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27

A Decolonial Alternative to Critical Approaches to Multicultural and Intercultural Teacher Education

Michael Vavrus

Internationally teacher education policies and practices differ over the meaning, value, and purpose of multiculturalism, especially in relation to national identity and citizenship rights (Banks, Suárez-Oroco, and Ben-Peretz, 2016; Koopmans, 2013). Significant differences in interpretation and intentions range from viewpoints that believe multiculturalism is underpinned by actions allowing for an individual's assimilation into a common national culture, to positions that advocate recognition of cultural groups and redistribution of material opportunities for historically marginalized populations through a critical social reconstruction (Grant & Sleeter, 1993). Whereas English-speaking nations use the term *multicultural education*, Europe generally references *intercultural education* (Alleman-Ghionda, 2012). Both expressions in teacher education are responses to an acknowledgement of cultural diversity within nations.

Banks (1993) broadly defined multicultural education as 'a total school reform effort designed to increase educational equity for a range of cultural, ethnic, and economic groups' (p. 6, emphasis in original). Most teacher education programs report that they incorporate multicultural content (Bennett, 2012). By the mid-2010s, research revealed, however, that only a few programs 'fundamentally challenge the current arrangements of social, economic, and institutional power' (Cochran-Smith et al., 2015, p. 118). Finnish critical educators Dervin and Tournebise (2013) further noted 'the apparent lack of concern for justice' in normative intercultural education (p. 541). Hence, critical approaches in teacher education are needed, according to Ladson-Billings (2004), to 'argue against the ways dominant ideologies are able to appropriate multicultural discourse'

and to 'interrupt the diversity discourse that emerged to supplant and subvert the original intentions of theorists who set out to create a pedagogy of liberation and social justice' (p. 52).

A primary goal of critical multicultural teacher education is capacity building for teachers to gain a sense of their agency to change oppressive conditions in schools (Howard & Aleman, 2008; Liggett, 2011). This chapter surveys capacity-building conceptual and pedagogical approaches and challenges for critical teacher education. This overview includes critical approaches to sociocultural identity formation, including racial, ethnic, gender, sexual, religious, and neoliberal identity constructions. The chapter concludes with decolonialism and its potential to reorient critical teacher education approaches.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHING

A purpose of multicultural teacher education is to graduate *culturally responsive* teachers (Nieto, 2009). The expectation for culturally responsive teachers is to design 'learning environments that allow students to use cultural elements, cultural capital, and other recognizable knowledge from their experiences to learn new content and information to enhance their schooling experiences and academic success' (Howard, 2012, pp. 549-550). Underlying the education of culturally responsive teachers is intercultural education to develop cultural competence. The goal of intercultural teacher education is 'to train individuals to perceive and recognize linguistic and sociocultural diversity by increasing sensitivity to socially and ethnically based prejudice, conflict, and misunderstanding; xenophobia; and racism' (Alleman-Ghionda, 2012, p. 1213). Within intercultural education cultural competence refers broadly to knowledge and skills 'which enable professionals to work respectfully and effectively with individuals, families, and communities from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds' (De Jesús, 2012, p. 504). Cultural competence and intercultural communication involve developing an internalized self-awareness of how racial and ethnic discrimination operates.

Gay (2010) documents how attention to social psychology can help teachers to understand their own cultural attitudes and identities in relation to their interactions with culturally diverse student populations. The importance of social psychological factors for culturally responsive pedagogy was highlighted in Yang and Montgomery's (2011) study of 793 North American preservice teachers. Preservice teachers who had internalized 'a high degree of personal control in developing their cultural awareness' felt more effective in implementing a culturally responsive pedagogy (p. 12). Nieto (2009) cautioned, however, that a culturally responsive teacher education framework 'can become problematic if culture is viewed as deterministic and static rather than as elastic and changeable' (p. 89). Critical teacher education, therefore, builds on culturally responsive

teaching by incorporating concepts from critically oriented theories and practice (Vavrus, 2008).

CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF CRITICAL TEACHER EDUCATION

Critical educators draw on *critical theory* that has roots in a 'quasi-Marxist theory of society ... of "the totally administered society,"... which analyzed the increasing power of capitalism over all aspects of social life and the development of new forms of social control' (Kellner, 2005, p. 509). From legal studies critical education also incorporates *critical race theory* (Sleeter, 2012), which begins with the premise that 'racism is normal, not aberrant' (Delgado, 1995, p. xiv). Within this critical orientation, critical teacher education references Paulo Freire's (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* as a foundational text. Freire's purpose, as explained by McLaren (2015), was to help learners understand the politics of knowledge construction and the daily operation of ideologies to transform 'structures of oppression to pathways to emancipation' (p. 149). Hence, in response to normative multiculturalism in teacher education, the merging of *critical* into *multiculturalism* developed as critical theory became associated with social action (see Kellner, 2005).

Critical teacher education aligns with a social justice academic-activist position. Critical education is 'not simply an "intellectual" one'; instead its purpose is 'to engage in analyses that are aimed at interrupting the relations of exploitation and domination in the larger society and in education' where schools can serve as a 'site for resistance to bourgeois hegemony' (Au & Apple, 2009, pp. 87, 93). Critical teacher education encourages a teacher-activist identity that challenges oppressive practices in schools and society (Zeichner & Flessner, 2009). This approach necessitates a *transformative* multicultural and intercultural teacher education that 'problematizes the structures of history that embody who we are and have become' (Popkewitz, 1999, p. 3; Vavrus, 2002). Drawing from Freire, critical teacher education applies *critical pedagogy*, which is described next.

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

Critical pedagogy is a methodology that both deconstructs and reconstructs factors that affect the learning and life opportunities of young people. According to Darder, Baltodano, and Torres (2003) and McLaren (1989), critical pedagogy in teacher education emphasizes:

- political economy of schooling and the concept of class;
- historical context of knowledge construction;

- critiques of ideologies;
- dialogue and development of critical consciousness;
- hegemony as 'a process of social control that is carried out through the moral and intellectual leadership of a dominant sociocultural class over subordinate groups' (Darder, Baltodano, & Torres, 2003, p. 13); and
- counter-hegemony as 'moments of resistance, through establishing alternative structures and practices that democratize relations of power, in the interest of liberatory possibilities' (p. 14).

Critical pedagogy is a *dialectical process* that tests assumptions and assertions for accuracy as part of an ongoing interrogation of political and historical claims, a process that can lead to social justice action by teachers (McLaren, 2015).

The dialectical process draws from Marx (1932/1973) who considered lived human experience in the context of objective material conditions and the subjective social relations and identities produced under capitalism. The use of the dialectic involves an examination of *contradictions*, which 'refers to the nature of those conflicting elemental processes that are believed to constitute the essence of reality itself' (Heilbroner, 1980, p. 35). The dialectic in critical pedagogy stresses an activist production of knowledge rather than knowledge as a passively consumed object.

Critical pedagogy was evident for a group of Australian preservice teachers who were instructed in how to dialectically examine state curriculum documents 'by highlighting contradictions and inconsistencies' (Johnson, 2007, p. 363). Bartolomé (2010) applied critical pedagogy's dialectic with prospective teachers to consider how ideologies affect 'linguistic-minority schooling' (p. 520). Bartolomé cites Freire in how her curriculum helps preservice teachers 'comprehensively *construct* the problem' and then 'analyze the problem critically – to *deconstruct* it' (p. 521, emphasis in original). Finally, Bartolomé has students 'reconstruct the problem' by considering 'alternative possibilities' for 'implementing more humane and democratic solutions' (p. 521, emphasis in original).

The reconstructing aspect of critical pedagogy's dialectical process for problem-posing and -solving (Freire, 1970) has been described as a *critical imagination* process (Cartwright & Noone, 2006). When using critically reflective writing assignments for teacher candidates, Cartwright and Noone (2006) found that their effectiveness increased student engagement to use a critical imagination to consider non-dominant schooling possibilities for equity. Stenhouse and Jarrett (2012) reported that critical pedagogy in service learning 'empowered' preservice teachers by holding space for critical imagination or 'a *pedagogy of possibility* that shifts service to advocacy' for a more equitable society (p. 74, emphasis in original).

An intention of the dialectic in critical pedagogy is to develop critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Application of critical consciousness requires praxis. Freire (1970) claimed that the discovery of oppressive conditions 'cannot be purely intellectual but must involve *action*; nor can it be limited to mere activism, but must include *serious reflection*: only then will it be a *praxis*' (p. 52, emphasis added).

Critical Reflection and Critical Consciousness

In critical teacher education *critical reflection* is an approach that is a prerequisite to developing cultural competence for culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010). Through a critical examination of feature-length movies that portray teaching in culturally diverse settings, Columbian teacher educators Morales and Holguín (2011) found it possible to move education students from normative pedagogical reflections on observed teaching methodologies to a critical reflection stance on how social issues differentially affect students in both their classrooms and communities. When Durden and Truscott (2013) observed elements of critical reflection in a study of preservice teachers, however, and 'delved into the thinking that grounded a particular practice or action, we discovered that the *critical consciousness* necessary to support [critical responsive pedagogy] *was missing*' (p. 79, emphasis added).

Critical consciousness or *conscietização* for learners, according to Freire (1970), develops when critical reflection leads to a more complete grasp of the barriers that dispossessed and marginalized populations can face. Au (2012), who notes how he was introduced to Freire's concept of critical consciousness through his teacher preparation program, explains that 'critically reflecting on our own consciousness ... necessitates critical reflection on the social structures that shape our consciousness' (p. 24). However, when teacher educators assume teacher candidates hold a critical reflection disposition to interrogate oppressive conditions in schools, preservice teachers tend to 'generalize their own perspectives without realizing that their worldviews are culturally and socially founded' (Carrigan, Sanders, & Pourdavood, 2005, p. 13).

Critical Democracy in Situated Learning

Community-based, situated learning in teacher education with a participatory democratic orientation can develop 'critical self-awareness' in culturally diverse settings (Seidl, 2012, p. 2136). Mirra and Morrell (2011) use the concept of *critical democracy* developmentally for education students becoming teacher-activist citizens. This approach questions 'the applicability of individualistic models of citizenship in a social context in which citizens occupy positions on opposite sides of huge chasms of race- or class-based inequality' (p. 412). Teacher educators McInerney, Smyth, and Down (2011) provide an example of the development of a critical democracy disposition through a community-based model that presented 'relevant knowledge and experiences to participate actively in democratic processes ... to connect local issues to global environmental, financial and social concerns, such as climate change, water scarcity, poverty and trade' (pp. 4, 11). This approach shares characteristics with what Shor (Shor & Freire, 1987) noted as *situated learning* in which 'the learning process' is located 'in the actual conditions of each group' (p. 26). In such participatory community experiences, Mirra

and Morrell (2011) noted the importance of providing teachers with the necessary skills to engage in critical democracy (see also Stenhouse & Jarrett, 2012).

Application of a funds-of-knowledge strategy in situated learning can help culturally responsive teachers learn more about their students, apply this new cultural knowledge to the curriculum, and discover the heterogeneity within cultural groups (Moll & González, 2004). Saathoff (2015) reports how preservice teachers at the University of Arizona applied a funds-of-knowledge approach. Education students used 'critical questioning skills ... to be able to examine situations in both schools and society through a critical lens' in learning about the history of their region in combination. This methodology involved the essential step of teacher candidates democratically connecting with Mexican American communities through home visits (p. 38). Whether in or out of an education classroom, though, such experiences often result in cognitive dissonance, a topic that follows.

Critical Engagement with Cognitive Dissonance

In a study of preservice teachers, Barrón (2008) found how 'cognitive dissonance created discomfort and destabilized their existing beliefs and allowed the participants to sustain a heightened consciousness about race, culture, and oppression and actively seek information about these topics' (p. 197). Barrón set conditions so that 'cognitive dissonance and its accompanying discomfort created opportunities for the participants to shift some of their earlier beliefs' (p. 197). However, when teacher educators do not anticipate cognitive dissonance as a formative outcome of critical pedagogy, teacher candidates can become alienated and disengage (see Allen & Rossatto, 2009). Cutri and Whiting (2015) concluded that 'such emotional work is a structural characteristic of multicultural teacher education' although 'emotional work in academia often remains invisible but is also disincentivized' (p. 1022).

In a two-year ethnographic study of teachers in three Greek-Cypriot primary schools with an increasing culturally diverse student population, Zembylas (2010) analyzed 'teachers' emotional experience' in culturally diverse schools (p. 707). Given unresolved and negative emotional reactions of both teachers and administrators, Zembylas recommended that critical teacher education engage an 'ethic of discomfort' that purposefully focuses on how uncomfortable 'emotions and affects can be transformed into productive, positive expressions that promote social justice' (p. 714, emphasis added). Zembylas' research found that an ethic of discomfort 'can illuminate the role of emotions and affects in sustaining and dismantling structures of power, privilege, racism, and oppression' (p. 715). In this way preservice and inservice teachers 'can use their own discomfort to create empathy' to open up 'the possibility of greater hope in teaching' ethnically diverse student populations (p. 715; also De La Mare, 2014). In a doctoral program for teacher educators, Vescio, Bondy, and Poekert (2009)

proactively introduced cognitive dissonance in their first class meeting. Using a strategy 'to help students make connections between familiar and unfamiliar concepts' by questioning their initial assumptions, these prospective teacher educators reported 'the normalization of a sense of dissonance and conflict as an essential feature of the course pedagogy' (pp. 15, 16).

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN CRITICAL TEACHER EDUCATION

Grant and Zwier (2011) call on teacher education to help preservice teachers to 'embody an intersectionally-aware teacher identity' that addresses race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, religion, and class (pp. 186–187). To meet this expectation, critical teacher education uses intersectionality as a methodological frame to provide more complex explanations for the production of identities when addressed within 'the larger ideological structures in which subjects, problems, and solutions were framed' (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013, p. 791). Critical multicultural education also incorporates poststructuralism for its questioning of essentialized identities. According to poststructuralism, differences in identities are never fixed but are contingent on particular temporal and spatial differences (Belsey, 2013). Poststructuralism includes deconstruction, a branch of an analysis designed to reveal layers or structures of meaning that were previously masked as unified and singular although a conclusive meaning is illusionary (Benjamin, 2013). In using approaches reflective of poststructuralism, Shim (2014) notes that 'conversations between critical multicultural education and psychoanalysis – two seemingly incompatible perspectives in which one advocates rational critical thinking while the other emphasizes the importance of unconscious - does matter' (p. 134), a process embedded in critical personal narratives.

Critical Personal Narratives

Critical personal narratives are used to engage education students in learning about their own identity constructions and histories. The process of writing critical autoethnographies can involve a variety of multicultural topics, such as issues of race, gender, sexuality, and class. This writing process dialectically deconstructs and reconstructs a teacher's identity and in turn aids teachers to better locate themselves within contested diversity issues (Vavrus, 2002, 2015). Critical reflection in the form of personal narratives also involves a curriculum with critical texts that education students analyze through dialogue and supplemental lectures (Camp & Oesterreich, 2010; Danielewizc, 2001; Dervin & Hahl, 2015). Finnish teacher educators Dervin and Hahl (2015) reported that when teacher candidates wrote personal essays, 'students were sometimes astonished at their own stories of how they had behaved previously and now understood that, for

example, stereotypes and prejudice can completely change our preconceptions and expectations of people and our behavior and actions toward them' (p. 107). Among the findings of 250 'student teachers' pre- and post-multicultural autobiographies' collected over a four-year period, Li's (2007) analysis found that the cultural identity of teacher candidates was extended 'to the broader referent groups in multicultural education' and increased their critical reflections 'about themselves in solving controversial real-life problems' (p. 42). Recent research indicates that in general even structured conversations 'about a memory of personal vulnerability and its relevance to a social issue' can produce 'substantive and durable' prejudice reductions (Paluck, 2016, p. 147).

Important in critical perspectives on identity formation is a poststructural concept of how language differentiates and signals that which is not necessary there, the Other, who in relation to dominant subject positions is critically understood 'as the marginal, the ex-centric, the different' (Hutcheon, 2013, p. 124). In a study of four critical teacher educators who used intersectionality and contested identity formation, Attwood's subjects (2011) began with a poststructural assumption that '[i]dentity is dynamic, multifaceted, and shaped at the intersection of family, social group membership (gender, race, class, sexual orientation), history, and politics' (p. 125), issues considered next.

Contested Racial and Ethnic Identities

In the process of analyzing contested racial and ethnic identities, critical teacher education critiques post-racial and color-blind discourse that can mask politically constructed racial identities (Crenshaw, 1998) and how color-blindness can negatively affect educational experiences of racially and ethnically diverse populations of children and youth. For example, critical teacher educators who Attwood (2011) studied stated that a goal for their students was an understanding that '[r]ace is a historically and socially constructed system that gives social power to whites as a group' (p. 125). Critical teacher education prepares teachers to be color conscious by recognizing the discriminatory social production of racial and ethnic identities so that teachers can then move beyond skin-color identification to provide an equity-centered education (Cochran-Smith et al., 2016; Valli, 1995). McLaren and Farahmandpur (2005) caution, however, that when teacher education is silent about the racialized roots of the nation-state in promoting a common culture, programs can in effect 'legitimize the social order' through an assimilationist color-blind concept of 'racial harmony and a national identity' for 'marginalized cultures' (p. 114). Critical multicultural teacher education instead serves as an alternative to mainstream approaches that can essentialize and exotify identities of immigrants and students of color in the absence of critical historical perspectives on the residual effects of colonialism on identity constructions (Poulter, Riitaoja, & Kuusisto, 2016), a decolonial topic discussed later in this chapter.

Gender and Sexual Identities

Critical teacher education deconstructs patriarchy – a system of heteronormative male dominance (Whisnant, 2013) – for its oppressive effects on gender and sexual identity expressions. Patriarchy in mainstream teacher education is associated with (a) limits on non-dominant expressions of gender and sexuality and (b) a form of policing as to what is considered appropriate for a teacher to discuss with students in regards to gender and sexual identities (Vavrus, 2015). A study of Canadian teachers who expressed a commitment to inclusive education nevertheless revealed a reluctance to address student gender and sexual identities. Participants in this study observed that their preservice education and inservice training lacked preparation to attend to gender and sexual identities (Malins, 2016; also Wickens & Sandlin, 2010). Critical multicultural teacher educators who provide education students opportunities to reflect on their own construction of gender and sexual identities can assist teachers to constructively engage with young people with diverse gender identities and sexual orientations (Vavrus, 2009). Nevertheless, in a program that was a proponent of social justice, critical teacher educator Schieble (2012) encountered strong resistance to transforming preservice teacher patriarchal dispositions of sexual identity, stating that her 'findings are disturbing to me as a teacher educator who strives to interrupt racist, classist, sexist, and homophobic discourses that permeate the educational system writ large' (p. 219).

When not provided a critical background in the construction of patriarchy, for example, men who enter teacher education can hold to an identity in masculinity that limits their engagement in effective pedagogical practices perceived as 'feminine' (Weaver-Hightower, 2011). Kreitz-Sandberg's (2013) research on Swedish teacher educators highlighted that within the curriculum 'a gender perspective is not necessarily perceived as an integrated part of teacher educators' course planning', but rather as an additive element, a condition 'reflected upon too little in international research' (pp. 454, 456). To counter the influence of patriarchal ideology, introducing teachers to the concept of queering the curriculum can be advantageous, especially with the aim of supporting mainstream school youth with non-dominant sexual and gender identifications (e.g., Asher, 2007; MacIntosh, 2007; Zacko-Smith & Smith, 2010). The application of queer theory serves as 'an inquiry into the nature and workings of heteronormativity, along with the "queer" sexualities that heteronormativity produces by stigmatizing, silencing and or proscribing them' (Cameron & Kulick, 2006, p. 10). This particular critical approach points to the necessity of teacher education assisting teachers in the design of school-wide policies that name and act to eliminate sources of group-based discrimination (Loutzenheiser & Moore, 2009).

Religious Identities

Teacher education research is limited in how dominant and non-dominant religious identities and topics are addressed, including how religion intersects with other

identities. In a Canadian study examining the extent to which elementary teachers address gender and sexuality, Malins (2016) found that teachers restricted their curriculum because they were 'sensitive ... to not disrupt[ing] religious foundations that had been established at home' (p. 134). When citizenship education was included in Denmark's educational policy in 2007, the state required a new teacher education course: 'Christianity studies, life enlightenment and citizenship' (Haas, 2008, p. 59). In making a 'citizenship agenda of the new subject of Danish teacher education', the aim of policy makers, according to Haas (2008), was the 'assimilation of Muslims and the ethnic "others" into the Christian Danish nation' (p. 68). Critical pedagogy remains a methodology for teacher education to deconstruct nationalistic 'collective religiosity' (Jaime-Castillo, Fernandez, Valiente, & Mayrl, 2016) of a dominant Judeo-Christian identity for how it restricts non-dominant religious expressions, especially in an era of Islamophobia or 'anti-Muslim racism' (Bayrakli & Hafez, 2015, p. 7). Even when critical teacher education deconstructs Judeo-Christian nationalistic discourse and introduces teachers to curricular resources about Islam and Arab cultures, it remains uncertain whether the actual acceptance and implementation of these materials in public schools will overcome Islamophobia (King, 2012).

Neoliberal Effects on Identity

Critical teacher education emphasizes how neoliberal policies affect teacher education governance and shape teacher and student identities. Economist Kotz (2015) explains that *neoliberalism* is a 'particular institutional form of capitalism' that promotes 'privatization' based on 'a core principle ... that the government is inherently inefficient while private for-profit companies are optimally efficient' (pp. 9, 12, 22). Internationally teacher education has experienced a 'shift to a knowledge society with *neoliberal economics as the dominant paradigm* of education policy and practice [that] comprises the larger historical and social context *in which teacher preparation is currently situated*' (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2015, p. 9, emphasis added). Contrary to the aims of critical intercultural and multicultural teacher education, the neoliberal educational policy of the European Commission's strategic plan Europe 2020 'conceives of education as a means to produce graduates capable of producing business benefits in an increasingly competitive market ... rather than promot[ing] democratic social values that are critical and participatory' (Muñoz, 2015, p. 36)

Identity formation of 'the neoliberal individual is in essence an individual free from the constraints of social, economic, historical, institutional, and cultural structures', an identity reducible to a 'free' market commodity (Au, 2016, p. 48). Besides eroding democratic governance in teacher education programs, the effects of neoliberalism can marginalize critical multicultural courses in favor of shaping teacher identities to match the increased surveillance of school children and teachers themselves through high-stakes testing and classroom management techniques (Au, 2016; Hope, 2015). Neoliberal identity discourse of

teacher 'professionalism' contrasts with how 'practice often reflects the reality of greater external controls and surveillance ... which erodes teachers' abilities to exercise their judgment in the classroom' (Zeichner, 2010, p. 1546).

In this neoliberal context, McLaren (1989, 1994, 2015) has consistently argued that critical multiculturalism does not adequately incorporate the negative effects of capitalism in creating academic differentials. He advocates instead for an anti-capitalist political economy alternative approach under various nomenclatures – *critical and resistance multiculturalism*, *revolutionary multiculturalism*, and *revolutionary critical pedagogy*. McLaren's position is congruent with Freire's (1970) revolutionary advocacy for social relations based on economic cooperation and redistribution rather than capitalistic competition. Drawing from Freire, Apple (2013) cautions that 'any work in education that is not grounded in these [political economy] realities may turn out to be one more act of colonization' (p. 35), a topic discussed next.

REORIENTING CRITICAL TEACHER EDUCATION THROUGH DECOLONIALISM

Peruvian sociologist Quijano (2000), who formulated the concept of *coloniality* of power, explains, 'What is termed globalization is the culmination of a process that began with the constitution of America and colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism as a new global power' (p. 533). The process of Eurocentrism pronounced colonized people as existing outside of history and knowledge construction and not possessing a history, a coherent culture, and an epistemology worthy of recognition. Mignolo (2011) refers to this origin of Western hegemony as 'the epistemology of the zero point' (p. 80, emphasis added). Zero point epistemology of a coloniality of power 'distorts Indigenous peoples' self-images and aspirations' and leads to internalized oppression (Hopkins, 2015, p. 125). Coloniality, therefore, invites decolonial pedagogies that reject structures and discourses associated traditionally with colonialism as relics of the past, as the concepts of postmodern and postcolonial can imply (Marzagora, 2016). According to critical educator De Lissovoy (2015), 'This means starting from outside the discourses of Eurocentric reasoning, and even its familiar dialects of revolution and recognizing the historical dignity and generativity of indigenous communities, the poor, and the excluded' (pp. 102–103, emphasis added).

The Eurocentric concept of modernity – and therefore *modern* teacher education (Baker, 2012) – is based on a foundational 'myth' that 'the idea of the history of human civilization as a trajectory ... departed from a state of nature and culminated in Europe' (Quijano, 2000, p. 542). The United Nations (2013) documented the effects of contemporary education as 'a way of indoctrinating indigenous youth with the dominant culture while denying them access to their indigenous culture' (p. 6). Correlated with the UN's observation, Indigenous youth in Mexico, Canada, the US, Australia, and New Zealand have extremely high drop-out rates from public

schools in comparison to other ethnic groups (Hopkins, 2015; Tippeconnic & Faircloth, 2010). Hence, because multiculturalism and interculturalism are rooted in Western ways of interpreting the world, Aman (2013) cautions that 'interculturality in the West may reproduce coloniality by appealing to modernity as a means of achieving global tolerance, as is argued to be the case with other theories of differentiation, such as multiculturalism or cosmopolitanism' (p. 284).

Critical teacher education approaches presented thus far in this chapter approximate engagement with decolonialism. Despite the permeability of trans-historical colonial practices into public education, documented critical approaches toward globalization and coloniality are rare in teacher education (Vavrus, 2002; Zeichner, 2010). Higher education institutional resistance in general can impede the incorporation of a decolonial orientation in the preparation of teachers (Nakata, Nakata, Keech, & Bolt, 2012). Research from Germany and South Africa indicates that a confounding factor is a belief among mainstream teacher educators and education students that they exist outside the effects and practices of coloniality (Glock & Krolak-Schwerdt, 2013; le Roux, 2014). Lopes Cardozo (2015) noted that even when a nation such as Bolivia makes a national commitment to decolonize teacher education, a history of embedded conservatism and coloniality in teacher education programs can remain an institutional barrier.

With substantive collaboration between governmental officials and Indigenous and non-Indigenous decolonial educators, however, more accurate representations of Indigenous cultures, histories, and identities in the school curriculum can occur (Dei, 2011; Hopkins, 2015; Nakata et al., 2012). Although such collaboration remains uncommon internationally, an example of a decolonial approach is a New Zealand teacher education program where steps were taken as an equity approach to incorporate the culture and Indigenous language of Maori populations into the curriculum (Cochran-Smith et al., 2016). Penetito (2009) explains this change in orientation as part of a decades-long process of an 'emerging consensus' about Maori education that 'is as much about the healing of past and present injustices as it is about forging paths for a new and better future' (p. 298). As the Maori example suggests, Indigenous language restoration programs globally are 'profoundly linked to issues of educational equity' (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014, p. 107). Other examples of language restoration as an aspect of decolonial teacher education are the Mohawk in Canada and the US, Hawaiians in the Pacific region, and Hopi and Navajo in the US southwest (McCarty & Nicholas, 2014).

One of the more robust movements toward a decolonial teacher education is in the US state of Montana where a rewriting of the state's constitution in 1972 impacted the school curriculum in stating, 'The state recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of American Indians and is committed to its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity' (as cited in Deyhle & Comeau, 2009, p. 271). In 1999 the Montana legislature codified the constitutional intent into the American Indian Education for All (IEFA) law (Deyhle & Comeau, 2009). A challenge for Montana teacher education has been a demographic

condition where most teachers are White and non-Indigenous, and their reactions have ranged from hopeful regarding the possibilities of the IEFA to 'considerable anxiety, if not outright resistance' (Hopkins, 2015, p. 159).

Decolonial teacher education is best understood overall as a relatively recent 21st-century development. Madden's (2015) international review of 23 studies of decolonialism in teacher education revealed a developing commitment in teacher preparation responsiveness 'to the educational needs of Indigenous students and communities' (p. 2). In this comprehensive review, Madden identified 'four pedagogical pathways that reflect the diversity of theories and approaches being utilized to engage teachers in university-based Indigenous education' (p. 3):

- 1 'Learning from Indigenous traditional models of teaching';
- 2 'Pedagogy for decolonizing';
- 3 'Indigenous and anti-racist education'; and
- 4 'Indigenous and place-based education' (see pp. 3-12).

With the exception of Indigenous teaching models, the other pathways 'have theoretical roots in a critical paradigm' (p. 12). The future status of this evolving critical approach to teacher education is captured by Madden's conclusion: 'How this theory building may aid in (analysis of) teaching across difference both within and beyond the boundary of Indigenous/non-Indigenous is also an area that has been marked for further attention' (p. 13).

CLOSING COMMENT

Critical multicultural and decolonial education exists in a curricular *borderland* of 'pedagogies in creating classrooms where social justice is the foundation and deconstruction of dominant ideologies is the goal' (Hardee et al., 2012, p. 217). The fusion of decolonialism and critical multiculturalism can offer theorists and practitioners a set of critical lenses to envision future teachers capable of deconstructing standard epistemologies and challenging institutional systems of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and class (De Lissovoy, 2015; Madden, 2015). Teacher education approaches that incorporate critical multiculturalism and decolonialism can serve the development of teachers who can work alongside historically marginalized young people – regardless of their specific socially produced identities – to resist and overcome the oppression these students regularly experience in and out of schools.

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