs and understandings over the production of rationalist, universalizing, and publishable "research." Within such a framework, teaching and research become a single, unified endeavor, no longer separated into binary constructs (see Table A2 for additional examples of feminist praxis-based teacher practices).

Further Implications for Schooling and Teacher Training

Postcritical ethnography and feminist praxis-based methods share decolonial multiculturalism's commitment to decentering hegemonic knowledge systems, while analyzing the power disparities that validate or invalidate different people's knowledges. These tools can be especially helpful for teachers when deciding what to teach and how to teach it and how to analyze, represent to others, and respond to students' progress and needs. For example, decolonial multicultural educators might reject traditional history curricula that describe all early American colonizers in heroic terms, teacher-centered pedagogies that exclude alternative learning styles, and high-stakes, test-based representations of students that label, categorize, and often track them according to perceived abilities.

Moreover, critiques of power relations may help teachers better analyze the stratifications that imbue schooling processes. Top-down hierarchies ensure that a small minority controls educational practices that are often shaped by the political ideologies of those in power. Oftentimes, the ideologies of the powerful reinforce the status quo through tools of social reproduction such as tracking or Eurocentric curricula, pedagogies, and assessments that privilege dominant-group students and marginalize

others (Anyon, 1980, Bourdieu, 1973; Tyack, 2003). Additionally, traditional schooling bestows powers to teachers over students and principals over teachers and students to strictly regulate behaviors toward conformity, obedience, and efficiency of management. Efficiency schooling practices require the rigid regulation of student behavior (Tyack, 1974), and teachers are commonly appointed as policing agents who teach children they must sit at desks, walk in lines, and speak only when called on to be considered "good."

Furthermore, students rarely have any say in how they are educated, or how they are represented in a field that frequently imposes deficiency oriented labels to rate and categorize children. Titles such as *ESL/ELL*, *learning disabled*, and *emotionally disturbed* commonly essentialize and define children according to deficit discourses in which those who speak English and think and act in predictable, dominant culture ways are the norm by which others are measured (Corker & French, 1999; Deschenes, Cuban & Tyack, 2001; Lester, 2011; Nieto, 1996). The issue of representation is of highest pertinence because most teachers in the United States are members of dominant racial and class groups, yet are in the position of representing children from subjugated and marginalized groups through grades, reports, and assessments.

Postcritical ethnography and feminist methodologies may also provide insights regarding the larger social disparities–such as racism, sexism, and classism, for example–that often infest relationships among students, teachers, administrators, staff and parents, and community members. Such disparities exist not only as interpersonal prejudices, but as normalized assumptions about who has the right of decision-making and authority over others, who is respected, and whose knowledge and perspectives are valued and

acknowledged. Such assumptions are often woven into structures of schooling, such as professional hierarchies and classroom rules. Parent-school communications may also be imbued with exclusionary, patronizing, and deficit discourses and practices when under-prepared staff from dominant social groups interact with parents from marginalized or subjugated groups. For example, culturally incompetent professionals may assume an essentializing stance to explain marginalized parents' behaviors, attributing individual actions to ethnocentric cultural generalizations. Such perspectives simplify and dehumanize the individuals to which they are directed, while misinforming well-intentioned professionals and their subsequent responses (Sprecher, 2011b).

Teacher-researcher methods might include participatory observations that are documented at the end of each day, informal interviews with students and parents, and portfolio analyses of students' schoolwork. Thus, postcritical feminist methodologies could be implemented as forms of authentic assessment that analyze students' educational processes in order to adjust pedagogies and better support future learning, rather than as a way to simply grade and stratify students after the fact. Such assessments would be well informed by frequent re-examination of the role teacher positionality may play in interpretations of student activities and interactions, as well as conscious commitment to resisting essentializing, hegemonic, and otherizing impulses.

Moreover, such research need not be limited to systematic inquiry,[73] but rather, exist as ongoing and integral aspects of teaching and learning. This is not to reject calls

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[73] Here, I am diverging from the assertion that teacher-research should be limited to systematic inquiry as a characteristic of rigor. See Lankshear and Knobel (2004) for their argument in favor of systematic inquiry in pursuit of rigor, which includes theoretical and empirical study, as well as peer review through observation and publication.

for rigor. On the contrary, I am calling for research as daily practice informed by continuous explorations of theoretical and empirical literatures, professional development, and collaborations and critiques among professional colleagues (Lankshear & Knobel, 2004), community organizations, parents, and students. By combining such practices with regular documentation, teacher-researchers may be able to coproduce bodies of knowledge with their school communities to inform not only their own practices, but broader educational considerations as well.

Conclusion

I believe postcritical ethnography and feminist, praxis-based methodologies offer tools that can better serve a more holistic and context-based approach to students, both as individual learners and as members of classroom communities. Teachers may use them to observe, assess, record, and respond to the reflexivity, multiplicity, and complexity of local-global classrooms. Such methods may be especially conducive to decolonial multicultural frameworks, due to shared conceptual elements such as critical theories and philosophical challenges to hegemonic and universal knowledge systems. Relational learning, in particular, may be bolstered by teacher facilitation supported by advanced intergroup assessment skills that acknowledge the roles of power, entitlement, and marginalization in social processes and schooling.

The proposals I have discussed in this article would only be viable with a shift in teacher professional role that explicitly acknowledges and makes time and space for the observations and analyses that many teachers already conduct but haven’t the support to fully realize. This means a change in schooling structures to provide teachers with both

the time and resources to train for, conduct, and share their research, and the decision-making capacities and authority to implement their responsive pedagogies.

Darling-Hammond (2008) noted that multiple countries with reputations for educational excellence allot much more time in teachers' schedules for assessment, planning, preparation, and development than currently allowed in U.S. schools. In the United States, public school teachers are generally allotted six to ten hours beyond their in-class teaching time to perform additional duties, while in Singapore, teachers are afforded twenty hours a week to engage in non-instructional tasks such as observing and collaborating with other educators (Darling-Hammond, 2008). In Finland, teachers are regarded as highly trained professionals whose responsibilities include collaborative decision-making regarding their school's curricula, pedagogies, and practices (Darling-Hammond, 2008; Lombardi, 2005). The current overload of in-class teaching time common in U.S. schools, as well as the top-down hierarchies in which teachers remain relatively powerless, would not be conducive to professional roles as teacher-researchers.

Nevertheless, I assert that the potential benefits of decolonial/postcritical teacher-researchers for local-global schooling merit the changes that would be necessary for implementation. In addition to increased authority and non-instructional time, this would mean a shift in teacher training and professional development. Teacher education would need to incorporate the elements I presented for a decolonial multicultural framework, as well as qualitative research methodologies that embrace postcritical and feminist praxis-based approaches. While I cannot dedicate time in this article to discuss the logistics of extended mentorships and paid internships for future teachers, such approaches could

potentially equalize costs by providing additional in-class support and reducing teacher turnover rates.[74] Meeting the challenges and opportunities of local-global classrooms and societies need not require an excess of funding or sacrifice. Rather, these seemingly radical changes in the way we educate may only require the creativity, the will, and the courage to rise to the occasion.

[74] See L. Darling-Hammond's (2007) "A Marshall Plan for Teaching" for a comparative analysis of costs and investments concerning proposed teacher education reforms.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

This dissertation has presented a conceptual bricolage (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004), in which I explored interdisciplinary layers of theory, pedagogy, and lived experiences through four interrelated articles. The conceptual layers have included socio-historical and local-global circumstances that may affect aspects of education, such as geopolitical dynamics, socio-cultural hegemonies, and inequitable policies. I also examined pedagogical literatures to consider recommendations, and analyzed qualitative data on students with refugee status. In this way, I hope to have provided helpful interpretations of some of the many interrelated pieces of an educational *complexity zone* (Kincheloe, 2005). My themes have emphasized the changing nature of local-global societies and classrooms that calls for new approaches to education. My proposal is a synergistic and adaptive framework for decolonial multicultural education that is ecological and responsive to students. Having written multiple iterations throughout my chapters, I offer only the briefest summaries of each article for this conclusion.

In the first article, I proposed a synergy of educational approaches and models toward a framework for decolonial multicultural education. Such a framework could draw from a variety of pedagogical and theoretical tools, while remaining adaptable to the unique and reflexive variables of any educational environment. Pluralistic (Sleeter & Grant, 2003) and global educations (Banks, J. A., 2008, 2009; Hicks & Holden, 2007; Noddings, 2005) could integrate cross-cultural, international, and global elements into schooling processes, while emphasizing social responsibility and skill-building for student agency. Pluralistic multiculturalism and equity pedagogies (Banks, J. A. 2005;

Nieto, 1996) could address the learning needs of diverse student populations through inclusive education. Social reconstructionist multiculturalism (Sleeter & Grant, 2003) could incorporate these strategies and expand them to inclusive school-wide and school-community practices rooted in social justice prerogatives. Additionally, the theoretical and philosophical insights of critical multiculturalism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1007; McLaren, 1995) could help to dissect the power-saturated relations and inequities that imbue schooling and society, thus assisting attempts to avoid multicultural practices that marginalize, exoticize, or assimilate students. Decolonial education theories (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003) could further strengthen this standpoint, by informing deeper understandings of neocolonial, local-global relations and providing alternative possibilities for pedagogies of nondomination and coexistence (De Lissovoy, 2010). Finally, I asserted that a focus on intercultural relational learning (De Lissovoy, 2010; Spariosu, 2004) that incorporates elements of intergroup education (Banks, C. A., 2005; Cohen, 2004; Stephan & Vogt, 2004) within a decolonial multicultural framework may offer exceptional learning opportunities for students growing up in a globalizing world.

For article 2, I honed in on a contextual example of local-global learning: students with refugee status in the United States. This context demonstrated the unique qualities inherent in any educational circumstance, while nevertheless presenting themes and insights relevant to many educational environments. In particular, I examined the themes of ecological approaches to education (Anderson, Hamilton, Moore, Loewen, & Frater-Mathieson, 2004; Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1992), the social-emotional aspects of

children's learning and development, and the impact of global events such as war and forced migration on children's lives. Thus, I explored the ways experiences with grief, trauma, and loss, socio-political inequities such as global poverty and neoliberal imperialism, and interpersonal struggles with bullying and bigotries such as nationalisms, anti-immigrant hostilities, and new racisms can interfere with some children's emotional wellness and academic success. I called for an integration of decolonial multicultural approaches with educational methodologies that address children holistically as thinking and feeling human beings rooted in the layered contexts of their own experiences, families, and communities in order to address and respond to the complexities and multiplicities of their lives.

Article 3 reiterated these themes and explored qualitative data from a school in the southeastern United States that had recently matriculated Burundian children from Tanzanian refugee camps. Through staff interviews and ethnographic observations, I examined the emergent themes of teacher training for cross-cultural competencies, deficit and assimilationist discourses, ecological school-based interventions associated with poverty, emotionality, and safety, and abusive student interactions and peer relationships shaped by multiple bigotries. Thus, this pilot case study served to introduce some of the lived experiences of a group of students with refugee status and their new school-community. My findings both informed and were informed by the conceptual discussion in Article 2, giving my dialectical investigation the elements of radical contextualism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997) that bricolage seeks to integrate with theoretical understandings.

Finally, in Article 4, I proposed a shift in teacher professional role to incorporate ongoing teacher-researcher duties conducive to curricula and pedagogies for decolonial multiculturalisms. I explained that the multiplicity, reflexivity, and complexity (Kincheloe & Berry, 2004) of local-global classrooms calls not only for new educational frameworks, but also for skill development among teachers that emphasizes better understandings of students and student interactions. Postcritical ethnography (Lather, 2001; Noblit, 2004, Noblit et al., 2004) and feminist praxis-based methods (Hughes, 2002; Lather, 1991, 2004, 2007; Weiner, 1994), in particular, offer tools for careful classroom observation, interaction, collaboration, and analysis. In addition, these methodological approaches offer means to reflect on power dynamics and hegemonies as they play out in school relationships. Such capabilities are especially relevant for teachers facilitating relational learning processes within decolonial multicultural frameworks. In addition to assisting assessments that immediately inform pedagogical considerations, teacher-researchers could document their findings, collaborate with colleagues, and make contributions to professional conversations about educational research and policies.

Implications for Schooling

As I described in chapter one, education in the United States has experienced intensive reforms over the last decade, particularly those instituted by the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. This obsession with standards and accountability was motivated by publications such as *A Nation at Risk* (1983), which claimed that schools–and teachers–had done such a bad job of teaching America's children that the results should be considered as metaphorically grievous as "an act of war" (p. 5). Propelled by a

conservative administration, NCLB has mitigated standardization of curriculum, basic skills education, and an emphasis on numerous high-stakes tests throughout students' schooling careers. Conversely, multicultural curricula and pedagogies and skill-building for critical thinking, creativity, conflict resolution, and problem solving have been commonly pushed out. Many in the conservative education movement (D' Souza, 1991; Schlesinger, 1991) have opposed multicultural and multilingual education, citing divergence from Eurocentric norms as divisive or anti-American. Such monoculturalist claims have oftentimes originated from or been exacerbated by fears and insecurities among privileged group members (white, middle-class) over growing national diversity and increased economic insecurity (King, 1991).

The profession of teaching has always garnered low regard in the U.S., as demonstrated by low salaries, frequently harsh and unsupportive working conditions, and limited teacher decision-making powers concerning school policies. NCLB has reified this low regard by decreasing teacher autonomy and increasing scripted curricula, resulting in a deprofessionalization of teaching toward an ever more functionary role. In addition, NCLB scapegoats schools, teachers, and students for social inequalities, while failing to provide the necessary supports and interventions to address them, thus deflecting accountability from politicians and policy makers (Kesson, 2008; Meier & Wood, 2004; Schrag, 2010).

NCLB's emphasis on Eurocentric standardization of curricula, minimalist basic skills education, and deprofessionalization of teachers into bureaucratic functionaries flies in the face of national and international recommendations for education that meets

the demands of a changing world (Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005; World Bank Group, 2010). Many scholars have decried the outdated schooling techniques now prevalent in the U.S. that rely on efficiency models that require student conformity within a framework of uniformity and rote memorization (Darling-Hammond, 1997; Meier & Wood, 2004; Tyack, 2003). Nations renowned for the success of their schooling systems–Japan and Finland, for example–have rejected such outmoded educational approaches in pursuit of pedagogies that "teach children to think for themselves" (Hogan, Rudavsky & Rosenberg, 2004) and creatively and cooperatively problem-solve (Darling-Hammond, 2008; Hogan et al., 2004; Lombardi, 2005; Watanabe, 2010). Nations who seek to emulate international successes–for example, South Africa (Crouch, 2010; Crouch & Gustafsson, 2010) and Romania (Hogan et al., 2004)–have emphasized the need for reforms to overhaul traditional, teacher-centered pedagogies in favor of more learner-centered schooling that teaches the creative and critical thinking skills needed for contemporary, local-global life.

Though rooted in discourses of neoliberal economic development, the World Bank has described multicultural interpersonal skills as a necessary competency for functioning in a *knowledge economy*. Thus, members of contemporary global societies will need to be able to successfully interact in culturally heterogeneous groups if they are to participate in the global economy–and survive financially. This will require skills for cooperation and conflict resolution across differences, as well as the ability to reflect on one's own worldview and assumptions (Spring, 2009; World Bank, 2010). Ironically, while the Word Bank explicitly calls for these skills and dispositions, the organization's

proposed schooling model emphasizes literacy, English language, math, science, and technology skills rather than history, geography, or cultural studies (Spring, 2009). This seems to indicate an assumption that multiculturalism just happens, and does not need any specific curricula, pedagogies, or targeted facilitation.

Global and decolonial scholars have asserted that many of the discourses of neo-liberal global economics have been misguided and resulted in further impoverishment and injustices against vulnerable peoples. Moreover, paradigms that treat education solely as a means to economic participation and development are not only reductionist, but fail to holistically address the learning and growth of human beings and human societies. Thus, the role of students as social and moral beings, and as citizens of local-global communities, is sorely neglected. Moreover, while these models make claim to the necessity of multicultural skills, conformity to a Western neo-liberal ideal remains a constant. The language of economic development nevertheless dominates much educational discourse concerning policy because powerful and moneyed nations and organizations have been able to fund extensive research projects, as well as the publication and distribution of their organizational materials (Lincoln & Cannella, 2004; Spring, 2009).

I assert that educational professionals need to counteract the hegemonic influences of moneyed research and publications that promote a market fundamentalist version of education. Global and decolonial scholars have argued that multiculturalism and intercultural understanding must be more than an economic imperative, but a moral imperative as well (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Spariosu, 2004). In a world in which

difference has been an organizing factor for profound injustices and dominations, ethical citizens must necessarily learn about and resist the perpetuation of hegemonic inequities rooted in colonialism, global racisms, and predatory capitalisms (De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Tejeda et al., 2003). Moreover, the propagation of world crises such as war, genocide, below-subsistence poverty, irreversible ecological devastation, and the potential for nuclear holocaust make intercultural cooperation and problem-solving an imperative for survival–possibly even of our species (Noddings, 2005; Spariosu, 2004).

Finally, multicultural educations have been promoted as necessary to education for education's sake. Our understandings of the world in which we live remain extremely limited if not informed by the histories, narratives, perspectives, and processes of peoples beyond our own group. Monocultural education, simply put, dooms students to ignorance (Banks, J. A., 2005, 2008, 2009). After more than a decade of standards and accountability, teachers and students are severely under prepared for lives in local-global societies. Largely unaware of international geopolitical events and interrelationships, many of our educators and future citizens remain mired in nationalistic ethnocentrisms and lack even the most basic of intercultural skills (Brown & Kysilka, 2002).

Possibilities for Change

A decolonial multicultural education would offer educators new paradigms and languages to better address local-global inequities and pedagogical possibilities for the current era. This includes ways to recognize and resist new racisms that are often intertwined with nationalisms and neoliberal global hierarchies (Alexander, 1996; De Lissovoy, 2009, 2010; Marable & Agard-Jones, 2008; Richmond, 1994), as well as old

racisms that remain embedded in the material and epistemological relations of internal neocolonialism (Tejeda et al., 2003). Using a decolonial multicultural framework, educators might be well armed to oppose deficit and ethnocentric discourses, *white savior* (Titone, 1998) educational approaches, linguistic chauvinism, and anti-immigrant hostilities. School communities could apply decolonial multicultural understandings to avoid Eurocentric education that privileges Western knowledge systems such as racialized discourses, scientism, rationalism, linear and binary constructs, and the economic prerogatives of neoliberalism. Rather than omitting subjugated knowledges and socio-historical contexts of colonialism, imperialism, and global capitalism, decolonial multiculturalism would embrace such stories. This approach could enrich learning opportunities for all students with inclusive schooling practices that simultaneously challenge deficit, hegemonic, and bigoted assumptions. In addition, decolonial multiculturalism could provide educators the means to recognize and resist the hegemonic, neoliberal economic ideologies that guide and shape much of educational policy (Apple, 2000b).

Teachers could employ a decolonial multicultural framework to inform their pedagogical strategies, and to better understand the circumstances of their students in order to strengthen their roles as teacher-allies (Titone; 1998). The addition of research tools, such as postcritical ethnography and feminist praxis-based methodologies, might help teachers adapt and respond to varying and fluid manifestations of hegemonies, bigotries, and exclusions across individuals and locales. This, in turn, might greatly assist teacher facilitation of relational intergroup learning toward positive intercultural

understandings and skill development. Schools are frequently unsafe places where nondominant students are targeted, excluded, and bullied by dominant-group peers. An emphasis on decolonial multicultural, relational learning might help reduce bullying and exclusion, contributing to safer, healthier learning environments for all students.

Ecological approaches force public education systems to explicitly acknowledge the impact social and economic injustices have on children's lives, in general, and on their ability to learn and grow into healthy, happy adults. Such acknowledgements have been politically unpopular with conservatives who would prefer to sweep such injustices under the rug. The same administration that blamed schools and teachers for under-serving children, and instituted accountability measures in response, saw an increase of U.S. children living in poverty by 2.5 million during its eight year administrative occupation, while simultaneously undercutting social safety nets for poor children. Thus, many U.S. children have been deprived of safe and clean housing and neighborhoods, adequate food and nutrition, health care, and forms of family stability often facilitated by parental employment opportunities and living wages (Children's Defense Fund, 2010).Yet the conservative proponents of NCLB acted as though none of these factors affect education. Nor, it appears, would such policymakers have us believe that our government is in any way responsible for alleviating such conditions, or for addressing the social injustices that lead to such circumstances in the first place. Rather, the conservative discourses scapegoated schools, teachers, and students as failures that posed a threat to national prosperity, while dismissing any concept of government accountability to its populace.

As the teachers in Article 3 articulated, those of us who work with underserved children frequently realize that holistic educational approaches become necessary for classrooms to function. Children who are hungry, sick, afraid, sad, traumatized, or exhausted often have difficulty focusing on learning. Educators can employ ecological approaches to address the needs of students as whole human beings, and to identify and fight the social and economic inequities perpetuated by unjust government policies. Working together, informed educators could demand answers and action from government leaders who deny culpability for the safety, health, and wellness of many of its children. Teacher-researchers, in particular, could document, analyze, and present their students' everyday realities and perspectives to bolster demands for positive social change.

Finally, the U.S. teaching force is comprised primarily of people with dominant culture identities–white and middle-class–who frequently struggle to meet the educational needs of students from varied cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Brown & Kysilka, 2002). Underprepared educators are likely to be mired in ethnocentric, deficit, and assimilationist discourses (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; McLaren, 1995; Nieto, 1996), as demonstrated in Article 3. Across the nation, numerous culturally incompetent educators and staff continue to fail minority and marginalized students (Children's Defense Fund, 2010). Yet teachers should not be blamed for being deprived of the necessary training and support, including transformative educational experiences, to prepare them to work in local-global schools characterized by gross inequities. Moreover, the deprofessionalization of teachers and scripted, standardized formats of education

under NCLB hinders many teachers' attempts to learn with and about students and develop context-based educational strategies. It certainly negates ecological understandings of and responses to children and youth as whole people with dynamic lives and relationships that may impact them in myriad ways.

The need for systematic changes. I believe the current structure of schooling, particularly in underserved districts with struggling economies, sets up many teachers and students to fail (Tyack, 1974). The profound funding disparities between wealthy and poor districts have exacerbated the social inequities embedded in much of U.S. schooling (Anyon, 1980, 2005; Bourdieu, 1973; Kozol, 1991, 2005). The warehousing of students in oversized classrooms in dilapidated schools and the lack of resources and supports have been made infamous by Kozol's *Savage Inequalities* (1991) and *Shame of a Nation* (2005). In addition, inadequate training and mentorship for new teachers, combined with a lack of support for teacher professional responsibilities as pedagogical experts and researchers, has minimalized the potential effectiveness of many educators (Darling-Hammond, 2005, 2006, 2007a).

As I stated in Article 4, modifications in curricula, pedagogy, and teacher training according to a decolonial multicultural framework would need to be supported through other systematic changes. Top-down hierarchies that deprofessionalize teachers and repress their capabilities and contextual expertise to make decisions concerning educational practices must become a thing of the past. Naturally, teachers would need to be educated and prepared to perform this role with sophisticated understandings of student difference, learning, power, and pedagogy. Teachers would also need additional

non-instructional hours to complete these professional responsibilities. These hours should not, however, be bought by increasing class sizes. Despite the debatable claims that class size does not affect teaching and learning (Glass, 1982; Hanushek, 1998), I strongly assert that a decolonial multicultural framework that requires teacher-researchers to get to know and better understand their cross-cultural student and neighborhood school-communities would not function well with excessive student-teacher ratios.

I believe providing paid, extended internships for teachers in training would allow schools to increase non-instructional time for master teachers, while maintaining reasonable student-teacher ratios. Rather than a single unpaid semester of student teaching, as is commonly the case in teacher training programs, this would create a position of assistant teacher to last approximately three to five years. This would enable assistant teachers to work side by side with master teachers to build their professional expertise, while providing additional labor and support for schools. Such paid apprenticeships, along with strong teacher education programs, would serve as a boon to the professionalization of teaching.

Like countries that prioritize education, the U.S. Federal government should offer the same tuition reimbursements to teachers that it offers members of the U.S. military who attend college. I believe that more people from minority and subjugated groups might enter the profession if it were economically viable to do so–that is, through paid tuition and paid employment. Currently, many teachers in training must spend at least a semester working full-time in a school without payment or tuition support of any kind. Such changes in the way teachers are recruited, trained, and supported would likely make

the profession highly coveted by young graduates, if coupled with professional status and wages. In countries such as Singapore and Finland, which have instituted similar teacher professionalization initiatives, teaching has become a competitive field, enabling teacher education programs to enlist only the most qualified applicants (Darling-Hammond, 2008).

Conclusion

This dissertation has presented, through four articles, various manifestations concerning a synergistic framework for decolonial multicultural education. I have explored the relationalities and implications of interdisciplinary theories and pedagogies, as well as my qualitative interpretations of lived schooling experiences, to present a conceptual bricolage. This methodology has allowed me to traverse among diverse and intersecting layers involving abstract conceptualizations, human stories, and multiple contextual variables. Relevant and relational contextual variables have included socio-historical, political, cultural, social-emotional, and local-global dynamics. I have also paid attention to the importance of the political underpinnings of educational research, policies, and practices to the reforms I am proposing.

I have proposed decolonial multicultural approaches to education that are infused with ecological methodologies that respond to students as complex and whole beings. Nevertheless, I assert that any framework should remain sensitive to the potential for recolonizing and reifying Eurocentric models, and be an ever-evolving, collaborative endeavor that seeks to center marginalized epistemologies. A decolonial multicultural approach would necessarily recognize the pertinence of unique contextual variables that

call for site-specific understandings and adaptations. Such reflexive and responsive teaching would in turn call for sophisticated teacher-researchers capable of assessing and responding to dynamic educational environments. This would require changes in teachers' professional roles, teacher preparation, and schooling structures. The top-down administrative hierarchies, over-sized classrooms, and spartan system supports of traditional efficiency schooling will not be (and many would argue, have never been) adequate for quality educational practices, much less decolonial multicultural frameworks that address the local-global. Yet if U.S. schools are to rise to the challenges and opportunities presented by globalization, rapid social change, and long-neglected inequalities and injustices, we must have the courage and creativity to implement seemingly radical educational transformations. In effect, I am calling for more than reform. I am calling for a revolution in the way we do schooling that critically and optimistically addresses the local-global complexities of the ever-in-progress democratic ideal that is public education.

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Appendix

Table 1

Denzin and Lincoln's (2005) Bricolage Approaches

Approach	Researcher Actions
Interpretive	Recognizes that their positionality and those of research subjects interact to shape the research process.
Critical	Uses hermeneutics to examine role of self, social contexts, and disciplinary texts and discourses in the production of knowledge.
Political	Recognizes role of politics and power in research process; rejects claims to objective, value-free research.
Methodological	Incorporates multiple methods as needed; does not limit or dictate processes according to a single technique.
Theoretical	Employs numerous social theories (i.e. critical race, feminist) in which to frame research.
Narrative	Analyzes the ways narratological traditions (i.e., positivism, postpositivism, irony) shape communications and representations of research.

Table 2

Praxis Based Methods

Method/Approach	Examples/Explanation	Teacher Practices
Decenter hegemonic epistemologies and practices	Eurocentrism Androcentrism Scientism Rationalism Neoliberalism	• Analyze textbooks and curricula for hegemonic content and reject or counter. • Find and include subjugated knowledges and counter-narratives in course content. • Teach critical analysis skills and include lessons that examine various narratives, representations, and perspectives. • Employ pedagogical strategies that address diverse student epistemologies. • Revisit assessment procedures and content and employ those that reflect diverse epistemologies. • Reject discourses and frameworks that essentialize and/or pathologize students and their families/communities.
Perform interactive and contextualized research	Continuously responsive to students, the contexts of their lives, and reflexivity	• Learn about and keep abreast of the social contexts that affect students' lives. • Learn about and keep abreast of the personal experiences and relationships affecting students' lives. • Plan lessons that connect to students' life experiences and interests; seek student input regarding activities and content. • Authentically assess student competencies to bridge to new learning and plan teaching strategies.

Table 2. Continued.

Method/Approach	Examples/Explanation	Teacher Practices
Attend to positionality and power	Self-analysis Critical analyses of social and school hierarchies	• Partake in professional development and courses and read to inform analyses. • Engage in community outreach (i.e. home visits, community organization involvement) to get to know and learn from parents and community members. • Collaborate with all actors involved (students, staff, parents) to co-construct teaching-learning and research processes. • Engage in reciprocal research that benefits all actors involved. • Challenge school top-down hierarchies.

Vita

Katharine Sprecher grew up in Baltimore, Maryland, where she received her B.A. in Women's Studies at Towson State University. She then moved to San Francisco, California to earn a M.A. in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the California Institute of Integral Studies, followed by a multiple subject teaching credential emphasizing cultural and linguistic diversity at San Francisco State University. Katharine subsequently taught in multicultural, urban schools and has worked as a teacher, tutor, and mentor with marginalized youth in multiple institutional and organizational settings. She became a doctoral student in the University of Tennessee's Cultural Studies of Educational Foundations program to continue her studies in social justice and education. Her research interests include developing decolonial multicultural education frameworks that address the local-global, ecological educational approaches for children with refugee status, socio-historical and political foundations of education, and feminist postcritical methodologies.