CHALLENGES AND POSSIBILITIES IN Teacher EDUCATION

A NORTH AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

Etelvina Sandoval Flores
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Ian Harold Andrews
EDITORS

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Etelvina Sandoval Flores, Rebecca Blum-Martinez, Ian Harold Andrews (editors).

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Foreword

This book is the result of a productive exchange of knowledge and experiences among experts in teacher education. The three participating universities, which are linked to the educational interests of nations that cooperate in political, cultural, and economic matters, are Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (UPN) in Mexico, the University of New Mexico in the United States, and Simon Fraser University in Canada. Taking into consideration the differences of the three countries' social contexts, and the state and organization of their educational systems, the articles in this book emphasize the urgent need to define policies that will improve the quality of the initial education and professional development of teachers in our sub-region.

An imperative for UPN as an institution--which is directly dependent on Mexico's Secretary of Public Education (SEP) and has offered professional development and training for teachers in basic education for more than thirty years–is to encourage the definition of new models and systems to manage the lifelong learning that is demanded by today's teachers. Achieving this end assumes not only political agreements, but also new institutional arrangements, as well as mechanisms for follow-up and continual

evaluation. Such mechanisms must be capable of verifying that teaching practices are transformed to serve a school population that is ever more diverse in social, economical, and cultural terms.

For this reason, we need to understand that both initial and continual training are phases that configure the teaching profession. We cannot continue to believe that initial training prepares students to teach and that continual training covers the deficiencies or needs for updated knowledge. In that sense, the training of teacher educators implies professional development, which responds to their needs and contexts of action and becomes a permanent activity associated with concrete practice.

In this respect, as I have recently suggested,[1] a productive route that leads us from reflection to action must contain at least four lines of action:

- Institutions that train teachers must work together and coordinate long-term academic efforts that result in proposals and models of good quality, in order to propose lifelong paths of training.
- Our joint purpose must be to experiment with new systems so that along with scientists, teacher educators, experts, communities of practice, and classroom teachers, we make progress in designing a wide range of educational interventions and advanced training programs.
- Educational research of good quality must be a relevant resource for defining and evaluating models to manage professional development.
- As we collaborate and coordinate, each one of our institutions must adopt its own reforms, so that our efforts provide a quality response to the grand task of serving the teaching profession.

I am certain this book will be an important source of consultation and learning for teachers, directors, academics, and especially, for educational decision-makers in the setting of teachers' initial training and professional development.

[1] ¿Formar profesores para la reforma o reformar la formación de los profesores?, en *AZ Revista de Educación y Cultura*, México, mayo de 2009, núm. 21, pág. 18-19.

We would like to thank the Organization of American States (OAS) for its support in carrying out the sub-regional project of North America, **"Response to the Challenge of Improving the Quality of the Initial Training and Professional Development of Teachers in the Countries of North America"**. We congratulate our academic colleagues who are responsible for carrying out the project in each county, and those who participated during its development, as well as the authors of the articles in this book.

Sylvia Ortega Salazar
Rector. UPN

Introduction

In September of 2004, academics from three institutions of higher education in Mexico, the United States, and Canada began developing a project sponsored by the Organization of American States (OAS) on teacher training, called Responses to the Challenge of Improving the Quality of the Initial Training and Professional Development of Teachers in the Countries of North America. This book is a product of joint work carried out over almost five years.

The beginning was the OAS definition for promoting hemispheric projects[1] that address priority educational topics in the region. Teacher training is one of those topics, given the continuing presence of problems that represent true challenges for the quality of teacher training and practice. A diagnosis of teacher training in the countries on the American continent[2] divides these challenges of quality in to four groups: 1) the plan of studies, expressed in antiquated, deficient curriculums with contents unconnected

[1] Hemispheric projects with a duration of four years were open to the participation of all member nations of OAS. In this case, they are grouped into five sub-regions: North America, Central America, the Caribbean, the Andean Nations, and Mercosur.

[2] "Diagnósticos, desafíos y lecciones aprendidas en formación docente. Bases para la discusión de las prioridades educativas del proyecto hemisférico", 2004. Washington, DC.

to practice; the absence of contemporary topics like educational technology, and inexistent evaluation of plans of study in the programs and institutions of teacher training; 2) pedagogical orientation in training that shows a contradiction between the focuses promoted in the plans of study and the persistence of traditional methods in the institutions that train teachers; 3) teacher educators who have poor preparation, aggravated by a lack of ongoing training; and 4) the internal effectiveness of training institutions with high rates of repeated grades and dropouts, due to a combination of problems of quality and the characteristics of the individuals who enroll in teacher training programs (OAS, 2004: 24-26). The objectives of the hemispheric projects were to consider the challenges in teacher training in the hemisphere and search for alternatives that would provide a basis for public policy. The assumption is that:

> While the formulation of policy configures the ideal teacher, the application of the policy does not give the necessary steps for constructing such a teacher… What is also clear is that many of the challenges in teacher training are shared by multiple countries, regardless of their size, wealth, and geographic location. Although this shows the magnitude of work to be carried out to confront and resolve these challenges, it also creates opportunities for countries to be able to share, discuss, and learn from each other.[3]

For this reason, emphasis is placed on activities that favor the development of policies and promote a productive exchange of experiences. In such a context, the project on the topic in one sub-region, that of North America, has the following goals:

- To compare national and local policies on the initial and in-service training of teachers, as well as the processes of initial training and professional development of teachers in Mexico, the United States, and Canada, and the impact of training on the transformation of classroom practices.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

- To provide elements that permit supporting the definition of public policies for the initial training and professional development of teachers based on the identification of skills and abilities developed in specific programs at each participating institution and their coherence with the demands of quality, pertinence, and efficiency of the educational systems.
- To exchange consolidated experiences on the topic.

Mexico was responsible for coordinating this effort through Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (UPN), an institution closely linked to the training of teachers and professionals in education in Mexico. Other participants were professors from the General Directorship of Normal School Education and Training of the Teaching Profession (DGENAM).[4] At the University of New Mexico (UNM), in Albuquerque, New Mexico, USA, the participating team was a group of faculty members from the College of Education who work with teacher training programs. The participants from Simon Fraser University (SFU) in British Columbia, Canada, are professors from the Faculty of Education who are in charge of educational projects for the initial and in-service training of teachers.

Mutual Learning. Paving the Way

At a simple glance, we can state that the contrasts among the countries of this region are evident, not only because of reasons of a socio-economic and cultural nature, but also because of the organizational forms of their educational systems and models. Teacher training in the United States and Canada is carried out in universities and their programs are governed by state or local policies; the result is a certain margin of autonomy and the ability to design specific projects and programs. The Mexican educational system, on the other hand, has more similarities with other Latin Ameri-

[4] DGENAM is an entity that groups the normal schools responsible for the initial training of teachers in Mexico City, and was originally the executing institution for this project.

can nations. The system is highly centralized in its educational policies and in the design of plans and programs, and the normal school model persists in Mexico for training teachers. The normal schools work within the framework of national education policies, which limit these institutions to a degree in developing their own projects.

In the concrete work of the three institutions from the participating nations, many similarities were found in the task of training teachers. Concerns were also shared regarding the type of teachers they wanted to train.

Throughout the project's duration, we developed various activities in each defined aspect.[5] The core at all times was the comparative research of teacher training made concrete in three studies: *Comparative Study of the Initial Training of Teachers in Basic Education in Mexico, the United States, and Canada* (2005); *Training Urban Teachers with a Multicultural/Intercultural Perspective. Three Experiences in the Region of North America* (2007); and *Tendencies and Challenges in the Initial Training and Professional Development of Teachers in the Nations of North America* (2008).[6]

These studies facilitated the identification of shared problematic nuclei, as well as the difference in perspectives for addressing them. Discussions on the topic and the various experiences in training teachers in each one of our educational realities have constituted an ongoing learning process and a common basis of knowledge materialized in the preparation of this book. We decided to call the book *Challenges and Possibilities in Teacher Training. A Perspective from North America* since we hoped to identify and analyze aspects that we believe to be educational challenges for both the initial and in-service training of teachers in our countries; we also expect to indicate some possible paths that will contribute to improvement. The second part of the title, *A Perspective from North America*, indicates that the book has one of several possible focuses. We are aware that the book's articles are a product of our experience in research and/or teaching. Our position questions and searches for educational alternatives, and our analyses are based

[5] The activities are divided into four components: research, training, exchange, and publication.
[6] These three documents are available as electronic books and can be consulted at the project's website: http://hemisferico.ajusco.upn.mx

on our own educational realities, in contexts characterized by heterogeneity. We do not aspire to generalization, but to contribute to the debate on teacher training.

During the project, we were able to identify some common aspects that constitute educational challenges, now addressed in various chapters of this book. Outstanding among them is the need to prepare teachers to work successfully with disadvantaged sectors of the population, educational inequality and its effects on the quality of teaching, the presence of homogeneous educational policies versus students' social, economic, and cultural diversity, the impact of the increasing presence of programs of evaluation and certification for schools and teachers, and experiences developed—not without difficulty—to implement teacher training models based on classroom practice.

To address some of these aspects, the book is organized into three sections that represent the central topcs viewed from each nation's perspective: I) "Policies for Teacher Training and Sociocultural Contexts", II) "Experiences in Teacher Training", and III) "Indigenous Education and Teacher Training".

The first section, "Policies for Teacher Training and Sociocultural Contexts", presents a panorama of the relation that exists between public policies for education and educational realities characterized by diversity. The four articles in this section, in spite of having different perspectives, converge in showing the weight of educational policies that favor a homogeneous view of students, teachers, and schools—a situation that has repercussions on the marginalization of individuals who are already marginalized. The globalizing tendency observed at the international level in all settings is also expressed in education through policies to evaluate institutions and their scholastic processes, control, and the definition of content at the federal level—in contrast whith the local tradition that characterizes the United Statesa and Canada—and in the granting of financial support to schools, conditioned to compliance with defined federal parameters and in agreement with the favored view of education. How should the teachers society requires be trained, taking into consideration the weight of policies that standardize and constrict the possibilities for teachers to act? This is

the main question of the reflections in this section, which also includes certain responses.

The second section is centered on the analysis of individual experiences that have occurred in teacher training in the three countries. We emphasize that although shared concerns exist, the specific contexts limit or facilitate the actions and projects that can be developed. The autonomy of universities in the United States and Canada in defining their own programs for educating students, allows them to ensure that these programs are in agreement with institutional philosophy, the views of society, and the conceptions of learning they are interested in strengthening. Once again, similarities are established in terms of the importance of bringing future teachers into contact with the reality of education in diverse contexts, and offering them tools for developing diversified teaching. The philosophy of Simon Fraser University of "thinking about the world of teaching" seems to be—with its own characteristics—the common concern of the educational experiences presented here.

The final section of the book is focused on education for multicultural populations, mostly indigenous, and the importance of constructing models for training teachers that permit transforming the colonialist systems that still survive in the educational context. The emphasis is on the construction of new pedagogical approaches and teaching practices for consolidating a culturally pertinent pedagogy. The programs analyzed and the proposals presented in the three articles of this section show a diversity of focuses with similar concerns in a search for answers—from the institutions that train teachers—to prepare pertinent educational proposals.

We are aware that many other aspects linked to the challenges of teacher training in the region are yet to be addressed, but we hope that the results of this project will serve to support decision-making in educational policy in the region, while contributing elements of reflection for teachers, for the institutions in charge of their training, and in general, for all interested in the field of teacher training. As this book will show, we are currently at a moment of change in the models and paradigms that have guided teacher training. As a result, educational systems and teachers are facing new challenges. We are interested in contributing to a fruitful dialogue on

the progress and difficulties apparent in the training of teachers who, on a daily basis, construct classroom education.

To close, we wish to thank the Organization of American States for supporting the project that gave rise to this book, and Universidad Pedagógica Nacional for sponsoring its publication.

Etelvina Sandoval Flores
Project Coordinator

Prologue of three voices

University of New Mexico. United States

The state of New Mexico is unique. The historical presence of many indigenous groups, and Hispanics in the state, has had an enormous influence in forming present-day political and educational policies. New Mexico was the forty-eighth state to join the United States, just before Hawaii and Alaska. Understanding educational issues in New Mexico requires some sociopolitical and historical knowledge, which includes understanding the critical influence of native-born Hispanics and New Mexican indigenous people in the state's history.

Federal educational policy has also greatly influenced educational policy and practice in the state with new programs, and evaluation designs. The *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB), of 2002, has had a tremendous impact on educational practices across the country, and in New Mexico. As will be seen, much of this influence has often run counter to the intentions of local initiatives. Over the years, some faculty members in the universities' teacher education programs have attempted to address the needs of the diverse student population. However as reflected in the chapters by Drs. Sanchez, and

Gomez-Gutierrez, and Drs. Blum-Martinez, and Flores-Dueñas, this has been difficult. Federal educational policies have frequently viewed diversity as a deficit in need of correction. NCLB and other educational policies have sought to assimilate diverse and minority students into mainstream ways of thinking, reading and speaking.

Despite the negative aspects of this policy, some groups have found a way to develop educational programs that specifically focus on and honor particular groups of students. Such is the case of the charter school described in the article *History Keeps You Going: Cultural Integrity, Sovereignty, and New Mexico History,* by Dr. Glenabah Martinez. In this instance, community educational leaders took advantage of the opportunities for privatizing schooling within the NCLB Act to form this charter school for indigenous students. Thus, Dr. Martinez demonstrates the way in which some teacher educators work with particular communities to effect change. In order to understand better why this school was formed, it is helpful to know a bit about the indigenous groups in the state.

Many centuries before Spanish conquerors came north to what is today New Mexico, there were many vital and indigenous societies that had flourished in the high deserts of this region. The cultural and intellectual wisdom that they developed in adapting to an often unforgiving environment is still felt today in the look and feel of the buildings, cultural and irrigation practices and environmental protections that concern many indigenous, and non-indigenous New Mexicans.

Today, there are twenty-two indigenous nations within the state boundaries: nineteen Pueblos, two Apache, and one very large Navajo tribe. All are federally recognized tribes and as such are semi-autonomous. This means that each tribe has a sovereign government that can decide all issues that are internal to the tribe. And these governments have direct dealings with the federal government. State and local governments must deal with these semi-sovereign governments separately. The indigenous people of New Mexico make up 9.5% of the population, and are the fastest growing group in the state. Indigenous communities are in rural areas, where many people continue to make a living through agriculture and the raising of cattle and sheep, or artistic endeavors. More and more young people from

these communities are leaving agricultural endeavors behind and working in urban areas.

Most indigenous youth attend public schools. Depending on the school district and geographic area, at times indigenous children are a majority of the school population; at other times, they can represent from one-third to one-half of the student population. This is not true however, of their teachers, administrators or school board members. In most cases, Hispanic or Anglo teachers, who know little about their culture, history or values, teach indigenous children. Perhaps this is why indigenous teenagers drop out at a rate of 17.1% before completing high school (http://www.ped.state.nm.us/IT/fs/dropout/06-07DropoutReport.pdf). In general, in the public schools, there is a great deal of ignorance about indigenous students, their heritage, history, cultures and aspirations. While some teacher education and leadership programs may provide limited information about some indigenous groups, most fail to prepare future educators adequately to work with indigenous students and their families.

Dr. Glenabah Martinez gives her readers a positive and hopeful view of one charter school that is working to give its indigenous students a firm foundation in their histories. Her work with indigenous teachers in developing appropriate curricula serves as an example for other groups that face similar challenges.

Hispanic New Mexicans are the second largest ethnic group in New Mexico, making up 44.4% of the population. Many Hispanic New Mexicans are descendants of the first Spanish settlers who came north from Mexico in the 1600's. A large number of Hispanics are also of mixed heritage, both Spanish and Native American. It has been only in the last fifteen years or so that large numbers of Mexican national people have come to New Mexico. Among these three groups, there are many similarities. Many are Catholic. Many value their extended families. Many speak Spanish in the home. In the 2000 census, 36.5% of the population over five years of age, reported that they spoke a language other than English at home. Unfortunately, Hispanics share another similarity: A disproportionate number, 55.5%, drop out of school.

As will be seen in the chapter by Drs. Blum-Martinez and Flores-Dueñas, there has been long and important support for bilingual education in

the state, for both indigenous and Spanish-speaking students. After the war of 1848, and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, an elite group of Hispanic New Mexicans became very influential in the political and social life of the territory. Despite the strength of Anglo-Americans, Hispanic New Mexicans were able to provide some protections for the Spanish language in the New Mexican state constitution, and to retain some of their traditions, landholdings, and political power (Gonzalez-Berry & Maciel, 2000[1]). The continuous participation of Hispanics in state and national politics has made for a unique history and tradition.

Nevertheless, as the dropout rate suggests, many Hispanic youth are not succeeding, academically. And despite the support for bilingual education, most teachers and school administrators are not prepared to work with Hispanic youth or with those who are learning English.

The lack of preparation in working with diverse learners is a widespread phenomenon in the United States. As racial, ethnic and linguistic diversity has increased among the students of the public schools, the teachers and administrators have remained mostly white and female. Among teacher educators, there has been an increase in the numbers of African American, Asian, and Hispanic professors. However, the content of teacher education programs has been slow to change. Despite the efforts of many teacher educators to revise their programs to meet the needs of diverse learners, the federal mandates to standardize curricula, teacher competencies, and testing have negated much of this work. *In Quality Teacher Education: Teaching for Diversity in an Era of Standardization,* Drs. Sanchez and Gomez-Gutierrez discuss the ways in which they have attempted to work with their students, encouraging them to develop a different view of curricula and their future students. On the one hand, as in the case of Dr. Sanchez's students, these efforts can lead to positive changes in students. On the other hand, in Early Education programs, as described by Dr. Gomez-Gutierrez, state and federal mandates often work against creative efforts.

[1] Gonzalez-Berry, E. and Maciel, D. (2000). *The Contested Homeland: A Chicano History of New Mexico*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.

As teacher educators we constantly strive to help our students create a better and more respectful educational experience for the diverse students of our state. Despite the negative, restrictive and often penalizing environment of No Child Left Behind, we hope for a future with more humane and tolerant educational policies.

Rebecca Blum-Martinez
Coordinator of the UNM Team. United States of America

Simon Fraser University. Canada

In the "three-dimensional movie experience" the film audience is asked to place special glasses with unique lenses over their eyes so they can watch a specially designed film that creates an interesting visual experience in three dimensions. In a similar manner I always ask our students, both Canadian and international, to be prepared to look at their educational, intercultural and international experiences through a different lens--different from what they normally use in their "home country". All educators, whether students, teachers or educational leaders, need to see and explore their international learning through a different lens. However this "3D experience" may be realized through ***Dialogue, Discovery*** and ***Diversity*** (the 3Ds). A longtime friend and colleague, Dr. Kanwal Neel, who taught in our schools and our Faculty for over 40 years, greatly believes that the 3Ds, particularly ***Diversity***, provide major components of our Faculty's focus upon teaching, service and scholarship. To ensure research is effectively addressed by the "3Ds" in this book, my colleagues in the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University (SFU) are contributing to this OAS text on teacher education in North America. The Faculty of Education has been a member of Simon Fraser University for over 45 years. Hence it is our Faculty's privilege to join our North American partners, Universidad Pedagógica Nacional (UPN) from Mexico and University of New Mexico (UNM) from the United States of America (USA), to contribute to this book.

In the collaboration, institutional representatives may be highlighted by some academic topics that have framed these Universities' partnership over the past five years. It may be summarized as follows:

- Engagement by the Universities to compare national and local policies about teacher education and professional development programming.
- Examination of the pre-service or initial formation of future teachers, as we share observations of the major influences on the transformation of the classroom with teachers and students.
- Consideration of the institutional transformation of the Aboriginal peoples in each country regarding education and social reform.

The authors representing Simon Fraser University intend to identify the philosophical competencies and capacities of our country, particularly in the Province of British Columbia, and the ways in which the policies and programs are delivered in practice.

We are hopeful that the papers in this book will provide a comparative analysis with UPN and UNM, while sharing the successes, challenges and vision of Canada as a country that attempts to be a constructive, contributing and influential member of the Organization of American States and the global education community.

Possibly these papers will contribute, with our Mexican and American teachers, as an invaluable forum for the purpose of adding to a frame of reference of our hemisphere's goals in teacher education.

In the article *The Sociocultural and Policies Affecting Education in Canada,* Michelle Nielson, Dan Laitsch, Roumiana Illieva, and Bonnie Waterstone will begin with a brief description of the teacher education system across Canada. Then, we will define the boundaries of the teacher education context for this chapter. In order to articulate clearly the differences and similarities across the provinces, we will provide a table that illustrates the teacher certifying bodies and candidate requirements. The bulk of the paper will focus on current policies and practices in relation to language and language education, indigenous issues, internationalization/globaliza-

tion, and immigration and will examine the impact of these policies on questions like teacher preparation, employment, practice, recruitment, and other relevant points. For example, issues of internationalization and globalization will be addressed through the policies surrounding recognition of foreign trained professional credentials, such as the Faculty of Education, Professional Qualification Program.

Stephen Smith and Sharon Wahl, show that thinking of the world of teaching captions the work being done in Professional Programs within the spirit of the times. It draws upon Simon Fraser University's aspiration to be "thinking of the world" and provides a comprehensive, overarching caption for the increasing diversification of Professional Programs. It advances the Faculty of Education's mission statement, coined in 1965, of "helping the schools do a better job" by indicating that now, more than forty-five years on, we help the schools do a better job by preparing teachers to work in multicultural, diverse, worldwide communities of educational practice. Their article *Thinking of the World of Teaching: Creating an SFU Vision of Teacher Development* will look at the theoretical, dispositional and programmatic registers, which we believe encapsulates the world of teaching as practices through the Professional Development Program.

In the article *As long as the sun shines and the grass grows and the river flows; Aboriginal education in Canada,* Vicki Kelly, Michelle Pigeon and Bonnie Waterstone will articulate current implications of the socio-political perspectives and historical legacies of Indigenous education into an exploration of the modern day context and possible future directions. This article is meant to be a dialogue of how through teacher education the five Rs (respect, relevance, reciprocity, reverence, and responsibility) and Indigenous ways of knowing, address the needs of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, their families, communities, schools, and society as a whole. The authors present multiple ways of seeing teacher education (i.e., Native Indian Teacher Education Programs (NITEP), Indigenous pedagogy for non-Aboriginal teachers; and Dignity as a foundational theme to Professional Development Programs) to share how teacher education models have responded to the diversity of Indigenous nations (First Nations, Métis, Aboriginal, and Inuit) and non-Indigenous nations in Canada. Finally,

by returning to the Elders' vision of education for all peoples, the authors revisit the notion of transformation of education for everyone and possibilities for the next seven generations.

Canada: A Brief Educational Profile

Canada entered the 21st century with a population of almost 33 million people, small in comparison with our North American partners. The hallmark of the past twenty years has been the tremendous growth in the number of Canadians with a technical, college or university education. It has been an important social, cultural and certainly economic factor in addressing the educational opportunities at Simon Fraser University and its partner ship with schools, school districts, and the communities.

Three developments have set the stage for advances in education between 2001 and 2009. First, a labour market preference for skilled workers to compete in a global and technologically advanced economy; second, immigration practices that have been designed to attract highly skilled immigrants to this country; third, the present economic global challenges that have relied on addressing the other elements that are directly affected by the economical realties of dealing with educational budgets and the increasing participation of children and adults in our schools and post secondary institutions.

A land of vast distances and rich natural resources, Canada became a self-governing Dominion in 1867 while retaining ties to the British crown. Economically and technologically the nation has developed in parallel with the United States, its neighbour to the south, across an unfortified border. Canada definitely faces the political challenges of meeting public demands for quality improvements in health care and education services. In fact Canada also hopes and aims to develop its diverse energy resources while maintaining its commitment to the environment (World Fact Book, 2007).

A geographical note is that Canada is the second largest country in the world (after Russia) with 9,093,507 square kilometers of landmass with and

a strategic location between Russia and the US via the north polar route. Approximately 90% of the population is concentrated within 160 kilometers north of the Canadian/US border. Given the enormous demographic and linguistic differences in Canada, multicultural diversity is represented in the nation's communities and schools; thus the SFU articles in this book may be very illuminating for all educators within OAS countries.

It would appear that how each country aligns its modern curriculum and integrates technology within the schools' instructional and financial resources will be interesting for us to examine. For example: How does each country provide incentives for professional development among its teachers? How do Canadian teachers work with their district and/or provinces' educational leaders to foster active/constructive teaching and learning strategies? If testing and evaluation are different in each country then it seems invaluable that Canada (SFU) examines the philosophy and policies of these approaches.

We hope that the SFU contribution in this book, a product of the work developed in OAS proyect, will be investigative, thought provoking and informative.

Ian Harold Andrews
Director of International Teacher Education
Coordinator of the SFU Team. Canada

Universidad Pedagógica Nacional. Mexico

Universidad Pedagógica Nacional was created in 1978 to develop educational services for training professional teachers. The institution currently has 76 units and 208 sub-units that operate throughout Mexico. During its more than thirty years of existence, UPN has become a pillar for the professional development of Mexico's teachers, with an important academic presence prepared for the construction of educational projects and educational research.

UPN was the institution responsible for carrying out the sub-regional hemispherical project, *Responses to the Challenge of Improving the Quality of*

the Initial Training and Professional Development of Teachers in the Countries of North America, promoted by the Organization of American States. Mexico's team included, in addition to academics from UPN, educators from the institutions in charge of the initial training of teachers in Mexico City: the normal schools and the General Directorship of Normal School Education and Teacher Development. The articles we have prepared for this book turn to our experience in research and in teacher education, as well as to our interest in contributing to the analysis of educational problems and suggesting possible perspectives for addressing them.

Mexico has a broad, diversified educational system with major inequalities. Some data: The national educational system has slightly more than 31 million students, of whom 24 million are in basic education, and of that number, almost 15 million are in elementary school.

Of the nation's total population, 54% live in poverty and 30% in extreme poverty. This reality has generated a gradual and constant phenomenon of migration to urban areas, which now concentrate 75% of the entire population.

The inequalities of the educational system are profound and are expressed in diverse dimensions that influence educational service and its quality: infrastructure, prestige, school size, and teachers. On one hand we find multi-grade schools (unitary or incomplete)[2] versus schools with a complete organization; and a lack of teachers, constant teacher mobility and teacher isolation versus a stable, sufficient teaching staff with possibilities for further training.

In unbalanced conditions, similar scholastic processes can evidently not be developed. Some researchers believe that since national education is linked to conditions of social inequality, it ultimately produces different qualities in service. In this respect, Pieck affirms that we can no longer speak only of the phenomenon of exclusion from the school system, since

[2] The term, multi-grade, means that a teacher works with students from different grades. Multi-grade schools are called incomplete if they do not offer six grades of elementary school, and are referred to as unitary if they are served by only one teacher. Approximately one-fourth of Mexico's elementary schools are multi-grade, and are located in a greater proportion in small, isolated towns, and in states with a large indigenous population and/or extensive poverty.

"socio-educational segmentation operates principally through *inclusion* in a differentiated school system, in which the most vulnerable groups have fewer probabilities of remaining and obtaining adequate levels of scholastic achievement."[3]

In contrast, the initial training of teachers is characterized by uniformity. Since its creation, this training has been a task of the state, and the federal executive branch is responsible for the elaboration, coordination, and supervision, through the Secretariat of Public Education, of the plans and programs of study that must be used throughout the nation in basic and normal education.

A characteristic of teacher training in our country is the existence of two parallel models of initial training. As a general rule, we assume that all teachers are trained in specific institutions—the normal schools—and we ignore the other part of our reality: for educating isolated rural and/or indigenous populations, teachers are trained in practice. In other words, secondary school graduates, or at the most, high school graduates are recruited for this function and after a brief course take charge of a group of children. Once many of these teachers are in service, they attend teaching courses in other institutions. Thus the two models of initial training form two parallel educational subsystems for training teachers, with different institutional locations, programs, and projects.

In terms of the first model, we can say that Mexico, in light of the international trend that has associated teacher training with the universities since the 1970s, has maintained its normal schools as the institutions in charge of training teachers for basic education. At the present time, 525 normal schools exist throughout the nation, both public (270) and private (225). The model of training in a specifically designated institution has been highly questioned because of the implied endogamy, the isolation from other institutions of higher education, and the unavailability of more universal learning. However, at the same time, the model is viewed as having the advantage of reinforcing the differences and specific requirements

[3] Pieck, Enrique (1995). *Educación y pobreza. De la desigualdad a la equidad*. México: UNICEF-El Colegio Mexiquense, p. 28.

of training for the teaching profession, in comparison with other professions; as a consequence, it encourages the vocation and professionalism of teachers.[4] The recognized training system for teachers is based on the normal schools, thus forming part of a circuit separate from the university setting.

Teacher training in the normal schools, reformed in 1997, attempts to consolidate in future teachers the acquisition of skills to learn independently and to favor student learning processes; pedagogical mastery and the disciplinary mastery of subject matter; better knowledge of students in basic education; identity with the teaching profession and sensitivity to the social and cultural particulars of the place of work.[5]

However, ten years after the implementation of the new model, persistent problems are linked to the application of a centralized policy that does not recognize the individual characteristics of entities or institutions and focuses on homogeneous evaluations that imply a disadvantage for the weakest normal schools. This phenomenon is shown in the article by Leticia Montaño, who describes the normal schools' difficulties in becoming consolidated as institutions of higher education, in terms of the tensions of policies and reforms involving neo-liberal systems of evaluation and financing. She analyzes the case of a stellar program of educational policy for initial training: the Program of Institutional Improvement of Public Normal Schools. This program is aimed at transforming normal school education based on a system of planning and evaluation as the means for obtaining financing, which may lead these institutions to concentrate their efforts more on administrative activities than on their specific mission: training good teachers.

The education of teacher educators is another challenge that is recognized at the international level and is addressed here for the case of Mexico. Who teaches teacher educators? And how are teacher educators trained? A response to these questions is the purpose of the article by Etelvina Sandoval, who first analyzes the educational policies followed to train teacher

[4] See *La formación de los maestros en los países de la Unión Europea* (1998).
[5] SEP (2003). Hacia una política integral para la formación y el desarrollo profesional de los maestros de educación básica, p. 28.

educators who work in the normal schools, and then presents the contexts in which teachers develop their practice at true locations of training. The article allows us to understand that the professional development of teacher educators is a pending subject, as teacher educators have taken heterogeneous paths for their professional advancement. The author suggests the need to promote integral projects from each establishment to address local specifics and promote the construction of new pedagogical perspectives on the training of future teachers.

Alicia Carvajal and Maricela Villegas focus on the development at the normal schools of an activity that is central in current programs for training teachers for basic education: student teaching. The authors analyze the training model that seeks to present the normal schools and their students with the problems of a concrete school. This affiliated school becomes a place of learning in the company of experts, who in this case are the normal school teachers and the teachers from the affiliated schools.

The role of practice in teacher training and the strategies for strengthening this crucial aspect of professional training are a common topic in the three universities participating in the project. In the case of Mexico, the authors describe the model as well as the way it operates, its advantages, and current problems, as well as the pending challenges.

The model of teacher training that some authors refer to as school-based training sustains that in conditions of urgent need, individuals who are going to be teachers should be placed directly in a teaching situation as soon as they complete the necessary general studies. This is the system followed in isolated and indigenous communities where graduates of high school or secondary school are trained, through brief instruction, to take charge of teaching in a school of this type. The subsystem seems to be quite extensive, yet due to these teachers' employment instability and constant mobility, no reliable information exists on the subsystem's magnitude and impact.

Universidad Pedagógica Nacional was a pioneer in the education of indigenous teachers upon its founding of a training program for specialized professionals in 1982: the undergraduate degree in indigenous education. In 1990, UPN and the General Directorship of Indigenous Education be-

gan constructing another program: an undergraduate degree in preschool and elementary school education for indigenous settings (LEP and LEPMI-90). The intent is to offer a training program for in-service indigenous teachers that will have repercussions on classroom work.

The cultural diversity inherent to globalization that is expressed in the educational field is a fundamental challenge for training teachers who recognize and accept the multiculturalism of classrooms as a fact of the context, and not as a problem. This statement is made by Marcela Tovar and María Victoria Avilés, based on a body of ethnographic research studies and educational diagnoses carried out in indigenous community contexts and schools. They discuss the schools' handling of minority languages and the subsequent negative impact on mastering a second language and attaining communicative competence. Using their own experience, the authors indicate the need to create settings of learning in multicultural contexts, where interculturalism is experienced as a practice and not as fashionable discourse. In that sense, they explore certain pedagogical aspects, which teachers must consider when planning their teaching activities. The authors propose approaching the pedagogical considerations that teachers must take into account in their teaching.

We hope that our experiences and ideas, along with those of our colleagues from other countries who participated in the effort of constructing this book, will serve to promote reflection on the teachers our societies require, and on the tasks for which we as teacher educators and researchers are responsible.

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Section I

Political and Sociocultural Contexts for Teacher Education

The Sociopolitical Context of Teacher Education in Canada

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On the surface, education in Canadian schools and universities looks very much like that of the United States-and perhaps even largely resembles that of Mexico. Teachers are trained in higher education institutions; students sit at desks and work in pairs or groups; principals manage schools; and parents organize to increase involvement. However, as we reveal in this chapter, the sociopolitical context for Canadian teacher education is very different. In this article, we explore three main aspects of this context: provincial control, federal intervention, and language and cultural variation. We will describe each aspect, raise questions about how these aspects relate to teacher education, and discuss how these questions are or might be addressed at the local, provincial, and/or federal level. It is our hope that a description and analysis of our situation can join teacher educators across the North American countries in shaping teacher education to better suit the needs of an increasingly diverse population.

In order to bring a deeper understanding for the context, we will briefly describe the demographics of Canada, British Columbia, and Vancouver, the

city in which our work is largely situated. Our hope is that these data will provide readers with an understanding of the complexities and wide range of differences across Canada. By laying this groundwork, we hope to foster understanding of the context for the discussion about the benefits and challenges in having an educational system that is governed at the provincial level.

Canada

In the 2006 census, the total population of Canada was recorded at 31,241,030, of whom 24,788,720 were non-immigrants and 6,186,950 immigrants (that is, not Canadian citizens by birth). Canada had the highest net per capita immigration rate in the world (Canada's Immigration Program, 2004). The across-Canada percentage of the population defined as "visible minority," defined by the Employment Act as "persons other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour" (Statistics Canada, 2006), was 16.2%, with the following breakdown within the entire population: South Asian 4.0%, Chinese 3.9%, Black 2.5%, Filipino 1.3%, Latin American 1. 0%, Southeast Asian 0.8%. While there are two official languages in Canada, French and English, there are several home languages (that is, the language most often spoken at home); census figures and percentage of each language spoken for Canada, British Columbia and Vancouver are illustrated in Table 1. These home languages are also often referred to as heritage languages, or languages that are representative of the heritage of the people who use them.

The diversity present in Canada is reflected in its school children. For example, in Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, more than 25% of school-aged children in 2006 were immigrants; and approximately 20% were English as additional language students. However, immigration does not account for all of the diversity within the student population. The proportion of school-aged Aboriginal children is also growing--and at a significantly faster rate than the non-Aboriginal population (see article on Aboriginal Education in Canada for a separate discussion). Additionally, many Canadian children are poor. In 2000, seven percent of children living in two

parent households and nearly 25% of children in single parent households were living in poverty. These factors have had a significant impact on the changes in school locations, curriculum, teaching, and leadership across Canada, which will be discussed throughout these three chapters on the Canadian context, challenges, and opportunities.

Official and Heritage Language in Canada, 2006
Table 1

	Canada	Percent	British Columbia	Percent	Vancouver	Percent
English	20,584,770	65.89%	3,341,285	82.01%	1,478,110	70.45%
French	6,608,125	21.15%	15,325	0.38%	8,070	0.38%
Non-official language	3,472,130	11.11%	639,380	15.69%	547,660	26.10%
English and French	94,055	0.30%	3,610	0.09%	2,050	0.10%
English and non-official language	406,455	1.30%	73,730	1.81%	61,175	2.92%
French and non-official language	58,885	0.19%	465	0.01%	400	0.02%
English, French and non-official language	16,600	0.05%	580	0.01%	500	0.02%
Total	31,241,020		4,074,375		2,097,965	

Source: Calculated from source data from Statistics Canada (2006)

British Columbia

In British Columbia (BC), with a population of just over four million people, approximately one-quarter were immigrants in 2006, making the province even more diverse than Canada as a whole. Visible minorities made up 24.8% of the population, with the following group breakdown:

South Asian 262,290 (6.4%), Chinese 407,225 (10.0%), Black 28,315 (0.7%), Filipino 88,080 (2.2%), Latin American 28,960 (0.7%), Southeast Asian 40,690 (1.0%). Table 1 illustrates the distribution of languages across the population in the province; non-official languages make up the second largest proportion of languages spoken at home in BC.

It is important to note that British Columbia, much like the rest of Canada, is a jurisdiction of stark contrasts. About 75% of the population of Canada is concentrated within 100 miles of the border with the United States. On the far west coast of British Columbia is the Pacific Ocean, where the province's largest urban centre, Vancouver, is located. Vancouver had a population of just over two million in the 2006 census, nearly two-fifths of whom were immigrants. As one of the most diverse cities in Canada, over 41% of Vancouver's population is made up of visible minorities: Chinese (18.2%), South Asian (9.9%), Filipino (3.8%), Southeast Asian (1.6%), Latin American (1.1%) and Black (1.0%). For the purposes of the census, Statistics Canada has a designation separate from visible minorities to identify Aboriginal or Indigenous Canadians; these matters are discussed at greater length in the article on Aboriginal Peoples. Looking towards the eastern part of the province, small rural towns of less than 2,000 residents speckle the landscape all the way to Alberta, the neighboring province to the East.

These numbers are presented in Table 1 to illustrate the point that in BC (and several other provinces), the non-official language speakers outnumber the official French home language speakers. This matter of official and heritage languages and their impact on teacher education will be discussed more fully in the last section of this paper. For now, we turn to an exploration of the provincial and federal systems and mechanisms of governance for education in Canada.

Provincial Control

The ratification of the Constitution Act of 1867 solidified the role of education as being the domain of the ten provinces and three territories within Canada. To this day, Canada remains one of the largest developed nations

without a formal federal coordinating body for education. This provincial control of educational policy results in varying teacher certification requirements, which are detailed in Table 2. In this section on Provincial Control and the next on Federal Control, we adopt the concepts developed by Dale (1997) and elaborated by Young, Hall, and Clarke (2007) for describing teacher education governance activities: funding, regulation, and delivery.

All education in the provinces is funded by two main sources, allocations from the Ministries of Education and tuition fees. Typically, Ministries of Education allocate funds based on student full time equivalents (FTE) to school districts, which in turn distribute that money to schools. Similarly, teacher education is funded by tuition fees and provincial funding to public and private universities, which may or may not be tied to student enrollments, depending on the province.

Because of the provincial focus, the policies and procedures for entry into the profession vary considerably (see Table 2). For example, teachers in British Columbia and Ontario are governed by a semi-autonomous College of Teachers, while the relevant provincial ministries govern educators in the other Canadian provinces. Teachers in Quebec must pass a language proficiency test in their specific language of instruction (French or English), while teachers in the Nunavut Territory wanting to teach in Inuktitut must pass language assessments in the Inuinnaqtun language. The provinces and territories also approach certification from differing perspectives relative to school organization, with about half the provinces differentiating between certification for elementary level teachers and secondary teachers. Other provinces, like Newfoundland, British Columbia, and Labrador, differentiate between these levels during teacher preparation, but ultimately award acommon certificate.

Despite these differences there are also a number of commonalities. All provinces require some sort of criminal records check, and a minimum of a Bachelors degree, in either education or in a subject area, typically supported by additional coursework in education. Most provinces also require a teaching practicum and proof of citizenship or resident status. All provinces have additional requirements for educators prepared outside of the province. At the very least, the provinces require a letter of professional standing; however, some provinces also require additional coursework or practicum experiences.

Broadly generalized, teacher preparation in Canada is strongly focused on teaching experience and pedagogical training. It differs significantly from the United States in that certification and employment are frequently conceptualized as encompassing the Kindergarten to Grade 12 (K-12) spectrum, and are not differentiated by grade level or subject matter specialty until the practicum or student teaching portion of the training. It is also significantly different from Mexico in that there are not centralized normal schools for teacher training; teacher training occurs in public and private universities across each of the provinces and territories. Teacher educators can range from university professors to seconded, or temporarily placed, teachers from local school districts. These nuanced differences are further explored in this paper through detailed illustrations of how governing principles are realized in the context of this general picture of teacher education in Canada.

Contradictions, Challenges & Questions

As illustrated, teacher education offers no exception to the decentralized nature of governance across Canada. As with any form of governance, there are challenges and opportunities. This section will explore the contradictions and challenges that arise within this system and raise questions about the future of teacher education in Canada.

What little coordination of educational efforts there is occurs primarily by consensus through ad hoc inter-provincial agreements. While there is the potential for the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) to serve as a central coordinating body for several domains within education in Canada, there is very little actualized coordination. CMEC is a membership organization comprised of the Ministers of Education from each of the provinces and territories. Its purpose is to provide "a forum to discuss policy issues; a mechanism through which to undertake activities, projects, and initiatives in areas of mutual interest; a means by which to consult and cooperate with national education organizations and the federal government; an instrument to represent the education interests of the provinces and territories internationally" (CMEC, 2009).

General Provincial Requirements for Initial Teacher Certification
Table 2

Province or Territory	BA/ BSs	BEd	College of Teachers	Teachable Subject Area(s)	Teaching Experience/ Practicum	Teacher Preparation Program	Moral Character References	Language Proficiency	Criminal Records Check	Citizenship Resident Status	Division of Certificate	Added Req[1]	Courses required
Alberta	X[2]	X		X	X[3]	X	X	X[4]	X[5,6]	X			X[7]
British Columbia	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
Manitoba		X		X	X	X			X	X		X	
New Brunswick	X	X		X	X	X[8]			X	X	X	X[9]	X[10]
New Foundland		X		X	X	X	X		X[11,6]	X	X[12]	X	
Northwest Territories[13]		X				X			X[6]	X	X		
Nova Scotia	X			X	X	X	X		X[6]		X		X[10]
Nunavut	X[2]	X			X	X		X[14]	X	X			
Ontario	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X[4]	X	X	X	X	
Prince Edward Island[15]	X	X							X[6]				
Quebec	X[16]	X			X	X		X[17]	X	X		X[16]	
Saskatoon	X[2]	X		X	X	X			X	X		X	X[18]
Yukon Territory	X[2]	X			X	X	X		X	X			X[19]

Added Req: These provinces have additional requirements for externally prepared candidates
BA/BS: Generally stated as 4 years of university, technological/trades degrees excluded
Div Cert: The provinces have different certificates based on teaching level (e.g. elementary and secondary level teachers)
Moral Character: Typically determined by letters of recommendation

[1] Generally all externally prepared candidates need to show they are certified in their home province (professional standing)
[2] Bachelor's degrees must be supported by completion of coursework or a program from an approved faculty of education
[3] Supervised student teaching is a must (teaching service is not an acceptable replacement)
[4] For some teachers coming from some countries
[5] Based on a randomly selected sample of applicants
[6] Background checks are generally required at the school board level
[7] 24 semester hours of specified academic coursework is required for all teachers prepared in Alberta
[8] An entry certificate requires a minimum of 48 hours beyond a Bachelors (168 total), 60 of which are in education and include the practicum)
[9] Candidates with less than 60 hours in education enter on an interim certificate and have up to eight years to fulfill additional coursework requirements
[10] Specific courses or hours of study are required for teachers based on teaching level: elementary, middle and/or secondary
[11] The background check for certification is based on self-disclosure, however districts require a full background check during hiring
[12] Teachers apply for certification in either primary/elementary or secondary education, but may teach in whatever grade they are hired
[13] Certification is only given upon employment
[14] Teachers instructing in the Inuinnaqtun language must pass a language proficiency assessment
[15] A license to teach is granted with a Bachelor's degree, but certification is only given upon employment
[16] Must initially meet basic requirements to teach (Bachelors plus one year of education studies) for a "teaching permit", then take additional specified courses for full certification—a "teaching diploma"
[17] Must pass a test in the language of instruction (English or French)
[18] The certifying body requires specific courses be taught in approved programs
[19] This province requires Yukon and Northern Canadian First Nations Studies (6 credits)

There are several provinces that have agreed to similar policies that afford greater ease of mobility of credentials and workers across borders. One such agreement that Young and Boyd (2008) illustrate in their study on teacher preparation in Canada is the 1994 Agreement on Internal Trade (AIT), which is a Canada-wide agreement between the provinces and territories that, in part, eases the transfer of teacher certification. Interestingly, they note that this agreement was developed by the Labour Market Ministers, rather than CMEC. The one front on which CMEC has coordinated its efforts is teacher certification revocation. In the rare instance that a teaching certificate is revoked, the individual's information is shared across provinces to deter the individual from re-entering the profession. Aside from certification, another area in which there has been some coordination on the part of CMEC is in the area of standardized assessment: a storehouse and resource for Canadian secondary education data.

A final example of a recognition agreement across provinces is the British Columbia Council on Admissions & Transfer (BCCAT), which was created to "to facilitate admission, articulation and transfer arrangements among BC post-secondary institutions" (BCCAT, 2009). This organization has expanded its scope to include transfer agreements between the neighboring provinces of British Columbia and Alberta.

These efforts have facilitated economic and academic mobility and sharing of information across borders; however, because they are not comprehensive initiatives, they have done little to address the urgent and rapidly changing needs of students, teachers, and schools. Proponents of local and provincial governance argue that one of the strongest features of this system of education is that it is inherently linked to local contexts and community needs. They are often cited as being more nimble and responsive than large, cumbersome centralized governance systems. However, when the local context changes significantly--demographically or fiscally--such isolated systems may not be able to take advantage of surplus capacity or resources in neighboring localities. Further it raises questions about the connection between governance and the ability of the current governance structures to address these challenges in teacher education. Specifically, we are faced with uncertainty about the benefits and necessary compromises required when teacher education is governed provincially.

Compromises and Commitments

While the provincial governments are responsible for teacher education, they do not generally outline *how* or *what* is taught; as a result, the various stakeholders negotiate the rocky terrain around these two dimensions. Concerning decisions and policies about *how* teacher education takes place is primarily in the domain of the postsecondary institutions. However, the terms of the preservice and in-service teaching requirements remain with the certification agencies, which typically reside outside of the postsecondary institutions. As a result, some of *how* teacher education occurs remains a negotiated territory between the profession, higher education, and government.

Perhaps the most widely contested dimension of teacher education is concerning *what* teacher candidates learn. For example, in British Columbia, there has been some debate about whether the standards of practice and curriculum for teacher education programs should be governed by postsecondary institutions or the professional association (BCCAT). At the forefront of the debate are the competing issues of academic freedom for postsecondary faculty and the rights of K-12 professionals to determine certification standards. For example, there is pressure from some academic domains (like counseling) to expand regulations: wrestling control from the profession in the name of protecting the public interest.[1]

To work within this current structure, provinces negotiate agreements, and teacher education programs focus on general K-12 teacher practices, dealing with grade level and subject area primarily through practicum placement. Another of the compromises that is made in a provincial system of governance is that there are not sufficient resources to develop curriculum specific to each context. Standards are commonly adopted from the United States rather than developed locally (Peck, Sears, & Donaldson, 2008), as is the case with the discipline of social studies. As a result the curriculum materials and examples presented to students in their classrooms are not necessarily relevant to their cultural or social context.

[1] For a fuller discussion of Canadian teacher education course requirements, see Guo & Pungur (2008).

Federal Intervention

It is said that the identity of Canada is represented by three histories: that of the Aboriginal, the French, and the English peoples. Education is one domain in which those histories converge on several policy levels. Although control of education is firmly ensconced at the provincial level, there are some federal education initiatives. Typically, these education initiatives take one of two main forms, funding and regulation. The first type of funding is *indirect funding*, made through allocations that go to each of the Ministries of Education for redistribution. The second is *direct funding* and resources to targeted research areas and programs. There are three large federal granting agencies that target funding to programs and research in education at the postsecondary level. This funding generally plays a minor role in teacher education and privileges funding to research over practice.

The second way the federal government intervenes in education is through regulation by way of Aboriginal and language education policies. The rights and liberties of all Canadians are protected under the *Canadian Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*,[2] which includes Aboriginal rights and treaties and language minority rights. Although Aboriginal and language policies were broadly established by the federal government, provinces and local school districts have discretionary powers to develop specific programs and policies for students. The language education of K-12 students in Canada is a complex matter reflecting the linguistic and social heterogeneity and policy framework of this nation. Canada's multivocal official federal policies of French/English bilingualism and multiculturalism are integral to Canada's definition of its national identity. Concomitantly, until recently, federal policies were aimed at eradicating Aboriginal culture and assimilating Aboriginal peoples into Western culture and language. While covered in greater depth in a later article on Aboriginal peoples in Canada, understanding of the Aboriginal context is important for teacher education policy and practices, and so will be examined in this section. The

[2] See http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/ Accessed November 7, 2008.

final third of this paper focuses on the language and cultural diversity of Canada and its implications for teacher education.

Any policies that pertain to Aboriginal peoples, including those governing teacher education, are actually a representation of a power struggle between Euro-Canadians and Aboriginal peoples (Marker, 2004). The social context[3] in which public policy is situated cannot be ignored; policies and practices are influenced by the socio-political culture of the time in which they are created. Although this context is subject to change, its stability is based on the social and political alignments that shaped it from the beginning (Fisher, 2003). Three periods in political policy outline the historical relationship between Canadian federal policies pertaining to Aboriginal peoples and those peoples it sought to govern. The first set of federal policies can be characterized as colonial and reflects a time when Canada was a British colony. The second period of policies illustrates an assimilationist perspective; and finally, in the third period, the federal government and Aboriginal people are now collaborating on educational policies seeking to promote culturally appropriate instruction for Aboriginal, and indeed, all children.

The colonization of Turtle Island (North America) established Aboriginal peoples as wards of the state (Graham, Dittburner, & Abele, 1996). Then, policies aimed at assimilation, particularly through education (e.g., Gradual Civilization Act of 1862), created residential and day schools that forcibly removed Aboriginal children from their families and communities (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996) and negated any Indigeneity in the children. Once removed from their families and communities, children were forbidden to speak their language, or to engage in cultural and religious practices. The physical, emotional, cultural, and spiritual harm done to these children continues to impact current generations. As well, this history casts a long shadow on the relationship between First Nations peoples and the provincial and federal governments of Canada.

The most recent phase of self determination grew out of a continued discourse of integration and how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples

[3] For further insight into the socio-political histories of Aboriginal education policy please refer to Abele, Dittburner, & Graham, (2000), Graham, Dittburner, & Abele, (1996), Leslie, (2004) and White, Maxim, & Beavon (2004).

could coexist (Graham, et al., 1996). One side of the dialogue is represented in *The Indian Control of Indian Education* paper. This paper presented education in a broader, more holistic sense, and emphasized the principles of parental responsibility, local control, and partnership between Aboriginal communities and the federal government (Graham et al., 1996). In the past, it was the Indian student who was asked to integrate: to give up his identity, to adopt new values and a new way of life. This restricted interpretation of integration needed to be radically altered if future education programs were to benefit Indian children (National Indian Brotherhood, 1972).

As a result of this response from the Aboriginal communities across the country, the federal government changed its position and released a new report of *The House of Commons Standing Committee on Indian Affairs* (Government of Canada, 1971). This document supported more direct involvement of Aboriginal peoples in education, along with continuing federal control of First Nations education, except where the majority of parents in the community made a demand for another arrangement. This committee also argued for the inclusion of First Nations history, language, and culture in classrooms (White, Maxim, & Spence, 2004). Then in 1992, the federal government appointed the *Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (RCAP) to restore justice to the relationship between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people in Canada and to propose practical solutions to these stubborn problems (Leslie, 2004). The RCAP report is unique since it was a cooperative effort between leading Canadian and Aboriginal governments, politicians, academics, and community activists (Battiste & Henderson, 2000). RCAP explains how current educational policy is based on the false assumption of the cultural superiority of European worldviews, and it recommends ways to eradicate the many obstacles that stand in the way of the advancement of Aboriginal peoples in Canada (Battiste, 2000). The report asserts that governments must take measures to support and enhance cultural identity and improve service delivery systems, especially in the areas of health, social well-being, education, and culture (Battiste & Henderson, 2000).

In the transition from colonial to assimilation to a self-determination view on the role of federal government with respect to Aboriginal peoples,

there were several periods of negotiation and renegotiation. The details of these power struggles are outlined later. For our purposes, it is important to know that the road has not been linear or necessarily smooth.

Questions for Teacher Education

Within the complex social, political, and policy environment, the problem for teacher education is twofold: How do we prepare the existing pool of teacher candidates to work with students from cultures so different from their own; and how do we overcome the historical marginalization of Aboriginal peoples to recruit teachers of Aboriginal descent?

Building Capacity: Answering the Questions

The federal government is addressing concerns with regards to teacher education training and the increasing numbers of Aboriginal students in classrooms through building financial capacity and fostering self-reliance through independent governance. At the institutional and provincial policy levels, these concerns are being addressed through curriculum requirements, increased programming, and other means. Financial capacity is a significant factor contributing to under-representation of Aboriginals among students enrolled in post secondary education, including those who might become teachers (Fisher *et al.*, 2003; RCAP, 1996). Because there are now more Aboriginal high school students and this population is expected to grow significantly over the next decade (Statistics Canada, 2005) more will graduate with the necessary requirements to pursue post-secondary education and begin to address this gap. However, this will place further demands on already strained financial support system for Aboriginal participation in higher education.

At the post-secondary level, the Federal government has programs such as the Post-Secondary Student Support Program (PSSSP). The PSSSP began in the 1970s supporting approximately 4,100 Aboriginal students and by 1995-96 enrollment numbers reached 27,000. Unfortunately, since then, the number of students receiving support has steadily decreased (Mayes,

2007) because the PSSSP operates on a fixed budget, and funding levels have been capped since 1996. The increasing costs of post-secondary education have further exacerbated this problem (Mayes, 2007). The Assembly of First Nations projected that in 2005-2006 there were approximately 39,160 First Nations students on a waiting list for funding to attend university or college (Stonechild, 2006). Those First Nations and Inuit who do not receive funding from the federal government do have another option in that they are able to apply to the Canada Student Loan program (Fisher et al., 2003); however, for students in poverty, adding student loan debt may not be a realistic policy solution.

In spite of insufficient funding for the PSSSP, there have been movements across the country furthering the dialogue and implementing the recommendations made by RCAP. The policy changes are now occurring more at the local level, as provincial governments work with Aboriginal governments and nations collectively to address land claims, education, and treaty rights. For example, on July 24, 2003, First Nations representatives, along with representatives of the federal and provincial governments signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) outlining the elements of First Nations education jurisdiction in British Columbia.[4] Then, on July 5, 2006, in North Vancouver, BC, government representatives of BC First Nations, British Columbia, and Canada, signed Bill C-34, *First Nations Jurisdiction over Education in British Columbia Act*.[5] In response to the increased demand for Aboriginal education and Aboriginal teachers, several of the universities in British Columbia have begun or expanded their Aboriginal teacher education programs.

Language and Cultural Variation

As illustrated in this article, one contradictory reality of changing demographics and education can be found in the primary and secondary teaching

[4] Accessed November, 4, 2008 http://www.fns.bc.ca/pdf/LC_NRreEducation121306.pdf.
[5] Details of these agreements can be found at www.fnesc.bc.ca/jurisdiction/index.php.

profession, where minority and/or minoritized groups are under-represented, including visible minorities and Aboriginal peoples. Further to this point, the *Review of the Employment Equity Act: Into the Future* conducted by Canadian Teachers' Federation (2006) observed that:

> Women, visible minorities, Aboriginal people and persons with disabilities continue to be disadvantaged in employment opportunities, including those within the education sector… The federal government should … insure continued consideration of groups that are representative and reflective of Canadian population realities (p. 3).

The document describes the teaching profession as the largest group in the labour force in Canada in 1999/2002, but reports that the education sector in Canada is a "typically-untypical" workforce with under-representation of visible minorities and Aboriginal people. Referring to the National 2001 Census, the document highlights that teachers were most under-represented relative to the under 15 school-aged population for the North American Indian (meaning Aboriginal), Chinese, and East Indian ethnic origin groups, with percentage point gaps of 3.8%, 3.7% and 2.9%, respectively. The 2001 Census reports that 5.2% of Canada's 5- to 19-year-old population reported an Aboriginal identity, yet only 2.1% of employed elementary-secondary teachers were Aboriginal. This was in a context in which the number of Aboriginal 5- to 19-year-old ranged from 95% in Nunavut to 1% in Prince Edward Island, with a corresponding range for teachers of 55% to 1% in the same jurisdictions (*ibid*).

Language and cultural variations are represented by education and language policies dealing with English as a second language (ESL), French Immersion, Core French, and International and Heritage Languages. An understanding of the inextricable relationships between power, language and ideology (Bourdieu, 1991) raises the question whether policies and programs serve to legitimate or to marginalize the languages and cultures of immigrant/minority students within public education.

The Official Languages Act of 1969 (revised 1998) sanctioned bilingualism, furthering the protective stance towards language rights of French and English that were provided in the Canadian Charter of Rights and

Freedoms (1982). A somewhat ambiguous discourse attending to languages other than English and French was articulated in the Multiculturalism Act (1988), which stated that it is the policy of the government of Canada to "preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of official languages of Canada" (section 3). While bilingualism and multiculturalism policies are set federally, local jurisdictions have discretionary power to develop language educational policies and programs for students at all elementary and secondary schools. In British Columbia these discretionary powers are grounded most notably in the British Columbia Multiculturalism Act (1993) and the British Columbia Language Education Policy (1996**).**

As an outcome of the Official Languages Act, French Immersion programs have been well-established in Canada for some time. Federal financial support was involved in the rapid spread of French immersion to all provinces, including British Columbia. When these programs began, the participants were largely an English speaking population with French immersion as a way to promote bilingualism. Nearly 40 years later, immersion programs have had to evolve to address the growth of multiple first languages in classrooms (Swain & Lapkin, 2005). In the past, based on previous classroom demographics, language immersion programs made assumptions about students' primary and secondary languages that had a direct impact on classroom practices (Swain & Johnson, 2005). Today, the discourse on culture adopted in a revised national syllabus explicitly grounds itself in a national authoritative discourse on Canada as a multicultural society and legitimizes the cultural resources of learners of diverse origins. Similarly, the "Integrated Resource Packages" (IRP) for Core French grades five to twelve published by the BC Ministry of Education recognize the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of students as well as the plurality of Francophone cultural groups.

The British Columbia Multiculturalism Act (1993) did not explicitly and specifically address issues relating to languages other than English and French. Greater clarity regarding language is apparent in the British Columbia Language Education Policy (1996), which had four objectives. One of these objectives ensured the supremacy of English by stating that

"[t]he Government of British Columbia expects all students to achieve proficiency in the English Language" (Section 5). This objective legitimized knowledge of English as the linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) to be valued in the field of schooling. Another objective guarantees the collective rights of Francophones, as outlined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The third objective notes that students of Aboriginal ancestry should have opportunities for learning Aboriginal languages. The final objective of the policy "encourages opportunities for all students to learn languages that are significant within their communities" (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2009). While the policy opens up possibilities for, it does not commit to, availability of instruction in these languages.

The BC Policy Framework for English as a Second Language Education (1999) is a prominent authoritative discourse on the government's continuous commitment to language education and equal access to services in the BC school system. This policy framework requires that school districts offer a second language in grades five through eight to all students; the range of languages offered is at the discretion of the school boards. Few public districts seem to have taken advantage of the policy that makes it possible to teach languages other than French in the grade five to eight curriculum. The only possible exceptions are a Punjabi program in three elementary schools in Surrey, BC, and the offering of programs in Aboriginal languages in Prince Rupert, Kamloops and Nisga. The only exceptions to a second language approach to international/heritage languages are the bilingual programs in Russian-English in Castlegar and Mandarin-English in one elementary and secondary school in Vancouver. At the secondary level, the fact that these international languages are examinable establishes them as *bona fide* for university entry, which is an important dimension in legitimating them as valued cultural capital within mainstream institutions (Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, more students of minority language background are apt to take advantage of the opportunity to take, as a second language in high school, their heritage language.

Questions for Teacher Education

The statistics highlighted in this chapter show multicultural and multilingual diversity in Canada, accompanied with under-representation of minority/minoritized groups in the education sector. This contradiction brings to the fore the urgent need for recruitment of teachers from under-represented groups so that the teaching profession is representative of the society in which it is located. Moreover, it raises the following question for teacher educators: How can we as teacher educators prepare our students to become effective teachers in diverse classrooms when many of them are not from minority groups?

Answering the Questions

Multicultural and language policies in British Columbia provide authoritative rhetoric about English as a Second Language Education that valorize diversity, anti-racism, and encouragement for family languages. However, upon closer examination, the policies alone are insufficient for realizing the full potential of a multi-lingual society. Similar to the federal challenges, provincial infrastructures are inadequate to meet the burgeoning needs. Funding shortages, inadequate numbers of teachers for bilingual and multilingual education, and insufficient resources to support provisions for teaching and learning are three main areas for concern. In particular, teachers are provided with few resources for supporting their students' home languages and cultures, which creates serious impediments to full implementation of policy. On a positive note, the BC curriculum for heritage and international languages appears to be state of the art and inclusive.

The concern for equity in language education in current BC policy is a necessary but insufficient condition for the realization of language equity in public schools. Together with policy, research, and task force reports, there need to be large numbers of teachers who have been trained to value the linguistic and cultural resources that their students bring to school. Only then can meaningful appreciation and support for students' bilingualism/multilingualism become part of BC public education in other than French Immersion classrooms.

Given the vast numbers of students in BC schools for whom English is not a mother tongue, current teacher training is problematic because many enrolling classroom teachers still have no preparation to respond to minority learners in ways that acknowledge their potential for being multilingual rather than treating them as lacking English. Teacher education is slowly changing to prepare students to become more effective teachers through new eligibility, curricular, and demographic requirements at the postsecondary institutions. Several teacher education institutions have examined the causes of low minority enrollments in their teacher education programs. The application process itself can create barriers that exclude some candidates who are from diverse backgrounds. For example, the requirement to do volunteer work or community service potentially excluded those students who have to work, or have families or other obligations that would not enable them to participate readily in volunteer or community activities.

Canada's teacher education programs generally require students to have subject content knowledge, pedagogical theory, and field experience (see Table 2). Because teacher candidates commonly enter their teaching programs with a bachelor's degree in a core subject area, and the field experience takes place outside of the university setting, integration and reflective practice regarding identity formation occurs in the pedagogical theory component of their education (Guo & Pungur, 2008). Thus, it is vital that teacher educators are conscious of the multiple diversities in K-12 classrooms; that they foster teacher identity formation that includes critical examination of privilege and power in the current structures; that they provide hope through concrete examples; and finally, that they provide the means for developing self-efficacy to teachers working with disenfranchised students.

Finally, as diverse students in the primary education system graduate, they will enter the ranks of the post-secondary system. Their sheer numbers, when combined with a declining overall college aged population, serve to create an environment for the perfect opportunity for the systems to change. Similar to the demographic shifts in the Southwestern United States, these students will change the very post-secondary institutions they

enroll in,[6] as the institutions begin to develop new programs and initiatives to meet their needs.

Summary

This article provides a brief overview of the policies, practices, and pressures guiding teacher education contexts across Canada today. Whether using the paradigm of Aboriginal education policies, language policies, or international student or globalization policies, the consensus remains that there is a continuing need for more inclusive, wide ranging, holistic perspectives on how and what students learn, what languages they learn in, and how they express what they know. Similar to the US, there is an increasing call for homogenization of curriculum, learning benchmarks, and professional standards of practice across Canada; concomitantly, there is an increasingly diverse student body with wide ranging and profoundly different educational needs. Negotiation of these two competing forces will have a significant impact not only on the future of education, but also on the future of Canada.

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[6] For a comparison of these two contexts, see Joshee, R. & Johnson, L. (2008). *Multicultural Education Policies in Canada and the United States.* Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.

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Countercurrents: State and National Education Policy in New Mexico

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In the United States, federal laws and acts supersede state law, but if a state law does not contradict federal mandates, it is allowed to exist simultaneously. However, what constitutes contradiction is often unclear. Federal and state laws often provide dissonant solutions to equity problems, creating countercurrents in the policy stream and generating strange and bifurcated messages to school administrators and teachers.

In this article, we contrast a set of educational policies aimed at addressing the needs of marginalized students, specifically Mexican Americans and American Indians, with the federal No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act (2001) and with the way these policies affect language and reading education in New Mexico.

The New Mexico Context

The state of New Mexico has a unique history. It was one of the last states to join the American republic in 1912. In contrast to its neighbor, Arizona, New Mexico included protections for the Spanish language and for Span-

ish-speaking people in its original constitution by a) protecting its citizens from racial and religious discrimination; b) requiring teachers to be trained in English and Spanish in order to serve the Spanish-speaking children of the state; and c) protecting the rights of Spanish-speaking children to attend any public educational institution (US Commission on Civil Rights, 1972). The legacy of these policies and the continued political strength of Hispanic New Mexicans have allowed for a more open and tolerant society that continues to recognize and celebrate its multicultural foundations, especially in recent years, when other states have become less tolerant and more repressive of languages other than English.

Furthermore, despite political and religious oppression by Hispanic and Anglo New Mexicans, the indigenous nations within New Mexico have been able to maintain a great deal of cultural and political strength. The Navajo Nation (the largest tribe in the US), the Apache, and the nineteen Pueblo tribes have vigorously pursued their rights as indigenous sovereigns to coexist as equals with the state government. Although the co-existence of these groups has not always been peaceful, or easy, it has created greater acceptance of the cultural and linguistic diversity of the state's residents.

Bilingual and English As a Second Language Education in New Mexico

New Mexican policymakers and educators have put policies in place to maintain and strengthen educational opportunities for the diverse student population of our state at the state and national levels. Many prominent New Mexicans were instrumental in the passage of the first national Bilingual Education Act of 1968, an outgrowth of the civil rights movement and the federal War on Poverty (Crawford, 1999; Ovando & Collier, 1998). In essence, the act stated that children who were in the process of learning English were being denied access to education if they were taught exclusively in English. Therefore, schools needed to provide education in

students' home languages and assistance in learning English, until such time that assistance was no longer needed.[1]

One year later, New Mexico became the first state to pass legislation authorizing instruction in languages other than English and passed the comprehensive Bilingual Multicultural Education Act in 1978. From the beginning, the New Mexican act recognized the major languages other than English of New Mexico: Spanish, Navajo, Apache, Keres, Tewa, Tiwa, Towa, and Zuni (the last seven are indigenous languages). The goal of this act was for children to become bilingual and biliterate. Schools that chose to develop bilingual programs were given additional state funding, based on the numbers of students in the program. Furthermore, it recognized the important role that tribal governments needed to play in the development of bilingual programs for indigenous children.

As a result of these laws, bilingual education has become an integral part of the educational offerings in New Mexico. In 2008, 58 out of 89 public school districts had bilingual programs (NMPED[2]). Schools were allowed to develop different kinds of programs; however, all bilingual programs were required to teach at least 45 minutes every day in the minority language (New Mexico Public Education Department, 2005). The only exemption was in those cases where indigenous communities did not want their language taught in the schools.[3] For these students, children were offered cultural content in the English language. The Bilingual-Multicultural Education Act has undergone several revisions. Significantly, in 2003, the teaching of a heritage language was added to address language loss that was occurring in both Hispanic and indigenous communities. This addition allowed schools to develop special programs that help children learn languages of their cultures that have declined in usage.

In the early years, several important curriculum and materials development centers were established to meet the needs of both Spanish-speaking and indigenous children. Efforts focused on having students learn about the unique historical and cultural aspects of the respective groups in the

[1] For more information on the Bilingual Education Act, see Crawford (1999), p. 19.
[2] NMPED. *New Mexico Public Education Department.*
[3] See Blum-Martinez, R. (2000) for a discussion on the issues.

state. Teacher development programs were established so that teachers could meet the particular linguistic and cultural needs of students. Teachers who elected to take a special set of courses (usually thirty to thirty-six credits[4]) were issued a bilingual endorsement that was attached to their elementary or secondary teaching license.

For those teachers who did not know Spanish or an indigenous language, English as a Second Language (ESL) endorsement programs were offered. Some of these programs (bilingual or ESL) still exist today in the four public universities of the state. Within the last twenty years, increased immigration from Mexico, and some Central American countries, has meant that most teachers in the public schools must now be prepared to help children learn English as they are learning subject matter.

Current Federal Law: No Child Left Behind

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) of 2001 was signed into law by President George W. Bush on January 8, 2002. NCLB is a reauthorization of and amendment to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) first passed in 1965 during the Johnson administration. NCLB seeks to "ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain a high-quality education and reach, at a minimum, proficiency on challenging state academic achievement standards and state academic assessments" (Title 1, Section 1001). According to the US Department of Education (n.d.) in an overview of the act posted on its website, No Child Left Behind "is built on four common-sense pillars: accountability for results; an emphasis on doing what works based on scientific research; expanded parental options; and expanded local control and flexibility."

The law is comprehensive. NCLB authorizes funds for a range of programs to promote student achievement, with money for programs that specifically target indigenous, impoverished, neglected, homeless, migrant,

[4] The courses are divided into five categories: Foundation courses (including Theories of 1st and 2nd languages), Language and Literacy, Pedagogy, Sociocultural Foundations, and Language and Culture.

limited English proficient and immigrant students (Office of the Undersecretary, 2002). However, as this new law has been implemented, *accountability* has become a major driving force, with each state receiving funds required to create an accountability system. An *accountability system* is defined as "State or district policies related to holding districts, schools, and/or students responsible for performance. School and district accountability systems typically include efforts to assess and rate schools or districts based on student performance, and to provide rewards and sanctions for schools or districts based on performance or improvement over time" (National Conference of State Legislatures, n.d.).

Under NCLB, schools and districts are required to set challenging statewide objectives and show adequate yearly progress (AYP) toward meeting them--that is, they must demonstrate that they are on course to reach 100 percent proficiency for all groups of students by 2014.[5] Each state decides what is considered proficient and what is an adequate rate of progress for each school and district, but the law requires that measures of student achievement are statistically valid and reliable (US Department of Education, 2003). Because NCLB seeks equal achievement for students who are poor and from typically disenfranchised minority populations, schools, school districts and states are required to report disaggregated test scores for economically disadvantaged students, different racial and ethnic groups, English language learners classified as limited English proficient, and students with disabilities. All groups must meet state objectives to make AYP.

For each year of not meeting AYP there are consequences. Those Schools that do not meet state objectives face increasing sanctions. After two years of not meeting AYP, schools are categorized as in need of *school improvement* and are required to develop a plan for improvement in consultation with parents, school staff, and outside experts. Until the school meets AYP, the district must provide technical support; parents can use school funds to transfer their children to higher performing schools; and, starting in the second year, schools must provide supplemental services (such as tutor-

[5] For information about New Mexico's standards for reading and language arts, see http://www.classicallearning.com/statestandards/newmexico-foundations.pdf.

ing) to individual students. If within two years the school does not meet AYP, it is categorized as needing corrective action; at this point, school staff may be replaced, the district may play a larger role in administration, and the school may implement a new curriculum and restructure. All curricula adopted must be based on scientific research. If after a year of corrective action a school continues to fail to meet AYP, it is determined to need restructuring, at which time all staff can be replaced; the school can be closed; a private organization can be contracted to operate the school; or the state can take over.

Pillars of Sameness

Because the law is described as being "built on common-sense pillars," it has garnered bipartisan support from policymakers and educational leaders. The name of the law itself gives the appearance of a concern for all children. However, the law disregards one of the primary principles of the scholarship on multiculturalism: Acknowledge the racial, cultural and linguistic differences of students, and design a curriculum and a pedagogy that meet their particular needs (Ladson-Billings, 2001; Nieto, 1996). How does a law that seems so logical counteract the goals of multicultural and multilingual education?

It does so through an emphasis on sameness. It requires that student achievement be evaluated only by statistically valid and reliable measures. Currently, the only measurements that obviously meet these criteria are standardized tests. Accountability then, is based on the progress that students make on standardized tests (Chapman, 2005). Government funds for validity research are limited, so testing corporations are the only ones that can undertake costly validity studies. Although the law does not specify that these tests are to be in English, most standardized tests of math and reading produced in this country are in English. To produce tests in numerous languages would not be cost efficient. Curricula are required to be research based, and research is narrowly defined as quasi-experimental tests of curricular components, again conducted mainly by corporate enti-

ties with profit motives. Although NCLB specifically prohibits any national testing or federally controlled curriculum, there are few state or local assessments that can meet these criteria. Thus a de facto national curriculum focused mainly on math and reading is promoted.

Accountability in education can be useful. The public is entitled to be informed of how monies are spent in a given school or district or the credentials of an educational leader. In particular, the concept of *opportunities to learn*, that is, the opportunities or access students have to favorable learning conditions (Crabbe, 2003), can illuminate how the physical and pedagogical conditions of an educational setting can affect learning (physical conditions of school buildings, materials, as well as educational level and experience of teachers and administrators, etc.). However as NCLB has been implemented, success or progress as measured by scores on standardized tests became the only important measure of accountability.

The result is that, under NCLB, all children within a school district are given the same curriculum, with the same methodology. Those who fail are given more of the same in a simplified version. Since NCLB's implementation in 2002, the curriculum of a significant number of elementary schools across the nation has become increasingly narrow, focusing mainly on English and math (The National Center for Fair and Open Testing,[6] 2007). Time for social studies, science, geography and the arts has been drastically reduced or eliminated.

Many issues have been raised about standardized tests--their ability to accurately assess students' knowledge, the cultural biases in construction, the role the language used plays for students with other language backgrounds, the narrow and finite means of assessment, and the role that they play in suppressing linguistic and cultural diversity (Shohamy, 2006; Darder, 2005; Crabbe, 2003). The promotion of standardized tests as scientifically constructed cloaks this questionable practice in an aura of neutrality and

[6] The National Center for Fair & Open Testing (FairTest) is a non-partisan, nonprofit organization devoted to ending "the misuses and flaws of standardized testing and to ensure that evaluation of students, teachers and schools is fair, open, valid and educationally beneficial," with "special emphasis on eliminating the racial, class, gender, and cultural barriers to equal opportunity posed by standardized tests, and preventing their damage to the quality of education."

authority. Questions about whom should be held accountable for school failure, i.e., administrators, policymakers, testing companies, are virtually silenced (Shohamy, 2006; Darder, 2005). Any educational discussion, such as the needs of students from diverse cultures, that is not predicated on experimental design and proof, is denigrated and ignored.

Effects on K-3 Reading

The focus on uniformity, standardization and control is also evident in how the Department of Education awarded funds for reading programs. Reading First, Part B of Title I of NCLB, provides Student Reading Skills Improvement Grants to states and districts so that they may "apply scientifically based reading research—and the proven instructional and assessment tools consistent with this research—to ensure that all children learn to read well by the end of third grade" (2001, *Subpart 1,* Sec. 1201). Through Reading First, schools that serve low-income, low-performing students can apply for funding for professional development for their instructional staff as long as they use reading programs that are based on "scientifically based reading research" and that provide explicit and systematic instruction in five key areas that the National Reading Panel (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2000) has identified as essential to effective early reading instruction: phonemic awareness, phonics, vocabulary, fluency and reading comprehension.

Again, the intent of the law sounds helpful, but the allocation process and implementation of this funding has resulted in the adoption of a few selected reading programs, in spite of the fact that the five key areas identified by the National Reading Panel can be found in almost all reading programs in this country. In recent years, Reading First has been at the center of controversy. In 2005, two reading program publishers filed complaints against the Reading First program with the Office of the Inspector General (Manzo, 2005). In one of the complaints, Robert Slavin, founder of the *Success for All* reading program, charged that the federal government "enabled a small group of individuals to direct significant federal resources

to a small group of companies, thus both restricting our ability to trade and subverting the explicit intent and language of the Reading First statute" (Slavin in Manzo, 2005). In a collection of evidence, The Success for All Foundation (in Ohanian, n.d.) claims that the intention of Reading First was ignored by the US Department of Education administrators …who promoted the use of commercial textbook programs lacking any scientific evidence of effectiveness, and that "key consultants entrusted with program management have serious conflicts of interest involving the very textbooks and training programs that have benefited from Reading First funding."

In response to these complaints and others filed by various states, the Office of the Inspector General, James Higgins (2007) conducted an audit of the grant application process. The audit did indeed reveal several significant problems (International Reading Association, 2007; Manzo, 2007). A large percentage of grant reviewers had ties to reading program and assessment publishers, and the US Department of Education coerced most states to use professional development services from a small group of selected companies connected to Reading First leaders. The Department of Education promoted the use of five traditional, commercial basal textbooks and a single reading progress assessment called Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS).[7] Largely unknown before Reading First, DIBELS became virtually mandatory in Reading First-funded schools. State Reading First applications proposing anything other than these textbooks and DIBELS were rejected, and state funding was denied--until the states proposed to emphasize them or use them exclusively. Congress had created Reading First to direct resources to serve at-risk children with scientifically validated programs. Instead, states and districts were forced to purchase specific products. The audit report reprimanded the Department of Education for not preventing this substantial conflict of interest, and required

[7] The Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS®) are a set of procedures and measures for assessing the acquisition of early literacy skills from kindergarten through sixth grade. They are designed to be short (one minute) fluency measures used to monitor regularly the development of early literacy and early reading skills. DIBELS are available for Spanish speaking students as well. This assesment is called IDEL for Indicadores del Éxito en la Lectura http://www.dibels.org/idel.html.

that it take immediate action to reform its procedures in order to fulfill what Congress intended the program to accomplish. Unfortunately, most of the funds had already been awarded.

New Mexico was one of the states badgered into revising its initial proposal to fit the required mold by adopting federally approved reading programs and DIBELS. As Reading First continues in its implementation, we are deeply concerned over these programs and assessments, especially for minority children. Rather than inviting minority children to contribute the funds of knowledge that exist in their families and cultures (Moll, 1992), these reading programs view their backgrounds as a deficit that needs to be fixed. Children are required to move in a lock-step manner from recognizing letters, to sounds, to nonsense words, to single words and finally to sentences. The DIBELS assessment supports this simplistic view of readers and mechanical concept of reading. In these programs, rote learning and repetition are the norm, and once children can decode, they rarely read any real full-length books or texts (Mahiri, 2005). The reading programs dole out short excerpts and only superficial level comprehension questions are raised. The overriding message given to students is that reading is an empty task conducted at school, and that it rarely is of personal benefit or a celebration of diversity.

Honoring Diversity in a National Climate of Standardization

Countering the homogenizing effects of NCLB has not been easy, but educators and policy makers in New Mexico have maintained their commitment to honoring cultural groups in our state by continuing our commitment to bilingual education and alleviating past inequities in American Indian and Hispanic education.

Bilingual Education

As we explained previously, the accountability system instituted by NCLB requires that school districts report disaggregated test scores by group. In

the case of bilingual students (or English language learners as they are designated in NCLB), schools are allowed to forego testing for the first three years of their schooling. However, by the third year, all English language learners must take the standardized tests in English, and their test scores must be reported and considered as a part of the evaluation system. English-only has become the de facto language policy of the federal government (Shohamy, 2006).

NCLB's focus on English language standardized tests began to impact bilingual programs almost immediately. Programs aimed at maintaining and developing children's first languages as they developed English were especially affected. Up until that time, these programs were able to report students' progress in both languages. Under NCLB, the only test scores, that were permitted were those in English. For those schools with large numbers of English language learners, English test scores showed a lack of progress without the accompanying test scores in the home language, which most often showed students functioning at or above grade level. Several dual-language immersion and bilingual schools organized parent and local meetings to strategize how best to address this issue. Eventually, principals, parents and teachers met with New Mexico Department of Education authorities and convinced them of the importance of including home language test scores. Initially, their acquiescence appeared to signal an acceptance of the importance of bilingual education.

However, after several years, when English math and reading tests of language minority children continued to lag behind, the NMPED's Corrective Action Unit began urging bilingual schools to give up the teaching of the home language. In addition, school superintendents, under pressure to raise test scores, began retreating from their support for dual-language immersion schools. The New Mexico State Bilingual Advisory Committee to the New Mexico Public Education Department sent a letter to the State Secretary of Education. In the letter they requested that the Corrective Action Unit, and other units within the Department that dealt with assessment be given guidance and training on bilingual education so that their recommendations would mirror state legislation and guidelines. At the time of this writing, the NMPED has not provided the additional training for its personnel.

An additional blow occurred earlier in 2005, after a financial audit conducted by the Legislative Finance Committee on bilingual programs. Some of the findings of this study highlighted the lack of financial accountability in bilingual programs. Funds allocated for bilingual education were being siphoned off into general school budgets. This was especially true in districts where a majority of the students were American Indian. A number of legislators expressed outrage. One indigenous legislator called for a revamping of the Bilingual Multicultural Education Act (1978). Of most concern was revising the way the funds for these programs were distributed, to make them categorical, so that they could be used only for bilingual education.

Working with bilingual and indigenous educators and activists, the legislature revised the act. Under the new act, school districts could now apply for funds to assist students in reclaiming their heritage languages. However, home language tests would be required to demonstrate students' language progress. This meant that assessments for some of the indigenous languages that are not written would have to be developed. A general misunderstanding of how these languages function and the purposes for which they are used resulted in Western-minded assessments that do not reflect the cultural values of the speakers. Without any understanding of how second and heritage languages are learned and how long it takes, achievement levels were set for language learning.

Most programs will be hard-pressed to meet these levels given the very few hours that students spend in these programs, the lack of materials, and the limited preparation of most language teachers. Thus, what began as an effort to better serve indigenous, and other heritage language students, may in fact result in their perceived failure. Moreover, due to the political pressure of school superintendents and administrators, the funding remained non-categorical. Thus district administrators could continue to apply bilingual funding to other areas of their budgets.

Indian Education

In 2003, in an effort to address the long-standing inequities that indigenous students have faced in education, the New Mexico Legislature

passed the Indian Education Act (IEA) (2003). This act had three main foci: Principals and Teacher Quality, Governance, and Tribal and Parental Involvement. The Principal and Teacher Quality section mandated better preparation of non-indigenous teachers and principals to work with indigenous children, as well as recruitment and preparation of indigenous teachers and the development of linguistically and culturally appropriate curricula. Tribal and Parental Involvement was concerned with giving voice to indigenous tribes and families in the education of their children. Governance recognized the legal standing of indigenous communities as semi-sovereign nations and the need for state and local school authorities to engage appropriately with tribal leaders and families. Funding was attached to this act so that school districts, other public educational institutions and tribes could apply for funding for projects or programs that were aimed at improving the education of indigenous students.

There are many positive and progressive aspects of this act. First, the NM Legislature recognized the injustices that had been committed against indigenous students, and there was a deliberate attempt to hold educational leaders and institutions accountable. Recognizing the legal standing of tribes and their right to participate in the educational future of their students has been critical. In addition, the recognition that most non-indigenous teachers and principals are poorly educated in working with indigenous populations has influenced some teacher education programs to include this aspect in their programs. Universities in the state have developed special programs to recruit and prepare indigenous teachers.

Even though the act places special attention on the maintenance of indigenous languages and the development of culturally appropriate curricula, mainstream notions of accountability have also been infused in this act. In the first report issued by the Indian Education Division after passage of this act (Werito, 2005), the Executive Summary states:

> The purpose of the IEA is to ensure equitable and culturally relevant learning environments and educational opportunities for Native American students enrolled in public schools.

Nevertheless, the first indicator of student progress to be reported by school districts is "student achievement measured by the New Mexico Standards Based Assessments with results disaggregated by ethnicity," a decidedly federal mandate. As James Popham (2001) has said,

> The common belief that schools that score high on a standardized achievement test are effective and that schools that score low are ineffective is simply misguided. It reflects ignorance about the nature of the test being used, because both tests…measure the kind of conduct, knowledge and skills that children bring to school--not necessarily what they learn at school. What you want, to judge the quality of schooling, is the test that measures how well children were taught, not whether they come from a ritzy background. Besides test scores, the only other required measure of student learning is attendance. Nowhere in this and subsequent reports are other assessments for student learning considered.

As has been seen in other contexts, the overreliance on this one measure negates any discussion on what kinds of assessments might better measure indigenous students' progress in learning their languages and cultures. By maintaining standardized English language test scores as the only measure of student learning, English language reading and math as defined by standardized tests and curricula are privileged, and all other kinds of knowledge are negated. Thus indigenous languages and ways of knowing that are highlighted in the IEA, are effectively erased.

Conclusion

In this article we have described the ways in which educational accountability has become linked with standardized tests and curricula under the No Child Left Behind Act. Evaluation experts have long recognized that standardized tests have an important role in comparing achievement of groups of students, not individual students (Popham, 2001). Standardized tests more often measure the kinds of experiences students have in their homes, and not what they have learned in school.

A number of states now use standardized achievement tests to measure the content standards, that is, the knowledge or skills that the state wants taught. And sometimes the off-the-shelf test is said to be sufficiently aligned with the standards to serve as a reflection of those standards. This is simply not the case. If you look at the degree of match between any commercialized standardized achievement test and a state's content standard, not good enough to make a judgement about whether those standards have been achieved, and you certainly do not know which standards have been achieved. So this is simply a pretend assessment. It is not useful for helping teachers judge or parents judge whether their kids are really learning what they are supposed to learn (Popham, 2001).

Other assessments such as criterion referenced tests, portfolios and student work better reflect what has been taught, and should be considered as appropriate learning assessments.

For diverse background students, standardized tests are even more problematic. First, many standardized tests often exclude diverse background students in their piloting stage, and so do not adequately discriminate between student background and what might be learned in school. Second, standardized tests are in fact English tests for those students who speak other languages and are learning English as a second language (Valdes & Figueroa, 1994; LaCelle-Peterson & Rivera, 1994). Third, most standardized tests are biased in favor of mainstream views of curriculum and cannot access alternative ways of knowing (Green & Griffore, 1981). Fourth, the format of standardized tests privileges those students who are verbal learners and ignores those who learn differently (Gardner & Hatch, 1989).

The underlying belief in standardized testing is that all students learn the same way and display this knowledge in a similar way. This belief is in direct contradiction to the scholarship in multiculturalism that holds that students' diversity must be recognized, honored, and infused into the curriculum (Nieto, 1997). Both the Bilingual Multicultural Education Act and the Indian Education Act are responses to this diversity. Moreover, the support for these laws reflects the activism of tribes, communities, parents and educators.

As teacher educators, we have been dedicated to educational equity and justice for the diversity of students who are in the public schools. For this reason we have participated in many of the committees that have played an active role in setting educational policy for our state. It has been an eye-opening and challenging experience. On the one hand, we have seen how federal policies have influenced state and local educational agencies. For example, Leila Flores-Dueñas recalls her experiences serving on the Reading First funding committee in Santa Fe:

> I recall reading and evaluating applications from across the State of New Mexico while being warned that if school districts did not have DIBELS listed as one of the elements for reading in their schools then they would not qualify for the funding. If we (other professors, teachers) were not happy with that evaluation, then the leaders of the group session would have to decide. After that, we never did know which institution was granted the funding or which one was not. A few months after that grant proposal reading in Santa Fe, I was visiting schools when one of my student teachers asked me to visit with her cooperating teacher about how to think about DIBELS with her Spanish speakers. She let me know how concerned she was as she did not want to continue to mark down kids who did not perform well, sounding out nonsense words in Spanish as the DIBELS program had expected in English.

This reading assessment has generated grave concerns for our students, educational leaders and parents across the state. But because standardized tests have become so strongly linked to accountability, it has been impossible to have a real conversation about alternatives to these assessments.

In Rebecca's case, she has seen the quandary in which many legislators find themselves as they struggle to represent local communities and their concerns. Many New Mexico legislators have grown up in the small rural towns and communities that comprise our state. They have an intimate knowledge of the cultures and values of the people in those communities, and they want to help preserve those traditions. At the same time, they acknowledge that some changes are needed in order to improve the lives of the people they represent. However, not all new ideas are better ones, and the political pressure that federal mandates and mainstream constituents

exert on "improving" the quality of schools co-opts any real dialogue on what kind of an education is needed in specific local communities.

Most educational policy makers, state board members, and members of legislatures are well intentioned and install accountability measures involving these kinds of tests in the belief that good things will happen to children. However, we agree with Popham (2001) when he suggests, "Most of these policy makers are dirt-ignorant regarding what these tests should and should not be used for. And the tragedy is that they set up a system in which the primary indicator of educational quality is simply wrong."

Throughout its history, New Mexico has tried to recognize and value differences. State policymakers have tried to legislate accordingly, but the federal notions of accountability have crept in and influenced everyone's thinking on student learning. By depending on testing as the primary measure of student achievement, the New Mexican tradition of maintaining and respecting cultural differences is in jeopardy. We must continue to counter the current of NCLB and other legislation like it.

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Teacher educators. A pending subject

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Teacher education is currently one of the most critical educational challenges on the international scale. In spite of various government-implemented reform programs, the educational reality continues to evidence low correlation between proposed actions for educating teachers and student learning in basic education.

In this context, views begin to focus on the professionals who educate teachers, since they are believed to play an important role in the development of pedagogical skills and the cognitive and analytical structures necessary in a new perspective of teaching work. However, recognition of the importance of these educators is coupled with a lack of studies that contribute knowledge about the work, practices, conceptions, and models of teaching that these educators develop and transmit to their students. Also lacking are studies on their training, which in a contradictory manner is assumed to be fundamental.[1] This absence has meant that institutional proposals for the professional improvement of teacher educators consist of

[1] Vaillant, in a state-of-the-art study on educating educators (2002), indicates that out of 80 articles and books on teacher education in Latin America published in the last twelve years, only five were centered on educating educators. Arredondo (2007) indicated a similar situation in Mexico.

a series of general recommendations about what teachers should be and do, or the skills they should have or acquire. These recommendations have been constructed outside of real work contexts, of the knowledge and experience acquired in practice, and especially, of the demands that future teachers—their pupils—will face in teaching work.

Although the term, educator, is very broad (applied indistinctly to teachers who teach students in basic and higher education, and to teachers in charge of the ongoing education of teachers in service), here we shall center on teachers in charge of the initial education of Mexico's teachers of basic education, at institutions specifically designed for doing so: the normal schools. We see teacher educators, like Vaillant (2002), as "Professionals in charge of designing and/or developing a curriculum that includes the necessary components for providing future teachers with legitimate learning on how to teach" (p.17).

In Mexico, these professionals are being educated through practice. As in other countries, the belief is that in order to teach, knowing what is being taught is sufficient (Vaillant and Marcelo, 2001). An undergraduate degree is the basis for starting work in an institution that educates teachers, and any ulterior professional development that teachers may attain generally depends on their personal decisions and time.

Talking about teacher education in normal school requires recognizing the various institutional histories of the normal schools that make up the national subsystem of normal school education.[2] Amalgamated with the successive educational policies for educating teachers in basic education, these histories have contributed to the existence of multiple educational processes for these teachers.

Throughout Mexico, various normal schools prepare teachers to serve in the different levels and functions of basic education: preschool, elementary, secondary, special education, and physical education. In these normal schools, the institutional history and history of each school, passages of development, regional context, characteristics of the educational level for which future

[2] The subsystem of normal education is composed of administrative bodies and the normal schools that conduct educational activities. The normal schools are the basis of the subsystem.

teachers are trained, the diverse orientations of educational policy, and the union influence have marked the characteristics and profiles of the faculty and have defined the traits of the professional cultures that characterize them.

It is therefore difficult to talk about teacher educators as if they were a homogeneous group. In this article, mention will be made of only a few general traits—traits that will allow us to show the form of conception of professional development in the sector,[3] the mechanisms that have been implemented for doing so and the conditions that favor or hinder the training processes for teachers trained in the normal schools. It is of interest to consider the education of educators from a perspective that goes beyond what "should be". Thus the implication is to consider the real work settings of teacher educators as well as their specific teaching function: teaching how to teach. From such a perspective, this article addresses aspects that influence teachers' processes of professional development, grouped into three contexts: the educational policy implemented in recent decades with regard to educating teacher educators; the institutional context that influences the construction of a specific profession; and the roads teacher educators have traveled in their professional development. Lastly, reflections are presented regarding the challenges Mexico faces in educating the educators of future teachers, and regarding the type of professionalization that should be supported for these teachers.

The concept that articulates the analysis of the contexts that influence the education of these teachers, is the concept of professionalism, which is understood as "the set of actions, skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values that constitute the specifics of being a teacher" (Gimeno 1997: 84). This author indicates that the specificity of action in the practice of a professional group (in this case, teacher educators), constitutes a professionalism that is undergoing constant redefinition: it is linked to the concrete historical moment, to the goals of the educational system (undergoing constant change), to legitimating knowledge (characterized by instability), and to specific institutional contexts. For this reason, although the professional

[3] We use the concept of professional development to refer to the actions that influence the strengthening of the teaching profession. This includes in-service training as well as other training options in which teachers participate.

practice of teacher educators has an individual nature, it is also framed by collective norms, organizational frameworks, and cultural mechanisms that are constructed historically and influence actions and practices.

Therefore, strengthening the professionalism of teacher educators implies not only indicating what they should be and do, or redefining the function they must institutionally fulfill, but also considering aspects linked to their work contexts, professional cultures, processes of both initial and permanent education, and the educational and institutional practices in which they are immersed and participate. Supporting teacher educators' professionalism also implies considering the specificity of their field of work since this specificity has repercussions on the level of basic education for which future teachers are being educated.

The Context of Educational Policy for Educating Teacher Educators

The normal schools responsible for educating teachers to work in basic education have moved through various circumstances of educational policy that have influenced the professional profiles of teacher educators. The Secretariat of Public Education considers these circumstances as key historical moments for understanding the current organizational situation of the normal schools and the characteristics of their faculty:

- In their beginnings, normal school studies were not part of higher education.
- The policy of expanding basic education in the 1960s and 1970s led to the expansion and diversification of the services of normal education, as well as the need to add faculty members, who were hired in many cases without academic rigor in order to educate the number of teachers required by the educational system.
- The salary homologation of the faculty according to the system of higher education occurred without conducting a study on the required profiles (SEP, 2003 p: 30 and 31).

These moments in the history of normal education, along with the definition of different orientations in educational policy, impacted the professional profiles of teacher educators and their processes of professional development. Of particular importance is the normal schools' conversion from institutions of secondary education to institutions of higher education, as decreed in 1984. Without modifying basic structures or making profound changes, and with the same personnel, a radical change was implemented in orientation and content for educating future teachers, with an emphasis on research. In spite of this perspective, training teacher educators to face the new responsibilities the situation demanded was not addressed. Years later, the federal government's Program of Educational Modernization (1989-1994) recognized that the normal schools had not attained the optimum development in their academic tasks that would correspond to their recent status as schools of higher education; therefore, the need was seen to "modernize institutions of normal education academically and administratively and update their faculty" (p.71). None of these needs was addressed and the professional improvement of the teachers at normal school continued to be, as always, an individual matter dependent on personal decision.

In 1996, a new reforming vision for normal education was established through the Program for the Academic Transformation and Strengthening of Normal Schools. One of its priority lines of action was the "Professional Training of Normal School Faculty", which took the form of a training program aimed at "informing the teachers of normal schools in a sufficient and timely manner a the bases, principal orientations, contents, and focuses of the programs they will provide, in order for them to acquire the elements for their application in an effective manner" (Ponce, 1998). Such training activities for handling programs of study encountered various problems in becoming concrete:

- The preparation of programs—an activity concentrated in a small group from the federal educational authority—always implied delays in presenting these programs to the teachers. The situation affected the teachers responsible for the course because they were not introduced to the course contents until dates quite close to course initialization.

- The new plan of studies for each undergraduate degree introduced the curriculum design and an indicator of each program of study but the full extent of the programs was made known only as the authority finished preparing them. As a consequence of this gradual presentation of program content, the normal schools, teachers lacked an overall view of the plan of studies.
- At the beginning of a new plan,[4] the central authority would commonly implement training in a cascading form[5] that advanced from the national to the state level, and finally, to the school, to introduce program content and orientation for the semester. This form of training led to multiple interpretations of program orientation, a situation aggravated by a lack of time for becoming familiar with the programs in depth.
- The emphasis on educating teacher educators, in spite of the segmented nature of the training, occurred only during the time period that the plan of studies was becoming concrete in programs, and was directed to the teachers of a certain semester (for which the new program had been prepared). Therefore, only teachers working in the first generation of the plan had access to this knowledge. Teachers hired at a later date had no training.

Without clearly defined sites for discussion, and with random, insufficient training, teacher educators interpreted through their own referents the program they were to develop. The result was diverse forms of understanding the same program and a very partial view of the new proposal.

One must recognize that the new plans and programs of study of this reform were implemented in a context in which the professional development of teacher educators through permanent training had not been an institutional concern. In the normal schools, the few proposals in this regard

[4] In September of 1997, the undergraduate degree plan for elementary education was introduced; in 1999, the undergraduate degree plans for preschool and secondary education; in 2002, the new undergraduate degree plan for physical education; and finally, in 2004, the undergraduate degree plan for special education. In all cases, the programs of study were prepared as the students advanced.

[5] Training in cascade assumes a form of organization in which the members of a trained group become trainers, thus guaranteeing the multiplication of the topics covered by the program.

were characterized by their dispersion and distance from the concrete problems of the classroom. Under such conditions, the line of action of the Program of Transformation of Normal Schools in terms of the training of teacher educators, constituted an important effort to cultivate a culture of permanent training even though, given the organization of the different types of workshops offered, the efforts were of limited scope.

Thus, after years of application, the federal authority recognized the progress made in the Program of Transformation as well as the challenges faced, with particular emphasis once more on teacher educators (their forms of teaching, their lack of mastery of content, and the focuses of the new programs) and on normal schools. The affirmation was made that normal schools had kept forms of organization and operation that were not in agreement with the transformation being promoted, and that "[…] many of them have not evolved according to the challenges of educating the teachers the country demands, and they have not been consolidated as authentic institutions of higher education" (SEP, 2003:30).

Perhaps for this reason, in the framework of a federal program that conditions the assignment of resources to compliance with certain rules, a series of programmed projects was recently begun for each normal school. These projects emphasize training teachers "to improve their forms of teaching and evaluation", which has implied a tiresome institutional dynamic, somewhat unguided, consisting of offering a large number of courses that do not form part of a coherent institutional training program.

The idea of "becoming consolidated as institutions of higher education" that began to take on strength in 2005—the year normal education was included structurally in the Under Secretary of Higher Education[6]—postulates an orientation that is radically different from the reform actions up to that point, which had linked the training of future teachers to basic education. The new perspective, in spite of maintaining the discourse on the importance of training for basic education, began to state new demands

[6] In 2005, the Secretariat of Public Education was restructured, and normal education (considered higher education but part of the Under Secretary of Basic and Normal Education because of the close association with training teachers for basic education) was relocated to another Under Secretary, that of Higher Education.

for teacher educators in order to raise their academic levels and attain a "desirable profile". The desirable profile proposed for teacher educators is in synthesis a full-time teacher with a postgraduate degree who integrates the functions of teaching, researching, and disseminating information.[7] Although this profile is similar to that of other institutions of higher education, in the case of teachers at normal schools, it completely ignores the specificity of educating teachers: teaching how to teach and developing the pedagogical skills inherent to this function.

The indications up to this point show some of the problems that have characterized educational policies for the training of normal school teachers, including:

- The inexistence of a systematic, coherent educational policy that recognizes the specificity of the work of a teacher educator. Thus movement has been made from the absolute lack of a training project to the development of insufficient and limited programs. From a perspective that accents a strengthening of the teacher education function, to a perspective that favors more of a university profile. The conception of the teacher educator's professionalism and of the type of teacher educator required is still ambiguous.
- The projects designed by the central or local authorities are described as external to teachers and have thus been oriented to supplementing the deficiencies detected in teachers, without interest in turning to their pedagogical knowledge and experience.
- Random training has been the most widely used strategy to train teacher educators and has functioned according to the logic that appropriating the technical skill necessary for the function is simply a question of acquiring the predetermined knowledge in an educational model in order to apply that knowledge directly to practice, outside of the individual work setting.

[7] See the Guide for Updating the State Plan of Strengthening Normal School Education. PEFEN 3.0.

The Institutional Context. The Conformation of a Professional Culture

Imbernón (1999) refers to teacher professionalization as a constant process of training and reflection linked to social and employment changes; and as of being different because of its professional culture, instead of having characteristics equal to other professions. For this author, the professional culture of teachers as a process is not immovable. However, its components must be considered in order to recognize the opportunities for inserting innovative changes. In the case of normal school teachers, we shall point to two components: the normal school education as an identity and the institutional management of normal schools. Both components influence practices, the constitution of certain professional knowledge, and the possible relations among individuals in the school setting.

Normal School Education, a Rooted Identity

It is important to point out that the so-called "subsystem of normal education" functioned until the 1970s as a professional circuit that supported the training of its own personnel. Thus, the normal schools that were institutions of higher education since their origin (Superior Normal Schools and Specialized Normal Schools), were the natural place for training graduates from "basic normal schools" (elementary and preschool); many of these graduates later became teachers at these schools. As a consequence, teacher educators, mostly normal school graduates, had professional profiles that were constructed at institutions similar to the ones where they worked; these educators shared a body of unchanging substantive knowledge (Bravslavsky, 1999) as well as conceptions of training. On the other hand, Vaillant (2002) indicates that the school trajectory is built on a "foundation of knowledge" that to a large degree orients the way the teacher's role is assumed. If both statements are considered when thinking about normal school graduates who train normal school students, it is possible to believe that many teacher educators, in their role as mediators in the processes of training future teachers, teach how to teach according to established professional systems. In 1994, Reyes and Zúñiga indicated the following:

> The academic training of most teachers in normal schools has as a component the studies completed in basic normal school and superior normal school in diverse specialties. University studies are recognized in the field only if they have been completed after normal school; professors who have only university studies have little value in the field because it is believed that a good teacher for normal school students must have worked in an elementary school (p. 69).

The normal school professional circuit and the practices derived from it have favored the normal schools' categorization as inbred institutions and to a certain degree, as resistant to change.

But not only "normal school graduates" work in the normal schools as might be imagined due to the predominance of the concept in the schools' discourse; the presence of other professionals has always existed. The history of their founding shows us the joint participation of prestigious teachers and personalities from the academic world who did not have a normal school education. Gradually, as the normal schools produced graduates, they joined the teaching staff and became a notable majority in some cases, but always in interaction with other professionals. A recent survey applied to teachers at normal schools in Mexico City revealed the existence of 40.1% normal school graduates, 47.4% university graduates, and 12.5% with mixed training (Negrete and Rodríguez, 2008:25). However, the predominant idea in the collective imagination continues to be the "normal school graduate" as the educator par excellence. Yet even in this case it must be recognized that normal school graduates have evolved and the young people who start working in the institutions that educate teachers, in spite of having studied in a normal school—and occasionally having progressed later through other educational institutions—sustain academic and educational positions that are very different from the old-time normal school graduates. The classification by Alberto Arnaut—*normal school graduates* (those who have been educated only in normal schools), *hybrids* (normal school graduates who have also studied at other institutions) and *university graduates* (who come from other institutions of higher education)—seems to define very well the current composition of the faculty at normal schools.

Without doubt, the "normal school education" is a unifying concept of identity for teacher educators, although its polysemic nature means that the term is also the object of multiple interpretations, including ideas on the return to the social work of the teaching profession, the defense of public education, and the survival of a nationalist spirit; the concept has also been a shield against the criticism normal schools receive because of their permanently questioned academic level. At the other extreme, the normal school education is the basis of a discourse through which the hegemonic practices of union groups are used to influence the naming of directors, conquer positions of power, and control the hiring and promotion of teacher educators based on political and not academic criteria.

This identity factor also has a referent in educational paradigms that normal school graduates have constructed and that have been established as the collective knowledge of the profession. The importance of practice teaching to train teachers is one of those paradigms, based on the idea that work experience with an elementary school group is indispensable for being a good teacher educator; such an idea disqualifies or at least places teacher educators who are not normal school graduates at a disadvantage. The result is an impact on the daily organization of the institution, which by general rule assigns curriculum subjects linked to practice teaching to teacher educators who have had this sort of experience.

Specific paradigms also exist with regard to the educational level for which teachers are trained. The centrality of the child in preschool, the importance of didactics in elementary school, the specialization in a discipline of knowledge in secondary school and special education, and the centrality of sports in physical education represent collective knowledge that has become the hard nucleus of the professionalism of these teacher educators. Any pedagogical model that questions such knowledge has little possibility of prospering.

Institutional Management

The word that best represents the institutional functioning of a normal school education is verticality. The structure behind teacher training

indicates that the federal authority determines the orientation, educational policy, and standards for the training of preschool, elementary, secondary, and normal school teachers throughout the nation, while the local authorities are in charge of managing this policy in each state and defining lines of work and specific programs for the entity. In the hierarchical line of this structure, the single normal school—the place where teacher education is carried out—remains tied to external decisions, with little possibility of participating in making those decisions due to its lack of normative and even pedagogical powers. Such a circumstance makes the normal schools' status of higher education ambiguous and contributes somehow to weakening the academic life of these institutions and their teachers: they are positioned as simply the executors of plans, programs and projects, and not as the creators or defining participants in elaboration.

At the school level, verticality occurs through the directing body and very particularly through the director, who occupies the position upon designation or acceptance by the state authority; in this process, the opinion of union leadership is also an important factor. Since academic and organization regulation is obsolete and practically null,[8] no institutional bodies exist to regulate academic life. Thus the director's definitions have significant weight in the daily actions carried out in this aspect at school.

In parallel form, the presence of a corporative culture becomes another limitation for the academic development of these institutions. Union bureaucracy influences, sometimes decisively, the hiring and promotion of faculty, based on political criteria. For example, when all the normal schools became institutions of higher education in 1984, the personnel's salary and working conditions became homologous with those of the National Polytechnic Institute and regulations were created for hiring and promotion based on the academic requirements of higher education (academic levels, publications, research, etc.). However, since most normal school educators did not comply with the required profiles, the National Union of Workers in Education negotiated a chart of "equivalencies" that favored seniority over education and academic performance, a still current

[8] Standards are obsolete, and there are even normal schools with regulations dating from 1940.

matter. On the other hand, the handling of available teacher positions by union delegations or sections and directing groups nullifies the internal process of personnel selection (rarely made public). This situation generates clientele practices contrary to an academic vision—practices in which teachers participate by negotiating their own interests, with repercussions on educational work.

The report of a research study carried out in a prestigious normal school shows this preponderance of labor policy over academic policy:

> The union influence is very strong in defining faculty hiring. The three unions that exist inside the school play a central role in the process of hiring new teachers, since only through the unions can personnel be proposed for occupying the vacant positions generated by retirement or medical leave. According to the director, union proposals are adjusted to the professional profile defined by the authority, and the union that covers the vacant position advises its members of the opening, and frequently the personnel hired at the normal school are children or relatives of workers at the normal school (Carvajal, 1998).

In conditions in which a recommendation (from the union or authority) is the parameter for starting to work as a teacher educator, academic profiles are circumstantial and may or may not be pertinent for the function to be carried out. In such circumstances, some normal schools advise, or give an orientation course or at least information to newly-hired teachers. But since this is not a general rule, new teachers are trained in practice, and learn the rules of the normal school's functioning based on relations and becoming familiar with (and perhaps appropriating) collective knowledge.

The Context of Professional Development

Faced with the diversity of professional trajectories that coexist in the normal schools and the absence of coherent institutional policies for the professional development of their teachers, the transformations that have

gradually occurred in the professional profiles of teacher educators have been a product of the socio-educational changes that have influenced the normal school education. Such changes include the creation of the National Pedagogical University in 1979, an event that the normal schools experienced as academic displacement not in their favor. At the same time, however, the National Pedagogical University became a place for training teachers that provided an exit from the closed normal school circuit.[9] The other previously mentioned radical changed that influenced the training of teacher educators was the elevation of the institution to the undergraduate degree level.

This motivated many teachers to search for educational alternatives (diploma courses, specializations, master's degrees) that would permit them to confront the new demands. The situation was reflected in all normal schools (including the superior normal schools): the homologation of the normal school teachers' wages and working conditions with those of professors at other institutions of higher education presented them with new demands. From one day to the next, the functions of research and the dissemination of information were added to the function of teaching, which had been the only function the teacher educators dominated. This period implied two parallel processes: normal school teachers' search for outside training options, and the hiring of professionals foreign to a normal school education as normal school teacher educators—a necessary change for covering some of the subjects in the new plans of study. At the current time, the normal schools reveal, like geological layers, their distinct historical stages expressed in their teachers' professional trajectories. Let us take as an example the case of Mexico City's normal schools for preschool, elementary, and secondary education; according to a diagnosis prepared in 2005,[10] they had the following academic profiles:

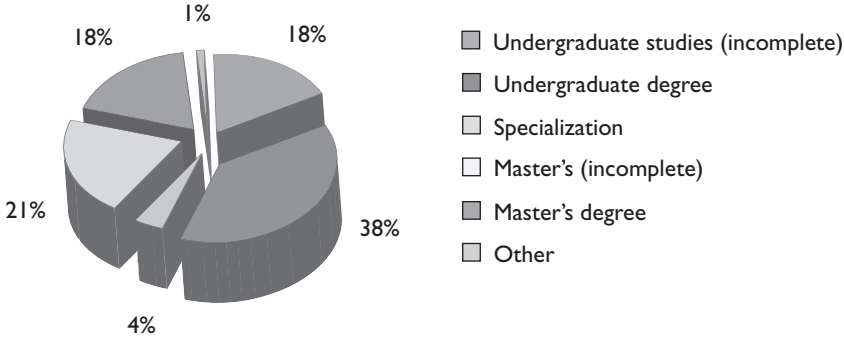
The data show that the teachers at the National School of Kindergarten Teachers (ENMJN) and the Meritorious National Teachers School (BENM),

[9] It must be remembered that for a long time, normal school studies had no validity in other educational institutions.

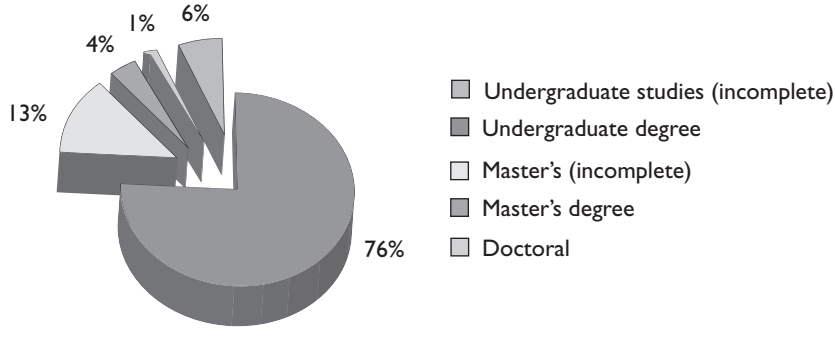
[10] Data taken from the diagnosis prepared at the Mexico City normal schools. Document entitled "Especialización en Formación Docente en la Educación Normal", 2005.

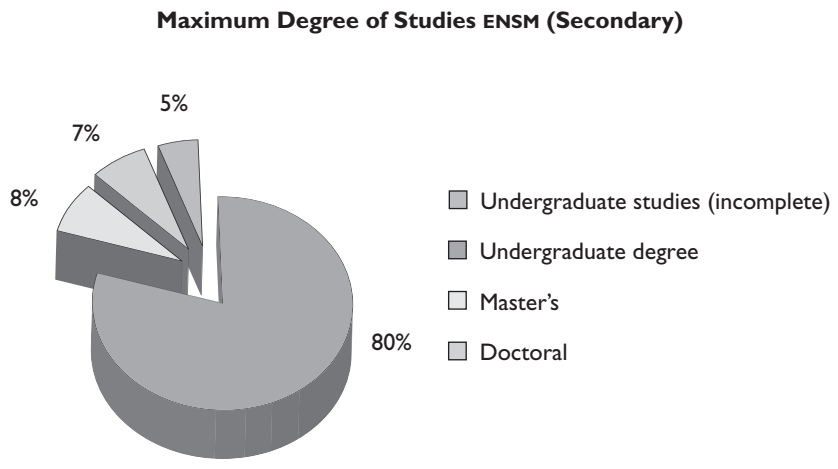
institutions classified as basic normal schools before 1984, have 43% and 18% respectively of postgraduate studies, surpassing even the Superior Normal School of Mexico (ENSM), which has 15%. At ENSM, however, the percentage of professors with doctoral studies is higher (without a specification of whether or not they have a degree). This fact may be due, however, to the ENSM professors' completion of the entire normal school circuit, which concluded in doctoral studies the Superior Normal School offered without requiring a previous master's degree.

Maximum Level of Studies ENMJN (Preschool)



Maximum Level of Studies BENM (Elementary)





In any case, these figures show us that 99% of the professors have undergraduate studies (although not all have an undergraduate degree). The percentage is a reminder of the increased educational level of normal school teachers during the past twenty-four years without the presence of an institutional policy in this regard. Something similar happens at the national level: A report on the profile of teacher educators, prepared by the Secretariat of Public Education in 2003, shows that out of 17,280 teacher educators, 82.7% have an undergraduate degree and 33.0% have postgraduate studies. There is also a low percentage of teachers who have incomplete undergraduate studies or only normal school studies from the time normal school was considered part of secondary education (11% and 2% respectively). Thus it is possible to say, at least in principle, that the educational level of teacher educators is adequate, although an analysis is lacking to shed light on the agreement that exists between the type of training teachers have and the skills and knowledge required by their work.

One might believe that requirements for teacher promotions equal to those of other institutions of higher education have been an influence. However, in the case of the normal schools, requirements held in common with other institutions (the obtaining of degrees, academic productivity, etc.) are no longer observed in most cases since they are overriden by seniority, union relations, and the authority's decisions regarding the

processes of job improvement, such as promotions, basification of the position, and increased hours. A recent study indicates:

> Employment promotions do not follow individuals' completion of functions or obtaining of educational degrees; rather, they follow the structure of positions that are defined centrally by the state education officials and union sections. Thus the incentive to advance on the job ladder depends on the opportunities created by educational and union bureaucracies and not necessarily on the achievements of the normal school faculty (López Zárate and Pérez Franco, 2008:10).

In this sense, the personal efforts teacher educators make to raise their educational level must be recognized, although, as we shall see, this increase has not necessarily been reflected in the improvement of their professional employment.

Postgraduate Studies in Education

Some of the paths teacher educators have followed for professional self-improvement include, as previously mentioned, postgraduate studies. These programs experienced accelerated growth and practically tripled between 1990 and 2000. The most rapid growth occurred during the last five years of that decade, when postgraduate enrollment at the national level increased by 60.32%, especially in postgraduate programs in education and the humanities (Sandoval, et al. 2006).

While not specifically directed to postgraduate studies in education, teachers who work in basic education and normal schools constitute a large part of the enrollment in those programs. Some researchers have found characteristics of concern in many of the postgraduate programs in which teachers in basic education and teacher educators are enrolled, particularly with regard to their orientation. Moreno Bayardo (2003) warns that making such programs large-scale has made some of them low-quality, with a "diffused identity", vague purposes, and multiple forms of operation (often adapted to students' working hours). Moreno Bayardo also recognizes the following problem:

> Limited links with educational practices characterize a good number of postgraduate programs in education. Although the curriculum design of programs often refers to a concentration of specific practices like evaluation, planning, management, teaching, and so on, these programs commonly offer general training focused primarily on the review of theory (p. 19).

In terms of quality, most institutions that offer these programs do not have a faculty with desirable profiles. Their postgraduate programs are improvised, especially if located in non-university establishments, which often become lucrative businesses. Other problems refer to the low graduation rate, in addition to the vagueness of curriculum designs and imprecise purposes.

Many of the postgraduate programs in which teachers are enrolled do not address current training needs. Nor do they address theoretical, methodological, instrumental, or disciplinary aspects that are useful for teaching work.

In summary, we can say that although postgraduate programs have become a professionalization strategy of in-service teachers, they still lack a definition of usefulness for educational work. At times, the statement has been made that they even distance teachers from their primordial function.

Institutional experiences of interest do exist, however, in the case of postgraduate programs like the one developed in early 2005 by the General Directorship of Normal Education and Teacher Training in the Federal District. This office designed and implemented a specialization directed specifically to teacher educators in the Federal District's public normal schools, with the objective of offering an ongoing training program of high quality to improve teacher educators' work and strengthen the development of new plans of study. The name of this program is Specialization in Teacher Training in Normal Education. It seeks to improve the work-related intellectual abilities of teacher educators, to recover and analyze teaching as a place for promoting educational innovations that could become concrete, and to incorporate aspects relative to the sociocultural diversity that is manifest in the classroom, in basic and well as in normal education. These three aspects were linked to the progress of educational research, the current challenges of initial training, and the new policies and orientations for teacher education.

Teaching theory and practice articulated by reflection have become the basis for students (teacher educators) to design innovative projects of pedagogical intervention, which through implementation will impact and transform educational practices in training future teachers.

The object of this article is not to analyze the results of the proposed training for teachers at normal schools in term of progress or difficulties.[11] It is of interest only to emphasize that consideration can be given to projects that aim at professionalizing teachers who work at normal schools, that recognize these teachers' pedagogical experience and knowledge, and that refer to educational innovation, while questioning many of the teaching paradigms teacher educators possess.

Final Reflections

As we have seen, the professionalism of teacher educators expressed in the specific actions, skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values of being a teacher educator at a normal school, is constructed in concrete contexts that are the product of institutional histories, of educational policies that have successively defined the models to follow, of collective symbols that confer identity, and of professional knowledge the collectivity recognizes as valid. This specificity is important to take into account upon developing any project in the normal school setting, and particularly projects related to the professional development of teacher educators in normal schools.

Teacher educators' practices and the forms of organization of normal schools are repeatedly defined as obstacles to the transformations contained in reformist visions. The federal authorities often state that teacher educators' practices at normal schools contradict the new models and focuses proposed for training teachers in basic education, and that normal schools should modify their organizational and management styles to become "true institutions of higher education". However, the diversity of normal schools

[11]The analysis of this experience with its successes and difficulties is presented in Sandoval and Pérez (2008).

and their teachers makes it difficult to accept this generalization, which ignores the unique contexts that affect the concrete practices of institutions and their teachers. The normal schools and their teachers have not remained static, and an analysis must be made of the educational meaning of the changes that have been inserted.

It is useful to remember that although the normal schools are institutions of higher education, they are not universities. For that reason, it is not possible to evaluate them with the same parameters. The characteristic of the work of teacher educators at the normal schools—teaching how to teach and teaching what is taught—implies specific abilities that are disciplinary, didactic, and pedagogical, as well as knowledge and an analysis of educational reality. It also implies a solid understanding of the educational level for which each normal school educates teachers. Teacher educators at normal schools must be inserted in a constant process of training and reflection in these areas.

The professional trajectory of teacher educators is quite varied, and this variation has its origin in the different historical stages of normal schools along with the educational policies for teacher education that have demanded specific skills and knowledge linked to the graduate profiles defined for future teachers. Knowing and documenting this diversity is necessary and will permit strengthening the professional abilities and knowledge of each establishment.

Teacher educators are educated in practice. Therefore, their privileged (and sometimes only) place of training is the normal school itself. Their training process occurs through their incorporation and appropriation of the traits of a specific professional culture, in which the still current concept of a "normal school education" defines particular forms of teaching. The term's worst facet, that of the unions, establishes practices and forms of management that annul or at least hinder initiatives of transformation. Vertical forms of management and the presence of a corporative union culture obdurate the possibility of constructing shared knowledge based on the problems of teaching practice. One must recognize and analyze the weight of union policy that influences school management at the macro and micro level, impacts teaching professionalism, and hinders the possibility of change. This is an aspect about which very little is said.

The professional development of teacher educators is a pending subject for educational policy. Although the discourse of professionalizing teaching work is quite old, it has been made concrete in the normal schools in actions directed at addressing the subjects of the new plans, which are characterized by speed and superficiality. In addition, in recent years, almost all of the normal schools have developed multiple training actions directed to teacher educators (forums, workshops, courses, seminars, conferences) without their having continuity, articulation among themselves, or impact on teaching tasks. Neither are they a product of integral and coherent strategy with well-defined objectives. It is not clear what such training hopes to achieve, nor is it known if follow-up is done on its results and impact.

Yet what can be affirmed is that many teacher educators have made the individual decision to continue their studies, and have enrolled in postgraduate programs with quite diverse orientations. Most of these programs are focused on educational activity and in many occasions are of dubious quality. The educational level of these teachers has increased noticeably in the past twenty years, but this increase does not correspond to better training for future teachers. Therefore we can state that it is not possible to speak of the impact that teacher educators' postgraduate studies have had on educational improvement, although potentially successful experiences exist.

If we consider professional development as "an activity of higher education, based on lifelong experience" (Darling-Hammond and McLaughlin, 2003:8), it is possible to begin to delineate some of the current challenges for training the individuals who educate teachers in Mexico, as well as some of the desirable actions for strengthening their professional development:

- The centralization of decisions marginalizes individuals to whom decisions are directed. It is necessary to transform the policies that seek to direct and control centrally the actions of professional development of teacher educators, in order to permit their participation on projects that strengthen the knowledge and teaching skills

required by the context and particularities of the job. This implies incorporating new focuses and forms of institutional support.

- It is necessary to increase the participation of each normal school in defining the projects it needs—according to its specific requirements and context—in order to strengthen the training of its teacher educators. This would favor the construction of integral proposals that would include in-service training as well as professional development outside of the normal school setting. It would also permit remedying the disarticulation currently shown by this activity.
- The specific nature of teaching how to teach—the object of work of teacher educators—requires the construction of new teaching paradigms, the ability to transform educational conceptions, and the ability to adapt individual practice to support students' changing, diverse needs.
- An analysis is required of the pedagogy employed in training future teachers and of the assumed methodological forms, given that normal schools have shown prolonged use of traditional, passive methods of teaching—a teaching model that contradicts new discourses on pedagogy.
- It is pertinent to encourage postgraduate studies in other national and foreign institutions as an alternative close to other theoretical perspectives in the educational field, in addition to training agents of educational transformation, promoting classroom research and curriculum adaptation, and motivating educational innovation.

Without doubt, addressing the training of teacher educators implies taking into account many more aspects of the contexts in which teacher educators develop their practice, as well as the importance of their work in constructing education. The indications up to this point provide only a panorama of some of the challenges to consider for rethinking the preparation and professional development of these educators, who are responsible for the learning of those just beginning the trajectory of teaching.

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The Normal School Education: Its Transition through Higher Education. Policies, Reforms and Tensions

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The purpose of this article is to explain the policies and reforms that have marked the insertion and transition of the normal schools in higher education. The article specifically analyzes the Institutional Improvement Program (Promin) in the public normal schools.[1] Promin is oriented to the transformation of normal education, based on a system of planning and evaluation for obtaining financing in addition to the funds the federation assigns to these institutions on an annual basis for their regular functioning.

First presented is the contextual framework of policies and reforms for inserting the normal schools into higher education. Second, the general characteristics of Promin are described, along with the general logic of operation, the explanation of participation in the processes of planning and evaluation, and the problems and transformations perceived in the program's implementation. Lastly, mention is made of some of the tensions schools have experienced due to the program's operation, as well as reflections on changes the institutions will have to face in their accelerated transition through higher education.

[1]The article refers to these institutions as schools or normal schools.

Teacher Training, Entry to Higher Education

In the 1980s, Mexico faced profound changes as a result of the developing state's replacement by a liberal, individualistic, and differentiating state—a state characterized by the reduction of public spending and an internal crisis of the educational system. International bodies like the World Bank, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and the Inter-American Development Bank promoted initiatives for raising the quality of education by awarding financing based on obtained results and the rendering of accounts. Specifically, the World Bank emphasized the need to implement mechanisms in educational systems for institutional performance and evaluation through external evaluations.

These factors permitted institutions of higher education in Mexico to undertake transformations to promote the quality of education, based on an evaluation policy associated with public financing and the implementation of evaluation programs to influence working conditions and faculty salaries (Arnaut, 2003).

This scenario was the preface to the normal schools' statement of the need to professionalize teacher training—a request they had been making since the 1940s—by elevating normal school studies to the undergraduate level and making salaries equivalent to those of other institutions of higher education.

In response, in 1984, years of study were added to the major in basic education, in order to make it equivalent to the years of study required by higher education, and a high school diploma was established as an entrance requirement. Reyes and Zúñiga (1994) called this action the *university equivalency of the normal schools,* affirming that the measure was isolated and lacked a medium-term academic strategy to support normal education. It was a response that followed the trend of "professionalizing teaching work"; salaries and the distribution of teachers' classroom hours were made equivalent to those of the National Polytechnic Institute; the areas of teaching, research, and the dissemination of information were constituted as substantive for the work of normal schools; and a new plan of undergradu-

ate studies was established, leading to cracks and ruptures in the normal school culture, "with the abrupt incorporation of quite varied codes from the currents in vogue at that moment, from various educational, pedagogical, anthropological, and sociological disciplines" (Sandoval, 2008:32).

Positioning normal school education within the Secretariat of Higher Education did not translate into a design of strengthening strategies. On the contrary, the lack of attention and concern for the normal schools led to a minimal relation with other institutions of higher education, limiting even more the possibility of developing normal schools. Normal schools were considered an isolated sector, and worse yet, were marginalized from the policy of the corresponding under secretary. In addition, few budgetary supports and strategies were available for renovating the organization and functioning of the normal schools and their teachers (Reyes and Zúñiga, 1994). "This situation was not new. The normal schools had passed [through] an institutional abandonment that furthered their academic deterioration and even led to questions regarding the pertinence of their existence" (Sandoval, 2008:32).

The Program for the Academic Transformation and Strengthening of the Normal Schools (PTFAEN). A Policy for the Strengthening of the Normal Schools

In the 1990s, the National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic Education (ANMEB, 1992) set forth a new policy and reform for normal school education. A substantial aspect was the normal schools' decentralization to the states, a process known as educational federalism. The federal authority conserves the authority to formulate the plans of study for normal education, educational policy, and standards for teacher training, as well as the procedures for evaluating the national educational system as a whole. The state authorities are responsible for operating national educational policy in the state and defining the lines of work and specific programs. This measure was presented as an opportunity for "transforming and integrating state systems of normal school teaching" (Arnaut, 1998:200). The aim was

better local and national coordination of a segmented system. However, it provided for an unequal distribution of federal and state authorities in a decentralized/centralized federalism in which one party has the *power* and the other, the *administration* (Ornelas, 2004, in Sandoval, 2008).

In 1996, the Program for the Academic Transformation and Strengthening of the Normal Schools was implemented. The program was conceived as an integral proposal for promoting in-depth transformations by contemplating lines of action: curriculum transformation, the professional training of teacher educators at normal schools, the preparation of orientation for institutional management and the regulation of teaching work, and the improvement of the normal schools' physical plant and equipment.

> Counter to international trends that for years have stated the usefulness of transferring teacher education to the universities, the PTFAEN expressed a governmental policy decision to maintain the normal schools' responsibility for the initial education of teachers in basic education, and to strengthen and transform the normal schools to consolidate and improve academic life in a substantial manner (Sandoval, 2008:33).

Difficulties were encountered in implementation: the start-up of the study plans instituted in 1997; the limited, and in some states nonexistent follow-up and continuity regarding training in cascade, which did not influence all teacher educators; the complex linking and work with schools of basic education; the limited training of tutors in the schools for practice teaching; and the organization of work centered on teaching. These difficulties were caused to a large degree by a federation that left diverse vacuums after transferring greater responsibilities to the states (Ezpeleta, 2004). The normal schools had to face a reform that accented the differences in the quality of teacher education in schools located in different sociocultural contexts. Such was the case of the rural normal schools "that have been going through a situation of deterioration, which neither this nor other programs have been able or have wanted to address, and which nonetheless remain as a example of the diversity of the normal school community" (Gutiérrez, 2006:8).

The intent to transform the normal schools based on the lines implemented with PTFAEN represented:

> […] the motivation to advance in their academic work. In other normal schools, it favored the beginning of some changes. And lastly, for still other normal schools, the change proposed for teacher training through Plan 1997 still represents a long road to travel (Czarny, 2003:17).

Schools' participation in the program revealed the existing inequality among normal schools due to factors of their characteristic historical, social, political, and economic context. This context limited but did not stop movement "as a form of change […] that is expressed in different manners in the normal schools" (Czarny, 2003:42). In addition, areas were identified where the educational authorities, teachers, and directors of the normal schools need to make greater efforts in their intervention.

The Presence of Planning and Evaluation in the Normal Schools. The Program of Institutional Improvement in the Public Normal Schools (Promin)

Six years after the development of the Program for the Academic Transformation and Strengthening of the Normal Schools, Promin was implemented to reinforce the actions undertaken and to follow the policy of:

> […] promoting teachers' initial and continual education to ensure the agreement of contents and educational practices with regard to the purposes of basic education, as well as the academic and administrative transformation of the normal schools to guarantee the presence of the professionals basic education requires (National Education Plan, 2001:149).

Promin is a federal program directed to the public normal schools as a strategy that establishes planning and evaluation as instruments for obtaining resources in addition to the regular budget. The uncertain context provoked in the 1980s "by the regulation of entrance, the closure of the normal schools, the restriction of new positions [and] the limitations on the security of the automatic assignment of positions to graduates" (Ezpeleta, 2004:33) caused the program to have "good acceptance": the possibility of

obtaining additional economic resources existed, and the schools participated voluntarily, according to the rules of operation.[2]

The program promotes six lines of work: combating delays in infrastructure, remedying the lack of equipment in schools, improving planning processes, revitalizing collegiate work, promoting evaluation and the rendering of accounts, and renovating the administrative function. The purpose is to generate strategies that contribute to the consolidation of state systems of normal education in each federal entity. Such strategies take the shape of innovative projects in academic practices and normal school management. Thus a new practice is started: strategic planning and external evaluation, implying a different form of management with new "forms of regularization and control that are associated with standardized systems of planning and evaluation that seek to homogenize systems, not necessarily in a search for democracy, but according to the idea of maintaining systems of exclusion and segregation" (Gutiérrez, 2006:4). The normal schools would have to compete among themselves for the assignment of non-regular resources —a situation that revealed the schools' still unequal conditions.

To analyze Promin, attention is centered on the factors that have affected the processes of planning and evaluation, the criteria for assigning financing, and the transformations that have been generated in normal education.

The Presence of Planning and Evaluation in the Normal Schools. First Phase

In its first four promotions (2002, 2003, 2004 and 2005), Promin maintained a system of strategic planning that consisted of preparing a diagnosis and designing an Institutional Development Plan (PDI), preparing an Annual Work Program (PAT), selecting priorities and supportive resources,

[2] These must be "approved by the Secretariat of the Controllership and Administrative Development (Secodam) and the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit, and published annually in the *Official Gazette*. Each year, they will define: coverage; the target population; the characteristics of support (amounts, areas of application, time periods, criteria of distribution); the assignment, distribution and application of resources the schools receive; beneficiaries (requirements for participation, commitments, sanctions, guidelines for preparing the PDI); mechanisms of coordination; the mechanics of operation; program and budget reports; evaluation and the indicators of results" (Gutiérrez, 2006:12).

the educational authorities' ruling on projects, and implementing the planning and realization of local and federal evaluations between peer and external institutions.

The external evaluations indicate that the conceptual and technical appropriation of strategic planning and evaluation was differentiated by unequal starting points at each school. These starting points were expressed in schools' material, human, political, cultural, and organizational conditions. In general terms, there has been recognized gradual comprehension of the planning processes. There has also been a recurrence of methodological problems related to the articulation and continuity of strategic projects for attaining medium- and long-term goals and objectives. This situation has revealed institutional difficulties in long-term visualizations, and the state and federal authorities' lack of clarity regarding what is expected of these institutions.

In recurring form, projects were focused on maintaining infrastructure and acquiring equipment and furnishings as a condition for academic work: 80% of the financial resources were used for infrastructure in Promin 2002, and the remaining 20% for activities that strengthened teaching and learning processes. In the subsequent promotions, the criteria established in the rules of operation attempted to balance the distribution of resources: 50% for academic projects and 50% for physical infrastructure. A statement was made of the need to elaborate projects oriented to five priorities: application of plans and programs of study, the professional development of teaching and administrative personnel, the supplementary training of students from the normal schools, the linking of normal schools with basic education, and the improvement of physical infrastructure, equipment, and services.

In this planning process, one of the most significant elements for the normal schools was the elaboration of the institutional diagnosis, not only because of the degree of difficulty in constructing an instrument that reveals strengths and weaknesses, but also because of the need to have a vision of the process and the ability to address those strengths and weaknesses. In states like Chiapas, Estado de México, Puebla, and Veracruz, single-direction practices were reported in decision-making by school directors and state authorities, with little or no participation from the teaching commu-

nity. In some cases, influence from the State Ruling Committee[3] (CDE) was also seen in the uniformity of documents (External Evaluation, 2005).

The process of evaluation, selection and rulings was expressed in technical rulings from the Institutional Development Plan and the Annual Work Plan. The criteria established for this effect were restated from one promotion to the next, going from components and weighted scales to indicators of pertinence and feasibility,[4] and in 2005, to traits of evaluation.[5]

The issuance of technical rulings from each State Ruling Committee determined to a large degree the normal schools' position in the assignment of resources. An example is the case of two states that show the degree of subjectivity in applying criteria for rulings at the state and school level within the same state.

In the first state, School A was selected in 2002 to receive program resources. In 2003, the school was not approved; in 2004, it participated once more, attaining 100% of the request. The external evaluation in 2005 revealed the following:

> It is strange that in 2003, it had difficulties in preparing a diagnosis when in 2002, no type of recommendation was recorded. Evidently it is something about CDE that ends up affecting the institution. Let us acknowledge that observations do not have to be reduced to errors. In other words, they can and should emphasize what is correct (Casillas and López, 2005:401).

School B: In 2002, the evaluation indicated that both the project content and institutional diagnosis were poor, and that the articulation of objectives and goals was not clear. However, 100% of the requested amount was au-

[3] Consisting of two representatives from the state educational authority, an outstanding teacher from each participating normal school, and two outstanding academics external to the normal school system and the state authority.

[4] The first is understood as the possibility of solving or supporting the solution of one or various problems in the processes of student learning, teacher practices, and institutional management; the second, as the possibility of carrying out actions within established times, with sufficient assigned resources.

[5] The traits were: orientation, integrality, participation, pertinence, perspective, and rationality at each level for issuing the ruling. In the first place, the desirable institutional profile and direction of change were considered; in the second place, the clarity, precision, consistency, coherence, and articulation of the PDI and PAT; and in third place, the pertinence and feasibility of the PDI and PAT.

thorized. In 2003, 100% was destined to a single component—infrastructure—and was authorized.

In the case of another federal entity, the highest amounts were assigned to schools with the lowest scores on the technical rulings. Some schools with excellent evaluations were assigned less than 50% of the requested amount.

As evident, different considerations exist in applying criteria for ruling on the projects at normal schools. Yet this is not the only weak point: the annual change of the State Ruling Committee has been another factor that has hindered follow-up on the projects and orientations for their construction. This denotes the absence of program follow-up at the federal and state levels—follow-up to contribute elements for improving the program and to aid the normal schools, particularly in the processes of returning observations and recommendations.

Regarding the number of schools benefited by the program, in 2002, 203 normal schools were contemplated, without including the Federal District (DF); in 2003 and 2004, the number remained at 218 schools, including the Federal District. The external evaluations report that the initial promotions left out between 20% and 25% of the nation's normal schools meeting the requirements. But the precise causes for their lack of participation are not known (Gutiérrez, 2006).

Promin in the Second Phase of Operation: PEFEN 1.0 and 2.0.

As the normal schools were progressing in the comprehension of a logic of strategic planning, a process of state and national discussion was implemented in 2003 to define a *National Policy for the Professional Development and Training of Teachers in Basic Education—Guiding Document* (2004). This document suggested a strategy of greater scope for the transformation of public normal schools: integrating them into the Under Secretariat of Higher Education and Scientific Research with the idea of making planning and evaluation processes as equivalent as possible with the guidelines in effect for the strategic programs of institutions of higher education. This situation was made concrete in the creation of a General Directorship of Higher Education for Professionals in Education (2005).

It should be clarified that in 2005, the notification was issued for Promin, the normal schools presented their projects, and the rulings were issued for these projects. Yet the resources were not released because in October of the same year, the new rules of the program were presented:

> Discussion is centered on a policy oriented to strengthening Promin, taking as a point of reference what was "learned" from previous issues. Mention is made not of the specific components of managing [PDI and PAT] but of the programs and projects of the institution's general planning. It would seem that the assumption for 2005 is that experience in the timely preparation of these instruments during previous years has established the bases for a type of work that is apparently less directive and more in agreement with the dynamics of each school. On the other hand, possibilities are created for management linked to the state's strategic planning, and even to other normal schools or institutions of higher education (Casillas and López, 2005:57).

The progress made and the limitations identified in the first phase of the program, were left aside to enter a new logic of planning—now called integral—and of evaluation, in which projects should be oriented to:

> **[...]** *increasing the quality* of normal education, especially with reference to *the teaching and learning practices of the future teachers of basic education,*[6] by strengthening the state and institutional planning processes that influence institutional management and the development of ongoing improvement projects in the public normal schools (Casillas and López, 2005:57).

Therefore, integral planning should seek to align the objectives of federal policy for normal school education with the objectives of the state authorities in charge of the normal schools, as well as with the schools' objectives. Projects would be focused on updating, permanent training, technical/pedagogical advising, support materials, promotion of collegiate work, and relations with other institutions of higher education.

[6] Italics are taken from the cited text.

In this new phase, the term *ruling* was replaced by *evaluation* of an external nature. Such evaluation is based, however, on methodology established by the National Council of Evaluation of Social Development Policy, by means of an evaluation format called Model of Terms of Reference and a "matrix of indicators"—instruments that as a whole omit qualitative aspects that explain the processes experienced in a different manner in each normal school.

The evaluation considers indicators relative to effectiveness: the achievement level of 6th-semester students on the General Examination for the Undergraduate Degree in Preschool Education; the achievement level of 6th-semester students on the General Examination for the Undergraduate Degree in Elementary School Education; the percentage of teachers and administrators with a bachelor's degree or higher; the percentage of students who receive tutoring, out of total enrollment; the percentage of public normal schools that began processes to evaluate study plans; the percentage of public normal schools that improved their equipment and the percentage of public normal schools that improved their infrastructure; as well as the use of instruments to discover teachers' and students' perceptions or the actions undertaken in their school, the General Balance of Regional Workshops for the updating and self-evaluation of the State Plan for Strengthening Normal School Education and the derived programs, and progress made in the System of Follow-up, Evaluation and Rendering of Accounts and in Information Systems for Implementation.

One of the aspects emphasized by the external evaluations of PEFEN 1.0 and 2.0 is the lack of precision in the total requests for financial support: Calculations by external evaluators (2007) indicate that 198 normal schools in 28 states participated in PEFEN 1.0, a number that increased to 220 schools in 32 states for PEFEN 2.0. Imprecise data is due to the lack of progress in the systematization of information; however, estimates reveal that not all of the normal schools participate in the program. Thus the data are not reliable.

The distribution of resources to the states in the last two promotions of Promin continued to occur in a differentiated manner based on criteria like the number of public normal schools that participate in the program by state and the enrollment served. Chart 1 shows the five states with most assigned

resources.[7] At first glance, the criteria would justify the apparently unfair distribution of resources; however, upon observing the average amount per school per state, one notices that the application of these criteria translates into a disadvantage for the normal schools in states that have more schools.

States with the Highest Percentage of Resources Destined to Programs for Strengthening Schools (ProFEN) at the National Level (2007)
Chart 1

State	Assigned Amount ProFEN	Percentage of National Total (%)	Benefited Schools	Average Amount per School
Federal District	27 293 390.19	10	5	5 458 678
Puebla	23 594 997.78	7	10	2 359 500
Estado de México	19 867 411.41	7	36	551 873
Nuevo León	10 690 240.19	6	5	2 138 048
Chiapas	18 401 436.49	5	16	1 150 090

Source. Final Report of the Evaluation of the Model of Terms of Reference of the Program of Institutional Improvement of the Public Normal Schools 2007. Note: Amounts are expressed in Mexican pesos.

Another factor that affected the distribution of PEFEN resources in the second stage of Promin was the distribution of the budget between the state authorities (ProGEN) and schools (ProFEN). See Chart 2.

[7] Amounts expressed in Mexican pesos. As a reference for readers in other countries, the average exchange rate as of December 31, 2007, was 10.93 Mexican pesos per US dollar. Source: Fiscal Administration System of the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit. http://www.sat.gob.mx/sitio_internet/asistencia_contribuyente/informacion_frecuente/tipo_cambio/42_8980.html . Consulted February 16, 2009.

States with the Highest Percentage of Resources Destined to the State Authority's Strengthening Program (ProGEN) in Relation to the Percentage of Resources Destined to Programs for Strengthening Schools (ProFEN), at the National Level (2007)
Chart 2

State	Amount Assigned to ProGEN	Percentage in Relation to the Total Assigned to the State (%)	Amount Assigned to ProFEN	Percentage in Relation to the Total Assigned to the State (%)	Number of Schools Benefited in Relation to the Total Schools per State	Average Amount per School
Tabasco	6 795 602.76	60	4 467 189.02	40	5 (5)	893 438
Querétaro	3 048 247.38	52	2 801 300.00	48	2 (5)	1 400 650
Nuevo León	10 690 240.19	50	10 690 240.19	50	5 (5)	2 138 048
Colima	870 480.81	44	1 108 640.00	66	1 (1)	1 108 640
Campeche	1 522 965.43	37	2 624 276.77	63	9 (12)	291 586
Jalisco	5 479 770.64	33	11 196 935.36	67	11 (11)	1 017 903
Yucatán	3 310 610.41	33	6 658 418.04	67	6 (6)	1 109 736
Coahuila	2 935 710.21	30	6 689 604.35	70	8 (8)	836 201

Source. Final Report of the Evaluation of the Model of Terms of Reference of the Program of Institutional Improvement of the Public Normal Schools 2007. Note: Amounts are expressed in Mexican pesos.

States like Tabasco, Querétaro, and Nuevo León allocate 50% or more to the state authority's projects; Colima, Campeche, Jalisco, Yucatán and Coahuila allocate more than 30% to this item. In this sense, careful study is still required to determine the impact of the state authorities' projects on the normal schools' administration and academic management of improvement in training processes. It is noteworthy that in the case of Tabasco, 60% is allocated to the state authority's project (ProGEN) and 40% is distributed among the five participating normal schools. However, the null or little knowledge about the projects presented, their progress, follow-up, results, and implementation translate into a lack of qualitative elements

to explain processes. This situation contradicts the program's purposes of transparency and the rendering of accounts.

Tensions Experienced

Different groups have participated in the external evaluations. Chart 3 points to the principal impact on the organization and functioning of the normal schools as reported by external evaluators.

As the chart shows, the external evaluations of Promin are centered on explaining a gradual process in understanding the program's rules of operation and in constructing strategic planning and standardized evaluation. This process marked and will continue to mark tensions regarding the technical/administrative nature of the program as well as its academic nature.

> Special care was given to the control of resources and the observance of certain requirements and procedures; with greater or lesser effectiveness, the tasks of information and linking were fulfilled; the state ruling was organized with diverse criteria, and there was practically no "retort" from the national training that tended to be delegated in the schools. During the self-evaluations and the design of the PDI and PAT, communication with the schools was scarce; it was limited to providing information, urging the delivery of documents, sometimes adjusting final documents before delivery, and supervising budgetary calculations closely (De Garay, 2007:69).

The accent was on the administrative and operational part, not on constant, systematic accompaniment to favor and strengthen the conception of strategic planning and the elaboration of academic proposals according to the normal schools' needs.

Therefore, efforts from the schools have not necessarily been aimed at constructing a long-term Institutional Academic Project, in which Promin would be constituted as a tool in attaining the project proposals; the process is centered on annual planning.

Participating Institutions in External Evaluations.
Recognition of the Impact of Promin on Normal Education
Chart 3

Institutions	Principal Impact Identified by Evaluating Institutions
Universidad Autónoma de México. Azcapotzalco. 2002	Most of the normal schools have a PDI and a PAT. Improved dynamics of the internal life of the normal schools. Improvement of the infrastructure of physical space, which was deteriorating in many cases. Acquisition of didactic and bibliographic materials, as well as technological equipment.
Universidad Iberoamericana. 2003	The normal school communities began to make Promin theirs. Encouragement was given to the normal schools, which had been ignored, had few incentives, and had functioned through inertia. Renovation in the management of the normal schools.
Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas 2004	Favorable modification of institutional management. Influence on new forms of participation in communities. Updating of supporting materials and improvement of infrastructure.
Instituto de Investigaciones en Educación at Universidad Veracruzana and Universidad Autónoma de México. Azcapotzalco. 2005	Gradual process of understanding Promin objectives. Encouragement is given to the schools in favoring participative planning. Possibility of knowing and understanding the problems facing the schools.
Instituto de Investigaciones en Educación at Universidad Veracruzana and Universidad Autónoma de México. Azcapotzalco. 2006	Existence of a learning process in the design and operation of the program, based on the conditions of each normal school.
Universidad Autónoma de México. Azcapotzalco. 2007	Partial yet relevant aspects are shown in the improved quality of graduates from the public normal schools. Improved level of professor training, as seen in quantitative indicators. Beginning of reflection process on accrediting plans of study and certifying management processes.

Source. Final Report of the Evaluation of the Model of Terms of Reference of the Program of Institutional Improvement of the Public Normal Schools 2007.

Other tensions are experienced in preparing the technical reports requested by Promin and preparing the follow-up and evaluations of projects im-

plemented in the schools. These projects are inputs in identifying the lines of work that contribute to improving academic life at schools.

Although the chart shows progress in the updating of supporting materials and more actions for training teacher educators, processes in normal schools have made relevant progress in improving the quality of graduates. There is a perceived need to find ways for improving teaching and learning practices that result in better education for normal school students. There is also a need for new and better locations for academic work, as required by consulting in the final year of studies,[8] supportive counseling, student tutoring, meetings to design and implement programs for cultural dissemination and extension, research projects, and teacher collectives/academic bodies.

Additional tension is present in the lack of synchronization between the fiscal year the program establishes and the normal schools' calendar. The preparation of Promin coincides with the end of the school year, the summer vacation, and planning for the beginning of the new school year. The result is that work is centered on structural personnel, with little or no participation form teachers and students—factors that limit community participation and project appropriation.

External evaluations also identify tensions resulting from the implications of searching for additional resources. In this area, concerns are centered on responding to Promin's technical/administrative requirements and complying with promised activities, when faced with the conscious or unconscious neglect of daily activities inherent in teaching and with the need to comply with the school calendar (Gutiérrez, 2006). While progress is being made in the Promin promotions, external factors derived from the transformation processes of higher education and from social changes also create tension and uncertainty. An example is the professional regulation that reached the normal schools in the form of a policy for regulating enrollment. The policy came into effect in August, 2001, establishing criteria and recommendations from the federal authority for reducing ex-

[8] In their final year, normal school students carry out intensive practice teaching in preschool, elementary, or secondary schools, depending on their major.

cess enrollment, for diversifying enrollment by incorporating educational programs according to state needs, and for authorizing enrollment only in schools with academic capacity. Faced with these factors, the criteria for assigning non-regular financing to the normal schools through Promin must include formulas in addition to the number of schools and enrollment by state.

Certification is another policy expressed not only in the certification of administrative processes but also in the implementation of the entrance exam for teacher service and the opposition contest for designating directors and hiring teachers at the normal schools. This has been implemented very recently. However, the processes have been interrupted or affected by the presence of a union that obstructs the transparency of the process. As seen, the tensions experienced by normal schools are multiple and are expressed in the way work is carried out within each school.

Pending Tasks

Referring to normal schools' transition as institutions of higher education means referring to an "accelerated" process that presents ruptures, cracks, desynchronization, and continuity in the normal schools' functioning and organization. Policies and reforms are increasingly more oriented to neoliberal systems of evaluation and financing that demand new teacher identities. This process has positioned Mexico's system of teacher training in a moment of opportunity, as well as risk—a moment when the past and present take on relevance for constructing a future that demands new educational practices, a new form of management, and a rethinking of teacher training to meet the demands of an emerging 21st-century education.

> The transition clearly reveals those who are actors and those who simulate; it reveals and denudes society, the business sector, the political parties, and the union organizations. It denudes the educational system, its strengths and weaknesses, the achievements and challenges it faces […] The transition is at the same time a process of disintegration and a process of integration, because it alters the internal norms, the institutional and

> organic systems of educational systems as well as education itself. The transition must also be seen as a type of autonomy. Thus the transition is a place of freedom (Jiménez, 2007:298).

And questions arise. How can the normal schools be reconstructed as institutions of higher education when they continue to operate from a decentralized/centralized policy and union intervention gains increasingly more ground? Can it be done from a logic of standards and evaluation of the normal schools, which are clear on what and how to evaluate—inputs and processes—but not so clear on the desired "end product"? Can it be done from a program that establishes the rules of operation for accessing different financing in the schools and that marks the exclusion and disintegration of the system itself? What is the degree of autonomy and freedom that the normal schools require in order to train the teachers that basic education and society demand? How can meaning be given to an academic project of normal schools as institutions of higher education that are recovering their social function as training institutions for teachers in basic education? How can the transition be made from a conception of quality based on quantitative indicators, to educational quality, which according to Díaz and Espinosa (2001) responds to the needs of the place, the context, the conditions faced by the normal schools, and the needs for training individuals who participate in the normal schools?

As the normal schools move through different reforms and programs for their strengthening, the schools "most resistant to change have had to undertake their transformation, either to adapt to the change of the educational system, to take advantage of the incentives offered by a policy that expressly seeks reform, or to survive with ever fewer resources" (Arnaut, 2003:40).

Their transition has permitted the identification of tensions present in daily life at school, of aspects of culture and institutional dynamics that require greater effort for their transformation, and of the emergence of new challenges. The normal schools, depending on their circumstances and conditions, will have to look for new ways to participate and construct lines of work that respond to challenges, such as:

- Addressing the disarticulated training of normal schools' faculty. No medium- and long-term strategy has been designed and implemented to train the institutions' teachers and directors. This point reveals a weak link between the needs of education and teachers' professional development. Ezpeleta (2004) indicates that teacher professionalization based on the design of professional trajectories creates a different path, with possibilities for obtaining better results.
- Working on inclusive, collaborative management in the schools, to avoid the conformation of an elite with specialized knowledge for strategic and integral planning, far from the knowledge and recognition of the schools' teaching work, and from the training needs of their teachers—teachers who face in the here and now the challenges of a 21st-century education. Part of such inclusive, collaborative management should have its point of articulation and equilibrium with teachers' semester reports and plans, as well as with the creation and revision of norms and guidelines for academic work, which should not favor seniority in the system or personal attributes.
- Suggesting forms of organization that show a systematic proposal for work that responds to the needs of higher education: teaching, research, student instruction, and cooperative work. In this sense, there is an observed need to reorganize teaching work, time management, and the assignment of commissions and subjects to teachers, as well as to review the availability of necessary teachers. In this respect, there is an observed tendency for the size of the faculty to contract in the normal schools, due to a minimal increase in positions for academic personnel. It is sufficient to state that in the 1990s, this percentage was only 8.7% versus 82.4% in institutions of higher education (ANUIES, 2000). The situation is aggravated by the voluntary retirement policy, which in recent years has led to the retirement of faculty and staff, as well as the freezing of positions for public education in general.
- Reconstructing the direction and meaning of collegiate work and its implications for the transformation of academic work that is oriented to the revision and transformation of teaching practices; the associa-

tion with practice-teaching schools from a perspective of immersion in the construction of the target field of study and intervention; the collaboration and training of tutors in the practice-teaching schools; and reorientation of accompaniment during practice teaching and teacher observation.

- Regarding the positioning of normal school education in the Under Secretariat of Higher Education, which is characterized by a logic of administrative, financial, and academic operation far from basic education (where the normal schools have acquired their professional identity and social recognition), the differences must be clarified between the universities' professional and scientific training and the professional training of teachers for basic education—specific training that cannot be replaced by training programs in the social sciences with a specialization in education (De Garay, 2007).

Lastly, it must be emphasized that the operation and effectiveness of Promin depend on the extraordinary resources in the annual executive budget. This does not guarantee continuity, but positions the normal schools within the same logic as institutions of higher education in the search for resources and support.

> Will this mean the strengthening or the end of these institutions? Do these institutions have the ability to become involved in these dynamics? Lastly, another question may be pertinent: Does Promin hope to support the normal schools so that they can continue in their task of training teachers, or does it hope to transform the normal schools in order to distance them from their initial task, eliminate their identity, and finish them off in the medium term [and gradually]? (Gutiérrez, 2006:15-16).

The recent process of review and adjustment of the program's rules of operation, which as a result suggests that the normal schools compete for two-year financing—Promin 2009-2011—positions the schools at a critical point. To a large degree, the continuity of financial support for improvement processes will depend on the ruling obtained for its projects.

As shown in the various parts of this article, the normal schools, particularly in the past eight years, have experienced an accelerated process in implementing a reform that shows continuity in its central core: planning and evaluation as instruments for obtaining special financing. Beyond achievements, transformations, and pending tasks, there is evidence of lapses, unfulfilled purposes, contradictions, neglect, and omissions, in which not only the normal schools and their educational communities are involved, but also the federal and state authorities to a greater or lesser degree, as well as rulings committees, the institutions that have participated in external evaluations, teachers and specialists in institutions and organizations of higher education that have accompanied the development of specific projects, and the practices of a union strengthened by the state itself. Although the normal schools are responsible for finding their way, it is also true that a larger margin of autonomy is required for their academic and administrative organization, fair and inclusive programs, and the presence of institutions and organizations of higher education that are familiar with and responsibly involved in processes for improving normal school and basic education. Pertinent, congruent policies and reforms are required, as well as firm, decided cooperation for improving public education.

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Section II

Experiences in Teacher Education

Quality Teacher Education: Teaching for Diversity in an Era of Standardization

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In the United States, the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001 and its subsequent interpretation and implementation have resulted in increased standardization of instruction in public schools (England, 2005). This model of teaching and learning based on uniformity is mandated at the federal level and oftentimes local school administrators perpetuate the movement by adopting standardized, and sometimes even scripted, curriculum (Borko, Liston, & Whitcomb, 2007). Students are increasingly exposed to low-skill instruction, which has resulted in a shrinking curriculum (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2008). In such a uniform system, the role of the teacher is that of a technician applying a prescription developed by government entitities and textbook publishers rather than that of facilitator, problem-poser, critical thinker, and creative planner.

Teacher education programs have felt the pressure of the standardized system. In many cases teacher education is also being reduced to a positivistic and scientific endeavor. This is evident in the teacher education standards movement. Teacher education programs now have a set of concrete standards which can be numerically evaluated and assessed by accreditation agencies (Beyer, 2002). Arguably, some standards are neces-

sary to promote excellence in the profession; however, national standards for teacher education ignore local and regional differences and realities, compromising the ability of future teachers to critically address diversity (Beyer, 2002). The diversity in our country, state and community reflects a lack of homogeneity in terms of socio-economics, race, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, ability, or sexual orientation. Furthermore, when national standards are applied broadly to teacher education programs, attention to the diverse social, cultural, and economic realities of the population of a region are ignored (Cochran-Smith, 2004). With so much time and attention focused on meeting the national standards, teacher educators have less room in their classes and programs to foster intellectualism, creativity and critical thought and action (Beyer, 2002). Standardization at the teacher education[1] level leaves little room for innovation and alternatives in teacher education.

However, educators and teacher educators alike can attest to the fact that teaching is not purely a technical activity that can be reduced to a specific skill set (Beyer, 2002). Teaching is, or should be, a dynamic process to prepare students to be the problem solvers of tomorrow. Teacher educators and teachers must embrace a broader vision of teaching and learning. Teaching is complex, and as Borko, Liston and Whitcomb (2007) suggest, educators at all levels must critique, and if necessary, resist the manualization, or standardization of a profession because standardized curriculum and methodology do not always meet the needs of diverse students (England, 2005).

Teacher education programs are slowly beginning to respond to the nationalized standards movement by posing questions to leadership, advocating for some level of autonomy, and defending innovative programs that do not fit into a bureaucratic mold (Gibson, 2003). Collectively, the reactions and responses by teacher preparation programs and institutions represent widespread possibility to maintain programs that address diversity and develop prepared teachers.

[1] For more information on how standards work at the teacher education level see The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education website at http://www.ncate.org.

One example of such a response is the widespread development of "grow-your-own" programs. These programs recruit and support community members to become teachers. Many such programs recruit educational assistants, who currently work in classrooms as support personnel and who generally receive a low salary. Universities often create special course offerings and student teaching options to support these students. Although grow-your-own programs are present in teacher preparation programs nationally, a grow-your-own program at the University of New Mexico will be different from one at any other university. By necessity New Mexican grow-your-own programs recruit teachers from rural Hispanic and indigenous communities who can respond more easily to students needs.

Other examples of resistance to standardization lie in teacher education's community and school partnerships, assigning projects that address diversity in teacher education courses, and developing specific courses related to diversity. Hargreaves and Shirley (2008) note that when faculty members become active in struggling schools, there is a decreased tendency for schools to adopt standardized programs. Teacher educators and the teachers they prepare must also develop advocacy skills (Borko, Liston & Whitcomb, 2007). It will be up to educational professionals to redefine what is important and prioritize other knowledge (Hargreaves & Shirley, 2008). When educators are passive and silent, external forces have more power to create authoritative national policies that restrict the curriculum and limit the ability of teachers to work as agents of change in diverse communities.

In this article, we will describe our own responses to the current climate in teacher education. We are both teacher educators at the University of New Mexico, which is situated in an urban setting in the center of a largely rural state.[2] Like others across our country, our teacher preparation programs at the University of New Mexico (UNM) are caught in the dilemma of having to meet state and national standards while preparing teachers to

[2] For a demographic description of the population of the state see the United States Census Bureau website at http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/35000.html. To understand some of the diversity of the student population at the University of New Mexico see the enrollment reports at http://registrar.unm.edu.

meet the needs of our diverse student population. First, we will describe the elementary teacher preparation program and then outline a pedagogical response--the oral histories in a social studies methods course. Then, we will describe the early childhood program and a curricular response—a set of courses and strategies for field placement of pre-service educators.

Elementary Teacher Preparation

Elementary pre-service teacher education at the University of New Mexico has two general paths, one at the undergraduate level, and the second at the post baccalaureate level. Undergraduate teacher candidates complete university requirements in the social sciences, humanities, and sciences during their first two years at the university, as well as take prerequisite courses related to educational psychology, educational diversity and linguistics, and educational technology.[3] In order to begin the professional coursework sequence (methods classes and field placements), the undergraduates must be accepted into the elementary education program sometime after their freshman year. Post baccalureate preservice teachers already hold degrees in related fields and complete the professional coursework sequence to become licensed and may count some of their licensure credits toward a master's degree.

Once accepted, all pre-service teachers begin a three semester sequence of coursework and fieldwork. In the first and second semesters of this sequence, the pre-service teacher takes four teaching methods classes (with a cohort of students). In semester one, there is also a one-day-a-week field placement; in semester two, the field placement increases to two days a week. There is also a seminar to address issues associated with fieldwork. In the third and final semester, the pre-service teacher is designated as a full time student teacher and spends five days a week in a classroom.[4] Under

[3] The College of Education Website contains links to all programs and the required courses. http://coe.unm.edu.

[4] The Elementary Education Program attempts to offer field placements in schools in different areas of the city that reflect the diversity of the region (ethnic, socio-economic, racial, linguistic, etc.).

the supervision and mentorship of master teachers, the pre-service teachers are active in all aspects of classroom and school life. They are evaluated according to the New Mexico teacher competencies and the College of Education conceptual framework. At the end of the semester, if they have successfully completed all degree and state of New Mexico licensure requirements, including passing a set of standardized tests, they can receive their licenses.[5]

Challenges and Possibilities Associated With Diversity: Elementary Education Program

In the UNM Elementary Education Program, faculty members recognize the need to prepare teachers to work in diverse school settings with students from a broad spectrum of society. Research on teacher education indicates that there are numerous paths to prepare teachers for diversity, from offering specific coursework, to integrating culturally relevant pedagogical strategies throughout the program, to providing a wide array of classroom field experiences (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Howard, 2003; Darling-Hammond, 2002). The work begins by helping pre-service teachers first identify that they themselves are impacted by culture and experience, and secondly, understand that the students they will teach will also be impacted by culture and experience. All of our preservice teachers take a class titled *Educating the Linguistically Diverse Student*. This class is an in-depth focus on language and diversity issues and how those play out in classrooms and communities. Students are encouraged to take responsibility for implementing strategies and preparing curricula that meet the specific needs of linguistically and culturally diverse students. We also help them understand that unless they analyze their attitudes, beliefs, and opinions about diverse children, they could inadvertently alter their expectations for student ability and achievement. With this class as a foundation, we reinforce the big ideas from this class throughout the program. The following section describes a teaching and research project imbedded in a

[5] The State of New Mexico Public Education Department lists state licensure guidelines. http://www.ped.state.nm.us.

required methods class that encourages students to explore diversity while learning about elementary social studies pedagogy, historical research, and personal history.

Oral Histories in a Social Studies Methods Class

> …I've made sure my children and grandchildren are well educated in the story of our past. Stories have a life of their own. They grow as children grow, and perhaps we forget the small thing they once were. But we nurture them just because we respected what was there in the beginning. (Elphinstone, 2000, p. 25)

The above quote from the historical novel, *The Sea Road* (Elphinstone, 2000) reminds me of the value in passing stories from generation to generation in the oral tradition. Although the quote comes from a work of fiction, it resonates with me in my work as a multicultural, social studies teacher educator. In my junior level university social studies methods class, elementary pre-service teachers complete an oral history assignment to invigorate their interest and enthusiasm for the social studies, to empower them as historical researchers, and to participate in an authentic multicultural teaching activity. Elementary education pre-service teachers often enter their teacher education program with mixed feelings and attitudes about the social studies. Apprehension, negativity, inexperience and a limited social studies content knowledge base stem from an assortment of their own schooling experiences.

I developed the oral history assignment because of what I learned about my students' prior experiences with social studies. I begin the semester by having the students write a social studies autobiography. This in-class assignment requires students to reflect on their own experiences as social studies learners. The autobiographies consistently reveal some common trends in social studies experiences. A majority of the students report feeling unprepared to teach social studies because they can only recall lectures and textbook-based activities consisting of reading a passage and completing end of section reviews. Most students also report that they did not study the local culture, individuals, places, and events that shaped their communities. Additionally, there is always a handful of students who do

not have any substantial recollection of social studies instruction at all. As can be expected, these passive, bland, and sometimes negative experiences contribute to pre-service teacher angst and insecurity when it come to teaching social studies (Pruyn, Hayworth, & Sánchez, 2006; Kincheloe, 2001). Furthermore, students are baffled when it comes to integrating a curriculum and pedagogy that is responsive to diversity. While they have taken a diversity course prior to the social studies methods course, they have not solidified or explored concrete examples of the dispositional, curricular and pedagogical realities of multicultural praxis (Banks, 2006; England, 2005).

The oral history assignment is an attempt to engage my students in an authentic social studies experience. Oral history is a means by which individuals, in this case elementary pre-service teachers, collect the stories of one or more persons from a different generation (Dickson, Heyler, Reilly & Romano, 2006; Richie, 2003; Perks & Thomson, 1998). In our class, students receive the following guidelines for their process:

1. Decide on whom you want to interview and write notes on why.
2. Set up an appointment with the person you want to interview.
3. Research the historical events that have occurred in the person's lifetime to establish a point of reference.
4. Conduct and audio record the interview. Begin with the date, time, place and full name of the person. Ask about the person's parents and family members.
5. Ask the person to talk about memories of personal significance. Ask probing questions to get details about events.
6. Once the story is recorded, listen to it and find meaning and significance in the recollection. Conduct additional research into the historical period, places, events, and issues described in the interview.

As pre-service teachers collect their interviews and conduct historical research, they document the stories, perspectives, and experiences that are often omitted, underrepresented, or misrepresented in the traditional documented historical record. This authentic research strategy values the

native languages and localized language practices of the interviewee. Passing on historical memories in the oral tradition is an important way that individuals from diverse groups cultivate, maintain, and preserve their histories. Indigenous groups often rely exclusively on the oral tradition to pass on prized wisdom and sacred knowledge. Sharing knowledge through oral history results in a relational way of knowing. Both the interviewee and the interviewer co-create meaning as the history unfolds (Bloom, 1998).

Student Response

In a recent social studies methods class students selected relatives, friends, and colleagues for their oral history interviews. The historical content gleaned from the interviews was expansive; students were able to collect stories ranging from the personal impact of the Great Depression, to intricate stories about life in the rural Southwest from several generations in the past. The interviews also unveiled information about numerous cultural practices and language patterns, including syntax, semantics, and lexicon that are becoming obsolete. When pre-service teachers interviewed relatives, they also discovered talents, family stories about struggle and pain, and other new information about their loved ones whom they have known all of their lives. For example, in one interview, a pre-service teacher named Mary[6] interviewed her mother who revealed significant class differences that existed between the two sides of the family. This revelation helped Mary come to new understandings about the family dynamics she had experienced throughout her life. Another student, James, who also interviewed his mother, learned that his mother was instrumental in developing valuable lifesaving technologies for neonatal units. The assignment turned out to be deeply personal, and students were often transformed by the family history presented to them.

Another fascinating element of the oral history assignment was that we were able to form connections in our own methods class based on the research and the interviews. Enriching personal connections is an important element of multicultural classrooms, and these connections were

[6] The names Mary, Manuel, James, Esperanza, Sarah and Felicia are pseudonyms.

made as a result of the assignment. For example, when Manuel interviewed his grandmother, she described living in military housing in a small New Mexico town after World War II after her husband returned from the war. My grandparents lived in the same housing complex during the same time period. When Manuel shared a photo of his grandparents standing in front of their housing unit, I recognized it immediately because my grandparents had a similar portrait of themselves taken in front of their unit. In another instance, Esperanza declared that her youngest sibling had been born prematurely in California and had benefited from the medical technologies developed by James' mother. In our diversity we were able to identify distinct geographic places, significant and understated historical moments, and people that connected us as a group.

Another member of the class interviewed an individual who had been connected to a school for many years. Sarah interviewed a math teacher who has been at the same school for over 30 years. Her oral history research project identified changes in the demographics of the school community, pedagogical and curricular changes in the middle school environment, and changes in early adolescent culture. The multicultural advantage for Sarah was that, in interviewing a legacy teacher at the school, she learned about the diverse students attending the school. The demographic shifts of our city became her focus. Urbanization, gentrification, and cultural patterns were described by the interviewee. This pre-service teacher was able to make a valuable contribution to school history.

The experience of engaging in authentic historical research using the oral history process was beneficial for the pre-service teachers in our social studies methods course. Students were able to acquire technical experience, imagine curricular possibilities, and explore an engaging pedagogy that is accessible to all students.

The oral history assignment serves five important purposes in the social studies methods course. First, it is a way for pre-service teachers to conduct authentic historical research related to individuals whose stories and histories are not always included in the studied social studies texts. Such historical reclamation is a noble and necessary component of multicultural education because it democratizes the curriculum. Second, the assignment

empowers pre-service teachers to conceive of themselves as historians. As historians, they enrich the content of the historical record by adding the perspectives of local individuals. Third, the assignment encourages pre-service teachers to inquire into their own areas of interest, another of the requisites of multicultural education (Banks, 2006; Howard, 2003). The fourth purpose is to help the pre-service teachers connect with local history, culture, and place and to draw parallels between canonical history and the lived histories of individuals. Finally, pre-service teachers gain experience with a research process that they can use with the diverse students in their own classrooms. Once they have practiced with the process on their own, they will be better prepared to use it in their own classroom practice. They will be able to teach children how to conduct oral histories.

Finally, as a group, the pre-service teachers themselves identified many benefits of oral history for students. The following list highlights some of the common responses from pre-service teachers. These responses were elicited and recorded in a whole class discussion:

- Oral history helps students connect to the past and students are the historians.
- History is made personal for students through the oral history research process.
- Students can research history from the perspective of their own families.
- Stories and experiences of the families and community members are important and should be valued and documented.
- The project integrates technology throughout the process to research, collect, and present information.
- Oral history develops literacy skills: listening, reading, speaking and writing.
- Oral history collection encourages family and community conversations.
- Oral history can encourage children to think about historical time in a tangible, developmentally appropriate way.
- Native languages can be used and included into the historical record.

The oral history assignment has been successful in my social studies methods course. Pre-service teachers learn a valuable research technique for encouraging historical thinking and also for developing curriculum and instruction that emphasizes the diversity of the class. My students expressed gratitude for the assignment for personal reasons as well. Felicia, who interviewed her grandmother, concluded her presentation with tears in her eyes. She poignantly described that she did not get to record her grandfather before he died. Numerous students reported that it was a transformational experience that brought them closer to their own relatives and communities. Although this effort highlights efforts by one faculty member in a pre-service education class, it is an example of how teacher educators can incorporate assignments that address both curricular and pedagogical necessities, while at the same time attending to multicultural and diversity issues. In the next section, we will describe the programmatic efforts to support diversity while adjusting to new mandates in the field of early childhood education.

EARLY CHILDHOOD MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

The Early Childhood Multicultural Education Program (ECME) is an undergraduate teacher preparation program at the University of New Mexico. Students who complete the program graduate with a Bachelor of Science degree in ECME and acquire the necessary competencies can apply to the New Mexico Public Education Department for an early childhood license to teach children birth to 3rd grade. Along with completing general education requirements and core content courses, students complete four semesters of practicum experience, and the final semester is spent in a full-time student teaching placement.

Challenges and Possibilities Associated with Diversity: Early Childhood Multicultural Education Program

In response to the demands of NCLB (2001) for more stringent and structured curriculum in some of the early childhood content areas, the state of

New Mexico instituted new requirements for the early childhood education licensure program. The current early childhood licensure requirements went into effect in 2006. The most significant changes in the program involved the addition of two reading methods courses, math and science methods courses, and changes in the structure of field experiences.

Many early childhood professionals disagreed with these changes because they saw these new regulations as a direct push toward more academically oriented programs as opposed to early childhood programs focused on child development and families (Copple & Bredekemp, 2009). Early childhood professional organizations, such as the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC)[7] and the Association for Childhood Education International (ACEI), have a long history of promoting early childhood principles and standards that are grounded in developmental theory and research. These conflicting philosophical and pedagogical perspectives create tension between government policy and professional practice.

This conflict is most evident in two distinct arenas of our Early Childhood Multicultural Education program. First, as a part of the College of Education, the ECME program is often misunderstood as preparation for caregivers or babysitters rather than a specialization. Hence, few people outside ECME completely comprehend the full effect of the mandated curriculum changes. The second arena where ECME encounters philosophical and pedagogical conflict is in some of the public school classrooms where ECME students are placed. ECME promotes an integrated curriculum approach that incorporates early childhood best practices and beliefs. ECME teachers learn how to incorporate all the content areas into a curriculum that respects how young children develop and learn best. This means that the curriculum will take into consideration developmental, individual, and cultural appropriateness for all the children. In addition, it could also mean that a play-based or learning center approach is incorporated rather than academic focused worksheets or workbooks. Unfortunately, these beliefs

[7] NAEYC is the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) Specialty Professional Association (SPA) for early childhood program accreditation.

and practices are not as likely to be supported when schools are forced to adhere to NCLB's stringent standard-driven and test-based learning. Thus student teachers or newly licensed early childhood teachers often face dilemmas in deciding what kind of education young children need.

In compliance with state and national standards, ECME teachers have to be educated in a number of important areas, including linguistic and cultural diversity, content knowledge in early childhood curriculum, family and community contexts, assessment, and effective teaching strategies. ECME incorporates the fundamental values articulated in NAEYC's Code of Ethical Conduct (Baptiste & Reyes, 2008) which stipulate that quality early childhood programs promote:

- Appreciating childhood as a unique and valuable stage of the human life cycle [and valuing the quality of children's lives in the present, not just as preparation for the future];
- basing our work with children on knowledge of child development [and learning];
- appreciating and supporting the close ties between the child and family;
- recognizing that children are best understood in the context of family, culture, and society;
- respecting the dignity, worth, and uniqueness of each individual (child, family member, and colleague); and
- helping children and adults achieve their full potential in the context of relationships that are based on trust, respect, and positive regard. (Feeney & Kipnis, 2004).

Early childhood professionals have fought the opposition hard for the past two decades in an attempt to keep early childhood education classrooms from becoming typically academic and standard driven. In 1987, NAEYC published a position statement on developmentally appropriate practices to guide EC professionals in the planning and delivery of quality early childhood programs for young children. This position statement was revised in 1998, and the new revision became available recently (NAEYC, 2009)

to continue to improve the quality of early childhood care and education programs. The Higher Education Task Force, under the authority of the federal Office of Child Development, revised the competencies, known as the Common Core Content, for early childhood teacher preparation bringing a more academic focus. In spite of strong disagreement with the new competencies, the ECME faculty brought our program into compliance with the new regulations.

Diversity and Teacher Preparation Courses

In spite of the pressure toward a greater focus on academics, ECME recognizes that culture, language, and literacy are interconnected and highly influence the education of young children (Banks, 2006; Nieto, 2002). ECME believes that multicultural education and/or diversity issues need to be integrated into all teacher education courses and encourages faculty efforts to implement the following ideals: 1) Teachers need to reflect on and understand their own backgrounds and histories. 2) Teachers need practice with a diversity of student populations. 3) Teachers need to get to know their students and their backgrounds in order to adequately teach them. 4) Teachers need safe environments that are conducive to discussions about culturally sensitive issues.

ECME has two specific courses dedicated to preparing pre-service teachers to work with diverse populations of students. *The Social, Political, & Cultural Context of Children & Families* is aimed at providing an ecological investigation of the interplay of young children and the socializing agents that contribute to their identity formation and development of their academic and social competencies. Students examine the family, cultural, social and political contexts of children's development in order to gain an understanding of how each interact and factor into children's development. In this course, we adopt the assumption of interdependence when considering the influences of these contexts on areas of development such as children's self-esteem, academic achievement, and cultural identity. Students examine and assess the relative risks and opportunities for children from all backgrounds.

This course facilitates the study of many issues related to diversity and pluralism and their affirmation in early care, education and family support

programs. Students carefully examine the concept of multicultural education and its relevance to early childhood professionals by examining their own conceptualizations of race, culture, religion, gender, class, ethnicity, political affiliation, diversity, power, and family. A major aim of this course is to help students increase their knowledge and understanding of the similarities and differences between their own cultures and the cultures of the children they will teach. It is expected that by the end of the course students will have gained a greater capacity for being responsive to the children and families in their classrooms.

The second course, Public Policy, Leadership, Ethics, and Reform in Early Childhood Education, focuses on broad policy issues impacting early childhood care and education and the advocacy and leadership role of the early childhood professional. Students study the connections between the diverse entities they work with and how they impact, and are impacted by, public policy. In one field experience, students are given the opportunity to observe a state advocacy and public policy session conducted by at least one of the interim legislative committees of the New Mexico State Legislature. Students also examine ethics related to policy, advocacy and the profession, including ethical issues related to inclusion, assessment, research, program evaluation, and compensation. The course is designed to help pre-service teachers realize their potential role as advocates for children and families and to recognize the positive impact they can have in and out of the classroom.

Field Experiences and Supervision

We continue our focus on helping our future early childhood educators further their ability to work with diverse populations. Our licensure program requires 150 hours of practicum (with birth to grade 3) and 12 credit hours of student teaching. Practicum hours are divided into four courses, and students take one per semester prior to student teaching. We seek to help our students learn to work with diverse children and families through a carefully designed array of field experiences. Each practicum focuses on different age or grade levels, and we place students in communities that vary in socioeconomic status, cultural background, and language. Students

receive multiple opportunities to work with children with special needs, in inclusive settings whenever possible. During their practica, students also attend seminars where they share their experiences, discuss assignments, ask questions, and reflect on their learning.

Conclusion

The examples from both the Elementary Education Program and the Early Childhood and Multicultural Education program highlight how individuals and programs at our university are responding to mandates and the larger standardized agenda while at the same time addressing issues of diversity. Although national standards including the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) and the standards set by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) do mention the need to address diversity, the method of accountability and the focus on testing standardized assessment have in actuality interfered with this initial intention (England, 2005). Cochran-Smith (2004) cites Banks and other multicultural educators who have advocated for multicultural, social justice focused teacher education in order to prepare teachers to teach an increasingly diverse population. In our state, we too are faced with an educational imperative to prepare teachers who are ready to solve complex problems and understand difference. With this in mind, teacher educators in our state and beyond must resist educational initiatives that seek to train teachers as technicians rather than to prepare teachers as creative, capable, and intellectual professionals.

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Thinking The World Of Teaching: Creating an sfu Vision Of Teacher Development

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Thinking the world of teaching encompasses the work being done in Professional Programs within the spirit of the times. It draws upon Simon Fraser University's aspiration to be "thinking of the world" and provides a comprehensive, overarching vision for the increasing diversification of Professional Programs. It advances the Faculty of Education's mission statement coined in 1965 of "helping the schools do a better job" by indicating that now, more than forty years on, we help the schools do a better job by preparing teachers to work in multicultural, diverse, worldwide and world-wise communities of educational practice.

Thinking the world of teaching is a statement of program vision that has taken some time and effort to bring into focus. The first thirty years of pre-service teacher education programming at Simon Fraser University focused on the Professional Development Program (PDP) as the most serviceable, inclusive, yet undifferentiated, route to teacher certification. Variations in program delivery occurred according to elementary or secondary level teaching, subject area specialization, and program location within the Province of British Columbia. But, with the notable exceptions of French and First Nations programming, initial teacher certification has been less

expressly about cultural and linguistic diversities and more about preparing teachers with the mainstream knowledge, skills and dispositions modeled by practicum supervisors and teacher mentors seconded from the field.

Approximately ten years ago the vision of simply "helping the schools do a better job" shifted. Due in part to the changing demographics of schools, the PDP instructional team began to envision teacher education that was more attuned to cultural diversity. Program options within the PDP, called 'modules' of thirty-two students who stay together as a cohort over two semesters, were designed with a view to enhancing intercultural understanding and being more reflective of the cultural composition of schools and of the Canadian, multicultural society. An international teacher education module (ITEM) of the PDP was created, with approval from the Provincial certifying body (the British Columbia College of Teachers), for practicum placements at international sites that have now included Panama, Mexico, China, and Trinidad and Tobago. A different module, subsequently designated as the Professional Qualification Program (PQP), was created for immigrant teachers seeking professional certification in Canada. This program has attracted teachers from across the globe, all of whom have English as a second or additional language. Also, in this most recent decade of pre-service teacher education, we have expanded Indigenous and French programming, the former taking on the stronger language and culture emphasis that the latter program has long maintained. Indigenous teacher education modules of the PDP and other program initiatives such as the three-year Developmental Standard Term Certificate (DSTC) offered within First Nations communities around the Province now recognize the importance of teacher education in not just addressing issues of culture and identity, but in actively preserving indigenous languages and cultures. A further program initiative, called the Paraprofessional Teacher Education Module (PTEM), is worth noting as well. It was created initially as a teacher certification bridge for special education and learning assistance workers in schools, and has now become a program of interest for easing access to teaching for those of aboriginal and other cultural minority backgrounds.

Thinking the world of teaching thus embraces possibilities for expanding what we do in teacher development, from an overriding concern for

pre-service teacher preparation in keeping with the expressed supply and demand dictates of the Province, to a responsible, responsive teacher education attuned to diversities, multiplicities, minorities and the changing complexions of schools. In this regard, we have worked towards creating a common sense of the primary dispositions of learning to teach that have been described as being essentially about *pedagogical sensitivity* and *other directedness*. These dispositions are understood corporeally and somatically, which is to say, as mindful behaviors. They pertain literally to how experienced teachers act in their own classrooms and how student teachers learn to act under the formers' mentorship examples. Accordingly, we have articulated, through admission and teacher evaluation processes, the comportments, motions, gestures, and expressions that attest to the embodiment of these dispositions, and we have given curricular shape to their practical and theoretical cultivation. Now we are challenged to view these dispositions of learning to teach culturally, inter-culturally and cross culturally as we look at the *complexions* of being pedagogically sensitive and other-directed and as we think expansively of the world of teaching. We use the term *complexions* to capture the nuanced meaning of hue or shading because it helps us think about learning to teach in dispositional ways that are not blind to color, race and linguistic and cultural complexities.

This article articulates this vision of teacher development. We consider, first of all, four visionary *registers* in thinking the world of teaching. These registers are actually experiential indices, registering with the "lifeworld existentials" of the "lived space," "lived time," "lived relations," and "bodily experience" (van Manen, 1990, p. 101-6) of teaching. Our phenomenological usage of *register* thus differs from its understanding in other theoretical and linguistic contexts. The spatial, temporal, relational and vital registers to which we refer are the different ways in which the world of teaching is not simply thought about but actually lived in the process of learning to teach. Second, we explore the practicalities of this overarching vision in terms of the dispositional development of pedagogical sensitivity and other directedness. We also discuss cross-module and program-wide dispositional emphases on the postures, positions, gestures and expressions of teacher development to now address the significance of the *complex-*

ions of teaching. In the third moment of this paper sets dispositional development within a curricular context. Cross-modular and program-wide themes of program planning are discussed in relation to the development of two further dispositions of reflective capacity and critical mindedness. These themes of equity, diversity, indigeneity, literacy, numeracy, ecology, technology, artistry and creativity, and health and physical activity provide the program design heuristics for incorporating the dispositional complexions of teaching more reflectively and for thinking critically of how best to prepare student teachers for the *worlds* of teaching practice. Finally, we return to considerations of the module and program design that best serve world-wise teacher development. The present paper focuses on pre-service teacher education; however, we propose a vision of *thinking the world of teaching* with practices and programming that apply to life-long, life-wide teacher development.

Visionary Registers

Four visionary registers frame our thinking about teaching not only as a local practice but also as one that draws upon international, intercultural, and global sensitivities. These registers involve thinking *spatially*, *temporally*, *relationally* and *vitally* about teacher education programming.

We think spatially about teaching when reminded that lived space is essentially about place (Casey, 1998), and that "places are pedagogical" (Gruenewald, 2003, p. 623). Being in different places allows one to broaden and transcend one's own life experiences and beliefs. International practica create experiences of intercultural challenge and enable direct, lived experience with members of another culture for our pre-service teachers. Although such place-centered pedagogy is increasingly recognized in all our programs, the International Teacher Education Module (ITEM) most clearly exemplifies its enactment. The ITEM employs place-centered pedagogy specifically through site activities in the Oaxaca region of Mexico, the city of Dalian in China, and the St. Augustine area of Trinidad. Nine weeks spent living, studying and teaching at these sites in the first semester of the

ITEM affords an array of experiences within and beyond school classrooms that help student teachers and their mentors understand how culture, place and pedagogy are interconnected. These activities focus student attention on what is sensed, felt, motion-detected or perceived and helps them make sense of those lived experiences within an emerging consensus on global, international, intercultural, multicultural, peace, anti-racist and diversity education. Our students learn to teach in response to these varied social and cultural settings, not simply as background effects or contextual settings for teaching but, more fundamentally, as enacted postures and positions, mimetic gestures and expressions, and movements of color, light and complexion that contribute to their emerging teacher identities.

The second register of *thinking the world of teaching* suggests that we view teaching practices temporally, as subject to time. To develop inclusive teaching practices that are responsive to diverse student populations requires attention to accumulated knowledge and wisdom from the past, although not just one past, but various pasts, various histories, and especially the practices and achievements of those who have, to date, been under-represented and misrepresented by most present accounts. To think the world of teaching temporally has us consider other possible shapes of teaching over time.

Again we look to the ITEM as providing students with first-hand experiences with the effects of colonialism in Mexico, Panama and Trinidad and Tobago. Students witness the effects of distinctive social and cultural histories on local schooling and teaching practices. Yet, student teachers are advised not to compare these practices with those that are most familiar to them in British Columbia, classrooms which, from a critique of globalization and an examination of the exportation of Euro-centric and Anglo-American pedagogies, are equally problematic. Time, as Emmanuel Levinas (1990) wrote, is essentially about "the other." What student teachers experience, say, in Oaxaca, Mexico, in the aftermath of the political and social turmoil of 2006, is the lived time of encountering others and creating, together, more hopeful futures. Likewise, student teachers in the Cuba-French program and the Jamaica international exchange program encounter different histories, different present realities; yet they, too, en-

counter other teachers and school children who help forge a more expansive, hopeful educational future.

The third register of *thinking the world of teaching* suggests learning about and learning from others, here, there and everywhere, as we think of the many relationalities of pedagogy and, in turn, of curriculum-making. We are connected, all of us, to a larger world that is composed of multiple "life worlds" (Husserl, 1970; Schutz,1972), that is, play worlds, animal worlds, art worlds, literary worlds, natural worlds, dream worlds, indeed, diverse worlds of experience. *Thinking the world of teaching* most comprehensively entails life-wide, relational sensitivity to these human and more-than-human world connections. Responsible professional programming is concerned, first and foremost, with the relations that are constituted and made possible in schools; however, these relations are sustainable and connect meaningfully to subject-matter curricula when they are animated by the underlying relations established with various things, entities and events of the world that characterize particular and identifiable domains of life experience. Professional programming in teacher education is, to an appreciable extent, domain-specific, addressing in some detail the respective realms of experience, their essential relationalities, pedagogical sensitivities and curricular configurations that justify teacher specialization.

We think the world relationally in the increasing diversity of PDP modules and programs. Student teachers are clustered in groups of thirty-two under the direct supervision of two faculty associates working with a tenured member of Faculty. Together they create a two-semester curriculum that is a) framed by the goals of the PDP (2008-9); b) falls within the extended program structure of teacher education approved by, and addressing content mandated by, the teacher certification authority;[1] c) covers curricular and instructional practices pertinent to the student teachers' placements, and d) tackles issues and concerns that arise within the practica. This devolution of planning authority allows for modules that have distinctive characters, as variations on the overarching vision of *thinking the*

[1] Policies of the British Columbia College of Teachers, effective June 7, 2002; see P5.C and, in particular, P5.C.03.0-3.7.

world of teaching rather than existing as separate constructions of teacher education.[2]

A common denominator to the modules is the sense of teaching practice that is embodied by faculty associates and school associates, taken up by student teachers, and vicariously understood by tenured faculty members. This sensibility is carried by the comportments, gestures and expressions of teaching that, in turn, infuse the work of learning to teach. The different 'looks' of the modules initially belie, yet ultimately attest to, this commonality. On the one hand, module diversification lays claim to the various ways in which a teaching sensibility can be shown to different children and youth, in diverse geographical locations, with different backgrounds, interests and aspirations. On the other hand, it is this very diversification that attests to the common and fundamental grounding of good teaching in the relational development. Module diversification also provides a mimetic reflection of the various styles of teaching of those who compose the respective modules, as evidenced in the consistency of module tone and faculty mentor disposition, as well as spaces for the detailed exploration of teaching truths, as evidenced in the somewhat identifiable teacher bearings of those who have learned to teach in the different modules.

Fourth, we hold teaching in high esteem, valuing this profession to the degree that we *think the world of it*. Teaching is potentially a vital practice in all places, at all times, and within manifold human and more-than-human relations. In fact, the forces of vitality, elemental energies and relational liveliness animate teaching and learning practices and revitalize communities of educational practice.[3] The most obvious and seemingly matter-of-fact register of the message *thinking the world of teaching* thus points to an essential understanding of Professional Programs, that those best prepared for the world-wide, life-long, life-wide practice of teaching are those who express spatial, temporal and relational vitality. We *think the world of teach-*

[2] In keeping with the British Columbia of Teachers' claim that "teacher education is best served by recognizing institutions offering: (a) distinctive programs, (b) alternative approaches within the general framework of these programs" (College Policies, P5.C.01 (a) 3).

[3] This rendition of vitality draws upon Maxine Sheets-Johnstone's (1999) explication of "animate consciousness" and its phenomenological and vital registers.

ing because there is something vitally engaging about this practice, vocation and occupation amidst multiple spaces, times and manifold relationalities. A Faculty mentor describes the source of her teaching vitality:

> To my surprise, I am really missing my life at the little elementary school where I worked in the Fall. As much as I love the Faculty Associate work, and as happy as I am at SFU, somehow, being re-engaged with those children and their intense, earnest young lives revitalized me, and gave me a kind of joy and purpose and curiosity I haven't felt for a few years. Not better than my work with the student teachers, for that work has humbled and inspired me, but somehow more intimate and rejuvenating and mundane. I think I miss the mundane, somehow. I sure do these days. Student teachers just don't smell the same as 9 year-olds. (Smith, 2004, p. 191.)

In addition to teacher vitality, we speak of what is vital in our programming and how such programming can revitalize communities of educational practice. Situating our programs in school districts, in specific school communities, implies not only being place-based, time-conscious, and relationally-sensitive, but also seeking professional development partners to engage in: mentoring programs that include student teachers along with their practicum supervisors; consortia arrangements for program delivery; collaborative programming with community colleges and university colleges; and program options, such as the Developmental Standard Teaching Certificate (DSTC), that have the express purpose of revitalizing 'language and culture' within First Nations communities. We think the world of teaching most vitally when our professional development programs attend to the sources of teaching energy and enthusiasm in local places where we are mindful of distinctive histories and cultural relations.

Acting Dispositionally

Space is about geography and topography; however it is also about placement, stance, position, and posture. Time is about timetables, time changes, history and timelines; however, it is also about being and becoming,

growing, developing and is lived in gestures and motions. Relations are formalized, professionalized, subject to protocol, policy, cultural norms and habits; however, they are also lived moment to moment, caught in glance and gesture, expressed and complexioned in cultural, gendered nuances. And vitality is about enthusiasm and energy, vibe and tone; however, it is also about the capacity to feel and respond to the ebbs and flows, bursts and rushes of vital contact with others.

Spatiality, temporality, relationality and vitality are more than ways of understanding a message about our Professional Programs. They are essential life concepts that give focus to our curriculum vision. They are essentially about ways of being, habits, dispositions that are sensorially, sensitively, sensibly and consensually grounded in the world and its multiple lifeworlds. We *think the world in these registers* when we are disposed to being, and becoming, pedagogically sensitive and other-directed, as described by Smith (2004).

> Pedagogical sensitivity is about understanding the primacy of the adult-child relation, its ethical underpinnings, and its institutional forms. Pedagogical sensitivity is about seeing the world with children and their best interests in mind. As teachers and teachers of teachers, it is important to develop a disposition to the work of educating kids that allows us to respond not just in terms of what is mandated and forced upon us, nor just in terms of what is customary, conventional and instructionally convenient, but also in terms of what is right, appropriate and tactful to do with particular kids in particular situations. That requires a pedagogical sensitivity.

> Other directedness is about understanding the community basis to learning, the service orientation to teaching, and the requisite openness to difference, diversity or otherness in education. Other directedness is the disposition to see beyond our own margins, our own ways of looking at the world, without trying to identify and empathize with everything we encounter. It is about trying to see things from another's perspective, as if through the eyes of that person, while realizing there remains a difference between us. In particular, it is about the differences between kids and us--socio-economic, cultural and behavioral differences, as well as generational differences--which are differences that must be respected. Such other directedness is contrary to that amelioration

> of differences that occurs through the use of deficit or remedial labels, and it is contrary to that veneration and celebration of differences that stops short of any real engagement with identifiable and recognizable others. Learning to teach means becoming aware of differences that make all the difference in how one responds to children and youth other than one's own. (p. 8, 9)

We cast these dispositions as sets of understandings; however, we might equally well frame them as ways of being, modes of engagement, or practices of living with children and youth. In so doing, we are conscious of how the teacher education literature refers to the knowledge, skills and dispositions that are acquired in the process of learning to teach.[4] When supplementing knowledge and skills, dispositions generally mean the beliefs, assumptions, attitudes, views and images that students bring to teacher education programs and that these programs try to develop or change, with mostly limited degrees of success. By contrast, we regard dispositions less cognitively and more physically, phenomenologically and experientially as felt tendencies, body inclinations, postural leanings and alignments which, in turn, allow for the physical positions, motions and expressions of working with and living alongside children and youth. Our ongoing challenge is to observe, think about and cultivate these dispositions in light of the opportunities that our work in teacher education presents to us.

The key dispositions of pedagogical sensitivity and other directedness derive not from personal inclination, inherent goodness, or being born a teacher, but from the "bodily imperatives" (Weiss, 1999, p. 129-163) of responding to children and to other people. These "bodily imperatives" that emerge out of our "intercorporeal exchanges" (Weiss, 1999, p. 167-169) exist as summonses, appeals, calls, demands and admonitions to respond to others' predicaments, to their needs, in keeping with their interests, and in light of their relative helplessness. Student teachers are on the same footing as their mentors in sensing these bodily imperatives and, in some cases, being less habituated to stances, postures and positions of indifference, they may have a higher moral sensibility than their mentors. The mimetic

[4] See, for instance, Diez and Raths (2007) and Koeppen and Davison-Jenkins (2007).

modeling of teaching behavior bears, in such cases, a critical consciousness as student teachers try out stances, postures and positions that may not fit, but it is through this process that they develop their own manner of teaching, an individual style, a certain conduct and a demeanor that is their own. This teacher education is in no way capricious or arbitrary; it is guided practically and mimetically by those a little further along in learning to teach.[5]

Teaching is essentially an historicized, localized, embodiment of dispositional practices. Learning to teach is done best when attentive to local situations and when drawing upon contextual, regional and cultural understandings. Teaching is not only about addressing something with someone; it is also essentially about being physically somewhere, somehow, in some particular place. An embodied practice, teaching is composed, literally and figuratively, of postures, positions, gestures and expressions that serve to direct the behaviors of others, yield bodies of knowledge, and otherwise provide instructional effects.

Embodied sensitivities become most evident when teaching in places other than those to which we have become accustomed. We can refer to *pedagogical complexions* as the manner in which teaching is responsive to children and youth of different cultures, ethnicities, and races. Pedagogical complexions serves, thereby, as a term connected to 'color' as a social, cultural and political signifier and as an identifier of evident hue, tone, and accent. It indicates that teachers should become attuned to cultural diversities, mindful of place histories and socio-political realities, yet be sensitive to the particular ways in which children and youth of different cultures and place histories move, sound, play and behave with one another. A focus on pedagogical complexions adds a reflective, critical, yet essentially embodied, register of place consciousness to the sensibilities and sensitivities of teaching.

Pedagogical complexions come into finer focus when learning to teach between cultures. This is certainly the case for student teachers in the International Teacher Education Module (ITEM). During their nine-week

[5] See Gebauer and Wulf (1995) for an overview of mimetics.

international placements in Oaxaca, Mexico, Port of Spain, Trinidad, or Dalian, China, where they live and learn to become teachers, these students are confronted by faces that question their white privilege, by societies that are complexioned differently, and by a vibration of colors that many of them say enlivens them. Conversely, Canadian immigrants seeking British Columbia teacher certification via the full-year Professional Qualification Program (PQP) bring their own culturally-complexioned teaching to bear upon the pedagogies of British Columbia classrooms. They challenge the local, dispositional enactments of teaching, with differently-accented English use, with organizations of space that are not customary, with postures, positions, gestures and expressions that are not immediately recognizable by the dominant majority of teachers. In both programs, ITEM and PQP, participants learn to teach between cultures – one they have left and the other in which they now are immersed. The ITEM student teachers bring an emergent, North American pedagogy to bear upon Oaxacan private and public school ESL instruction, Caribbean public schooling, and the private school education in China. The PQP students bring their respective, culturally-inscribed teaching experiences outside Canada to bear upon learning to teach with sufficient competence to be professionally certified in a second language in British Columbia public schools. Students in both programs are able to see classrooms that are complexioned by different colors, ethnicities and races and which are embodied in differently accented, differently toned postures, positions, gestures and expressions of teaching and learning.

Thinking Programmatically

As the vision of thinking the world (and worlds) of teaching comes more clearly into focus, two further teaching dispositions take on added significance. Smith (2004) refers to them as reflective capacity and critical mindedness:

> Reflective capacity is about understanding the ways and means of grasping the significance of teaching situations and events. It is the disposition to think about what you

> do, not just before doing it, but after the fact as well. The trouble is that a lot of this thinking is too far removed from the action. It's like the lesson plan you spend hours on, thinking through your learning outcomes and the kinds of activities you will use, and then, when you are about to teach it, finding the kids are ratty, distracted and just plain bored by it all. Reflection after an event also tends to lose a lot of the feeling and intensity of what happened. Reflective capacity ultimately needs to be about, not just cogitating on past and future events, but also about becoming increasingly thoughtful in your teaching, increasingly mindful, and increasingly tactful in your dealings with situations that arise each and every moment of the day. It's about the capacity to connect the past and the future in that which is presently lived. Learning to teach is about learning to think on your feet, here and now, in the teachable moment.
>
> Critical mindedness is about understanding the problematic nature of teaching practice. It is the disposition never to be content, never fully satisfied, and certainly never complacent in teaching kids. It's about not accepting things as they are, not following the party line, not ignoring questionable practices. It is about keeping in mind the question: How can I continue to make a difference that matters in kids' lives? That's a critical difference to make. (p. 9)

We think the world of teaching with reflective capacity and critical mindedness in terms of the challenge posed by critical, new social and analytical theorists for us to become more mindful of the unexamined assumptions of educating teachers. Postcolonial, radical sociological and ethical critiques of prevailing pedagogies have also brought to the forefront concern for marginalized others, disadvantaged children, and those minorities whose interests have not been addressed. Reflective capacity and critical mindedness, especially in relation to geographies, minorities and cultural diversities, dispose us to thinking the world of teaching and what is needed in the work of educating teachers. The articulation of these dispositions is, nevertheless, an ongoing task.

We are thinking the world of teaching with reflective capacity and critical mindedness by getting clear on the core curriculum constituents of Professional Programs. We aim to educate teachers so they can connect with children and youth in world-wide, life-long, life-wide and vital ways. We

began a few years ago to look at the common cross-modular topics, and then at the foci of curricular attention. From this exercise we have generated a list of key curriculum constituents that include*:* Diversity, equity, indigeneity, literacy, numeracy, ecology, technology, artistry and creativity, and health and physical activity.

- *Diversity* has us attend to individual and socio-economic differences, as well as those of race, culture, physicality, gender, religion, age, and ability with pedagogical sensitivity and other directedness. Diversity expresses an appreciation for, and celebration of, human diversities as well as species and environmental diversities.
- *Equity* obliges us to admit diversity in our practices, procedures and policies of teacher education. Always holding the rights of the child foremost, we look to program admittance through diverse qualifications and other admission criteria that pay due and rightful attention to the different constituencies that our programs are now attracting.
- *Indigeneity* brings focus to the equity needs of collaborative programming with aboriginal communities, as well as distinctive modules of the PDP, such as the Indigenous Peoples' Teacher Education Module (IPTEM) and the laddered First Nations' Developmental Standard Term Certificate (DSTC). Indigeneity captions a broad program vision of cross-module curricular emphasis.
- *Literacy* is emphasized as a core teaching requirement. The first semester of the PDP is designated as "writing intensive," which means that print literacy, written communications and writing-based teacher inquiry can be well served.
- With *numeracy,* students in our programs must become at home with numbers, quantitative data, and basic mathematical reasoning.
- *Ecology* stems, as a module focus, from evident and compelling concern for the environmental crisis we all face, and from interest in enhancing school environments and the greening of our University. Environmental education has become an expanded curricular focus for certain PDP modules, such as the Global Communities module.

- *Technology*, from communication software to media imaging, has long been incorporated in Professional Programs. Technology as a curricular theme, however, has us consider more specifically the teacher development uses of these technologies as they support issues of pedagogical sensitivity and other directedness.
- *Artistry and creativity* are celebrated in the Fine and Performing Arts (FPA) module, and across all the PDP modules in terms of incorporating processes of arts-based inquiry in professional development.
- *Health and physical activity* focuses on those practices of living that animate teacher consciousness to help novice teachers develop healthy and physically active teaching repertoires.

As we explore these key curriculum constituents, we come to appreciate more fully their multiple spatial, temporal, relational and vital framings. A vision of teacher development that was first formed in French, First Nations and Indigenous program options and has been developed dispositionally across the PDP modules and complexioned in ITEM and PQP programming, now becomes programmatically clearer through the distinctive curricular explorations of designated modules and programs.

MODULE OPTIONS

Opportunities to think the world of teaching arise in the increasing diversity of program options that comprise the Professional Development Program. We have the First Nations and French modules; the International Teacher Education Modules in Mexico, Trinidad and Tobago; and the Professional Qualification Program (PQP) that draws teachers from around the world. We have lower mainland and external, community-based modules throughout British Columbia that carry forward the vision of thinking the world of teaching. We have generalist modules of K-12 teaching, as well as specializations in the Arts, Physical Education, and secondary Mathematics and Sciences.

With each program option there is a different configuration to teacher education, a module-specific sense of what teaching competence entails, and thus opportunities to conceptualize the dispositions of teaching and teacher education in diverse and inclusive ways. Each module expresses a particular mix of the core curriculum constituents and dispositional emphases to create a programmatic rendition of how the multiple and diverse ways of teaching can be incorporated. Three examples demonstrate how programs vary: the Professional Qualification Program (PQP), the Paraprofessional Teacher Education Module (PTEM), and the PlayWorks module of the Professional Development Program (PDP).

Professional Qualification Program (PQP)

The Professional Qualification Program (PQP) was developed in collaboration with the British College of Teachers. Its purpose is to orient new Canadians or teachers requiring updating to the cultural, social and political contexts of British Columbia schools through a combination of seminar and in-school experiences. PQP is a full-time, twelve-month program that explores issues and content in the areas of: philosophy of education in BC, curriculum design and methodologies, classroom and school operations, student and teacher interactions, inclusion of diverse student populations, and many other culturally specific topics. Time in schools is spent focusing on practical application of seminar work. The program intentionally acknowledges the rich experiences that PQP candidates bring with them. The skills and talents of these teachers are recognized and used as a resource to facilitate their learning with colleagues.

Key curricular themes of the PQP are diversity, equity and literacy

Students in the program come to Canada with secure, confident identities as teachers in their home countries. Questions of identity quickly emerge: How will I transition from accomplished professional to experimenting student? How will the school staff view me? How about the students in my classroom? Will a foreign accent hinder communication? PQP candidates

who come from countries in which a more rigid, controlled environment is the norm have special difficulties transitioning to the chaos (as some of them view it) of a child-centered classroom. It takes time for them to realize that the students in their classrooms are not only expected but also encouraged to ask questions, provide suggestions for further explorations and supply alternative solutions to problems.

Acknowledging previous experiences and expertise is crucial. The PQP students have in many cases been full time teachers for ten, fifteen and often twenty years. As these students struggle to establish new identities, care is taken to acknowledge and honor their existing ones. Faculty mentors who work most closely with these students take great care to bring the students' expertise into the conversation. The students are mature, gifted educators, and their skills and understandings are never discounted but instead become the foundation upon which to build the curriculum and capitalize on their existing culture of practice.

Through the extended semesters of their teacher education program, they are able to have sustained conversations about what they see in the schools, what new observations they are making, and how their own practices are changing. Through this continuing dialogue, they are able to articulate new understandings of the dispositions of pedagogical sensitivity and other directedness.

Reflection also plays a key role in the PQP, as in all of the Professional Programs. One student in an end-of-term interview demonstrates his reflective abilities in an assignment that asked him to comment on a memorable teacher:

> It could be that I needed [the teacher] to see me, and in seeing me, he gave me the confirmation that, yes, I do have the right answers and I know this….He gave me confidence in myself and pride in myself, which I do not recall any other teacher doing. Learning was not scary or dull but exciting! He let me respond as often as I could and it was wonderful to be heard more than once in a class….I know I learn better when there is real connection to a person that I felt was respectable, attentive, kind and cared about the same things I do. This is how I am. I cannot be mentored by someone who does not touch me as genuine and present.

There is a maturity and self-awareness revealed in this excerpt, which is typical of the insights and understandings of the students in this module.

Reflective capabilities and critical mindedness are developed further through the module requirements of action research and personal inquiry. PQP students undertake sustained inquiry into an area of their teaching practices. They are encouraged to develop a question that is intriguing to them, examine it through several months of conversation, and research it within their schools and classrooms. It is interesting to note that the questions often center initially on classroom management and how to effectively implement group work. But as the semester progresses, these questions become deeper and more theoretical. This continuing assignment provides documentation for the instructional team on the development of students' professional identities.

Paraprofessional Teacher Education Module (PTEM)

Our second program example of thinking the world of teaching is the Paraprofessional Teacher Education Module (PTEM). The PTEM began in 2002 as a direct response to a request from the Vancouver school district. A number of Vancouver school-based support workers had asked their local CUPE and school district staffs to help them find a pathway to teacher certification. BC's traditional teacher education programs at the time were proving to be incompatible with these paraeducators' life circumstances. This group, largely made up of single parents and/or low wage earners, could not manage the full-time attendance requirement of most teacher education institutions. The Vancouver School Board's Human Resources department approached us with a formal request for development of a program that would address these workers circumstances. Warsh (2008) explains the situation in the program proposal:

> In their argument for a program, VSB staff noted that: 1) as their budget continued to shrink relative to the number of students enrolled, educational "extras" such as teacher aides and other resources designated for special needs children would become scarce, 2) that for some time there had been a general movement away from placing special needs

> children in segregated classrooms, and 3) there was a shortage of teachers with a strong interest and background working with special needs children in the regular classroom.
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> They argued that the experience and knowledge that paraeducators have as a result of adapting and modifying curriculum for special needs children would be an asset in their transition from support worker to teacher. District staff reasoned that given the potential for future teacher shortages in BC, the development of a program designed to address the needs of their own working paraprofessionals would provide the district with highly skilled and loyal entry-level teachers in the future.

From the viewpoint of the PDP, the idea of developing a program around the demographics of the paraeducator addressed one of PDP's articulated goals: "to provide access to the teaching profession for groups and individuals who might not otherwise be able to participate in traditional teacher education programs" (PPC). An informal survey of paraprofessionals in British Columbia quickly revealed to staff that most paraeducators did fit into groups not readily accessing existing teacher education programs. A search of the educational literature supported staff arguments that 1) paraeducators make excellent teacher education candidates, and 2) the paraeducator workforce consists largely of working single parents, low wage earners, and individuals from underrepresented groups, including those of aboriginal ancestry and other minority backgrounds--individuals who do not ordinarily enter our teacher education programs. (p. 2)

The PTEM is an outreach teacher education program that signals our intention to think considerately, compassionately and creatively of those who enter teaching from other places, have other lives, or come from the other side of the socio-economic tracks.

PLAYWORKS MODULE

Our third program example is one of the oldest modules of the PDP. It is ostensibly a subject specialist module that has, year after year, prepared elementary generalist teachers with an interest in physical education along

with secondary physical education specialists. This module, as with other PDP options, has been themed differently over the years, from being called the 'Lifeworld," to "RiskWorks," and now its current "PlayWorks" designation. The module carries the following rationale:

> That play *works* is the main idea in conceptualizing physical education and its relation to the other curricular areas. This claim is underscored by blurring the usual distinctions between *play* and *work*. The motivation to play is directed through the *inter-play* dynamics of curricular activities towards an appreciation of the *deep play* structure of becoming at home in the world. PlayWorks, as both module title and intellectual claim, thus sets a direction for curricular and pedagogical explorations within the PDP module.

The module aims_to deepen the lived meanings of play through dispositional inquiry and practice. Student teachers will come to understand how play works to cultivate:

1. a *pedagogical sensitivity* in one's playful relations to children and youth;
2. an *other directedness* and openness to ways of being in the (play) world;
3. a *critical mindedness* of the losses and absences of play in the lives of children and youth;
4. the *reflective capacity* to see how play works as a theory and practice of educating children and youth to become at home in the world.[6]

Student teachers in the PlayWorks module think the world of teaching physically and vitally with close attention to the play world disciplines of games, sports, dance and gymnastics. They attend to schooling practices of being physically educated and professional development practices of educating physically. The physicality of the play world is, in other words, a basis for thinking somatically about the "bearing" of teaching and the "postures, positions, gestures and expressions" that comprise teaching (Smith, 2004,

[6] Program outline for the PE/PlayWorks module of the Professional Development Program (PDP).

pp. 17-28). This Playworks module tracks the physical development, in pre-service teacher education, of the identified teaching dispositions in ways that enhance the practice of teacher education in other modules of the PDP.[7]

Conclusion

Learning to teach draws upon a formative impulse of finding similarities and forging identifications with children and youth. It is a matter of taking on the behaviors modeled by teacher mentors that show pedagogical sensitivity and other directedness, and being reflective and critical when it is indeed appropriate. Teaching postures, positions, gestures and expressions are tried on, and, from immersion in the practices of schooling, the formalities of teaching are given life.

We give particular shape to professional development by attending to the multiple spaces, evolving and contested times, many relations, and inherent vitality of teaching. Teaching dispositions are embodied, not in general, but in the particularities of time, space, relation and vital engagement. Teaching is, in other words, dispositionally complexioned.

Thinking the world of teaching helps us create a vision, at the pre-service stage of professional development, of the complexions of teaching and guides us in designing programs that are responsible and responsive, not only to a diversifying teaching force, but also to the diversities and pluralities of curriculum, pedagogy, school communities and classrooms. The program structure of pre-service teacher development at Simon Fraser University allows for thinking the world of teaching in different visionary registers, from international to provincial to local programming. Key to this vision is an ongoing articulation of teaching dispositions that are contextualized within the different program options. Of particular significance, however, are the program options that draw attention to the complexions of teaching and that require us to think more diversely, spatially, temporally, relationally and vitally about what a fully responsive teacher education

[7] See a fuller account of the "bodywork of teaching" in Smith (2004), chapters 2-6.

should be. We remain open to the many life worlds in which teachers work and an encompassing world into which children and youth from different places, different cultures, different ways of living, must become at home. This vision of teacher development will continue to be created.

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Student Teaching in the Initial Training of Elementary School Teachers: Multiple Considerations

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In Mexico, as in other countries, the model of initial training for teachers in basic education[1] considers student teaching in affiliated schools as fundamental training in learning the profession. Based on this consideration, the subject of analysis in this article is the student teaching activities carried out during the initial training of elementary school teachers in Mexico.

The article underlines the centrality of student teaching for students in the normal schools. Apparent during student teaching are beliefs, routines, dilemmas, and tensions between the students and their educators.[2] To place the analysis in context, the article first presents elements of student teaching in initial training from an institutional perspective. Then a review is made of the multidimensionality characteristic of student teaching, fol-

[1] In Mexico, basic education includes preschool (three grades), elementary education (six grades) and secondary education (three grades).
[2] In this article, the term is used to refer to teachers at normal schools, whether in charge of student teaching or other subjects in the plan of studies.

lowed by an analysis of the normal school students' evaluation and viewpoints of their student teaching, as well as the difficulties teacher educators face in developing and analyzing student teaching in teachers' colleges. The study includes interviews carried out with directors, teacher educators, and sixth-semester students majoring in elementary education at a public normal school in Mexico City.[3] Based on these elements as well as the results of various studies on the topic in Mexico, the goal is to provide a view of the multiple aspects that intervene in student teaching during initial training. The article closes with a discussion of certain challenges in the initial training of teachers in relation to student teaching.

Considerations Regarding Student Teaching in Initial Training: the Institutional Perspective

Throughout their history, which dates back to the last third of the 19th century, and in contrast with international trends in teacher training, the normal schools in Mexico have continued to be in charge of training future teachers,[4] although in 1984, the training of teachers for basic education was taken to the tertiary level.

In 1997, the Secretariat of Public Education (SEP) presented a new plan of studies for the undergraduate degree in elementary education (LEP).[5] Undergraduate teaching degrees follow a plan of study with a common curriculum and focus, in spite of having individual characteristics in content depending on the educational level. The plans of study are national, as dictated by Mexico's current educational policy. In the case of teacher

[3] The interviews were conducted in 2004 as part of a qualitative study carried out in the framework of the first phase, *A comparative study on initial teacher training for basic education in Mexico, the United States, and Canada,* under the auspices of the Organization of American States. The results of this research are reported in Sandoval (2005).

[4] This article will make reference to those who are in the process of teacher training as preservice teachers, teachers in training, normal school students, student teachers, or simply students.

[5] The curriculum reforms of other undergraduate degrees in teacher training were presented in various years: in 1999, the undergraduate degree in preschool education and the undergraduate degree in secondary education; in 2002, the undergraduate degree in physical education; and in 2004, the undergraduate degree in special education.

training, this policy affirms, as indicated by Arnaut (1996), that the teaching profession in Mexico is a state profession.

The international belief, with varying characteristics by country, is that preservice teachers need to approach the reality of schools during their training. In this manner, they can discover and experience the real conditions of teaching work and develop the required skills and attitudes.

Thus the current training proposal in Mexico aims at having preservice teachers develop competency in five fields: *a*) specific intellectual skills, *b*) mastery of teaching content, *c*) didactic competence, *d*) professional identity and ethics, and *e*) the ability to perceive and respond to their students' condition and the school's setting (SEP, 1997:31-35). Based on the focus of competence, the student teaching of normal school students acquires a formative meaning different from previous plans of study; the change in student teaching is oriented to analysis and reflection *before*, *during,* and *after* action.

Student teaching carried out by normal school students in affiliated elementary schools is characterized as multidimensional student teaching that provides students with diverse learning about the teaching profession. The work is based on a broad vision of teaching, as presented by Altet (2005). Such a view assumes coverage of elements that permit developing competence in the five above-mentioned fields.

Reflection and Action: Two Sides of the Same Student Teaching

The traits that characterize the current model of initial teacher training in Mexico are reflective teaching and student teaching in real working conditions. This model aims at training teachers capable of observing, reflecting on, and analyzing their teaching to resolve difficulties, evaluate actions, and work according to the challenges presented by teaching work (see SEP, 1997). Based on this assumption, during the first of four years of teacher training at the normal schools, students complete periods of observation and student teaching in diverse contexts and real conditions at elementary schools, in an ongoing, gradual manner.

These constantly increasing periods focus on diverse aspects of teaching work:

> It begins in the early semesters through supervised observation in various elementary schools, as well as their surroundings; it goes on, based on observing and carrying out activities with the school group, inside and outside of the classroom; it continues with teaching experiences through the design and use of didactic proposals involving specific contents; it culminates in the last year of normal school education, with performance before a group during a school year (SEP, 1997:64).[6]

The aim of observation and student teaching during initial training is for students to obtain the information necessary for them to analyze and explain the procedures of teachers in service,[7] in order to identify school practices that are adequate for group characteristics, and also to develop their own practices. To attain these goals, the results of student teaching in elementary schools must be analyzed and guided, a responsibility of the teacher educators. This task is not easy, not only because of the difficulty of reviewing practice teaching, but also because of the ability—or inability—to attain reflection that has a true influence on the central aspects of training.

Working with a focus on reflective teaching implies that the individuals involved in training (normal school students, teacher educators, and student teacher supervisors) are active participants in the training process, as a teacher at the normal school expresses:

> I believe that when students reflect [on student teaching], they may review which skills have not been attained and are required for the work they have chosen: teaching.

In addition, students trained with a focus on reflective teaching require theoretical baggage that will allow them to explain the events that occur during their student teaching. Normal school students are expected to learn the teaching profession based on reflections generated *before*, *during* and *after* student teaching in real conditions. For this reason, the support and observations of other actors, such as teacher educators and classmates, are fundamental.

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[6] For more information on the focuses of student teaching during training, see annexes 2 and 3 of *Actividades de acercamiento a la práctica escolar* in Dirección General de Normatividad (2002:28-31).

[7] Teachers in charge of elementary school groups where normal school students do their student teaching are referred to as supervisors, teachers in service, or certified teachers.

It is evidently difficult to establish reflective teaching during training. Reflecting on what and how is a dilemma that each teacher educator attempts to solve in different ways. One normal school director presents a weakness he identifies during the transition from recognizing the need to reflect on practice, to being able to define key points in that reflection. He affirms that teacher educators have not been able to generate a process of reflection with results that influence practice. He argues a lack of theory and adds:

> What I want to say is that I believe that even though we say, "Yes, we are reflective", *when we come back from student teaching we often do not know what to do with student teaching*. That is a weakness. *Or we are dominated by what should be* and when the teacher [educator] returns, far from viewing student teaching as an object of reflection, as an object of analysis, what he does is he tells the student: "You were bad at this and you should do it this way", "Look, here you made a mistake". "In this you did well" […] The teacher [educator] appears as the authority who says what is good and what is bad. And that generates a type of student dependency; saying, well, here I am so that you can tell me what I did right and what I did wrong.

The distance increases between discourse and reality, thus influencing the possibility of working with normal school students—and training them—based on reflection on student teaching.

The Multidimensionality of Student Teaching and Initial Training

Student teaching covers diverse aspects, including the conditions and organization of work at school; attention to educational diversity; student interaction and participation in class and at school; circulation and use of educational materials and resources; and the school's relations with family and community. These aspects imprint a multidimensional character on student teaching, since the implication is that preservice teachers must learn more than simply teaching (Rockwell, 1995:19).

This multiplicity of aspects, tasks, actions, involved individuals, and conditions that characterize teaching, and which teachers on a daily basis develop, confront, resolve, and construct, should be known by normal school students. Within this multiplicity, they should learn to act. And the experiences students are offered during their student teaching in affiliated schools are an opportunity for doing so.

During each period of time at affiliated elementary schools, the focus of attention varies and is complemented by previous periods. Thus student teachers may form an image of teaching that is much broader than that of teaching work considered in a restricted sense. This characteristic is perceived by the students in the normal schools, as one student expresses:

> [Doing student teaching in elementary schools] allows me to implement my work and to discover things besides. It might be something that here [at the normal school] they haven't told us, [that] we haven't seen.
>
> At the elementary school we can see unexpected situations happen. We are able to have contact with the parents (here we don't [have that experience] because there are no parents). We learn the *somewhat real* functioning of the school, the handling of the cooperative, commissions, chorus, things that we don't consider here much. All of a sudden, we arrive there [at the elementary school] and […] they have physical education, computers, swimming, chorus… endless [activities] that we don't contemplate here. And when we arrive there, well, they support us because we have to adapt our activities and our strategies to what we believe time allows.

During the action of student teaching, the unique problems determined by the situational characteristics of the context acquire relevance. When the individual faces situations that he must resolve and tests possible solutions that do not work out, he is required to implement "a more conscious reflection on the situation and to examine and question his implicit knowledge" (Torres Jurjo, 1992:14).

Thinking about action is necessary and possible, although normal school students recognize they are in a situation that is different from the daily situation of regular classroom teachers. The student quoted above uses the words, *somewhat real,* upon referring to her experience in the school's

functioning. And on referring to the degree that student teaching at an elementary school supports his training, one young man indicates that it is *not completely real*:

> [Student teaching] supports me in the sense that […] we carry out everything that we say or plan here [in the normal school], what we do theoretically here […] It's totally different when we are in class and we say that children should be critical and reflective. We have a nice discourse, but when you do student teaching it's different.
> And when we do student teaching and you're there [in the classroom], we see that sometimes it is quite different. I believe it helps us a lot [to go there], although I don't believe it is very real [the experience]. It's not completely real, not like being with a group of our own a whole year, because we can't get to know the children the same way.

Doing student teaching in "real situations" in initial training does not imply confronting reality in the same way as a trained teacher. This type of approach is positive in that it permits direct contact with issues that theoretically are addressed in the normal schools, and also allows student teachers to develop alternative action and attain experiences that can be experienced only in that way. Yet the consequences are not irreversible, as Pérez Gómez (1988:143) expresses.

> [Student teaching] should represent the classroom reality, with its characteristics of uncertainty, uniqueness, complexity, and conflict. On the other hand, in order to consider it a place of learning, students should be protected from the pressures and risks of the real classroom, which surpass their ability of assimilation and rational reaction. It definitely should be a real place where the student observes, analyzes, acts, and reflects, without his having full responsibility for the generally irreversible effects of his actions.

In other words, student teaching during initial training has characteristics and consequences that are different from those confronted by teachers who are already trained in their daily action. Confronting the multiples aspects of teaching in a gradual manner is one of the central differences in student teaching.

The Planning of Teaching: Its Importance and Malleability

In the normal schools, students learn to plan the activities they will carry out in the time and place of their student teaching. The focus is to consider the strengths and characteristics of planning for teaching work. Such planning begins in the early semesters of observation and continues—in a different manner—as training progresses.

Goals of training are flexibility and the ability to respond to the unique situations of teaching.[8] Sometimes this flexibility is diluted by an apparently excessive emphasis on the conception of planning. Starting in the early semesters, teacher educators ask students to plan activities, and although this action in itself is not questionable, the apparent rigidity of the request creates conflict among normal school students. One student expressed the following:

> They tell us "planning" and we enter a stage of tension. Just thinking about planning […]. I think the planning stage is more tense than the stage of student teaching because I feel I have to obtain more approvals, because it is not simply one teacher [who reviews the planning] […] The first time I did my planning I was quite desperate because we did not know how [to do it]: what a form is, how one teacher wants it, how another teacher wants it… And I think it was a little bit "tainted" because from the beginning more focus was put on the forms, on the formalities, than on content. And the following semesters were like that. And when there was a change […] it was a tremendous shock, because in previous semesters what was important was the outline, the presentation, the graph… and that's it. And when someone comes and tell us: "That doesn't matter, what's important is the topic, for what you want to do." That is a shock and you say, "Ouch".

Different views of planning imply that teacher educators make different requests of students in the normal schools, and that students develop mechanisms to respond to such requests. At the beginning—apparently not a brief moment—priority is given to the form of presentation. As training

[8] Expected learning from the activities of student teaching can be consulted at Dirección General de Normatividad 2002:10.

advances, students learn to consider planning as necessary and useful. Yet planning is also flexible in terms of discourse (by considering the characteristics of the group and situation) as well as the experience provided by student teaching. Normal school students indicate that at the normal school they are taught to plan (how to plan, what steps to follow, the information required for planning, for example), but they state that reality makes them modify planning: during student teaching they realize that the time required for carrying out activities is different from what they had expected.

In addition, it would seem that during training, particular emphasis is placed on the diagnosis[9] of the school and working group, as well as on the need to consider the characteristics of school dynamics during student teaching. The aim is for normal school students to acquire skill in selecting and adapting teaching strategies according to the group. Yet by attaching value to the formal aspects of planning, skills in teaching strategies are relegated to the background and planning is considered a formal requirement.

Variations in teacher educators' views of situations like planning cause students to perceive discrepancies. They are presented with a dilemma: the degree to which they should respond to each teacher educator's affirmations of necessary action, and the degree to which they should develop a "personal style" during student teaching. Student teachers learn to respond to the expectations and requirements of teacher educators in order to earn a passing grade. And although most teacher educators ask students to follow precisely what they have learned in normal school when they do student teaching—in this case, planning—students state the need to modify planning as a function of what they perceive is best, especially with regard to children's needs in student teaching.

The Tension Between Theory and Student Teaching and the Approach During Initial Training

Just as planning is reviewed initially in a theoretical manner and is molded to the characteristics of school reality during student teaching, initial train-

[9] During the interviews, we repeatedly heard about the emphasis placed on and the impact of group diagnosis before student teaching. Although the topic is not analyzed here, it would be useful to review how it influences the work carried out by normal school students.

ing reveals permanent tension between the theory that is reviewed at normal school and student teaching in the affiliated elementary schools. In analyzing such tensions, a fundamental role is played by the courses of Observation and Student Teaching. A student in the sixth semester expresses the relation he has found during training between the theory reviewed in class and school reality:

> I have had various groups during this time [of my training] and I have liked it a lot because all of a sudden [I realize that] we have seen those things in class. And you say, It's true! We have to apply with the children everything that the readings teach us, all the activities. For example, the classes of Observation and Student Teaching have been very useful for me because they teach us how to work with the children, the relationship we should have with them, and how we should structure the work so that the best results are obtained. [In those courses we see] that we have to adapt to the children's interests, and to be less rigid and strict in our planning.

We can affirm that as they gradually create their professional identity, normal school students in their initial training also modify their strategies to respond to the situations that arise in the classrooms of student teaching. Those responses do not necessarily remain in the technical and instrumental sphere, as Mercado (2007:6) sustains. The reflection and analysis of student teaching allows students to elaborate and incorporate novel strategies as a result of theoretical reflection, strategies directed to the transformation of teaching.

Student teachers' years of study in normal school seem to be an element that would modify the use of instrumental strategies. Although at the beginning of training, they are concerned about and center their attention on responding to student teaching based on the outside demands of teacher educators, during the final semesters they value more the type of activities carried out, in terms of the groups and contexts where student teaching takes place. When a student was asked one year before graduation if the courses of Observation and Student Teaching had allowed him to have gradual knowledge of the complexity of teaching work, he responded:

> I think that occurs more than anything once student teaching starts. The theory that they give us is good. It shows us the problems we may face, but once we are working in a group, situations may be more problematic or more complex than what they say. And that is when we have [to show] our face and look for ways to solve the conflicts we confront.

Student teachers recognize the value of theoretical and practical settings in their training. Even when they are able to articulate the two settings, it often continues to be a strictly personal effort, since teachers at the normal school do not necessary contribute to attaining or demonstrating such articulation. At least that is the students' perception, as one student expresses when giving an opinion about her satisfaction with her training:

> With respect to my training I don't feel satisfied […]. Nor do I feel satisfied about my teachers because I have found teachers who are incongruous. You can find everything at the [normal] school, just like everywhere else. I have found teachers who talk to us about constructivism, about new didactics, about new attitudes…, but they talk to us from their desk, without standing up, with discourse, during the entire class… and we listen. The opposite. And that is a contradiction and a conflict. I have also found teachers who react to our mistakes, and instead of motivating us to fix them, tell us: "Oh dear, you can't do it." They take away your motivation. And I think the fact that you're an adult doesn't mean that you don't need motivation. I think motivation must be present always.

The lack of congruency between discourse and student teaching during training is counterproductive because of the contradictory image of teaching that is transmitted. In this regard, students can perceive at least two interpretations: *1*) That pedagogical discourse is simply discourse and therefore, in spite of progress in the theory of student teaching, remains similar over the years. *2*) That the relation between this discourse and action can be seen as the result of a search that is worthwhile to attempt in an individual and collective manner. If this posture is not strengthened in initial training, when the students work as employed teachers in schools, it will be even more difficult for them to attain.

The Construction of Teaching Based on the Responses to the Demands of Student Teaching and Teacher Educators

In agreement with other authors who state that students struggle between what is institutionally established and demanded from them, and what they consider valid and necessary, Fortuol (2007) affirms that both teacher educators and students are in constant contact with institutional and personal meanings of teaching. They create their own representation as a "member of a collective" and an "individual subject".

In the case of normal school students, they construct such representations based on the institutional meanings they glean from their experiences as students at normal school, the experiences they acquire from the cooperating classroom teachers who supervise their student teaching, and from their personal experiences as teachers in training. In this manner, they gradually conform their teacher identity (as members of a collective) and add unique personal aspects to that identity.

The experience and perception of activities in student teaching differ according to the students' courses and teachers. Normal school students affirm having had teacher educators who accompany them in preparing and analyzing student teaching, as well as teacher educators who show no concern for orienting them in student teaching. Between these extremes, the variety of teacher educators is broad, as the students express.

On doing their student teaching, student teachers have the need to respond to the demands of their teacher educators as well as the cooperating teacher in the affiliated school. The implication is the construction of a difficult and unstable equilibrium between the two types of demands. Points of view expressed at the normal school are often conflictive with respect to student teaching. The different individuals involved in student teaching perceive this conflict. For example, a normal school director refers to the stance adopted by some teacher educators who teach Contents and Teaching:

> They say they teach the subject with the proposed focus, but when my student teachers go to the elementary school, I tell them to forget about the focus and to act according to the elementary school's demands, to avoid problems. In other words, I, the Spanish

> teacher, teach them to develop communication skills and I try to motivate aspects of didactic skill according to the focus. But when they go to do their student teaching, if the [cooperating] teacher asks them to teach in a more traditional way, I tell them, "Do it like that."
>
> This is one of the parts [of training] that must be analyzed because it generates a hazardous rupture [between theory and student teaching]. Students perceive that they should simulate in the normal school, yet at the end of the day, in the affiliated elementary school, they adapt.

Faced with this attitude, the director points to the need for serious analysis. Students receive the message in the normal school that they should act just as their teacher educators indicate, although their action may become a simulation. During their student teaching, they have to adapt to the requirements of the affiliated elementary school, although those requirements may be contradictory to what is taught in the normal school.

This situation is an important subject of analysis for improving training. It presents the need to review the role of teacher educators and that of student teacher supervisors or cooperating teachers during student teaching. It evidently requires the construction of bridges of communication between teacher educators and the cooperating teachers in elementary school who accompany student teaching. The constant absence of cooperating teachers during the normal students' student teaching[10] and the type of comments and evaluations made with regard to student teaching, reveal positions that are sometimes distant from the supervisory proposals of initial training. Neither the teacher educators nor the student teacher supervisors seem to have a clear understanding that cooperating teachers also serve as teacher educators.

Students' comments on the time they spend observing and doing student teaching during their training show their perceptions of the pertinence, frequency, and duration of these activities, as expressed below:

[10] Students often indicate that during student teaching, the cooperating teacher leaves the classroom. Some classroom teachers request leave during student teaching or attend courses outside of the school. A minority, however, remains in the classroom to support the student teacher during student teaching.

> Well, I believe that it is good for us to do these days of student teaching, but there are times when you ask yourself: "Why do they send us to do student teaching if we do not have sufficient elements or time [to prepare]". What are they sending us to do? Because they ask us to do a lot of work in a very short time. They tell us, "No, it's because you have not mastered the content", "You need to work with the children", and so on. They tell us *but this and but that*. But they do not realize that the problem with the days of student teaching is that they are [prepared] in a short time and are often very far apart.

Student teaching implies tensions and challenges that normal school students will face on a daily basis as teachers; it requires strength in matters of not only an academic nature but also an emotional nature, as the student teachers express. Perhaps for this reason student teachers mention the need to be motivated by normal school teachers, and to find the support that will allow them to feel more confident about facing the difficulties implied by student teaching. Emotional support gives student teachers confidence, and as one student points out, prevents them from feeling alone—in emotional terms—during student teaching.

Advising and Analysis during Student Teaching: Some Difficulties

The LEP 1997 study plan indicates that teacher educators must provide advising to preservice teachers to orient their work during student teaching. This task corresponds especially to those who teach the subjects of Contents and Teaching and Approach to Student Teaching, although the cooperating teachers in the affiliated schools also participate in this orientation. Attaining articulated advising requires certain conditions, including in-depth knowledge of the plan of study; the joint work of teacher educators in each normal school; participation in the accompaniment preservice teachers require during and after observation activities and student teaching; and orientation for the critical, reflective, and formative analysis of student teaching during the normal school students' periods of observation and student teaching.

The reality of advising sometimes coincides with what is proposed formally and often not attained, for different reasons. Presented below is a brief analysis of some of these reasons.

Teacher Educators and Student Teaching: Opposing Views, Shared Views

Sandoval (2005) affirms that the differing conceptions of teaching and student teaching held by teacher educators in the normal schools reveal diversity and can be explained by the differences in historical moments, institutional traditions, and training processes in which they have participated, as well as the way they have appropriated or failed to appropriate the proposed focus in the curriculum of reflective teaching.

The diversity of conceptions of teaching can be seen upon reviewing the way teaching is carried out at normal schools, especially as directly related to the student teaching of preservice teachers.

The lack of communication and a common vision among teacher educators can provoke anxiety among student teachers, who are unsure about how to respond to demands that are not only different, but also contradictory in a single context: student teaching.

Having a shared vision would imply a joint analysis of training by normal school teachers. One teacher educator affirms that in addition to the need to share the desired profile for preservice teachers, synchronization is lacking between the semesters of training and the knowledge of the plan and programs of study in elementary education (1993), especially in terms of the proposed content and didactics. Knowing, sharing, and agreeing on basic aspects of training are urgent and necessary tasks for teacher educators who need to be able to orient initial training.

Normal school students also perceive the teacher educators' lack of familiarity with the normal school's plan of studies (a view that includes normal school teachers as well as cooperating teachers and supervisors). In the case of teacher educators at normal schools, their lack of familiarity is perceived especially in relation to the content and scope of the subjects offered during training. With respect to cooperating teachers and supervisors, the greatest insufficiency is their lack of knowledge of the role they

are expected to play to support initial training, and the value (and use) of normal school students' evaluations of student teaching.

Knowing and managing the plan of studies was initially offered as training for teacher educators. This task has not been resolved in terms of the depth of general knowledge of the plan of studies, nor in terms of the focus and content of the different subjects. Permanent training will be required for teacher educators to have the flexibility to teach subjects, as indicated by two normal school directors:

> Although the effort was made to update or train the [normal school] teachers when the plan was implemented, updating was not made systematic and was lost. Perhaps it followed a logic of "good, now we're trained", and the expectation that one teacher would be teaching the subject. But there is no allowance made for new teachers or teachers who change to another subject, things like that.

> Training consisted of one week in a work group, learning about the programs. But no work was done on focuses and we were not trained in those focuses. That is why I believe there is so much confusion: we have not understood the role played by research, training in values, and didactics.

Training teacher educators is a pending—and urgent—task to resolve by offering various alternatives for addressing training, taking into account the uniqueness of each normal school. At the present time, a teacher educator's knowledge of the subject to be taught and that subject's vertical and horizontal relation with other subjects in the curriculum and with the desired teacher profile, are problems to be solved at the personal level.

Collegiate Work: From Theory to Student Teaching

Collegiate work can contribute to solving problems in training: sharing the desired teacher profile among teacher educators, work strategies, the meaning of participation as observers of student teaching, and the use of elements of student teaching for analysis.

In the case of the urban normal school under study, the search for a common view of initial training has not been limited to the individual

level. The attempt has been made to deal with the institutional setting in a collegiate manner in order to have a more general impact on training. The directors of this normal school share the need to encourage collegiate work among teachers and have proposed action on three levels: through intercollegiate workshops (teacher educators from different disciplines who study the possibility of giving vertical and horizontal continuity to work), intercollegiate meetings (teachers from different schools who work with a single group of students) and school meetings (teacher educators who teach the same subject). However, these actions have not been completely successful, in part, as the directors affirm, because of participants' differing views of initial training. It is therefore evident that an initial task is to define the desired end result in teacher training in order to analyze the actions that must be taken to attain this goal.

An initial item of collegiate discussion is a determination of required improvements and contributions. The need to share in order to improve normal school teaching seems to be known. One teacher educator's comment illustrates the opinions of some teacher educators and the value they attach to collegiate work:

> […] We need training courses because we are lacking in that, at least I feel I am lacking […]. We are also lacking in collegiate work because if I pressure students and the other teachers are lax, we will not get anywhere. That only takes us to confrontations at times […] If there is collegiate work, I know what you are teaching, you know what I am teaching, and we are mutually supportive (Villegas et al., in Sandoval, 2005:48).

Collegiate work, however, has not been attained, at least not systematically. In the absence of defined collegiate work and of a shared view of teaching among teacher educators, students experience the discrepancies. One teacher educator expresses:

> […] I am amused by our own inability to reach true pedagogical consensus, academic consensus, didactic consensus in order to be able to lead a group of students in the normal schools in coherence with an academic discourse. Discourses may be conflictive and that is where students, rather than putting their formative skills into, put their cha-

> meleonic skills into play, their imitative skills according to the teacher who is present. [Students say] "When the teacher of civics and ethics comes, and since he likes us to participate and ask questions and not to remain quiet, well, we participate. But when the geography teacher comes, and she is very traditional, well you have to be very quiet and stand to greet her, and raise your hand when you want to participate, because that is what the teacher likes, and you have to do it." And somehow those ways of behaving are internalized in an impressive manner. And I think that is really very worrisome.

A review would have to be made of the discourses and messages normal school students receive, as well as the type of actions they carry out, in order to respond to teacher educators.

Advising and Accompaniment

Teacher educators, in principle, visit elementary schools to observe, accompany, advise, and record the student teaching carried out by normal school students. In addition, the cooperating teachers have the responsibility of observing student teaching and making pertinent observations to improve their student teaching. However, some difficulties exist in fully complying with this task.

With respect to teacher educators, involvement in periods of observation and student teaching has increased considerably, although with difficulties and in a differentiated manner since the implementation of the plan of studies in 1997. One director expresses:

> […] The [normal school] teacher begins to see that link [with student teaching in elementary schools] as something natural […].
>
> Some teachers or schools are more involved, and start to participate more in the work of the elementary school and do so more systematically.

Regarding teacher educators' presence in normal school students' student teaching, Czarny (2003)[11] states that participating in student teaching allows teacher educators to become aware of the work carried out by normal

[11] Follow-up Study on LEP Plan of Study during initial years of implementation.

school students, and to be able to orient students on aspects they need to improve. However, some teacher educators limit themselves to controlling attendance and students' use of materials for their student teaching.

Students confirm that the teacher educators' evaluations of their observations are associated with perspective as well as the time invested in observation (the moment and duration of teacher educators' presence in student teaching). Thus teacher educators frequently refer to aspects such as the use of the voice, the use and amount of material, and group control. One student expresses his inconformity with the teacher educators' evaluations of student teaching:

> Yes, most of my course teachers have gone to observe me. […] They take into account your control of the group. […] And sometimes the [normal school] teachers grade you by saying that "the children were doing this, that, and the other." They do not specify what they [the children] were doing wrong, if they were not working, if they were not doing this… They [the teacher educators] only give the impression of what they saw, of what they see at the moment. But they do not specify what was being done wrong.

Observation requires that teacher educators have skills, similar to those that students attempt to develop. To complete an observation, the observer must have a clear idea of the reason for observing; some teacher educators apparently agree to participate in observations, and do so based on their personal history and common sense. As a consequence, the comments they make to students refer less to orientation on teaching strategies than to other aspects such as group control, teaching material (amount and size), modulation and force of voice (strong or weak), and time management (whether in agreement or nor with planning).

Various students refer to a degree of rituality in the teacher educators' observations: they arrive, sit down, ask for the plan, review the plan, stay a few minutes in class, occasionally make a comment—especially about the planned and real time—and leave. Given this type of observation, the student teachers comment that planning is conceived as rigid, and because of the time the supervisor is in the classroom, no analysis is made of modifications as a function of the group and the results in terms of learning.

Some teacher educators interrupt the normal school students as they do their student teaching, to prevent mistakes they consider serious, based on the "ideal" student teacher. Other teacher educators suggest student teaching adapted to the style of the cooperating teacher and institutional conditions, in order to prevent confrontations and to attain harmonious student teaching.[12]

But these are not the only ways to observe student teaching. In particular, teacher educators in charge of observation and student teaching have forms of obtaining information that are beneficial for normal school students because they are able to reconstruct and analyze their student teaching. One student narrated:

> Today three [normal school] teachers went to observe me. Two of them gave me no comments […]. One teacher went and wrote a log [of the class] and then read it. What could be seen from his log, and if I analyze myself, is that I was lacking at the beginning, in motivation, that I needed a somewhat broader mastery of content, as well as a more attractive introductory activity, to prevent those huge jumps from one [activity to another].

Some teachers use videotapes of student teaching to analyze teaching along with their students. This instrument[13] is attractive for students and teacher educators and also permits obtaining relevant information for analyzing classes not only in an individual manner, but also with the support of classmates.

Using videotapes requires experience in producing as well as in analyzing them as a collective. Initially the student teachers show resistance, which the teacher educators recognize as natural, yet someone always accepts the videotaping. On analyzing the recordings, moderate criticism is tacitly accepted, as one teacher educator points out:

> We try not to be so severe with the criticism. Instead, we want them to review: What am I doing, how am I doing it? Right? And with that, they can see and compare them-

[12] Sandoval, 2005:45.

[13] Pacquay and Wagner (returning to Mottet, 1992) suggest that the functions assigned to videos in the training process vary according to the institutional conceptions of the teaching profession (2005:248).

> selves with others. […] When we show a video we are sharing with the other students not only a classroom experience, but also the classroom and work of another group. Yes, even the material. […] Many are benefited.

In spite of the difficulties, the teacher educators consider the video a valuable tool since comments from different perspectives add to a class.

Critical, Reflective, and Formative Analysis of Student Teaching: Some Difficulties

The words of a teacher educator illustrate one of the central difficulties teacher educators encounter in orienting the analysis of gradual and constant student teaching during training:

> Here is something right [in the plan of studies]: a continual, constant approach for first one week and then two weeks in the affiliated schools. But a mistake [is] that no clear specification is made of the lines of reflection on student teaching in elementary school.

Altet (2005:49) asks: How can teachers explain their student teaching and thus construct their professional skills? The use and analysis of student teaching represent a problem for teacher educators because the process implies the utilization of intellectual skills to generate knowledge leading to teacher professionalization. We agree with Mercado (2007:7) that a recognized problem for teacher educators is how (and which) theoretical and methodological tools to offer to students in order for them to analyze their student teaching.

Apparently, the time dedicated to the analysis of student teaching is also an element that defines the possible scope. On researching the meaning of reflection in student teaching, Plazola (2007) found that the analysis and reflection on student teaching that occur in normal schools, assigned formally to the subjects of student teaching, are limited in time; the same subject is used for students to complete the document[14] that allows them

[14] This document includes part of the student teaching carried out during the last year of the major, through the selection and analysis of a problem.

to graduate. Thus the real time that can be dedicated to the analysis of student teaching decreases.

The differences in teacher educators' evaluations of student teaching permit identifying cases when student teaching is evaluated from a limited viewpoint rather than as a formative activity.[15] Czarny found that on analyzing student teaching, orientation was occasionally given in the normal schools so that normal school students could identify the progress and difficulties that children experience on addressing different topics in class, students' responses and reactions, the effectiveness of the materials used, and group organization, along with other aspects. The same author suggests that the form of analysis may not be formative. If carried out in general form, student teaching tends to be graded instead of being reviewed to understand the ways and reasons certain classroom learning occurs. On the other hand, analysis may not be carried out when student teachers work with review topics[16] or with materials other than official materials[17] (2003:27).

Lastly, another difficulty suggested by that study is the challenge implied by the analysis of student teaching in personal terms for the teacher educator: having skills of reflection and criticism toward *his own work* as a condition for reorienting his own teaching and that of others, in this case, that of preservice teachers.

Based on the above and in agreement with Vezub (2007:19), normal school students and teacher educators would have to learn to observe schools, classrooms, the teaching of more experienced teachers and that of their classmates. In other words, they would have to train their observation skills. Such training requires time and specific methodological devices, difficult to test in the few hours of student teaching generally available

[15] In this respect, a collective review was made at a normal school of the instrument provided to teacher educators who support the observation of normal school students during their student teachings. The purpose was to attempt to construct an instrument that would permit a relatively homogeneous interpretation of the aspects to evaluate and that would also be easy to complete.

[16] In Mexico, cooperating teachers frequently request student teachers to give a class on topics that have been covered previously with the group. These topics are called "review topics".

[17] In other words, materials like books and activities that are not included in the 1993 plan and programs of elementary education and that occasionally are presented in both public and private schools.

for teacher educators. It also demands forms of management that allow teacher educators to obtain—or refine—the necessary elements to improve the training of preservice teachers through student teaching.

Challenges to Meet

At the present time, the initial training of elementary teachers presents various challenges: the focus on teacher educators at normal schools; their view of training as well as plans of study, as in the case of Mexico; in-depth knowledge of the conditions, scopes, and difficulties of student teaching; and the relation they have—or do not have—with their students' experiences with student teaching.

Some elements indicated by this article have to do with the need for teacher educators to search for links between the normal school and the elementary school as a place of formation. These links, based on knowledge, can permit the definition of pertinent action strategies so that students in the normal schools can find paths to follow with responses that enrich the analysis of student teaching through discussion, reformulation, comparison, and reconstruction.

Normal school students—the future teachers of elementary education—through their history and especially their formative experiences in normal school, discover the type of teacher needed and the type of teacher they can be, as well as strategies for becoming that kind of teacher. Cooperating teachers and supervisors, although mentioned infrequently in this article, also play a central role; from them, normal school students discover many of the actions they can take in school as classroom teachers. For this reason, associations between normal schools and elementary schools are a priority.

Further knowledge is required about student teaching and training during teacher education. In-depth knowledge is also necessary about what happens before, during and after student teaching at various times of teacher training. Based on such knowledge, the strengths and weaknesses for improving initial training can be identified. Yet, as previously

mentioned, there will also be a need for reviewing and sharing the desired teacher profile, as well as a definition of the ways to attain this profile.

An additional challenge was expressed by a teacher educator: discovering what happens to student teachers during training and during their employment in the national educational system. This challenge would imply following up on graduates to identify weak points in their training and reviewing that training thoroughly, from the inside out.

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Section III

Overview of Indigenous Education and Teacher Education

Education in Multicultural Contexts: Challenges for Classroom Work

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Repeated attempts have been made to define the meaning, differences, and similarities of multiculturalism and interculturalism by emphasizing distinct aspects of the two terms. There is general agreement, however, that multiculturalism in contemporary society has increased due to immigration and processes of decolonization.[1]

The recognition of cultural diversity is inherent to globalization, although not all cultures receive the same attention in global society: some are considered part of diversity, while others are ignored. Indigenous and native cultures pertain to this final category, although they have created diversity with their view of the world.

According to Fornet-Betancourt (2002:18), interculturalism is not a theoretical topic, but an experience that occurs in daily life, consisting of a concrete life praxis that cultivates relations with others. There is practical knowledge of interculturalism as an experience of daily life that

[1] Toffler (1979:76) indicates that one of the principal shocks that humanity faces is "[…] profound disorientation suffered by the traveler who, without proper preparation, has become submerged in a foreign culture […]".

needs to be cultivated in a reflective manner in order to become a quality of our cultures.[2]

Cultures are processes of borders—a basic experience of being in constant movement. Within cultures, not only is native territory marked by dividing the native and foreign, but borders are also created within one's own culture. The Other is also inside, since culture is an open process of dealings among members with polyvalent founding traditions, occurring in the framework of a community of interests. What we call "national culture" summarizes hegemonic tradition, which dismisses cultures other than the dominant culture in order to become "the culture" (Fornet-Betancourt, 2002:19-21).

Intercultural education forms part of recent proposals dedicated to the problems derived from the presence of students who carry different cultural referents in school. However, school can contribute decisively to the construction of interculturalism, provided a social will exists to do so; intercultural school is possible only if it is rooted in a movement to construct an intercultural society.

Independent from the definition that characterizes interculturalism, differences in all of its expressions and dimensions must be recognized. In current educational processes, recognizing interculturalism as the guide and objective of teaching and learning implies re-conceptualizing the organization of school activities and overcoming institutional discrimination[3]--which defines teacher training, the school curriculum, and the mechanisms for follow-up and control that determine the functioning of the educational system.

Up to the present, a large part of the discourse that orients the proposals of intercultural school has been centered on developing processes of respectful interaction, without addressing the didactic treatment that classrooms require when their students come from different cultures, contexts or socioeconomic strata. Recognizing diversity implies re-conceptualizing the pedagogical dimension.

[2] This practical knowledge of interculturalism would be an imperative for facing the cultural shock derived from immersion in situations that require approaching a diverse context.

[3] Stavenhagen (2002) distinguishes among three dimensions of discrimination: interpersonal, social, and institutional.

Current educational proposals reveal different ways of understanding interculturalism and defining, planning, and implementing the educational actions that attempt to express interculturalism. Proposals range from those in which interculturalism is a new form of integration, up to those that attempt to express a link between interculturalism and equality. This discussion has not concluded, and while confusion regarding the diverse political uses of the term is made manifest, questions and alternatives arise to illuminate specific aspects of the debate.

The conception of equality as a descriptor of intercultural proposals makes reflection on cultural belonging indispensable. With this expression, we refer to the necessary adaptation of:

- The methods and contents that direct teaching activity aimed at appropriating scientific knowledge—both universal and individual—and developing students' abilities, skills, and values.
- The operational forms for teaching, especially in relation to the situation of multiculturalism in the classroom.
- The adoption of focuses that permit analysis and debate on content, and thus contribute to constructing *culturally situated* scientific knowledge.

This perspective presents educators with challenges of distinct complexity, in which the didactic implementation of pedagogical proposals is emphasized. Central aspects of such challenges are respect for identities and languages present in the classroom, the design of culturally pertinent learning experiences, and pedagogical conceptions and didactic tools that situate learning in relation to culture and context.

The discussion we are presenting is derived from ethnographic research and research on educational diagnostics carried out in indigenous community contexts and schools during the past five years. An important finding was the confirmation of migration and resettling processes among the indigenous population, as well as the creation of opportunities for study and work that motivate parents to enroll children in schools that can better ensure access to other levels of the educational system. Although we

center our attention on indigenous pupils, in very few geographical areas is the indigenous population not in contact with other peoples or identities, given the group's movement, often pendulous, to other regions or urban contexts.

Bilingual Competence and its Relation to Academic Performance

A public language is a vehicle for the creation of social rather than individual symbols; the speaker imprints a marked sentiment of belonging to the group and penetrating its norms and aspirations, resulting in the exclusion or conflict of other groups. A public language has mechanisms of protection that allow the speaker to conserve his social and psychic status; in addition, mechanical unity expressed as loyalty to the group creates an omni-comprehensive form of social relations. The public language links the speaker with his peers and oral tradition, while indicating the normative agreements of a collectivity.

The apprehension of reality is determined by the language, which is the privileged vehicle for expressing a view of the world (Schlieben-Lange, 1977). Cuevas (1995) has been interested in the relations between language and culture, as well as the way they are reflected in the structure of language:

> It is well known that language forms part of culture, yet also reflects culture completely […] in the sense that the grammatical structure and vocabulary of a language carry the classifications that the speakers of that language make of the material as well as the abstract world, both natural and cultural. They show how certain constructions of that world correspond to the grammar of the language (Cuevas, 1995:188).

The native language is the vehicle through which the child is introduced to the meanings of everyday life, and through which he develops his ability to communicate. His symbolic universe is impregnated by the semantics and structure of his language; his thought and capacity of expression and

comprehension are molded by the fundamental concepts of his culture. Language also functions as a boundary that permits the necessary intimacy for the non-speaker; at assemblies and meetings, the indigenous native language is the language of reaching consensus (Valentínez, 1985).

Thanks to daily linguistic acts, the child appropriates linguistic systems and their "correct" application in social situations. He also learns the categories made available to him for apprehending the world.

In most indigenous communities in Mexico, Spanish is the language for relating to people from outside of the community. Spanish provokes distrust due to a lack of mastery and comprehension and its association with traumatic experiences—the language of discrimination. It is also the instrument of communication for struggle, resistance, or defense against the mistreatment suffered by non-speakers. Or speaking Spanish can become the skill that grants access to knowledge that the community has been denied; Spanish is the language that facilitates entering the job market. In addition, mastery of the second language becomes an imperative for survival in migration processes. As a consequence, indigenous authorities and parents demand the school teach Spanish as a central objective.

In Spanish-speaking countries, teachers who work at indigenous schools tend to use their indigenous language only to make themselves understood, while Spanish gradually becomes the favored language for communication. Thus Spanish is molded to express cultural content and personal experiences, and becomes an enormous obstacle for students in developing expression, both emotional and symbolic. Such a phenomenon is inevitable because the children have very limited access to experiences or knowledge of the culture that has developed that tool of communication.[4]

When indigenous individuals enter other contexts, the use of the native language is more or less "clandestine". The native language is used almost exclusively in the family context or for communication among people from the same region. This situation is the result of complex processes of social devaluation and erosion of the indigenous identity.

[4] In Spanish-speaking countries, regional modes of Spanish create cases of lexical modulation that operates socially when Spanish is used in communities of native speakers of indigenous languages.

The problem of acquiring a second language at the expense of the native language has important repercussions on the relation between children and their families, especially with regard to the deterioration and subsequent disintegration of the parent/child relationship, with effects on primary socialization.

When children reach school age, they use their native language fluently. Even so, the school devotes a large part of the school day to developing linguistic competence and expanding that competence to literacy and the mastery of a specialized language characteristic of different areas of content; in other words, "academic language" (Cummins, 2002).

If different languages or versions of a language are evaluated in differentiated form, the language becomes an instrument of mastery. Therefore, the differences in the use and handling of the dominant language by people from various social strata or cultural identities are meaningful. In other words, the uses of language are also uses of class and gender (Lahire, 2002; Cummins, 2002).

A speaker of an indigenous language or a language from a political minority[5] does not have elements that facilitate learning more polished versions of the language; the speech of people with low socioeconomic status is appropriated. On learning a second language in the school setting, the linguistic model at hand is rudimentary: the home setting does not enrich the learning of meanings and uses of Spanish that are relevant in the Spanish-speaking context (Lovelace, 1995:51). The language used for teaching at school is Spanish, regardless of whether or not the teachers are native speakers of Spanish. Acting in combination are appropriation based on a poor model and inadequate teaching of the second language. In addition, communicative interaction in the classroom is characterized by speech with interference from grammar and syntax, since the indigenous teachers have learned Spanish in the same way that they teach it to the children.

[5] The term, *minority*, is used to refer to peoples or social sectors contained in a dominant society; the criterion used is numerical. However, we prefer to speak of *peoples, languages or sectors of the political minority* to make reference to social and political status in relation to contexts in which a people, social sector or language is dominant. In an intercultural focus, it is unacceptable to use numerical or demographic criteria to enunciate differences.

If one's own language becomes the object of communication, the metalinguistic function appears. Ideally, the development and mastery of skills associated with the functionality of language and tools (lexical and semantic mastery, spelling and syntax) are learned at school, and this competence is evaluated to express scholastic achievement.[6] In the case of indigenous children, reflection on their native language does not form part of the programs of Mexican schools.[7]

Learning Spanish in indigenous schools begins with the teaching of literacy in Spanish, independent from the student's degree of conversational mastery. In the following grades of basic education, emphasis is placed on the grammatical rules of orthography and syntax. If the student does not sufficiently master the lexicon, semantics, and use of language according to communicative situations, he is not able to understand what the school is teaching him, yet neither does he develop what the school omits. The result is insufficient academic language and a limited communicative use of Spanish.

The magnitude of the problems and difficulties faced by the speakers of a language of a political minority affects the proper development of their competence in the native language as well as their degree of mastery and communicative competence in the second language. In multilingual contexts, individuals should have the opportunity and necessary tools to construct their competence as speakers of at least one language used in the immediate or dominant setting in the region and the lingua franca.

The indigenous cultures have favored and are generally in the process of constructing and systematizing their writing. It is a fact that the indigenous language is not written in most families; in addition, most multicultural contexts do not have literature in indigenous languages. Schools have the challenge of teaching writing to children who do not always have adequate mastery of the dominant language, since models of writing indigenous languages do not exist or are not important in their context. Thus writing must be introduced as a means of expression and new communica-

[6] The various standardized tests used to compare the degree of learning in basic education cover language, mathematics, natural science, and social science.
[7] Until recently, indigenous teachers did not learn to write their native language.

tion; children need to understand writing and assume the entire spectrum of its meanings, both individual and collective (López y Jung, 1998). One of the main abilities schools develop is the adequate handling of written language.

On making an analysis of the relations between speech and writing, Ferreiro (1995:110-117) concludes that a person must be a *competent* speaker to understand the nature and functions of writing since the acquisition of writing is generally *subsequent* to the acquisition of speech. In addition, when children write, they do not limit themselves to reproducing, but also organize the information they receive in a selective manner, making a reconstruction of speech. At the same time, the comprehension of writing demands a level of reflection and conceptualization of oral language, a certain "metalinguistic awareness".

As a result, for children who do not speak the dominant language, literacy represents developing processes articulated with the appropriation of a certain rationality, in order to permit the interpretation of writing. To date, no evidence shows that school systems are attaining significant results in this aspect. The principal reason is the inexistence of a defined methodology of schoolwork in a bilingual, intercultural framework.

In short, the problematic dimensions of the development of bilingual competence are:

- The low mastery of the symbolic contents and concepts of national culture. The implication for students is a fragmented knowledge of national cultural that is reflected in the lexical handling of language, the comprehension of complex texts, and pre-mastery of the ability to communicate orally in comparison with the writing of texts. At the same time, students' native language and culture are displaced or subordinated, impeding the full development of communication in the native language and eroding the self-esteem and identity of indigenous people. When the speakers of native languages other than the dominant language live in urban contexts, they attain better mastery of Spanish at the expense of developing communicative competence in the language in which they were socialized.

- Indigenous people receive education of low quality, as proven by their school trajectories and the errors generated by the methods and strategies used in their learning of the second language. In most multicultural contexts, no educational programs define operative goals in terms of bilingual and intercultural competence.

The problem is synthesized as notably inferior achievement in writing and comprehending texts and complex or abstract narrative structures. These are precisely the basic skills that the school gives the child, and which support the child's subsequent academic development.

Communication and Learning

In the case of teaching language, the school's role goes much beyond what happens explicitly in the classroom in that it impacts the community's culture, social mobility, and the evaluation of the individual's own culture. The relations among learning, style of communication, and scholastic achievement must be recognized.

The child is immersed in language that flows around him in a meaningful, intentional, and total manner, in contrast with school, where language is fragmented to "facilitate" the learning of literacy. In the family, the child receives constant demonstrations of the significance and functionality of language and finds numerous and varied opportunities to make use of language. At school, the situations for expression are limited and are mediated by the teacher's purposes: feedback occurs in a context in which correction seems to have its own meaning.

Language exerts an extraordinary influence on learning processes but does not determine scholastic failure (Nieto, 1992). On referring to the relation between scholastic learning and language, Lovelace (1991:45) emphasizes that language is acquired most effectively when it has meaning and purpose in the framework of communicative processes. In addition, language should allow students to handle various areas of content, the development of literacy, and the mastery of other languages.

Ávila (2001:207) has pointed out that the evaluative parameters used in school generally correspond to a particular social class or a predominant culture, and that as a result, the incorporation of other groups into formal education translates into a rupture between education received at home and school. In terms of the functionality of language, this author identifies two dimensions: communicative or organizational functionality of social action and symbolic functionality. Communicative functionality:

> [...] can be understood as participation in the resolution of concrete tasks or meaningful actions. Such participation is not reduced in any way to the transmission of a message or information "within" an interaction. Language serves to build the process of interaction, participating in the creation of the context that orients individuals in their action, as well as a frame of reference for understanding 'what's happening' (Ávila, 2001:209).

Macías (1987) argues in the same direction, although his attention is focused on multicultural settings. An ethnographic study in a kindergarten in a Papago community in Arizona analyzed the effects of schooling on Papago children by using the concept of discontinuities between the new school atmosphere and previous family experiences on Indian reservations. Discontinuity was understood as an abrupt transition from one mode of being to acting in another. Within homogeneous societies, discontinuities between school and home are often present and have educational purposes. In the new space the student must appropriate the necessary knowledge for social functioning and construct an individual commitment to the group and its culture. In that sense, a contribution is made to individuals' integral development.

Yet when plural contexts are involved, they identify individual problems that children face when their native culture is radically different from the global culture. Thus during their development, American Indians, African Americans and Hispanics in the United States resent in a diffuse and subtle manner the discontinuities between their family and school experiences (Macías, 1987). Macías questions the way cultural disparities between the family's and school's education determine the school's effectiveness, taking into account the differences in these children's early socialization with respect

to curriculum content based on the dominant culture. This study's main finding relates to communication styles, since children in kindergarten:

> [...] are taught and stimulated to be verbal, in direct contradiction with the way they are socialized for the use of language in their own culture. Previous studies [on Papago culture] have documented how Papago parents typically acculturate their children through nonverbal behaviors such as acting as a model or through gestures, as well as through the economical use of speech in brief comments and instructions. The children are frequently quite nonverbal at school (Macías 1987:56).

Macías also identifies the discomfort the school situation produces in Papago children, expressed as withdrawal or shyness. This attitude is due not only to the new setting, but also to the children's feelings of confusion and insecurity with respect to how to act in a new culture, which has other standards of behavior and new standards for the use of language. Macías finds that bilingual contexts, verbal self-affirmation, and social domination are associated with English, while social deference and frugality of speech are inherent to the use of the Papago language.

In contrast with previous findings, teachers understand that the development of oral language is a central objective, and they implement it by encouraging children to speak openly and without fear, as a form of supporting their verbal skills. The children are given verbal instructions in tasks of cognitive development, and are presented constantly with curriculum content and learning processes that emphasize verbal elaboration and performance.

In elementary schools of Buenos Aires attended by indigenous Toba children and Bolivian immigrants along with mestizo children, Novaro et al. (2008) found that the indigenous and immigrant children project an image of silent, apparently indifferent students. Novaro points out that indigenous children undergo a process of replacing the Toba language with Spanish, with the resulting contradictions regarding affiliation. While school is the institution that could prepare these children for future employment, their insertion in the institution is marked by prejudice that stigmatizes their culture and identity. Thus their school career occurs in the shadow of the school's questioning their shyness, which is manifest as silence.

Within the Toba culture, a positive attribute for children is social behavior that "shows respect" and "avoids boldness" (Novaro *et. al*, 2008:181); however, in the child's intercultural situations at school, such behavior contradicts desired behavior for students. According to the authors of this study, the silence is not literal, but refers to various forms of non-communication. They link the children's silent attitude to cultural representations as well as to the school's silencing processes. At school, the teachers complain of the students' indifference or attribute it to their cultural origin, while refusing to consider these differences in the way they develop their daily program.

A study of seven elementary schools in Mexico (Tovar y Avilés, 2005) emphasizes the contradiction between the communicative process that should take place in the classroom and the illusion of communication that is created when the teacher uses the native language for giving an explanation to the children who do not understand Spanish, yet prohibits the children from speaking the native language in the classroom, confining its use to the schoolyard. The observation is made that in the presence of beginning Spanish speakers, the teacher's questions meet with oppressive silence. In addition to the invisibility of the indigenous students, the distance between school content and cultural knowledge is abysmal.

In the described conditions, the learning attained by indigenous students seems unexplainable. However, it is possible to document classroom processes that explain the way children survive at school. The ethnographies reveal the symbolic confrontation that occurs when indigenous children, faced with teaching practice, use opposing behaviors and daily cultural practices like reciprocity and the mutual help characteristic of community interaction. In this manner, they surpass the conceptions of individual learning and generating collective strategies for resolving schoolwork. These practices disclose the implicit consensuses or concessions generated in the communicative space of the classroom, with regard to the institution's normative definition of legitimacy and the children's cultural conceptions of their ways of learning and working.

A certain capacity for resistance is put into play, with slight differences. In some cases, the situation is adapted according to the validation of

the stereotype applied, in spite of the generation of processes that soften negative effects. In other cases, the comprehension of meanings assigned by others is seen, along with the adoption of roles that show the reaffirmation of identity in contrast with the image reflected by the stereotype. The ability to function in one's own culture and in external discourse is developed by imitating, confronting, assuming challenges, learning from others, or in the extreme case, subordinating one's self (Tovar y Avilés, 2005).

Indigenous teachers act as mediators between what the school requires and what the children are. Macías (1986) points out that the teachers he observed in their daily work soften the traumatic effects of discontinuity between the family and school setting. The study carried out in elementary schools in Mexico emphasizes the indigenous teachers' familiarity with the children's cultural behavior; similarly, two of the analyzed cases show how children employ their strategies and the teacher accepts them tacitly (Tovar y Avilés, 2007).[8]

Earlier studies did not address the problems caused by the presence of other forms of culturally determined verbal interaction, or by behavioral norms that regulate interaction. Some styles of communication favor cultural guidelines different from the dominant guidelines at school. For example, in the Q'eqchi' communities of the mountainous regions of Guatemala, children must not meet the teacher's gaze since looking directly at the face of a more knowledgeable person is considered disrespectful. Culturally adapted behaviors also exist for asking questions, expressing doubts, and interacting with adults or peers (Tovar, 1999).

In order to be effective, learning processes developed in the classroom require sensitivity to the cultural and linguistic diversity of children entering basic education—a sensitivity beyond the simple recognition of presence. A different pedagogical approach is necessary in order to construct a proposal of teaching based on the characteristics of the multicultural contexts in which children with different identities interact.

[8] These perspectives have not been an object of study.

The Design of Learning Settings in Multicultural Contexts

In today's school contexts, educators are challenged to transform classroom practices by designing educational proposals that allow students to approach processes of constructing knowledge from their cultural and linguistic background.

Little knowledge is available about how culture molds learning processes. Some studies at the preschool level reveal the way small children externalize an individual learning style derived from the patterns of family education, marked by the world view of the native culture. For example, interaction with other children is based on reciprocity: on alternating turns of speech. The indigenous children's moments of silence express their respect for the communicative space of others, yet such silence is interpreted as a lack of interest or motivation in participating. Teachers use their own cultural references to interpret the children's attitudes, without understanding that the child's culture is different.

The setting in which students develop their abilities has a determining influence on their configuration, especially in the meanings these abilities acquire and the orientation of their use. The school setting is polysemous, and plays an important role in children's socialization by introducing children as members of the collectivity and broadening their family horizons. The children's separation from the family setting is overcome when they are integrated into new dimensions of development appropriate for their age. In the family, children acquire the content and meaning of the world of values and symbols, but school is where relationships with others gain objectivity. On a more internal level, school is where the foundations of personality are formed. School contains familiar elements for children and adds others that reinforce ruptures and students' personal growth; it introduces new elements that challenge children to become involved in the construction of abilities, while providing a space where children can be what they are.

Until now, the school setting has been a homogeneous space in all aspects and contents. The dominant pedagogical focus, while recognizing

students' individuality, proposes, through the curriculum, the development of abilities and the appropriation of "general" knowledge. The rationality inherent to the dominant culture is assumed as the only possible framework for this end.

How can an intercultural setting be constructed in a context marked by diversity and multiculturalism? Teaching has an important perspective upon initially attempting to deconstruct homogenizing values and conceptions and construct new concepts. The school context and the teachers are the cornerstone that can sustain this task. Therefore:

- They must recognize and accept the multiculturality that fills classrooms as a fact of the context and not as a problem; multiculturality is not about "solving a problem" but assuming a different orientation in schoolwork.
- They must construct situations, in daily life and during interaction with children, that permit perceiving, identifying, and revealing the cultural differences that exist among students, recognizing the subtleties of differences, overcoming racist perceptions, and working indepth to construct a view of understanding individuals who are different and the way that difference is expressed, whether indigenous or not.
- They must acquire knowledge about the rich plurality of cultures for the processes of recognizing Others. An indispensable element is the construction of essential categories for orienting, as principles of pedagogical work, the activities to be carried out in the classroom.
- They must carry out substantial transformation of pedagogical practices and conceptions, some of which are "validated" by teaching experience in a framework of homogenization, in order to move toward proposals that have not been designed or proven. This transformation implies sustained development of the capacities of research and critical reflection that allow the teacher to begin his task from specific starting points, and to suggest substantial adaptations or new experiences in the classroom.
- The creation of settings of intercultural learning in multicultural contexts is characterized by a flexibility of teaching action that ac-

> cepts difference, not only in the *individual dimension* of children's development, but also in the *collective dimension*. Children are members of a human community that defines the orientation of their thought, development, knowledge, beliefs, and systems of socialization linked to their scholastic development. Social and scholastic are linked.

The creation of an intercultural setting obligates educators to center on learning, since teaching action is not homogeneous and cannot be the sole focus. In addition, a different use of materials, contents, and physical space is required. They must be centered on children's abilities and on the possibilities of using these elements for children's development. Lastly, teachers must organize their activity around pedagogical principles rather than preconceived systems.

When indigenous and non-indigenous students gather in the classroom, learning activities must be organized around concepts, categories, questions, or problems that motivate students to search for and organize relevant information from the perspective of their own culture. Therefore the classroom becomes a place for students to compare and contrast their knowledge.[9]

The Setting of Learning in Multicultural Contexts

The *pedagogical context* arises from the objective traits of the context and acts as a force that gives shape to behavior and learning (Pieck, 1996:65). Within the context, we are interested in the *setting*, which is a physical space designed with characteristics dependent on its assigned uses. The setting must include all necessary facilities. It permits encounters between

[9] In a university course with indigenous and non-indigenous students, on discussing the cosmological conceptions and world visions of various cultures, a climate of comparison and debate was established. Mention was made of the diversity of cultural views. They are recognized as different, but as having knowledge and perspectives that are constructed historically in the framework of each culture (Tovar, 2008)

students and teachers with a defined purpose, expressed in a legitimate and legitimated pedagogical discourse,[10] and it integrates into its design the meanings attached to the processes and activities carried out in it. These processes and activities are a product of the pedagogical proposal as well as the objective traits of the context.

The educational setting is assumed as *given* by teachers, as a dimension that preexists the teacher's educational action. The concept of educational setting is marked by normative conceptions that are value-based and therefore initially unquestionable. However, the educational setting is *a human creation* and thus can be questioned, systematized, reconstructed, and subjected to redesign and constant evaluation.

Intercultural settings emphasize the presence of teachers and students who carry different cultural identities that actors cause to coincide in this space. The implication is interaction and reciprocal action.

The concept of *intercultural settings* is descriptive; it refers to a construct with specific characteristics. One characteristic is the centrality of the teaching task, whose construction is based on a pedagogical strategy; teaching reinterprets and adapts institutional policies and guidelines to give a concrete form to the educational proposal. Thus the teacher may act creatively to overcome elements of the context that impede authentic interaction within difference. Another characteristic is the intention and direction that different cultures impress on the meaning, contents, and expected results of the educational process.

Therefore, an intercultural setting is a place where contradictory visions and expectations converge. They do not form part of the setting's reason for existence, but are the result of political projects characterized by discrimination and the negation of rights that indigenous peoples have historically suffered.

In its substantial aspects, the creation of an intercultural setting implies constructing a framework from various elements of pedagogical work, taking aspects into account that range from curriculum and content up to methodologies and the distribution of roles and tasks.

[10] Pedagogical discourse is legitimate as an expression of an institutional educational proposal, and legitimated in relation to the role and prestige that the society grants discourse as a central element of personal and social development.

Contextualization and Situated Learning

Within professional knowledge, knowing how to design learning experiences is an indispensable skill. Organizing activities that lead the student to appropriate the content of a scholastic program implies that the teacher must take into consideration students' cultural characteristics and knowledge, as well as the contexts of teaching. This perspective permits defining *contextualization* as a fundamental experience for attaining an intercultural setting, supported by a conception of *situated learning* (Bruner, 2000). Such learning is possible if teachers have strategies for *situated teaching* (Díaz Barriga, 2003). Thus, the learning process is rooted in the *context* of individuals.

Aebli (2001) has studied the relation between school and the social context, in association with processes of scholastic interaction and the type of knowledge students must construct. This is the first level of contextualization of scholastic processes, in which concrete experience becomes a source of learning, a framework on which school activities combine action and symbol, production and representation. When we are able to link these experiences with learning in the classroom, the school setting becomes a place of interaction in which the members of each concrete culture express their view of other cultures and construct a relation based on a questioning of the *normality* of each culture's situations and stereotypes. As Aebli indicates, the crux of the matter is the transformation of neutral space into place *we* occupy as concrete individuals in interaction.

Since the setting that permits the expression of individual actors is constructed in conflict, the implication is that the educator assumes a role as *mediator* in these processes.

A second dimension of situated learning refers to the culturally determined systems of thinking and contents. Thus education and scholastic learning must be considered from the perspective of the production and negotiation of meanings regarding the construction of "I" and the meaning of agency in acquiring symbolic skills. Mental activity cannot be understood without taking into account the cultural context and its resources, which give the mind its shape and breadth (Bruner, 2000:12).

According to Borja, the context includes the space where individuals carry out their actions, as well as the networks of meanings that individuals in that space recognize and share—and which give meaning to group relations. From that point of view, individuals interpret the world from their personal "readings" of reality, which are enriched by interaction. What individuals internalize as representations depends on the context in which they are immersed.

Therefore, "a contextualized education will motivate the relations between knowledge and the individual's real context; a contextualized education will also lead to further knowledge by examining the situations of other contexts and analyzing their contradictions and encounters" (Borja).

The contextualization of knowledge implies the development of didactic sequences in which the abstract and non-abstract dimensions of phenomena, objects, or situations can be developed through adequate treatment and sequencing. In other words, we do not always contextualize based on the student's surroundings or his daily life; contextualization can refer to other historical moments or contexts other than those in which the individual lives. In this direction, Aebli (2001) emphasizes the process of leading the student to *make learning* one of the central dimensions of teaching, while Díaz Barriga (2003) accents the strategies used for teaching. In both cases, attention is centered on developing skills for autonomous learning, as well as the possibility of establishing a connection among what is learned, the context, the culture, and the student's needs.

We believe that this perspective constitutes the heart of teaching in multicultural contexts.

In short, *contextualizing* and *situating* learning include the following dimensions:

- The creation of adequate conditions for interaction.
- The ability to organize the necessary processes for the construction of knowledge and culturally situated pedagogical focuses, and
- The ability to formulate proposals and methodologies for organizing the intervention of the pedagogical mediator.

Pedagogical Interaction

The basis of teaching is pedagogical interaction, understood as the set of communicative actions that occur between teachers and students, during which a process of dialogue is constructed. In terms of the intercultural character of this dialogue, it is important to take into account that it is not an abstract but a contextualized process, with meaning and possibilities for each actor to communicate. Dialogue that is pedagogical is taken as a starting point of identity and the learning style of students who intervene in it, and becomes the basis of interaction that leads individuals to communicate.

Interaction among individuals in a setting of intercultural learning requires surpassing the focus that views scraps of culture as decontextualized contents with only rhetoric usage, in order to adopt a focus centered on the development of identity. Children's cultural present and their complex feelings of belonging define their form of being indigenous, rooted in the world of the symbolic referents and meanings of their native culture. In such spaces, interculturalism should be understood as an experience (Fornet-Betancourt, 2002).

The setting of intercultural learning demands communicative interaction among the actors present. In this manner, individual identity is validated through contact and comparison with other identities.

Problematization

The creation of settings appropriate for interculturalism requires a rupture that allows individuals from various cultures to begin interacting in the educational location. These settings are characterized by the decentralization and problematization of one's own "unquestionable" reality.

During interaction with others, the different person is perceived as such through identity. Interaction in communicative locations should take responsibility for developing the skills actors require to discover other identities and cultures on their own, as they recognize how others perceive them. The skills required by the educator imply the ability to establish links between one culture and another, to mediate and explain difference, and to accept other cultures as a valuable referent (Tovar, 2006).

These pedagogical referents are already present in teacher education. Yet to construct an intercultural setting, in addition to constant training, teachers require innovations and experiences that allow them to carry out their work. They also require pedagogical accompaniment that reinforces the construction and attachment of new meaning to the concepts they already have.

Problematizing also implies the contextualization of knowledge. In other words, content is addressed by presenting knowledge in such a way that individuals can understand information—which is initially studied from the framework of the culture that produced it, and then from its meaning for culture itself. In addition, each content is associated with other knowledge. Much of this knowledge will be universal, but other knowledge will be specific to a culture.

Final Reflections

Children's language and culture constitute the visible aspect of their identity, as well as the basis for their communication. Language and culture are the foundation for explaining the world and acting in accordance with that explanation. Identity and culture define the basic style of student learning. While students can learn in other ways, the style of learning in which they have been socialized is familiar for them, while other forms of learning must be mastered.

Mexican schools have been characterized by a focus on assimilation that has meant the invisibility of indigenous languages and the imposition of a model of learning and contents. These contents are assumed universal but are really those favored by the dominant culture. Thus, according to Ingrid Jung:

> We have become used to starting explanations of bilingual education with a detailed description of the linguistic, cultural, and educational problems characteristic of the regions in which the population does not form part of the dominant culture. But I suspect that in this manner we fall into the trap set by the dominant conception of education,

> which makes a problem out of everything that does not fit into its mold—a mold that is custom-made in reality for no one. In order to force indigenous children into this mold, it squeezes them, folds them, twists them until they are unable to breathe, and then trims off the excess: *the language they use to express themselves, the culture in which they develop*." (López, 1996, p. 281)

Teachers have a collection of pedagogical knowledge from both their training and experience. Such knowledge must be given new meaning as a function not of "universal culture and knowledge", but of the plurality of knowledge from the society of knowledge. Thus rethinking education in multicultural contexts means:

- Teachers who conceive of themselves as *mediators* in the processes of interaction and learning, and accent learning and situating experiences based on a recognition of the identities and cultures that come together in the classroom. An indispensable element for doing so is the design of methodologies based on *collaborative learning*. Such methodologies are centered on students' *generation of learning* in two directions: a recognition of their knowledge and cultures and appropriation of new knowledge and perspectives, along with a knowledge of self and others. Thus, group work, panel discussions, seminars, problem-based learning, projects, the design of experiences that apply learning, and learning in community contexts (Díaz Barriga, 2006) stimulate students to generate processes of interaction with their classmates and with the teacher. Such processes, oriented by an educator who visualizes identities and differences, become opportunities to problematize knowledge by creating the possibility for horizontal communication—communication that allows children to put into play their questions, cultural referents, knowledge, and values while constructing their knowledge.
- A perspective of this type implies exchanging the conceptions of evaluation and accreditation as mechanisms for the control of learning, so that they become tools to follow up on student achievement or difficulties. Thus they are not considered tools for systematizing

information in teaching. Evaluation should be primarily a component of pedagogical interaction that transcends the school's walls and involves the community as a source and location of children's learning.

- The organization of teaching work must be rethought, since the plurality of perspectives implied by intercultural education requires the presence of teaching collectives, rather than home room teachers. School management must adapt to a structure in which teachers, responsible for what happens in a classroom, are co-responsible for what happens at school.

But above all, education in multicultural contexts requires educators who are able to break away from the *normality* of situations we have considered valid up to the present. We educators must accept the challenge of problematizing the structures that have organized our pedagogical knowledge and conception since our training. We must begin by recognizing that Mexico is not a homogeneous nation but a nation that interweaves a plurality of languages and cultures.

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"For as long as the sun shines, the grass grows, and the rivers flow": Aboriginal Education in Canada

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Introduction

In this article the authors centre the discussion of Aboriginal education through Indigenous knowledge(s) acknowledging the Ancestors who have envisioned education since time immemorial. The paper will articulate current implications of the socio-political perspectives and historical legacies of Indigenous education into further exploration of the modern day context, as well as indicate possible future directions. The article is meant to be a dialogue on how to address the needs of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, their families, communities, schools, and society as a whole through transformative teacher education models that are informed by Indigenous ways of knowing. The authors present how these teacher education models have responded to the diversity of Indigenous nations and Aboriginal People (First Nations, Métis, and Inuit) and non-Aboriginal people in Canada. Finally, by returning to the Elders' vision of education for all peoples, the authors revisit the wholistic notion of the transformation of education for everyone and the future possibilities for the next seven generations.

Before continuing and sharing our collective perspectives, the authors wish to acknowledge that we are standing on the shoulders of those who came before us. We raise our hands in thanks and respect to the Indigenous peoples of Canada, particularly those who have taken on the responsibility of educating the next seven generations. These people, whether academics, community activists, Elders, youth, or allies, have laid the foundations for the multiple curriculums within Aboriginal education and the various applications of these Indigenous perspectives to what teacher education in Canada has become today. Ultimately, this article is contextualized by each author's own personal histories and educational experiences within Canada, and more specifically, our current location as scholars within the British Columbia educational setting at Simon Fraser University.

The Fire of the Sun shines…

Today Aboriginal peoples in Canada continue to reach back to the past to build for the future. They recognize the colonial legacy of assimilation policies (i.e., reserves, residential schools), which have culminated in multigenerational trauma affecting the education, health, language, cultures, and spirituality of many of our peoples (Battiste & Barman, 1995; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP), 1996). The Elders and their descendents believe the laws such as the United Nations Declaration of Humans Rights[1] the Indian Act[2] and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms[3] (Battiste & Henderson, 2000) protect their way of life so that their values, languages, cultures, and practices would continue, "*for as long as the sun shines, the grass grows, and the rivers flow*…" (Kirkness, 1998, p. 93).

The legacy of residential school and colonization impacts today's educational system in several ways. One major legacy is the continued attri-

[1] The United Nations International Standards: *Principles and Guidelines for the Protection of the Heritage of Indigenous Peoples, Convention for Biological Diversity* and Science for the 21st Century: *A New Commitment* act as legal instruments and protect Indigenous knowledges and practices internationally.
[2] Indian Act (1876) http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/I-5/
[3] Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedom (1981) http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter/

bution of the fault of failing onto the student, their families, and their communities. The persistence of this deficit model of "blame-the-victim" discourse negatively impacts our educational system. What is needed instead is a strength-based affirmative approach to addressing the fundamental need for systemic change, which places greater responsibility on the institutions to ensure that reproduction of previous negative outcomes does not persist in the future and redefines "success" for Aboriginal life long learners (Canadian Council on Learning (CCL), 2007b). Another legacy to be addressed is to acknowledge the responsibility of teacher education programs to ensure that the previous residential school policy and the public school tradition of hiring untrained teachers to work in Aboriginal education does not continue into the future. Many K-12 teachers unfortunately lack the necessary background and understanding of Aboriginal histories and cultures in Canada.

The ongoing relationship building with other Indigenous peoples, locally and internationally, along with non-Aboriginal allies, contributes to deepened understanding of Aboriginal wholistic[4] perspectives and Indigenous pedagogical practices.

> An Indigenous philosophical concept of holism refers to the interrelatedness between the intellectual, spiritual (metaphysical values and beliefs and the Creator), emotional, and physical (body and behavior/action) realms to form a whole healthy person. The development of holism extends to and is mutually influenced by one's family, community, band and nation. The image of a circle among many First Nations peoples symbolizes wholeness, completeness, and ultimately wellness. The never-ending circle also forms concentric circles to show both the synergetic influence and our responsibility toward the generations of ancestors, the generations of today, and the generations yet to come. The animal/human kingdoms, the elements of nature/land, and the Spirit World are an integral part of the concentric circles. (Archibald, 2007, p. 11)

Teacher education programs that facilitate understanding of this wholistic perspective support Indigenous teacher development and build non-Ab-

[4] We are spelling "wholistically" purposefully with a "w" to respect the interconnectedness of Indigenous perspectives as outlined by Archibald et. al. (1995).

original teacher allies who can contribute to a transformative educational system that honors Indigenous knowledges and pedagogies.

The Land is Our Grounding… Honoring a wholistic perspective: Indigenous Knowledge(s)

The shared commonality of Indigenous peoples is their connection to their place, their lands or the earth, water, air, fire, of their ecologies as well as the plants and animals dwelling there. Also, how place is woven into their unique cosmologies—which, depending on their location, fashioned the worldviews, technologies, and practices of the diverse nations that make up the Canadian Indigenous landscape. These in turn shape the way of life that informed the diverse approaches or orientations to Indigenous education and the various pedagogical practices that were and are still fostered within each nation and individual community. In the following we discuss the essential elements or key ingredients of Indigenous education in the past as well as their role in the emerging vision for the future. The question remains: what would an Indigenized education system look like?

> The greatest challenge in answering this question is to find a respectful way to compare Eurocentric and Indigenous ways of knowing and include both into contemporary education. Finding a satisfactory answer to this question is the first step in remedying the failure of the existing First Nations educational system and in bringing about a blended educational context that respects and builds on both Indigenous and Eurocentric knowledge systems. (Battiste, 2002, p. 1)

We argue that it is essential that the ways of being and knowing of all peoples are considered in any educational undertaking and setting. Indigenous knowledge systems could contribute to the kind of educational system needed in a multicultural country such as Canada, as Indigenous epistemology allows for multiple perspectives to be simultaneously recognized and emphasizes interconnectedness, and acknowledges the many ways of being and knowing.

Marie Battiste (2002) suggests that the understanding of Indigenous knowledges is critical to remediate the failure of the existing educational systems and in bringing about a blended educational context that respects and builds on both Indigenous, Eurocentric, and other knowledge systems. The ever-increasing inclusion of Indigenous knowledges within educational systems, albeit marginal to date, is part of a multi-fold process of transformation within educational institutions and Aboriginal communities (Kuokkanen, 2007; Pidgeon, 2008).

The Rs of Respect, Relevance, Reciprocity, Relationships, and Reverence

Verna Kirkness and Ray Barnhardt (1991) provided a theoretical and conceptual framework for how universities can facilitate further development and transformation that is fundamentally grounded in Indigenous knowledges. They collectively articulated values that have always existed in the Indigenous communities through what has become known as the 4Rs: respect, relevance, reciprocal relationships, and responsibility. They outlined how institutions must have and demonstrate *Respect* for Aboriginal cultural integrity that allows and creates space for alternative forms of knowledge from curriculum development, programmatic inclusion, policy design and implementation across institutions.

Educational *Relevance,* whether in universities or colleges, reflects the need to ensure that their course content and curriculums are relevant to Aboriginal students perspectives and experiences in terms of their programs and services. Such institutional changes are dependent on the development and maintenance of *Reciprocal Relationships*, which engage various stakeholders from across institutional boundaries as well as within the institutional community to forge partnerships with the surrounding Aboriginal communities. To this end, Kirkness and Barnhardt (1991) posit that each stakeholder, both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal, has a *Responsibility* to engage in the process of creating institutions that exemplify the 4Rs in policy and practice.

We introduce above the Rs, and include the R of *Reverence,* a fundamental attitude in all learning, as proposed by Jo-ann Archibald (2008). The inclusion of the Rs builds upon the past and furthers the discussion of Indigenous education today especially in relation to teacher education programs. It is through a respectful recognition of the Indigenous orientation to education that we can create another way of dialoguing that deeply respects Indigenous ways of knowing and being. This requires acknowledging the Rs of reverence, respect, relevance, responsibility, reciprocity, and relationship and locating our position in Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and axiologies.

There are two current issues within Aboriginal education and teacher education that programs across Canada attempt to address. The first is that many Aboriginal educators and learners still face economic, social, and systemic barriers to full participation in lifelong learning including the legacies of residential schools, and issues of personal as well as community wellbeing.

There is a need to foster greater understanding, respect, and empathy for the issues related to Indigenous education within teacher education programs.

And secondly, there are many non-Aboriginal educators and potential teachers facing growing challenges in addressing the needs of the progressively more diverse student populations in the classroom as well as the increased inclusion of Aboriginal content in the existing Canadian curriculums.

The Grass is Growing…Warmth & Water

In the following section we highlight various models of teacher education in light of the discussion around Indigenous knowledges and the 4Rs. The first section explores models that provide Aboriginal teacher education by and for Aboriginal peoples. The second section presents models of Indigenous education for non-Indigenous peoples. The final section discusses the inclusiveness of Indigeneity in teacher education.

Aboriginal Education By and For Aboriginal Peoples

Community-based education programs arose in the 1960s-1970s in response to rural Aboriginal communities needing Aboriginal teachers to work with their children (RCAP, 1996). Many Aboriginal community members and education leaders argued, "that there should be stronger components in teacher education program[s] to address the language, history, pedagogy, and traditions of Aboriginal peoples" (RCAP, 1996). Community-based programs embody Indigenous knowledge and are structured to empower Aboriginal pre-service students' cultural integrity. There are three types of programs highlighted in this section. The first are community-based programs for Aboriginal pre-service teacher education. The second type of program addresses the issues of bridging/transition to post-secondary, with a focus on teacher education and the third extends beyond the undergraduate experience to think about how we are preparing future Aboriginal educational leaders through graduate education.

Pre-Service Teacher Education Programs

Community based teacher education programs were guided by principles of parental responsibility and local control of education identified in the landmark document, *Indian Control of Indian Education* (1972), and evolved in response to the local needs of Aboriginal nations—therefore, the pedagogy and practice resonated with the students' own ways of understandings. Thus, the programs not only have been relevant and responsive to community engagement, the programs are also respectful of Indigenous knowledge and protocols (More & Wallace, 1972; RCAP, 1996). These programs were founded on reciprocal relationships and were often initiated by and developed for specific Aboriginal communities.

Recognizing that not only collaboration with Native communities but also "experimental approaches and flexible structures" would be required, Simon Fraser University began in 1973 to collaborate with First Nations communities to design teacher education programs that would allow student teachers to complete all work required for standard teacher

certification in their local communities (Wyatt-Beynon, 1991, p. 50-51)[5]. Community-based teacher education programs were developed in collaboration with several First Nations communities in British Columbia, including Mt. Currie, Spallumcheen in the North Okanagan, Kamloops, Alert Bay, and Prince Rupert. Supporting local bands' efforts to revitalize their languages and incorporate them into school curriculum, language and culture programs were often included. Studies of these teacher education programs found them to be successful in retention, graduation and employment; and recommended ongoing professional development and support of such teachers as agents of change and the importance of creating networks of First Nations professionals both within regions and province-wide (Beynon, 2008; Wyatt-Beynon, 1991).

The University of British Columbia introduced the Native Indian Teacher Education Program (NITEP) in 1974 to meet the growing need for Aboriginal teachers in rural Aboriginal communities.[6] Such programs also helped alleviate the high turnover of non-Aboriginal teachers in Aboriginal schools and/or communities by providing a stable teaching population (Sharpe, 1992). The NITEP program, by providing the first two years through field centres dispersed across the province, allowed Aboriginal students to study university-based programs close to their own communities.

Similarly, the University of Saskatchewan and University of Regina developed the Northern Teacher Education Program (NORTEP) based in La Ronge, Saskatchewan to meet the needs of Aboriginal communities in the north. The Bachelor of Education (Native and Northern) at Memorial University was developed in 1978 in partnership with the Labrador Inuit Association and Labrador Innu to build capacity in their own communi-

[5] Standard teacher certification in the 1970s consisted of 2 years of undergraduate course work and 12 months of teacher certification. In ensuing years the requirements for initial teacher certification were increased to 4 years of undergraduate course work and 12 months of teacher certification leading to professional certification. Over the course of 28 years SFU extended the length of the community based programs to insure all enrollees could meet BC requirements.

[6] Canadian native teacher education programs can be classified in three types (More & Wallis, 1979). *Orientation and support* programs provide preparation for entry into regular on-campus programs; significantly altered programs add elements such as Native studies or increased practica to a regular program; and *community-based* programs "where the locus of control is in the [Native] community" (Wyatt-Beynon, 1991, p.53).

ties through pre-service and in-service programs (Sharpe, 1992). Other programs evolved from partnerships between local community colleges and universities (e.g., Yukon College partners with University of Regina to provide Yukon Native Teacher Education Program; Aurora College partnered with University of Saskatchewan to provide the Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program).

The 1980s saw the expansion of Aboriginal community based education programs to urban areas. The Gabriel Dumont Institute in partnership with the University of Saskatchewan and the University of Regina began delivering teacher education to urban Aboriginal peoples called SUNTEP (Saskatchewan Urban Native Teacher Education Program) (RCAP, 1996). The purpose of this program was to provide knowledge and teaching skills to address the specific needs of urban Native students, primarily, Métis and non-Status Aboriginal students, dispersed in urban communities, such as Prince Albert, Saskatoon, and Regina, within Saskatchewan (Bouvier, 1984). Orr and Friesen (1999) found that northern Aboriginal teachersthrough their Aboriginal worldviews, are challenging the predominantly Eurocentric orientation of Canadian schools as part of the broader movement towards Aboriginal self-determination in the context of the evolving nature of northern Aboriginal education in Saskatchewan (p. 219).

Community-based programs represent an important transition in the history of Aboriginal education in Canada because they empowered Aboriginal teachers to become role models for their communities and peoples. They also created spaces for dialogue around Indigenous pedagogy, culture, and identity in faculty rooms and classrooms at both the K-12 and post-secondary levels across the country.

Bridging Programs—Supporting the Transition

Another example of community-based programs that have been developed as a result of Aboriginal communities partnering with educational institutions to meet their local needs are *bridging* or *qualifying programs*. Such programs address the systemic issues and barriers that are encountered by many Aboriginal students as a result of the negative legacies of colonization. Many bridging programs are designed for students who have not

completed high school or otherwise do not meet the admission requirements directly (Antone, 2000). These programs often go beyond issues of academic preparedness to include specific cultural and community needs, building on the 4Rs by including Indigenous perspectives and also honoring the formal and informal aspects of life-long learning.

In 2003, Ethel Gardner spearheaded a "Bridging into Education" Program at Simon Fraser University, for emerging Halqemeylem language teachers as part of a larger language and culture revitalization initiative of the Sto:lo Nation in British Columbia. The one-year Bridging Program combined courses from SFU's Indigenous Peoples Teacher Education Module, continuing Halqemeylem language courses and English, Mathematics, and Science courses required for admission into the Professional Development Program (PDP). Particular care was taken to ensure that the pedagogy and curriculum for these three required courses took into consideration the need for respecting Indigenous ways of knowing and learning. For example, the English course drew on traditional Sto:lo stories, novels, and poetry by Sto:lo authors. This program provides an example of how to Indigenize traditional teacher education offerings and has been used by other First Nations communities for their own language teacher training programs (Craig/FNESC, 2006; Gardner, 2004). Such bridging programs continue to empower and support Aboriginal peoples' "communal need for 'capacity-building' to advance themselves as a distinct and self-determining society" (Kirkness & Barnhardt, 1991, p. 15).

Empowering Aboriginal Educational Leadership

Within the province of British Columbia[7] there is a unique graduate-faculty peer-mentoring program, SAGE (Supporting Aboriginal Graduate Enhancement) that is designed to support Aboriginal graduate students through their doctoral studies. This program began in 2005 modeled on the Maori and Indigenous Advancement program (MIA) in New Zealand, with the faculty mentorship of Dr. Graham Hingarora Smith and Dr. Jo-

[7] SAGE has recently expanded to the province of Ontario under the leadership of Dr. Jean-Paul Restoule at OISE, University of Toronto.

Ann Archibald. SAGE is unique in that it is designed to be cross-disciplinary and cross-institutional, exemplifying how some Indigenous scholars are thinking about operating in and across institutions. The goals of SAGE are to provide opportunities for Aboriginal graduate students to gain culturally relevant support during their graduate program. This support is meant to be additive to the support provided by the individual students' supervisor, committee, department/faculty, and institution. SAGE works to alleviate the isolation experienced by many Aboriginal graduate students and to reinforce the need for relevance in their program, and respect for the students' Indigenous understandings and cultural practices, along with the importance of reciprocal relationships. SAGE has provided a model which honors the cultural integrity of students while supporting their academic scholarship and research by modeling Indigenous ways of being and researching within the academy (Archibald & Brown, 2008).

Support for Aboriginal students making the transition to graduate studies is also crucial, as the educational system has not valued academically preparing Aboriginal youth for higher education, particularly graduate education. Responding to this need, Dr. Dolores van der Wey and Dr. Bonnie Waterstone, at Simon Fraser University, developed an upper-level undergraduate transition course to support Aboriginal students in gaining strategies for successful participation in scholarly discourses at the graduate level. Such transition courses, designed with curriculum and pedagogy that reflect students' needs, experiences, and knowledges, can help improve access to graduate education.

Another model at the graduate level is the Ts"kel[8] program, with its directorship located in the Faculty of Education, at the University of British Columbia. While not an academic program of study, Ts"kel provides Indigenous-focused graduate courses in methodology and theory. Marker (2004) explains "Aboriginal teachers, returning to the university for advanced training and administrative credentials, desired a program of study that emphasized knowledge related to the unique circumstances of First Nations communities and band schools" (p. 182). The courses provide Indigenous students and those non-Indigenous students, who are accepted

[8] Ts"kel is a Halq'emelem word that means golden eagles (Marker, 2004).

into the course based on their experience and knowledge of Aboriginal education and communities, with "protected spaces for Indigenous discourse and dialogue" (Marker, 2004, p.185).

In creating bridging and support spaces for Aboriginal community members, undergraduate, and graduate students, we present evidence of how the 4Rs are embodied and practiced. The next section furthers this discussion in bringing Indigenous pedagogy to non-Aboriginal peoples.

Indigenous Pedagogy of Place for non-Aboriginal peoples… Creating Space in Teacher Education…

Indigeneity **&** *Multiple- Eyed Seeing*

The Elders knew that their Indigenous identity or *Indigeneity*, which is fundamentally the whole way of life in a particular place, spanned across complex interrelationships between the physical, emotional, cultural, intellectual, and spiritual dimensions of life. The diverse elements of an Indigenous people's heritage can be fully learned or understood only by means of the pedagogy traditionally employed by these peoples themselves (Dias, 1993). *Indigeneity* acknowledges the profound interconnectedness with all creation. It recognizes the inherent link of Indigenous peoples to: their lands or traditional territory; the fundamental elements of their environment or ecology the earth, water, air, and fire; all the creatures both plant, animal, as well as human beings and spiritual beings. Indigenous knowledge embraces an environmental ecology of land or place, and a spiritual ecology of culture and cosmology (Cajete, 1999).

Indigenous pedagogy inherently believes students possess inner-directedness as learners. Indigenous knowledge and pedagogy also allows a space to be created or place within which to explore *Indigeneity*. This enables the possibility of a curricular framework for non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal teachers to personally engage in inner-directedness as well as other directedness and pedagogical sensitivity. The notion *Indigeneity* is central to our discussion of teacher education and more specifically the contribution of Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous pedagogy to the transformation of teacher education more broadly.

In the Simon Fraser University Professional Development Program (PDP) the intention is to critically engage the principles of culturally relevant pedagogy in relation to educational theory and practice. In the program we are looking for ways to open spaces for dialogue about issues of wholistic learning that honours the physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual in education as informed by Indigenous knowledges as well as other epistemologies. This *parallel pathways, dual vision* or *two-eyed seeing* as a pathway to a *many-eyed seeing* approach facilitates a *pedagogy of place* where pre-service and in-service teachers deeply engage in their experiences of ways of knowing and being (Kelly, 2008). This happens not just through superficial self-reflection but through a kind of endogenous and internal deep reflexivity that listens across cultures and also profoundly listens within.

> Indigenous Education is really endogenous education; that is, it is an educating of the inner self through an enlivening and illumination from one's own being and the learning of key relationships. Therefore, the foundations of Indigenous education naturally rest on increasing awareness and developing innate human potential through time. (Cajete, 2000, p. 219)

Endogenous learning begins with where one is and moves outward in ever increasing circles of reciprocal relationship. The understanding of our place or location in these relationships is key to acknowledging our position as well as our own identity.

Developing the capacity to navigate parallel pathways requires listening at the borders of our own cultural experience (Haig-Brown, 1990). As teachers and educators, we listen to how a sense of place is important to teaching and learning in various educational contexts. We are trying to bridge the understanding gap by exploring various epistemologies and ways of being. Through the encouragement of critical questioning or deep inquiry teacher/learners create touchstones that further their empathy for, and respect of, other ways of knowing (Strong-Wilson, 2008). These stepping-stones of experience bring them to a profound understanding of the role of stories and shared narratives in informing their imaginations of how to bridge the cultural divide (Williams & Tanaka, 2007).

This capacity suggests parallel pathways of knowledge, a dual vision, or a *two-eyed seeing* (Marshall, 2000; Bartlett et al 2007) necessary to negotiate this traversal. A two-eyed seeing approach is being developed within the Professional Development Program, Field Programs Graduate Diplomas and the M. Ed in Educational Practice at Simon Fraser University (Kelly, 2008). Two-eyed seeing as a pathway to multi-eyed seeing is particularly important today when pre-service and in-service teachers must be prepared to teach an increasingly diverse student body. At their most essential, each culture recognizes, transforms, and represents knowledge in different patterns or systems. The ability to read the patterns and be literate in different worldviews is critical to today's pedagogy. Indigenous epistemologies are grounded in an ecology of place both environmentally and spiritually (Cajete, 1994; Deloria Jr. & Wildcat, 2001). A two-eyed approach facilitates developing a sense of place where educators simultaneously recognize their own locations and develop a relationship to other ways of knowing and being. Two-eyed seeing makes possible more inclusive and wholistic approaches to teaching and learning, thus deepening and broadening the pedagogical practice of teachers.

The Pedagogy of Place and Nourishing the Learning Spirit

Through our lifelong learning, we create an expression of ourselves, our being that we call 'self' and advance what Delors *et al.*, (1998) identify as significant to learning: to be, to know, to do, and to live together. Today the need is great to balance the cognitive and physical world in which we live to give greater focus and energy on building the inner spiritual and emotional journey of our lives and learning to engage and utilize these resources to achieve optimally our life journey. The quest of the learning spirit is part of a journey that Indigenous peoples have long sought to accomplish and retain. Indigenous people search for the inner knowledge that came from the connections they had made with those physical and metaphysical elements in their environments, which become a source of the knowing that

remains a core component of Indigenous knowledge and the foundations of personal development. Ermine's (1995) assumption is that transformation can be achieved in identifying and reaffirming a learning process based on subjective experiences and introspection and this understanding is important to an understanding of Aboriginal epistemology and pedagogy.

Nourishing the learning spirit is a thematic area or bundle within the Aboriginal Education Research Centre (AERC) of the University of Saskatchewan and the Aboriginal Learning Knowledge Centre (ALKC) of the Canadian Council on Learning (CCL). Working with Marie Battiste, Sa'jek Henderson, Leroy Little Bear, Vicki Kelly and others, the AERC and the ALKC has created a focused knowledge exchange to share knowledge and promising practices on lifelong learning among Aboriginal peoples that build from Aboriginal perspectives and foundations on their theories of learning. Battiste, Kelly, Tanaka, and Barett, (2009) acknowledge beyond conventional school knowledge lies an educational pathway of knowing that begins with each individual building an awareness and appreciation for their inner self and their connection to the energy forces of all creation, thus building a stronger foundation for engaging in the pedagogy of learning. Learning is broadly about constructing our sense of reality to create a distinctive life journey (Battiste, Kelly, Tanaka, & Barett, 2009).

Within the Faculty of Education at Simon Fraser University there is the attempt to facilitate the broadening and deepening of theory and practice for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal pre-service and in-service teachers through Indigenous Education (Kelly, 2008). The specific focus is on the development of an ethno-science or ethno-educational approach to pedagogy and curriculum. This integrative educational orientation addresses the parallel pathways or two-eyed seeing approach that facilitates the fostering of the capacity to move between Indigenous, Western, and other epistemologies. The curriculum explores teachings from Indigenous knowledge to nurture the learning spirit; a trans-border bridging and the pedagogy of place; focuses on developing an ecological approach to pedagogy concerned with the long term sustainability of educational practices as well as environmental ecology; and honours the wholistic pathways of Indigenous pedagogy and lifelong learning through art, myth, and vision towards a

spiritual ecology; and helps non-Indigenous student teachers change their teaching intent to be more inclusive and wholistic through engaging in Indigenous ways of teaching and learning. The intent of this program is to introduce through embodied experience and dialogue the importance of honouring and nourishing the learning spirit. It also recognizes the contribution of Indigenous knowledge and pedagogy for transforming educational practice.

The evolving curriculum of *Indigeneity* and *Two-eyed seeing* as a pathway to many-eyed seeing, the *Pedagogy of Place* and the *Nourishing of the learning spirit* in the Professional Development Program (PDP), at Simon Fraser University, joins similar programs at the University of Lethbridge and University of Victoria. These programs acknowledge the need to foster an understanding of Indigenous knowledges and Indigenous pedagogies within teacher education. PDP focuses on transforming the pedagogy of profession in teacher education through the *Pedagogy of Plac*e and *Nourishing the Learning Spirit* (CCL, 2008) of pre-service and in-service teachers.

As long as the rivers flow… Future visions and implications

The challenges to the academy to become accessible, to adjust, and to change procedures that go against common ways of practice by focusing on the Rs, Indigenous knowledges and wholistic approaches to teaching and learning are enormous and very complex. Consequently, in the future institutions must address the institutional and procedural barriers that hamper the implementation of such transition courses, bridging programs, Indigenous pedagogical initiatives, and the other forms of teacher education presented in this chapter. Therefore, Aboriginal faculty and their supporters must work collaboratively as agents of change in transforming their institutional contexts such that they empower and validate Indigenous cultural identity and integrity (Pidgeon, 2008).

Today, it is our responsibility, within a place like a mainstream university, that we, as Indigenous scholars and allies, are reminded that Indigenous knowledges (IK) as embodied and known to us in our own practice as educators and researchers is deeply rooted in broader understandings of IK and the Rs of our respective communities. Today we are creatively bridging and

actively developing respectful reciprocal relationships between the various domains of knowledge.

In this article the authors have centred the discussion of Aboriginal education through the recognition of Indigenous knowledge(s) by acknowledging the Ancestors vision of education since time immemorial. The paper has outlined the current implications of the socio-political perspectives and historical legacies of Indigenous education and explored the modern day contexts for many Aboriginal learners. The chapter also articulated some of the key issues that exist today in Aboriginal educational settings and highlighted how some of the relevant discourse addresses these complex issues. We then discussed how education today needs to acknowledge the Rs of respect, relevance, reciprocity, reverence, and responsibility; Indigenous knowledges that honour Indigenous ways of knowing and being; and the wholistic orientation of Indigenous epistemologies, ontologies, and axiologies that recognize the physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual dimensions of lifelong learning. Through the incorporation of all these aspects of Indigenous education we are addressing the essential needs of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students, their families, communities, schools, and society as a whole. The authors presented some of the multiple ways of engaging in teacher education to address the existing issues in Aboriginal Education, for example, Native Teacher Education Programs; the introduction of Indigenous pedagogy for non-Aboriginal teachers; and the placing of Indigeneity as a foundational theme within the Professional Development Program for pre-service teachers. We shared how teacher education models in Canada have responded to the diversity of Indigenous Peoples (First Nations, Métis, and Inuit) as well as non-Indigenous peoples in Canada. Finally, we indicated how the Pedagogy of Place, Two-eyed Seeing, and the Nourishing of the Learning Spirit can transform the pedagogy of profession for future educators. By returning to the Elders' vision of education for all peoples, the authors revisited the wholistic notion of the transformation of education for everyone, for all our relations, in a hope of influencing long-range sustainability and the future possibilities for the next seven generations... *for as long as the sun shines…the grass grows …and the rivers flow.*

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History Keeps You Going: Cultural Integrity, Sovereignty, and New Mexico History

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Monday February 12 – 9:40 am -- Notes on my morning at naca[1]

Just leaving the school, and it has been a beautiful morning so far. I got to do some things I like to do (run). But more importantly, I was able to get going on what I do here at the school… The energy here is great. Duta and I met for about fifteen minutes talking about the newsletter. There is a tradition here at the academy. Every Monday at 9:30 a.m., the students and faculty form a circle in the patio… After the announcements of the week's events, the administrator called upon Leroy who teaches the wellness and physical education classes to lead the students and faculty in stretching. He came out to the middle of the circle... He got to the middle and led us in stretching and breathing exercises. And then at the end, he said, "Let's yell! Let's wake the people up in the neighborhood!" So we all yelled and when I looked around the circle, I was smiling and everybody was smiling. It was a real good feeling.

[1] The Native American Community Academy, a public charter school (6th – 9th grades), opened its doors to students in the fall of 2006. The philosophy of the school is grounded in the traditions of Indigenous Peoples. A majority of the students attending the Academy are enrolled members and/or culturally recognized members of Indigenous Nations in and outside the state.

I begin this article with a transcript of audio notes that I recorded throughout the spring semester of 2007. In the fall of 2006, Kara Bobroff (Diné and Lakota),[2] founder and principal of the Native American Community Academy (NACA), inquired about my interest in mentoring a new teacher, Anpao Duta Flying Earth (Lakota), in the 7th grade New Mexico History class. I jumped at the chance not only to be a part of a team to teach the curriculum that a group of us had developed two years prior to the opening of this unique school to the public, but also to be back in the classroom.[3] It was decided that I would begin my mentorship at the beginning of 2007.[4] Throughout that spring semester I worked with Duta and other teachers (including a student teacher) on developing and implementing a curriculum in New Mexico history that placed Indigenous Peoples at the center. After my first two weeks at NACA, I found myself leaving the campus eager to talk about my experiences. I decided to speak to myself through audio recordings. The intention was not for research; rather it was for the purpose of debriefing and for future guidance in my work with secondary education pre-service teachers.

I worked with Duta on developing and delivering lesson plans that emphasized the history of Indigenous Peoples in New Mexico between 1598 and 1912.[5] Our goal was to create and implement a learning environment that merged the curricular vision of NACA and the guiding principles of the state's social studies standards. The school's framework prioritizes college preparation, health and wellness, community awareness and service, and working knowledge of cultural diversity in the education of the students who attend this school. The guiding principles of the state's standards in social studies (NM Public Education Department, 2001) emphasize the importance of building upon significant concepts and skills over time; of

[2] Each Indigenous person's tribal affiliation(s) appears in parentheses immediately after his or her name.

[3] Prior to my current position as a professor at UNM, I was a social studies teacher at the middle and high school levels and curriculum writer for over fifteen years.

[4] Due to my obligations as professor, I was limited to two days in the classroom.

[5] The scope and sequence of secondary (6th–12th grades) social studies curriculum designates New Mexico history to be taught in grades 7 and 9. In grade 7, the curriculum focuses on the time period between the sixteenth century and ends at statehood (1912). In grade 9, the focus is on the time period between 1912 and the present.

encouraging respect for individuality, students' shared heritage, and civil rights of all people; of creating links between current events, public policy, and student intellectual interests; and of demonstrating mastery of or, at least, making significant progress toward, achieving content and performance objectives, goals, and standards (local, state, and/or national).[6]

In early January, Duta and I began short- and long-term planning. Like other teachers of New Mexico history in other middle schools across the state, we were faced with the challenge of covering three centuries of history (17th–19th) and meeting the pedagogical goals and objectives of our school and the state. The textbook available to students at the school was one that I had seen in many other middle schools since the early 1990s.[7] Early on, we found that the textbook did not meet the unique curriculum framework of the school. Immediately I began searching for primary sources and readings that would provide our class of seventeen seventh graders with Indigenous perspectives of New Mexico history. For example, we drew on the work of a Jemez Pueblo historian, Joe Sando (1992), in our study of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In order for our students to appreciate the wealth of information provided by Sando, we had to break down the text into sections with special attention to defining vocabulary and to developing questions that checked for comprehension. While this required time and energy, we found that the students appreciated the readings and primary sources for three main reasons. One, the information in the readings by Sando was from the perspective of a historian of a Pueblo nation in New Mexico. Two, the information was detailed, which provided a deeper understanding of the historical conditions of Indigenous people in northern and central New Mexico. And third, the content provided a strong foundation for classroom activities, namely the class-generated newsletter situated in August 1680.

The newsletter, "Off the Wall," was the result of collaboration between our class and the coordinator of technology at the school.[8] The lead story

[6] For details on NM Social Studies Standards see http://www.ped.state.nm.us/nmstandards.html

[7] New Mexico is one of 22 textbook-adoption states where districts can use state money to buy only instructional materials that appear on an approved list.

[8] The name of the newsletter refers to a bloody battle in 1599 between Spanish military forces and the Indigenous People of Acoma atop the mesa of their aboriginal homeland.

"Believe It or Not! The War is Here!" reported on the factors and conditions leading to the Revolt of the Pueblo People against the Spanish colonizers in 1680. A seventh-grade reporter pointed out the multiple levels of reasserting sovereignty that were achieved with the successful expulsion of the Spanish colonists and missionaries from New Mexico.[9]

At the end she wrote: "All we can say is goodbye to chili and wheat, and a 'hello!' to freedom of worship in our own ways. 'Hello' to the complete cultural government," (p. 1). Other features of the newsletter included human interest stories on hunting and fishing, recipes for traditional food (e.g., blue corn atole), letters to the editor in support of and against the revolt of the Pueblo Nations, classifieds (e.g., "Elder willing to hire man. Must chop 75 pieces of piñon wood before winter" and "Willing to trade arrows in exchange for gunpowder. Will go to pueblo revolt cause"), and comic strips (e.g., "how it ended up to be two runners," referring to the runners, Catua and Omtua, who carried the message of the Pueblo Revolt across the Southwest). The newsletter clearly demonstrated the students' ability to engage in historical thinking.

Although we were very proud of our students' accomplishments, we thought about other Indigenous youth who were never given the opportunity to read the work of Joe Sando or to work on projects like the newsletter. How did they feel about themselves as Indigenous People after realizing that, out of a 203-page state-adopted New Mexico history textbook, less than two pages addressed the Pueblo Revolt of 1680? What inspired us to seek sources beyond the textbook to meet the fifth guiding principle of the state social studies standards (NM Public Education Department, 2001) that states, "Effective social studies curriculum recognizes each person as an individual, encourages respect for the human and civil rights of all people, and also emphasizes students' shared heritage" (p. 3). Who are the stakeholders in a "shared heritage"?

Indigenous experiences are often marginalized in the social studies curriculum. Consequently, unlike the middle-school students at NACA, the

[9] See Sando, J., & Agoyo, H. (2005). Po'Pay: Leader of the first American revolution. Santa Fe: Clear Light Publishers for more detail on the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

high school students that I interviewed in a study conducted in an urban, public high school did not feel that they were stakeholders in the notion of a shared heritage (Martinez, 2003; Martinez, in press). From the margins, they protested the taken-for-granted assumptions that were embedded in their textbooks and in the culture of the high school.

I am particularly reminded of three Indigenous youth from that study– Edwin (Laguna),[10] Sara (Diné), [11] and David (Diné).[12] Edwin shared what it was like to engage in a constant battle to challenge the canon of English literature in an Advanced Placement course.

> GM: Do you think your teachers are aware of what your identity means to you?
> Edwin: Some aren't but I kind of make it known to them, like my English teacher, my history teacher, I'll make it known to them that I am, I do value my culture.
> GM: How do you do that? Do you just tell them?
> Edwin: Like for English. She'll tell me to write an essay about a topic and sometimes I just don't agree with it. Like for instance she told us to write about *The Odyssey* and how Odysseus traveled and conquered different lands and try to tell how that story would set values for a civilization. I didn't agree with it. I said, "He really didn't set values for me. I disagree, being Native American. Look what the Whiteman did to the Native Americans is no different than what Odysseus is doing in that story. He went from land to land conquering people without sympathy. Just only had himself in mind. He didn't really care about who he killed." I made certain points out of that. So that's how I felt. She kind of got the idea that I was being smart or something so throughout my essay there were a lot of question marks as to why I think like this. That's the first thing that came to my mind, "This ain't no hero story." I can understand from my perspective that this is the same thing that Whiteman did to us.

Edwin's statement that the story of Odysseus was "no hero story" demonstrated his frustration with a curriculum that held little or no relevance to

[10] Laguna refers to one of the nineteen Pueblo nations located within the state boundaries of New Mexico. They refer to their aboriginal home as Ka'waika.
[11] Diné is what the Navajo People call themselves. The aboriginal homeland of the Diné spans parts of three states: New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah.
[12] The names Edwin, Sara, and David are pseudonyms. GM refers to the researcher.

his experiences as an Indigenous man. Edwin was not alone in his dissatisfaction with the way knowledge was constructed and understood.

Sara shared her story about how she challenged a classmate to critically analyze how cultural dominance operated in history and language arts, where discussions of the holocaust had occurred solely in relation to Jewish people and the horrors of the historic genocidal campaigns waged against them.

I remember our class was reading *The Diary of Anne Frank,* and it so happens the following day that they were remembering the holocaust. We came to a clash there when the girl was saying, "I'm Jewish and I don't think any other culture has experienced the holocaust." And I sat there, you know me, I don't say much but I told her, "Do you realize that you are standing on this land. This land that you're standing on, thousands and thousands of my ancestors were killed just so you could be here." I told her, "We had our own holocaust, and it didn't happen just like that within a few years. It's lasted for hundreds of years. And people are still getting killed." I said, "1973 during AIM [the period when the American Indian Movement was active] people were getting killed. It still goes on." We both had our holocausts and it was kind of emotional, and I cry when I think of the Long Walk.[13] I wrote a poem about that one time, and I was just crying when I wrote about it.

Sara was engaged in a struggle to disarticulate a link between the Jewish experience and the concept of holocaust. At the same time, she was attempting to rearticulate the discourse of holocaust to the experiences (historical and contemporary) of Indigenous Peoples.

While Edwin and Sara were engaged in a direct challenge to official knowledge in their classes, David's story is different. In my interview with David, he compared learning history in the general survey course of US History to his experience in Native American Studies.

[13] The Long Walk refers to a series of forced marches of the Diné from their homeland to Bosque Redondo reservation at Fort Sumner, New Mexico beginning in 1863. According to Diné historian, Jennifer Denetdale, the march was anywhere from 250 to 450 miles long. She estimates that around 2,500 Diné died on the walk, and over 8,000 were imprisoned at the Bosque Redonodo. The forced removal of Diné from their aboriginal homeland was the result of tense relations between the Diné and the US Government. See her 2008 book The Long Walk: The forced Navajo exile. NY: Chelsea House for more information.

> David: In my history classes they always turn things around, the opposite way. They always try to make the White people or the Spaniards better than the Native Americans…. It's all written up like that in the history books. And here in our Native American Studies class, we learn about things in the past.
> GM: So how does that make you feel?
> David: It got me mad and I was about to go up in front of the class and about to show them the information I got was the opposite way…but I didn't want to make a fool of myself. I thought they might just kick me out or something (Martinez, 2006, pp. 134-135).

From David's perspective, the content that he received in two classes--US History and Native American Studies--was, at times, contradictory.

The premise of my analysis of the three perspectives offered by Edwin, Sara, and David is based on the conviction that cultural domination permeates the curriculum in New Mexico.[14] The interruptions to the hegemony of curriculum and instruction do occur, but not in a systemic way, with the exception of what is taking place in schools like NACA. Knowing this leads me to ask the following questions: What are the challenges and possibilities for teachers of Indigenous youth (and all youth for that matter) to create a learning environment that recognizes the integrity of Indigenous cultural sovereignty? What is the role of higher education in preparing pre-service teachers to work in schools that serve Indigenous youth?

Sovereignty, Cultural Integrity, and Teaching

Early in my career as a professor, I had the honor of participating in a seminar, "Teaching American Indian Sovereignty" at the Newberry Library

[14] For further discussion of cultural dominance in a secondary school setting, see this author's upcoming publication Native Pride: *The politics of curriculum and instruction in an urban, public high school.* Cresskill, nj: Hampton Press.

in Chicago.[15] The facilitator of the seminar was Lumbee scholar David Wilkins.[16] On the first day, he raised a series of questions that would guide our class discussions and research. Two questions in particular resonated with me. He asked, "What kinds of knowledge, pedagogy, and capabilities are required of faculty to ensure the continuation of the sovereignty of First Nations, while still acknowledging the political, legal, and cultural existence of state and federal governments?" and "What kinds of curricula and scholarship are necessary to educate our students fully about the mutual existence of tribal nations as extra-constitutional polities whose individual members/citizens are also citizens of the states they reside in and the United States?" As an Indigenous woman, scholar, and professor, the questions motivated me to think about how I understand and experience sovereignty and to explore how *my* role as an educator can support the sovereignty of Indigenous Peoples.

My understanding of sovereignty began early in life growing up at Taos Pueblo. I learned early on that culture, language, knowledge, spirituality, land, environment, and ideology were at the core of exercising sovereignty. I did not learn about the political nature of sovereignty from a Western perspective until I attended the university in the 1970s. However, when I read the work of Lakota scholar Vine Deloria (1979), I made a direct connection between cultural integrity and sovereignty.

> Cultural integrity involves a commitment to a central and easily understood purpose that motivates a group of people, enables them to form efficient, albeit informal social institutions, and provides for them a clear identity which cannot be eroded by the passage of events. Sovereignty then revolves about the manner in which traditions are developed, sustained, and transformed to confront new situations. It involves most of all a *strong sense of community discipline and a degree of self-containment and pride that transcends* [italics added] all objective codes, rules, and regulations. (p. 27)

[15] Sovereignty is the inherent right of a people to self-government, self-determination, and self-education. See Wilkins, D. E. & Lomawaima, K.T. (2001). *Uneven ground: American Indian sovereignty and federal law*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

[16] The Lumbee Nation originates from the Cheraw People. Their aboriginal homelands cover parts of North and South Carolina.

Sovereignty is more than a public law. It is a way of viewing the world and meeting the challenges within and outside our sacred place we call home. For me, this means that pedagogy must come from the heart and soul. Each lesson, course, or workshop I design must speak honestly to sovereignty and cultural integrity. These understandings and beliefs are reflected in my approaches to conducting workshops on contemporary issues in the Red Willow Community Education Center at Taos Pueblo and to teaching Native American studies to indigenous freshmen and social studies methods to pre-service teachers at the University of New Mexico (UNM).

At my home pueblo of Taos, Shawn Duran, Director of the Red Willow Education Center, and I have worked closely throughout the past two years to develop and maintain a strong sense of community discipline and pride. We begin each workshop with a prayer in our Native language by an elder. The words of our elders reaffirm who we are and what land, culture, and language represent in our identities as Taos People. Then, in evening sessions open to the entire community, we showcase the hard work in which individuals and groups from our community are engaged. We honor their work on the environment, the cultural arts, and the media arts (to name a few) by publicly recognizing them and asking them to share their experiences. Their stories show how sovereignty and cultural integrity are achieved at multiple sites through multiple ways.

However, issues of sovereignty are not restricted only to my work at the pueblo. As a Native American Studies instructor in the American Indian Summer Bridge Program at UNM, I work with Indigenous students who have recently graduated from high school.[17] By introducing them to the four components of Native American Studies: Arts and Literature, Education and Language, Cultural Studies and Environment, and Leadership and Self-Determination, I seek to help them remain connected to their cultural identity while mentoring them in the new demands of academic life.

[17] The mission of the program is to "prepare students academically and socially for their first year at UNM" (p. 1). Indigenous graduating seniors are recruited from schools in and out-of-state. During the four-week period, students receive college instruction in math, Native American Studies, and college writing.

Teacher education is another critical element of my work at UNM. Every fall, I have the opportunity to work with pre-service, secondary social studies teachers in a course entitled "Social Studies Methods." As a former high school social studies teacher who entered the profession fully aware of the political nature of curriculum and instruction, I want to help my students, most of whom are non-Indigenous, to understand cultural identity and its role in education. I draw from Apple's (2000) discussion of students in a classroom, to show them that teachers, too, operate from a disposition that is "classed, raced, religious, and gendered…" and that they "accept, reinterpret, and reject what counts as legitimate knowledge selectively" (p. 58). As the professor of a cohort of future social studies educators who will more likely than not work with students from diverse backgrounds in this state, it is my responsibility to encourage them to think critically about the content, the assessments, the standards, the instructional strategies, and the political nature of all the disciplines in social studies.

Knowing one's cultural disposition is at the foundation of developing a critical social consciousness as a teacher. Allard and Santoro (2006) present a convincing argument on the importance of pre-service teachers examining their identities. Interviews with Anglo-Australian students led the researchers to conclude the following:

> [M]any of our students lay claim to achieving their academic success solely through "individual effort." What is rarely understood, at least initially by teacher education students, is how their own privileged class status and Anglo Australianess locates them securely in mainstream discourses of schooling. Their view from the centre of the hegemonic culture often leaves them unable to see how those outside the dominant discourses may be marginalized through curricula, pedagogies and assessment practices that do not take into account different kinds of knowledge, or different approaches to learning or different values and beliefs. (p. 117)

While the conclusions drawn from the study are from Australia and not from the United States, Mexico, or Canada, their point that the ability of a teacher who is positioned at the center of the hegemonic culture "often leaves them unable to see how those outside the dominant discourses may

be marginalized through curricula, pedagogies and assessment practices" is important. Therefore it is imperative that teacher education programs take important steps to re-articulate the meaning of diversity in their mission statements and licensure requirements.

Another means of decentering the existing paradigm is to certify individuals who are from those marginalized populations.[18] I work with nineteen Indigenous pre-service educators seeking certification (Pre-K to 12) to teach in schools that serve Indigenous youth. Nearly all of the nineteen pre-service teachers are currently educational assistants[19] who work in their home communities such as Zuni and Taos or in schools on or near Indigenous homelands. In the fall semester of 2008, we examined the cultural relevancy of curriculum, instruction, assessment, and classroom management for Indigenous youth. We read excerpts from *Collected Wisdom: American Indian Education* by Linda Miller Cleary (White/Non-Native) and Thomas Peacock (Fond du Lac Band of Lake Superior Ojibwe) (1997) and from *The Seventh Generation: Native students speak about finding the good path* by Amy Bergstrom (Red Lake/Anishinaabeg), Cleary, and Peacock (2003). The perspectives represented in these readings and our own experiences as Indigenous educators framed our dialogue as we focused on the following questions:

- Do Native youth have a unique approach to learning?
- What are the characteristics of good teaching for Native youth?
- Bergstrom et al identified thirteen characteristics (having cultural knowledge, using encouragement, etc.) of good teaching. Are these characteristics unique to educators who work with Native youth?

[18] According to the 2006-2007 Indian Education Status Report, Indigenous teachers made up 2.7% of the entire force of public school teachers in New Mexico. The report indicated that 3.4% of the counselors were Native American, 1.9% principals, and 2.3% administrators other than principals. Of the eighty-nine public school districts in New Mexico, 23 are identified as on or adjacent to tribal lands. Native American student enrollment in public schools made up 10.9 percent of the total student enrollment in the state. Hispanics led with 54.6%, followed by Whites with 30.6%, Blacks at 2.6%, and Asians at 1.3%.

[19] Educational assistants are paraprofessional educators who assist certified teachers with instruction and classroom management.

- Cleary & Peacock write: "Part of the dissonance many American Indian students experience in school is related to their need for harmony and balance in their lives. Harmony and balance is the American Indian belief in interrelatedness and connectedness with all that is natural (p.25)." Based on your understanding of schooling, how does the process of schooling encourage and discourage "harmony and balance?"
- How might differences in culture, remnants of oppression, sovereignty, and identity shape the instruction of reading and writing in schools that serve Indigenous youth?
- Is there a Native approach to classroom management?

To support our dialogue, we invited three master teachers who work with Indigenous youth. All three teachers are recognized members of their tribal communities (two from Ka'waika, or Laguna, and one from Tohono O'odham). Each master teacher provided the class with culturally relevant (Native) methods for instruction, assessment, and classroom management. For example, Andrea Ramon of Tohono O'odham explained how she assessed her students on group and individual projects.

The rubrics were bilingual–English and Tohono O'odham. Natalie Martinez of Ka'waika explained how she teaches about sovereignty status of the twenty-two Nations in New Mexico. Leroy Silva of Ka'waika walked the class through physical exercises and provided helpful tips on how to teach health and wellness to Indigenous youth. He also provided a memorable description of how he dealt with a young man from Ka'waika who was misbehaving by asking him "Would you act like this if you were in the kiva?"

The master teachers delivered powerful messages about the importance of Indigenous teachers taking an active role to ensure the sovereignty of our people. Equally important, the discussion affirmed what the majority of these nineteen students had learned in through their experiences as educational assistants. In such a context, the possibilities for decolonizing the curriculum and rearticulating the concept of the organic Native intellectual are infinite. We are heeding the advice of Sitting Bull of the Lakota Nation

who once said, "Let us put our minds together and see what life we will make for our children" (Sternes, n.d., p. 57).

History as a Guide

Education is a critical element to our survival. In order to fully appreciate this concept, it is important to note that education as it is being used in this part of my discussion is not limited to a Western construction. Indigenous People of New Mexico have routinely been engaged in the education of their youth since time immemorial.

The model of education at Taos Pueblo, for example, existed prior to the first contact with Spanish explorers and colonizers in the sixteenth century and continues to this day.

Our model is based on the concept of lifelong learning. From the time a child is born until the time that he or she leaves this earth, a Taos person is engaged in an Indigenous model of formal education. Each decade, year, season and month signifies a move from one stage to another. Each designated juncture of a Taos person's life brings a certain set of knowledge and skills that must be learned and mastered in order to move to the next stage. Childhood and adolescence are formative years in which one learns the Tiwa language and culture. Learning involves participation by observation and through direct engagement, both individual and collective, and includes the learning and application of skills and knowledge appropriate for all stages of religious ceremony: (1) preparation for a specific ceremony by participants who are directly engaged in the ceremony, and by their relations who provide the necessary support, (2) the ceremony itself; (3) closure to the ceremony and preparation for future events; and (4) teaching the next generation of youth who are beginning their journey to becoming an educated Taos man or Taos woman. One does not participate in a ceremony or in the ceremonial life of Taos Pueblo without rigorous preparation.

However, such traditional culture-centered education has not always been a universal right for Indigenous Peoples. Historians of Indian educa-

tion have extensively documented the tumultuous periods of colonizing agendas in Western education.[20]

Equally important are the accounts of resistance by Indigenous youth, their parents, and tribal leadership to the hegemonic agendas of the schools. For example, on February 24, 1923, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Charles Burke sent a circular addressed "To All Indians" (Department of Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, 1923). Burke ordered that all Indians refrain from taking time off from school and work to participate in dances and other elements of religious ceremonial life, referring to them as "useless and harmful performances." A year later, on May 5, 1924, the Council of the New Mexico Pueblos, responded to Burke's letter in a statement, "Declaration to all Indians and the People of the United States" (Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos,1924), in which they argued for their right to exercise freedom of religion. The Council spoke directly to Burke's denouncement of the religious practices at Taos Pueblo.

> [Commissioner Burke] went to Taos Pueblo and there he gave an order which will destroy the ancient good Indian religion of Taos if the order is enforced. He ordered from this time on the boys could no longer be withdrawn temporarily from the government school to be given their religious instruction. These boys would stay longer in school to make up for the time lost, and there is no issue about the Indians not wanting their children to be educated in the Government schools. But if the right to withdraw the children for religious instruction be withdrawn, then the Indian religion will die.

This communal act of resistance paved the way for an individual act of resistance almost a decade later. At a meeting on July 5, 1933, Indian Commissioner John Collier discussed a plan to close boarding schools across the

[20] For more information see the following: Child, B. (1998). *Boarding school seasons: American Indian families, 1900-1940.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press; Adams, D.W. (1995). *Education for extinction: American Indians and the boarding school experience, 1875-1928*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas; Lomawaima, K.T. (1994). *They called it Prairie Light: The story of Chilocco Indian School*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press; Reyhner, J., & Eder, J. (2004). *American Indian education: A history*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press; Lomawaima, K.T., & McCarty, T.L. (2006). To remain an Indian: Lessons in democracy from a century of Native American education. NY: Teachers College Press; and Trafzer, C.E., Keller, J.A., & Sisquoc, L. (2006). Boarding school blues: Revisiting American Indian educational experiences. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

nation, including the Indian boarding schools in Santa Fe and Albuquerque (Sando, 1992). Delegates and governors from the nineteen pueblos who comprised the All-Pueblo Council gathered to cast their votes on the issue. Although the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of allowing the schools to remain open, one delegate took a stand. Most likely influenced by the courage of the earlier Council of New Mexico Pueblos, the Taos Pueblo delegate voted to close the schools and reclaim responsibility for educating Native youth.

Like their elders in earlier times, Indigenous People recognize the importance of speaking up for their rights. I am reminded of another interview that I conducted (Martinez, 2006) in which I examined historical thinking among Indigenous college freshmen and sophomores. One Diné student, Joseph, shared a history lesson that he learned on "Indian Day" at the New Mexico State Legislature. He spoke enthusiastically about two speakers, President of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) Joe Garcia of Ohkay Owingeh and Joseph Geronimo of the Mescalero Apache nation:

> I remember listening to Mr. Geronimo and I'm not too used to people just standing up and saying "we were misrepresented in history" and "in the history books, it's wrong" and I was like "Wow! And he's saying this inside the Round House!" I didn't expect that. It was shocking and at the same time it made me real proud. It showed real activism because it was in such a powerful place…. And then I heard Mr. Garcia speak and I had no idea who he was…. I remember him talking about how powerful the Southwest is as far as Native Americans…. After hearing his speech and everything, I felt inspired…. To me, growing up in Farmington, you kind of learn to ignore racism. I am sure that I have been mistreated; but I tend to numb myself towards that and not recognize it. I taught myself to ignore it. But now when I really think about it, I'm like "that's wrong" or "they should not be treating you differently," and after hearing that it makes you more aware and more active in what you think is right.

For Joseph, the lesson helped him realize the power of cultural integrity in sustaining sovereignty. At the end of the interview, I asked him to talk about the utility of knowing one's history.

> History just reminds you and keeps you going; and when I look back at my history, I think of Chief Manuelito or Chief Barbona and how they all fought so hard. When I go back home, it just reminds that I shouldn't take this for granted. I need to take it as an advantage. I need to come here more often. I need to come here to find my roots. I should come here and run, run on the same land that my people in the past ran and be a part of that earth. I just believe that history is so important and monumental. There is no past and there is no present without it.

Conclusion

Indigenous People in New Mexico are faced with numerous challenges, including control over the ways our youth are educated. The current climate of high-stakes testing and the move to standardize curriculum, instruction, and assessment are often impediments to merging Indigenous epistemologies into the classroom. Our most important challenge is helping our youth to find a healthy balance between what they learn from textbooks and what they are learning in their home communities. The possibilities for teachers, students, and the greater communities of Indigenous People to become actively engaged in schools are endless. The key to guiding our course of action toward the full exercise of self-determination is to remain cognizant of our history. The newsletter, *Off the Wall*, is a strong indicator that our youth are motivated to learn and to apply their skills as junior historians. Joseph's interview demonstrates that students are listening to and watching their elders. Our master teachers and educational assistants can put their heads together to provide quality education in the public schools. I can continue, both within and outside of my home community, in both Native and non-Native settings, to decenter the current educational paradigm. Together, we can speak our truth to policymakers and resist when necessary. We have a history of educating our people. The potential for realizing the full meaning of cultural integrity and sovereignty calls us to action. It is in our hearts and minds, as it is in our beautiful mountains and mesas, in the crystal clear water of the lakes and rivers, in the colorful plants and flowers, and in our

sacred songs and dances. Let us draw on that beauty, form a circle in the morning, and shout out our pride as Indigenous People.

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