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## Unravel the Story, the Okanagan Way

*This study raises the question of how the Canadian educational system can avoid promoting cultural or ideological racism in a student population that is increasingly Indigenous and immigrant. It responds to this question by pointing to the need to expand knowledge systems in teacher education programs, presenting a multi-thematic discussion that explores how contemporary ways of teaching and learning can be transformed into a diverse, sustainable, and global curriculum. The focus of the article is on school culture, specifically the Aboriginal way of knowing about language-learning, creating multicultural teachers, leadership for a culture of inclusion and diversity, and the idea of resistance to change.*

*Cette étude porte sur la question de savoir comment le système d'éducation au Canada peut éviter de promouvoir le racisme culturel ou idéologique auprès d'une population estudiantine composée de plus en plus de personnes indigènes et d'immigrants. L'article y répond en soulignant le besoin d'agrandir les systèmes de connaissances au sein des programmes de formation d'enseignants et en présentant une discussion à plusieurs thèmes qui portent sur des façons contemporaines de transformer l'enseignement et l'apprentissage en un programme d'études divers, durable et mondial. L'article tourne autour du concept de la culture scolaire, notamment en ce qui concerne les connaissances autochtones relatives à l'apprentissage de la langue, la formation d'enseignants multiculturels, la direction d'une culture d'inclusion et de diversité, et l'idée de la résistance au changement.*

### Introduction

In the light of the reality that Canadian students are increasingly Indigenous people or immigrants, how can the Canadian educational system, steeped in Western intellectual traditions, avoid promoting cultural or ideological racism? For example, biased attitudes of educators, Eurocentric and unrepresentative

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curricula, culturally dominant assessment practices, unrepresentative administration and staffing (Egbo, 2009) all contribute to the need to expand knowledge systems in teacher education programs of this new millennium.

This article explores how this type of embodied teaching and learning can be transformed into a diverse, sustainable, and global curriculum: the foundational concepts of education in the 21st century. We present a multi-thematic discussion with a focus on school culture, specifically the Aboriginal way of knowing about language-learning, creating multicultural teachers, leadership for a culture of inclusion and diversity, and the idea of resistance to change. We begin our discussion with a brief overview of the current educational landscape for Aboriginal students in higher education, followed by a description of a new language revitalization initiative undertaken by the Okanagan Nation.

#### *The Historical and Contemporary Context*

Historically, Aboriginal people have been excluded from higher education by policy and circumstances, but when they have been included, they also encountered curricula that either ignore Aboriginal issues and perspectives or regard Aboriginal people as objects of study rather than participants in the creation of knowledge. As a multicultural society with longstanding Aboriginal roots, Canada has a responsibility to help develop and sustain educational programs that engage Aboriginal people in the production and definition of knowledge and develop strategies and approaches that meet the needs of Aboriginal students. In addition, educational institutions have an obligation to ensure that an accurate and developed understanding of Aboriginal histories, cultures, and perspectives is integrated into existing curricula and that emerging work in relevant fields is broadly communicated to the greater public. The recent (2006) Census indicates that the Aboriginal population is expected to grow at an annual average rate of 1.8% whereas the general population of Canada is growing at an average of 0.7% (British Columbia Ministry of Education, 2006). In view of this reality, it is crucial that educational plans be developed to meet the needs of Aboriginal students.

In the contemporary context, Canadian schools do not consistently or perhaps consciously reflect the diverse cultural beliefs and values of students and teachers. In British Columbia, for example, a wide range of Aboriginal cultures exists in the various regions of the province, but are not necessarily reflected in the public schools. The following section describes the initiative by the Okanagan Nation to ensure that their language is taught in their children's public schools as well as the difficulties and challenges experienced by those learning to be Okanagan language teachers.

#### *The Okanagan Way of Knowing*

Okanagan traditional stories have long been passed down through the generations. All that is Okanagan is contained in our traditional stories. Okanagan epistemologies, life-ways, and ways of knowing and doing are all found in our traditional stories. Each story has a message, a teaching, a guidance. Our stories are templates of how we should live with each other and with the land. The Okanagan people are those who interpret the stories, tell and retell the stories to the next generations (Wickwire, 2005). Orality encompasses every aspect of

Okanagan traditionalism. Okanagan orality includes oral traditional stories, Coyote stories, cpcaptik<sup>wlh</sup>, oral history, and oral language. Oral traditional stories are continuous, continually unraveling. Sntrusntm i7 captik<sup>wlh</sup> means to “unravel the story.” The Okanagan language, in which the Okanagan story is told, is filled with metaphors and visual imagery.

The stories are like DNA chromosomes that are continually turning, spinning, and embedding our life-ways into our children and our children’s children, coming from eons past into the present to the future. A story is never complete. A story is unraveled from past to present to future. A single word can be a metaphor for many concepts. A single word will have its own history, its own genealogy. For the Okanagan people, oral tradition goes back generations and continues to this day. In these stories, in the cpcaptik<sup>wlh</sup>, are Okanagan history, geography, science, and many other culturally relevant aspects of the Okanagan people. The stories encompass all aspects of life: physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual. Stories are how we tell about ourselves. Stories are how we find out who we are, where we came from, and where we are going.

The Okanagan language and culture are intrinsically intertwined with the Okanagan people’s world view and ways of knowing and doing. Okanagan ways of knowing and doing are often incongruent with non-Indigenous knowledge bases that are likely to be linear and binary. A number of issues arise from this dichotomy. For example, the gaps in achievement, the low graduation rates of Native students, and the incongruence of the curriculum with Okanagan language and culture have been well documented in the literature. The incompatibility of the Okanagan ways of knowing with normative school ways of knowing is evident in the language education programs in the public and private schools that service Okanagan students.

Providing an Okanagan language program for Okanagan students is not an easy process. For example, language teachers in the public system must follow provincial curriculum guidelines and adhere to continual testing that the provincial curriculum requires, neither of which necessarily follows traditional methods of language transmission. This creates many obstacles for the language teachers who have to teach the language based on a Eurocentric method of teaching: using word lists (noun-based) and noncontextual formats.

#### *Who are the teachers?*

Traditionally, Okanagan language and culture were learned orally. In these changing times, Okanagan knowledge-keepers are not as readily available. The extended families of the past have given way to smaller units of family members. People are currently more mobile—the young men and women move away to urban centers for work and education opportunities. In all our communities, the connection to the knowledge-keepers is disrupted. As the Okanagan language and cultures began to erode, the concern for transmission to the younger generations became urgent. It was found that the teachers of the culture and language were older, in their 50s-70s, the youngest fluent speaker being 51. When resource people were sought to come into the schools and teach language and culture, few had the training to be teachers. They had the knowledge and skills passed down from their Elders, but had no training in transmitting that knowledge to the students in a classroom setting. This was true of

Okanagan adult fluent speakers as well, and this is true in other language communities. Silverthorne (1997) states, "fluent speakers gain their skill as children. By the time they consider teaching, they are so familiar with their language that it becomes challenging to explain it to the novice learner (p. 112)." Another point to consider is the fact that the Elders and fluent speakers are reaching the age of retirement. The pool of younger fluent speakers and language teachers needs to be increased. This gives rise to a whole set of new considerations. Future Okanagan language teachers not only have to take language teacher training, but they have to learn the language as well. This requires programs that are suitable to the unique needs of these unconventional students.

The needs of the teachers are varied and complex and vary across communities as well. Teachers need to be trained in language-teaching methods, curriculum and materials development, and the use of computer technology in the classroom. Those teachers who have no background in the culture must be trained in the cultural aspects of their people. Many times the language teacher must go out into the field and research aspects of the culture in order to be able to teach content areas such as protocols, ceremony, and cultural practices. Many language teachers are Elders and adult fluent speakers with no background in the teaching field. Because these individuals may be the only resource a community may have for teaching language, travel and relocation are sometimes not an option. Furthermore, the language teacher has to be an expert in many areas because he or she is the only one in the community to teach the language and culture. Because Native languages are oral, curriculum and materials often have to be developed by the language teacher. Language teachers must be prepared to meet the specific demands of the language-teaching field. Language teachers of necessity must become curriculum/materials developers as soon as they enter a language classroom as quite often no curriculum is available in the language. The language teacher also needs to be trained in teaching methods, classroom management, documentation, and archiving/researching methods.

*What needs to be done?*

Programs are needed to meet the unique training needs of Okanagan language educators such as summer institutes, summer workshops, immersion-type course delivery, and onsite delivery of courses or long-distance programs. There is much to be done in a language teacher program for the teachers of British Columbia and the Okanagan Nation in the short term. Long-term goals would be the inclusion of interdisciplinary coursework in language teacher programs such as first- and second-language acquisition; sociolinguistics; field methods in language documentation; and Native language courses at the third, fourth, and fifth-year levels to increase the fluency of language teachers, as well as increasing the pool of language teachers and language advocates. During the consultation process for the Certificate in Aboriginal Language Revitalization (University of Victoria) with two language communities in British Columbia, namely, the Treaty Eight Chiefs and the Lower Lillooet, on-site classes in the communities, weekend workshops, and short immersion-type sessions were suggested for teachers who did not want to leave their communities or their commitment to teach in the area schools. While considering these issues,

program planners must also consider location; access to basic amenities such as telephones, electricity, passable roads in the winter; and specific program needs of the language group, as well as curriculum and teaching methods focusing on oral and written sources and techniques.

As described above, creating spaces for the revitalization of the Okanagan language in public schools is a difficult task. The needs of these language teachers are vast and unique, beyond what traditional teacher education programs typically offer. Making the changes necessary to support and incorporate change adequately for the Okanagan language teachers in the public schools is a vital, yet complex challenge, because change in established cultures such as those in schools and universities is often met with resistance. Traditional teacher education programs do not always make space for discussions of the *other* (those outside the dominant culture). The following section provides suggestions for how changes in teacher education programs could lead to developing culturally responsive teachers (Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

#### *Creating Multicultural Teachers*

As the story unravels, we recognize that the contemporary Canadian educational context does not always reflect the diverse cultural beliefs and values of students and teachers. This Eurocentric approach to teaching and learning is often incongruent with Indigenous and multicultural knowledge bases, which are now prevalent in the Canadian school system. Due to Canada's dependence on foreign labor and the more recent liberalization of immigration laws, many new immigrants are arriving from the Orient, South East Asia, and South Asia. Demographic studies indicate that one fifth of Canada's population is foreign-born (Statistics Canada, 2007). This surge in immigration is likely to have profound consequences for Canada's educational, cultural, and economic future. Educators in particular need to pay careful attention to the issues of race, culture, school, and identity among this diverse student population (Shariff, 2008).

Central to this discussion of the Canadian mosaic is the understanding of culture and identity. Culture is an extremely complex term, and the capacity to comprehend cultural diversity depends on understanding the concept of culture itself. Egbo (2009) defines culture as the knowledge, values, customs, attitudes, language, and strategies that enable individuals and groups to adapt and survive in their environment. In other words, it is in us and it is around us. Fleras and Elliott (1999) define culture as encompassing a range of beliefs and values that define and generate behavior; contribute to the security, identity, and survival of community members; and impart meaning and continuity during periods of social change. Personal identity is shaped by historical and societal realities. It allows us to make sense of who we are, where we come from, and our relationship with others (James & Shadd, 2001). Because an individual's identity is in a continual process of construction and reconstruction, the effect of negotiating one's identity is real in the experiences of ethnic minorities in Canada (Dwyer, 1999).

Many teachers have had little preparation for working in culturally diverse classrooms and even less exposure to the concept of global, multicultural education (Johnston, 2003). Teachers are often unaware of how race and culture interact to create complex educational and psychological problems for

students of visible-minority backgrounds. Accordingly, teachers' choice of literary texts may inadvertently make students feel they are invisible and insignificant and that their differences are irrelevant (Kallin, 1994). This hidden curriculum, defined as the behaviors, attitudes, and knowledge the school unintentionally teaches through its content selection, routines, and social relationships provides additional space for spreading dominant ideologies in schools and promotes institutional racism (Egbo, 2009).

In a bid to discard this hidden curriculum, Shariff (2008) suggests some contemporary postcolonial texts that would be suitable for secondary English classrooms. These include *Haroun and the Sea of Stories* by Salman Rushdie (1990), *A Group of One* by Rachna Gilmore (2001), or the film *Bend it Like Beckham*, directed by Gurinder Chadha (2002) to name a few. Shariff has focused on the potential for postcolonial texts to help students to relate, discuss, question, and make sense of cultural identity with what it means to be a "hyphenated Canadian." For example, could a contemporary postcolonial text like *The Namesake* (Lahiri, 2003; Nair & Taraporevala, 2007) help them understand their racial and cultural identity? In the context of an English class, for example, Canadian students could also study, among others, Vincent Lam, Khalid Hosseini, Thomson Highway, Rohinton Mistry, M.G. Vassanji, or even the legend of *nxa-xa-itkw* (Ogopogo) as recounted by the Syilx (Okanagan First Nations). The thematic elements brought forward by these authors and their stories are similar to the universal themes found in the European classics. However, the diversity of their voices also provides an outlook and a perception on life that reflects students' *sameness* as opposed to their *otherness*.

#### *Culturally Responsive Teachers*

Teaching a diverse, sustainable and globalized curriculum requires culturally responsive teachers. Being a culturally responsive teacher is not just an issue of relating instructional techniques or adapting instruction to integrate assumed traits or customs of specific culture groups. In their article "Preparing Culturally Responsive Teachers: Rethinking the Curriculum," Villegas and Lucas (2002) view six prominent characteristics that define the culturally responsive teacher. Such a teacher:

- is socioculturally conscious, that is, recognizes that there are multiple ways of perceiving reality and that these ways are influenced by one's location in the social order;
- has affirming views of students from diverse backgrounds, seeing resources for learning in all students rather than viewing differences as problems to be overcome;
- sees himself or herself as both responsible for and capable of bringing about educational change that will make schools more responsive to all students;
- understands how learners construct knowledge and is capable of promoting learners' knowledge construction;
- knows about the lives of his or her students; and
- uses his or her knowledge about students' lives to design instruction that builds on what they already know while stretching them beyond the familiar. (p. 21)

Culturally responsive teachers not only succeed in knowing their students well, they are able to use their knowledge about their students to give them access to the type of learning they require (Villegas & Lucas). Intercultural awareness refers to the ability to communicate effectively in cross-cultural situations and to relate appropriately in a variety of cultural contexts (Hammer



& Bennett, 1998). In order to focus on culturally responsive teachers, school districts in Canada are calling for more diverse teaching staff to meet the challenges of increasingly multicultural classrooms. Furthermore, it is important to examine the experiences, knowledge, and understanding that teachers of diverse backgrounds bring with them to the teaching profession (Bascia, 1996; Mogadime, 2004).

Gay (2003) explains that although much of the literature on multicultural education provides prescriptive accounts of how to become a multicultural teacher, it is only through the examination of the voices of multicultural educators that we can reach an understanding of what it means to be a multicultural teacher. She points to the significance of gaining the insider's perspective by hearing the voices of those who bring multicultural education to their classrooms. Stories are essential for understanding our approaches to teaching and learning, as "narratives are essential to the purpose of communicating who we are, what we do, how we feel and why we ought to follow some course of action rather than another" (p. 5). Gay highlights the significance of personal self-reflection, narratives, storied research, and autobiography in developing a multicultural approach, because "who we are as people determines the personality of our teaching" (p. 4). In fact, Nieto (2004) argues that "becoming a multicultural teacher means first becoming a multicultural person."

Nieto (2004) defines multicultural education as a process of comprehensive school reform and basic education for all students. It challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination in schools and society and accepts and affirms the diversity (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic, and gender, among others) that students, their communities, and teachers reflect. This pluralism should permeate the schools' curriculum and strategies, as well as the interactions among teachers, students, and families. This critical pedagogy should be used by schools to conceptualize the nature of teaching and learning. Critical multicultural education is a process. It is transformative and can be found at varying levels. Multicultural education seeks to understand and challenge how schools reproduce the social structure and how students are educated for certain roles in society. It upholds pluralistic values and affirms the diversity of students, communities, and parents. Furthermore, the Eurocentric and biased knowledge with which students are presented is questioned, and the perspectives and histories of the margins are brought to the center (Nieto). The perspectives, the margins, and the centers are deconstructed to gain a better understanding of reality. The aim of multicultural education is to make "many centers" (Nieto). This involves accounting for the experiences and struggles of those who have been excluded.

Educational institutions can avoid the pitfalls of teaching a hidden curriculum by promoting and developing a program of study based on diverse, sustainable, and globalized curriculum with a focus on multicultural realities and Aboriginal issues and perspectives. Institutional players such as ministries of education and school districts should be developing and promoting intercultural communication competence programs for teachers and students. Armed with an element of intercultural education, educators and students can address aspects of educational curriculum that remain unacknowledged and focus

instead on a transformative pedagogy that would be inclusive of all Canadian students (Mogadime, 2004; Nieto, 2004).

Educational institutions have been scrambling to deal with the multicultural and multiethnic reality that has permeated the fabric of this society. Educational systems that focus on the 19th- and 20th-century Eurocentric curricula are inadvertently marginalizing and ostracizing this new generation of Canadians. This form of subtle institutionalized racism can impede and even discourage the academic progress of immigrant students. A working knowledge and awareness of culture, diversity, and intercultural competence can help educators promote a diverse, sustainable, and global education. Teacher education programs share the responsibility for ensuring that new candidates for teaching are prepared for the multicultural, diverse, and pluralistic reality of schools in the 21st century beyond curricular and pedagogical preparation. Student teachers can explore their own assumptions and biases about culture, race, and ethnicity. Further, student teachers can become aware of how the dominant culture, based on Western European values and beliefs, permeates the curriculum, culture, organization, and leadership of many of our schools, resulting in greater numbers of students feeling marginalized. The following section provides an overview of educational leadership and new ways of conceiving of leadership for diversity and inclusion.

*Leadership for Sustainability, Diversity, and Inclusion: Teachers as Leaders*

Teachers have perhaps not always needed to learn about leadership in their education programs, because leadership was assumed to reside with those in the formal offices of power. Currently, however, the idea of distributed leadership “has the attention of practitioners, professional developers, philanthropists, policymakers, and scholars” (Spillane & Diamond, 2007, p. 1). In other words, leadership in schools is no longer the sole purview of the principal or vice-principal. Moreover, leadership has been identified as an important element in creating and sustaining the school culture (Fullan, 2007; Hord & Sommers, 2008). Accordingly, learning about and discussing educational leadership with prospective teachers becomes an important aspect of teacher education. Programs can provide an introduction to beginning teachers about the importance of leadership; of developing their own leadership; and as our societies and schools are growing increasingly diverse, of questioning the cultures, beliefs, and values of the dominant leadership model or practice. Understanding about and critically reflecting on leadership in schools can become an integral component of teacher education programs as we aim to move toward more diverse, inclusive, and sustainable schools.

*Educational Leadership*

The concept of leadership has been scrutinized for centuries as we try to understand how, why, and to what degree leadership occurs and how we might best apply these elusive traits, behaviors, and beliefs to create the change we desire. In the educational arena, for example, leadership has been the subject of debate for decades, as educational professionals aim to determine the best way to provide leadership for student achievement. Educational leadership has been described as transformational, distributed, democratic, visionary, and instructional. The common notion among these constructs is the



essence of leadership as a means of influencing others to achieve desired new ends (Rost, 1995). In education, leadership is viewed as the vehicle for influencing others toward achieving goals of student achievement and school improvement.

Currently, school organization has shifted to embrace the professional learning community model, wherein leadership is distributed throughout the community and shared among all learners. The shift in thinking about how we conceive of our schools reflects a trend in many disciplines toward renegotiating our beliefs about the world we live in. What can be understood as a wholeness, organic, or ecological world view is beginning to supplant the long-held modern belief that our world is ordered in a linear, atomistic, and mechanical way (Bohm, 1980). In contrast to the latter world view, the wholeness perspective emphasizes the interconnectedness of the universe and the complex web of relationships among everything that exists. Wheatley (1992) explains,

We live in a universe where relationships are primary. Nothing exists independent of its relationships. We are constantly creating the world—evoking it from many potentials—as we participate in all its interactions. This is a world of process, the process of connecting. (p. 69)

Understanding that we are all a part of the same organic universe is a shift in how we think about the organization of our world.

Although current writing and practice in educational leadership reflects a shift in thinking in our world view, unchallenged assumptions remain based on the recognition that most facets of education, including leadership, generally reflect the dominant-culture perspective (Gay, 2006). For example, establishing a professional learning community is based on the assumption that all community members hold the same values, beliefs, and ways of knowing about leadership, learning, and school. However, this assumption fails to recognize the beliefs and values of those outside the dominant culture of the schools. Moreover, Woods (2007) suggests that distributed leadership, an important strategy in community-building, may be merely another way of preserving power structures while appeasing what he terms the *bureau-enterprise* of schooling. Thus learning communities become a new way to ensure the status quo wherein the educational, emotional, and social needs of those in the dominant culture prevail. In other words, unquestioned assumptions at the core of educational leadership may serve to ignore the values and beliefs of students outside the dominant culture. The teacher education program can be the forum for critical reflection of beliefs about leadership and diversity and an introduction to new ways of conceiving of educational leadership for schools.

#### *Sustainable Leadership: A Model for Diversity*

Sustainable leadership was developed out of the sustainability literature in the environmental field during the 1980s as alarms were raised about the human impact, or footprint, on the earth. Sustainable leadership aims to create capacity for developing and preserving our resources. Hargreaves and Fink (2006) have developed a model of sustainable educational leadership that they argue is “inherently moral” and develops capacity for deep learning that will spread

and last and does no harm to “others around us, now and in the future” (p. 17). The underpinnings of sustainable leadership demand critical questioning of depth, breadth, and length of learning, justice, diversity, resourcefulness, and conservation as changes and innovations are implemented and learning communities are established. Sustainable leadership as envisaged by Hargreaves and Fink is socially just and promotes diversity and could thus provide a model for guiding schools in an increasingly diverse and pluralistic society.

Environmentally, diversity reflects healthy systems with monocultures of crops, forests, and waterways generally seen as threats to the natural system. In schools, diversity should also be the marker for evaluating the health of the learning community. Embracing diversity means looking beyond varied teaching and learning styles and recognizing the differences in values and beliefs of the various cultures in the school. Just as the forest is strengthened as an ecosystem when all plants and creatures are allowed to grow, a learning community is strengthened when all students and their beliefs are allowed to flourish. Although sustainable leadership might provide an alternative to traditional models with the emphasis on social justice, diversity, and inherent morality, the need remains to recognize that all leadership is culturally biased. Using a cultural framework model can provide another lens through which to view educational leadership.

#### *Cultural Framework Model: A Viewing Lens*

School cultures tend to reflect regional beliefs and values, as well as overarching national or provincial values of the notion of schooling (Rothstein-Fisch & Trumbull, 2008). The Cultural Framework model (Rothstein-Fisch & Trumbull) provides that two overarching culture systems, individualism and collectivism, influence people’s thoughts in most areas of their life. Using the model for self-reflection and reflection on the school culture could provide leaders with a tool for discovering whose voices and whose beliefs are being heard and served and whose are not necessarily being represented. The public education system recognizes the importance of diversity, but schools generally reflect what the Cultural Framework model would characterize as individualism, “representative of mainstream United States, Western Europe, Australia, and Canada” (p. 9). The individualism perspective reflects the importance of the well-being of individuals where the individual attainment of achievement, self-esteem, and self-expression is paramount. Indeed, individualism is so deeply ingrained in our understandings of society that it is often difficult even to conceive of the possibility of constructing communities that reflect socially responsible individualism (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985; Etzioni, 1993; Sergiovanni, 1994). The Cultural Framework model acknowledges that individualism is a deeply engrained perspective and that understanding the dominant perspective is critical to bridging the differences among cultures. For example, leadership in a learning community serves to guide members toward achieving goals in line with the vision, purpose, and shared beliefs of the community. However, unless members are cognizant of their orientation in terms of their own underlying belief system, the dominant culture of individualism will probably be represented in the beliefs and purposes for the learning community.

The second perspective in the Cultural Framework is the collectivism perspective, representative of 70% of world cultures (Triandis, 1989, in Rothstein-Fisch & Trumbull, 2008) such as the Aboriginal cultures in Canada. Collectivism reflects the importance of group well-being, family and group success, social intelligence, interdependence, and cooperation. Although teachers and school leaders talk about collaboration, cooperation, and interdependence, these are generally undertaken from an individualism perspective. For example, students may be grouped to work together, but a teacher adhering to individualism, consciously or not, may still expect individual responsibilities for success or failure, attention, or disruption rather than collective responsibility for the group's learning. Reflecting on schools in general, assessment, discipline, punishment, and reward are generally based on individuals rather than the collective. As an example of collectivism, sentencing circles in Aboriginal communities are beginning to challenge the appropriateness of the dominant-culture approach to justice for Aboriginals, who using the Cultural Frameworks model probably adhere to a more collectivism perspective. The Cultural Framework model provides a point of reference for recognizing diverse ways of knowing, of succeeding, and of being.

Although all frameworks have limitations and cannot be generalized to fit every case, Rothstein-Fisch and Trumbull (2008) contend that their framework, with all the limitations that must be recognized, does provide a starting point for discussion about and reflection on two major differences in perspective among cultures and a guide for how better to understand how to bridge these differences in schools. Teacher education programs have not historically been receptive to change. However, we recognize the necessity of creating these difficult shifts in the culture of teacher education programs if we are to achieve the goals of diversity, inclusion, and multicultural education in our schools.

#### *Resistance and Turbulence: A Challenge to Cultural Change*

Facing the challenges laid out in this article, it becomes obvious that in order for changes to take place, contributing and collaborating efforts are needed from across a broad, but workable range of stakeholders. However, resistance, like turbulent backwaters, seems to thwart change efforts in education. It is a conundrum in education that resistance comes from teachers and parents, policymakers and bureaucrats, and people with a stake in the economy of schooling (Blaustein & Lyon, 2006). This resistance is evident in entrenched teaching (styles, modes, delivery, or philosophy), in hierarchical management styles, in school leadership, and in community (read parental and preservice teachers) expectations. Implementers of systemic change, both micro- and macro-systems, struggle with some or all of these strategic areas along with societal and political influences. Among the challenges that education—from K-12 and on to teacher education—faces daily, where is the impetus to change? Why is education so difficult to change? What is needed to implement system-wide changes? What are the contributing factors that thwart or handicap change?

Teacher education is complex, comprising studies in foundations, theoretical models of application, supervision and on-site practice, subject-matter methodologies, communication skills development, reflection, socialization in the profession, and possibly rigid structure with no choices in the program of

study. It is influenced by various theories about learning—cognitive, behavioral, humanistic—as well as by economics. And preservice teachers, far from being *tabulae rasae*, already possess knowledge about and attitudes toward teaching, schooling, education, work, cultures, and practice. As John (1996) reports, preservice teachers “have imprinted upon their minds numerous images of teachers, teaching styles and learning processes which have been shaped by what they have witnessed as pupils” (p. 91; Craig, 1995; Cuban, 1984; Louden, 1991). Furthermore, teacher education is as much a function of the school site as it is of its higher education site. That is, teacher education is influenced in its implementation and execution by schooling, by the nature of schooling.

Lieberman (1993) claims,

The schools of education train teachers and administrators to function in the existing system. Their focus is on performance within the system, not on critical analysis of that system ... school boards and administrators are not likely to be favourably impressed by degrees from institutions with a reputation for challenging the rationale for public education. (p. 285)

The status quo reigns because of the latter point and assists in resisting changes that might allow for practical and theoretical changes to favor a broader consideration of cultural differences. Teacher educators’ efforts to challenge preservice teachers to challenge schooling practices risk meeting with blank stares, ignoring, or a brutal rebuff by sponsor teachers in the school system. Miller and Seller (1990) remark about the apparent proclivity of some staff members to work well together and of others who resist change:

Teachers sharing a common orientation often associate with one another and develop their own behavior patterns. Within these subgroups, a teacher can sometimes find a more supportive climate for his or her preferred behavior. It is possible, therefore, to find a general climate of support for an implementation project although there also exists a group of teachers who avoid the change ... The values underlying the goals of the school will be reflected more accurately in the activities undertaken to achieve them than in spoken or printed words. This is particularly true of the value teachers place on change in a school culture. Attitudes toward innovation can be more accurately assessed through observations of what changes actually occur than through what staff members say they are doing. (pp. 241-242)

Deviance from the norm, the canon, is most often not tolerated. Lieberman (1993) suggests,

Teachers do not criticize the system in which they work. Their organizations, publications, conferences, and shop talk reinforce rather than challenge that system ... “Changing the system” simply means making changes within the present framework of public education. (p. 286)

Hodas (1996) associates the problem with the institution and the culture of education (Howley & Howley, 1995). We draw on other sources to conclude that teachers who stay in the job actually stagnate intellectually compared with their peers in other jobs and professions. Lack of education about issues may well play a part in the attitude of resistance and possible malaise toward outsiders.

According to Hargreaves (1995), the traditional model of teacher education is technocratic, which emphasizes, among other concepts, transmission of knowledge and preservice teacher supervision in selected sites. It seems that given the nature of Western teacher education, it cannot escape the transmission of knowledge and supervision at selected sites and that the preservice teacher accomplishes what is expected regardless of the model adopted.

Hargreaves (1995) speaks metaphorically of teacher education as a rite of passage where the student teacher embarks on a journey that both confirms what he or she already knows about teaching and presumably engages him or her in areas of discovery. A difficulty in the passage process is the dual nature of the curriculum of teacher education. By this is meant that the preservice teacher must function in two diverse cultures: the university and the site or school setting. The preservice teacher must interact in these distinct cultures and the passage brings its own tension as he or she learns to deal with a number of demands. There is the demand placed by the university with its structured curriculum of coursework and practicum experience. The preservice teacher is provided with methods courses, principles of teaching, communications, subject specialties, additional elective coursework, projects, and practice, all of which are deemed essential by the institution but questioned by the novice in the course of this passage.

Corrigan and Haberman (1990), discussing teachers' knowledge, comment, "Craft knowledge is generally regarded by classroom teachers as the most relevant aspect of the knowledge base of their practice" (p. 199). Whether craft or cognitive information or particular skills, the school site is a geographic space where the production and dissemination of knowledge are functions of practice, because the site is primarily an institution of practice. It is also a site that fosters teacher isolationism and individualist action (Hargreaves, 1995). The challenge to practice—to incorporate stories, alternative knowledge production, and practices, for example—is greater than merely altering an aspect of present practice, both teacher education and in school. That is, changing the emphasis on where the preservice teacher passes most of his or her practice sessions or takes coursework is a pragmatic issue. A larger-scale paradigmatic shift would necessitate systemic alterations that consequently would produce altercations between rival theoretical factions. More resistance. To overcome this resistance means persevering and battling daily, but with compassion for the other and willingness to hear options and other stories. Anything less will invite scorn, turbulence, and possible retribution or, worse, continuation of cultural dichotomies.

### *Conclusion*

Although it may seem overwhelming to think about changing the entire education system, there is recognition of the dire need to make shifts in thinking that will enable educators to stand at the leading edge of reforms for large-scale cultural changes in our schools (Hargreaves, 2008). Our vision of education has to shift to recognize those for whom the system does not always work and begin to promote "the inclusiveness that elevates our differences into the strengths that can enable us to bring about opportunity for all in a just society" (p. 60). Teacher education programs can claim an essential role in creating these paradigm shifts toward an inclusive, diverse, and just system, by recognizing

the views of others, those outside the dominant culture, in how we prepare student teachers.

Palmer (2007) argues for teaching a new level of courage in professional preparation programs so that students begin to question the culture of the institutions for which they are being prepared. It will take courage to incorporate new pedagogy, leadership, models for understanding cultural differences, and new ways of knowing about the world. The courage to question the status quo can happen at the beginning of teachers' careers in teacher education programs that honor diversity by presenting ways of knowing different from those of the mainstream, Western-culture-dominant in our education system. Of course, schools and their districts will need similarly to adapt a more inclusive practice of alternative thinking, teaching, and learning. Schools have traditionally been organized around the mechanistic model, steeped in hierarchy and bureaucracy (Sergiovanni, 1994).

We have made a shift in the last few decades away from the hierarchical notions of organization toward more democratic, community-oriented organizations as we have come to recognize the importance of diversity, inclusion, and of creating communities in our schools. Shifts can continue to occur if we push student teachers to question their own values and beliefs, as well as those in the dominant culture in their schools, and to think about how they can create space for diversity, inclusion, and sustainability in the culture of their schools.

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