Ethnoculturally Relevant Programming in Northern Schools

J. Tim Goddard
University of Calgary

This article describes an attempt to collect information on culturally and linguistically relevant programming in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan. In the article I describe and discuss possible reasons why northern educators appear reluctant to share their local curriculum initiatives. I suggest four reasons for the apparent absence of a critical discourse around curriculum. First, that contemporary northern educators, by not challenging or contesting the curricula they are expected to teach, are contributing to the preservation of the neocolonial hegemony of the status quo. Second, that educators view their work as autonomous and individual and do not perceive it as their responsibility to share this work. Third, that through this perception educators are, purposefully or naively, contributing to the development of an artificial divide between Western and Indigenous knowledge. And, fourth, that the apparent unwillingness to share materials might indicate active resistance to the dominant educational culture. I conclude by urging further research that incorporates the perceptions and viewpoints of multiple constituents in the education system.

Isolated geographically, culturally, economically, and linguistically from the dominant society, northern schools face quite different issues than do their southern counterparts. It is generally accepted that teachers often operate in pedagogical isolation, developing or adapting programs that address issues of ethnocultural relevance in their community with limited knowledge of similar efforts. The study reported here was predicated on a perceived need to provide teachers with a directory of the culturally and linguistically appropriate [CALA] programming that has been developed in schools across northern Alberta and northern Saskatchewan. Such a directory, it was hoped, would assist teachers in improving their work in the specific contexts of the communities in which they taught.

Objectives
The study sought to gather and disseminate information about CALA programs for ethnoculturally diverse student populations in the northern regions of Alberta and Saskatchewan. The goal was to improve the quality of education for children who live in the north by enhancing our understanding of successful programming and making this knowledge available to all teachers. The specific objectives were:
1. to collect, analyze, and synthesize extant data on CALA programming in northern schools;
2. to identify, study, and document exemplary CALA programs; and
3. to disseminate information about CALA programs to teachers.

Context
The northern region (Bone, 1992) of Canada's western provinces provided the geographical location for the program of research reported here. School sites were

situated in federal census divisions 16 and 17 (Alberta) and 18 (Saskatchewan), conterminous with the boreal forest from its southern boundary to the border with the Northwest Territories. This area is commonly referred to as *the north*. It is a region of jack pine and spruce forests, many lakes, and isolated human settlement. Aboriginal and white peoples live in small communities and generally make their living from the resources of the land. The majority of the population are Cree, Dene, or Metis, although a number of white Euro-Canadian and other nationalities have also settled in the region.

Related Research

Few recent studies concern the ethnocultural aspects of curriculum in northern schools. Some years ago a number of reports and papers addressed issues of equity and inequality (Alberta Department of Education, 1981; Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations, 1973) and discussed the need for culturally appropriate curriculum materials (Friesen, 1977). During this time there were organizational changes, and band-controlled schools were established in First Nations communities (Goddard, 1997a). Since then discussions related to northern education have continued to appear (Frideres, 1983; Kirkness, 1992), but there has not been the same sense of focus. Given the ethnocultural diversity of peoples living in the area, the absence of research explicitly located in northern settings is problematic.

The organization and delivery of northern K-12 education involves substantively different issues from those encountered elsewhere. In many communities, powers formally held by the federal government have been devolved, and bands have taken control of their own programs. In an effort to accommodate the traditional rhythms of Aboriginal life, schools often operate an adapted daily or annual schedule. Provincial curricula are revised as educators strive to overcome centuries of colonialism and neglect (Adams, 1975; Berger, 1991; Dickason, 1992; Titley, 1986). Many public schools respond in similar ways to similar problems. Although situated in provincial systems, they often experience greater expectations for community relevance than their southern counterparts.

Theoretical Framework

The research reported here was conducted in a paradigm grounded in critical pragmatism (Macpherson, 1996, 1997; Maxcy, 1995a, 1995b). In this approach the researcher employs the methods of critical ethnography (Carspecken, 1996) and recognizes the ideological, socially critical, and value-laden nature of leadership (Bates, 1995; Greenfield, 1978; Greenfield & Ribbins, 1993; Ryan, 1997). The research and analysis is calculated to address issues of power, voice, ethnocultural diversity, and social interactions, a process elsewhere termed *critical constructivism* (Goddard & Foster, 2001). Such an approach allows for the exploration of issues in the grounded reality of the school and for the impact of personal values and experiences on the analysis and interpretations of those data to be more fully articulated.

A limitation of the study, as with all studies, is that such a conceptual framework restricts as much as it reveals. It results in the focusing of "attention toward some aspect [of these social phenomena] while downplaying others that a different orientation might encompass" (Wallace, 2000, p. 609). A critical constructivist approach has as a primary goal recognition of the ethnocultural diversity of our

society and the desire to effect change in societal institutions such as schools so as to reflect and respond better to that diversity.

Method

This study began in late 1999. Over the period from November 1999 to January 2000 contact was made with all the superintendents and directors of education in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan, the area conterminous with the boreal forest and referred to by Bone (1992) as the north. These request-to-conduct-research letters were sent to public, separate, and band-controlled jurisdictions.

Throughout January and February replies were received from boards and band councils. Most gave permission to conduct the research, but a few stated that they did not adapt curricula in any way to meet the needs of northern students. As one superintendent reported, "We follow the provincial curriculum here and have been quite successful with our provincial examination results, so we don't see the need to change."

Once board and band council permissions had been received, letters were written to 88 provincial schools and 54 band schools in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan. At the beginning of March 2000 three written submissions had been received and six responses to telephone and e-mail requests for further information had been completed. At the end of that month follow-up letters were sent to schools, resulting in a further five responses. In April individual telephone calls were made to each principal at each of the 142 schools on our contact list. Over the remainder of the term another four responses were received. In June 2000 there were a total of 12 responses to 142 requests, a response rate of less than 10%. Although obviously disturbing, such a situation is not, alas, unique. In an attempt to "collect, consult and analyze curriculum documents pertaining to Aboriginal languages and literacy," Hébert (2000, p. 56) received 16 replies to the 395 letters she mailed, a response rate of some 4%. Of these only nine were willing and able to provide the materials requested.

Hébert (2000) suggested that the response rate may have resulted from her having an inaccurate list of recipients and that the people to whom the letters were addressed were no longer in the schools. A second reason was that the vagaries of northern postal service may have meant that the letters she mailed did not reach their intended recipient; a third, that programs may have existed in school jurisdictions not targeted by the study. These reasons do not apply as far as the current research is concerned. All jurisdictions in northern Saskatchewan and northern Alberta were contacted for permission to conduct the study, and the senior education officer in each provided the names and addresses of the principals to whom the letter was mailed. These names were confirmed in the subsequent telephone calls, during none of which did anyone claim not to have received the original or follow-up communications. And yet the response rate was still low.

Over the balance of the research program I grappled with why there was such a low response rate. Throughout the fall and winter I went to a number of provincial and national conferences. Here I met informally with directors, superintendents, and principals from across the region targeted by this study. Their comments were all sadly familiar:

- I received your letter but just didn't have the time to collect the information.

- Why don't you come up and visit, then we can show you what we do?
- The Board believes that we have invested a lot of resources in our local curriculum, they don't want to just give it away.
- Understanding the trap-line won't help the kids on the provincials [provincial achievement examinations].
- All good teachers adapt their curriculum to meet local needs, we don't have to centralize that process.
- Do you know how many requests we get for information? I've got a school to run.
- Our Board is proud of the work we do with Aboriginal learners, you should have lots of responses from our schools.
- All our children are the same, we're not going to develop one curriculum just for Native kids.
- You can't sit in Calgary and use us as your petri dish, you have to show willing by coming to the community.
- The Band doesn't want others to use our work.
- Our teachers develop this material every year, then take it with them when they leave.

The implications of the low overall response rate, and of these comments, are discussed in the following section.

Discussion

The low response rate is both a concern and a cause for thought. From the responses that were received it would appear that many boards (and individuals) believe that there is no need to develop curricula that are linguistically or culturally appropriate for the northern regions of Alberta and Saskatchewan. As one principal commented, "We follow the provincial curriculum here and don't see why we should change it." Another said that his school did much the same thing, because "the students here have to write the provincial examinations like everyone else." Notwithstanding the high Aboriginal population of the north, references to First Nations and Metis realities were surprisingly sparse. Indeed the only in-depth response received concerning the adaptation of curriculum to ethnocultural background described the development of an Arabic program for children in the Fort McMurray region where large numbers of immigrant workers have congregated to work in the oil industry. These comments raise a number of issues.

First, there is the sheer workload experienced by educators in northern schools. Many of the administrators are what are commonly referred to as "teaching principals." That is, they have significant teaching responsibilities as well as their administrative roles. Indeed some spend 80% of their time as teachers. And yet the administrative requirements, reports to be completed, meetings to attend, and so forth, are the same for them as for those who are full-time administrators. No wonder, then, that "the paperwork tends to get done on evenings and weekends," and "if it isn't vital, it sits on the bottom of the pile until it gets thrown out." I fear that this survey received such a reception.

Second, there is the isolation of place and the belief that only those in northern schools can really understand the situation. Therefore, researchers who wish to work in such environments must go to the communities rather than sending surveys from the distant south. Such a perception bodes well for the practice of

qualitative on-site case study research (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Stake, 1995). However, such work is also expensive and time-consuming, and many funding agencies resist the high cost of northern travel.

Such work, guided by qualitative case study methodology (Stake, 1995), permits extended analyses that provide a "thick description" of the selected programs. Further, the perspectives of teachers, school or system administrators, parents, and students would have been sought, and standard case study analysis procedures (Stake, 1995; Verma & Mallick, 1999) would have led to the development of a report for each program. The potential to visit the school and discuss CALA curriculum would possibly have motivated more principals to respond to the request for information.

Third, there appears to be present a perspective of educational assimilation that all children are alike and should receive the same schooling experiences. One might trace this back to the development of the formal school system in northern communities. Popkewitz (2001) argues that the invention of the modern school was the beginning of "cosmopolitanism," the tendency to move beyond the local to global perspectives. This is played out in the northern regions of these two provinces where local needs appear to be ignored in favor of a pan-provincial approach to curriculum. In their desire to ensure that the children receive the "same" education as those in the south, northern educators appear to be ignoring the idiosyncratic contexts of the communities in which they work. The local realities of a small trapping or resource-based economy are ignored in favor of discussions related to increasingly urban and global issues.

Fourth, and related to the above comment, there is the inherent ethnocentric perception that the Euro-Canadian curriculum is sufficient and appropriate for all children. Issues of entrenched power and privilege are accepted and legitimized, not contested. There appears to be a tendency to separate schooling from the real lives of children (Wilson, 2001), an action that further marginalizes the people as curricula developed in Edmonton or Regina are imported and prescribed. There does not appear to be any challenging of the status quo, nor any resistance to the hegemonic nature of provincial curricula. In none of the discussions I had about this research, either formal or informal, was anything raised that was remotely connected to Hesch's (1999) idea of education as "a policy instrument [serving] the interests of the settler state" (p. 371) or Battiste's (1998) concerns about the decolonialism of Aboriginal education.

Indeed there appears to be acceptance of the perception, in my view misguided and false, that education is culturally and politically neutral. Although, as McLaren (2001) has observed, academics have spent much of the past decade "imbibing the scholarly aroma of postmodernism," there is not much evidence of this at the local level. Northern educators appear to be locked in to the late-modern period of the final quarter of the 20th century. Bound by norms established in the white middle-class enclaves of the dominant society, they willingly import southern curricula and judge children by their ability to accept and regurgitate those foreign ideas. Not for these teachers are the emancipatory education of Freire (1982) or the critical multiculturalism of Kanpol (1994), Kanpol and McLaren (1995), McLaren and Farahmandpur (2000), Nieto (2000), and others.

Rather, the specter of high-stakes testing influences the content of the curriculum instead of it simply measuring the results of curriculum implementation

and learning. This is of great concern to those who recognize that the implementation of standardized testing schemes in schools raises a number of moral issues. As Starratt (2001) argues, when bilingual and ethnoculturally marginalized children are expected to complete the same standardized assessments as children from dominant ethnic and social classes, then these tests become "more a test of language proficiency than subject matter knowledge ... [a fact that raises] moral issues of justice and truth telling" (p. 3). Such a discussion appears to be absent from northern schools.

The apparent absence of a critical discourse is both surprising and perplexing. Of course, one might argue that such a discourse is occurring, but that it is confined to the staff rooms of northern schools. In this case, there is all the more reason to conduct site-based case study research that will explore these issues. On the evidence to hand, however, contemporary northern educators accept the status quo and do not challenge or contest the curricula they are expected to teach. Given that such contestation is taking places in our larger Canadian cities (Dei et al., 2000; Ryan, 1999), it is surprising that the north is not involved in the discourse. As urban educators begin to recognize and address issues of ethnocultural diversity, poverty, and lack of connection with the norms and curricula of the dominant society (Foster & Goddard, 2001; Goddard, 1997b, 2000; Levin & Young, 1994; Maynes & Foster, 1998), it is strange that those who work in settings of isolation and cultural difference are not similarly engaged.

Conclusion

Although there is growing recognition that educational realities in the north are different from those in the south, in recent years few research studies have been based in northern Alberta and Saskatchewan. Many teachers in northern schools have adapted curricula to meet the needs of ethnoculturally diverse populations, but their work is seldom known outside their immediate communities. Although there is some, albeit private, agreement that there is a need to share these initiatives with other teachers, whether in the north or in other ethnoculturally diverse settings, this rarely occurs.

The reasons for this failure to communicate locally adapted curricula are unclear and require further research. It is commonly understood that local or Indigenous knowledge is different from that of the majority or dominant culture and that adaptations to provincial curricula are one means of recognizing this knowledge. Unfortunately, this often leads to what McConaghy (2000) refers to as the "binary of mainstreaming versus cultural relevance" (p. 10). The locally developed curricula are considered different from, and also often less intellectually significant than, the "regular" curricula. Indeed "Western knowledges are treated as the products of a depoliticised process of intellectual refinement, while the indigenous knowledges are treated as the product of a local politics of 'the tribes'" (p. 11). This situation produces a number of possible interpretations, each of which constitutes a potential future line of inquiry and two of which are further examined here.

First, as Agrawal (1995) observes, such beliefs lead to the construction of an "artificial divide" (p. 421) between Indigenous and Western knowledge. Indeed it may be argued that such a divide is anything but artificial. In our examinations of leadership and culture in northern schools, my colleagues and I have observed instances where schools schedule Aboriginal language and culture classes as

preparatory periods for classroom teachers. These subjects are usually woefully underresourced and take place in rooms tucked away behind stages or in the farthest reaches of the school (Goddard & Foster, 2002; Goddard, Foster, Finell, & Martineau, 2002). In effect, unqualified teacher aides are asked to deliver Indigenous knowledge while certified teachers hone the Western knowledge they will convey during the "real" subject classes. There are limited attempts to integrate the two knowledges into a single accepted epistemology that permits synergistic growth and development. Rather, "trapped in institutions that primarily serve functions related to storage and dissemination, what is imagined as indigenous knowledge can only stagnate and become irrelevant over time" (Agrawal, 1995, p. 428). The failure to involve teachers in the delivery of culturally and linguistically appropriate curricula may be symptomatic of the failure to communicate examples of such curricula to the wider educational community. This then leads to stagnation and irrelevance, as each community limits instruction to the Western knowledge of the provincial curricula, supplemented by the marginalized transmission of the Indigenous knowledge particular to that specific community.

A second interpretation would see the failure to communicate as an example of cultural inversion, representative of the "oppositional nature of [the] cultural frame of reference and identity" (Ogbu, 1987, p. 330). In this understanding, secondary cultural differences in schools are considered as "markers of identity to be maintained, not as barriers to be overcome" (p. 330). The lack of sharing of locally developed curricula might be representative of an attempt to grasp particular knowledge as the "property" of the developing community rather than as something to be shared. Indeed the very act of sharing might be understood as loss, as the giving away of identity and self. Thus as Smith (1999) observes, "the past, our stories local and global, the present, our communities, cultures, languages and social practices—all may be spaces of marginalization, but they have also become spaces of resistance and hope" (p. 4).

The goal of the study reported here was to improve the quality of education for children who live in the north by enhancing our understanding of successful programming and making this knowledge available to all teachers. To achieve this goal, I attempted to collect information on existing programs. The intent was to disseminate this in the form of a directory that would be made widely available.

The specific objectives were:
- to collect, analyze, and synthesize extant data on CALA programming in northern schools;
- to identify, study, and document exemplary CALA programs; and
- to disseminate information about CALA programs to teachers.

The low return rate has made these objectives unachievable. From the data received, one might assume that no CALA programming is taking place in northern schools. However, some empirical (Hébert, 2000) and a great deal of anecdotal data suggest that there exists in fact a significant amount of locally developed culturally and linguistically appropriate programming. In this article I suggest four interpretations for this apparent discrepancy.

First, it may be that northern educators are satisfied with their role as purveyors of the status quo. Their apparent failure to contest the curriculum they teach indicates that they do not take issue with the hegemonic domination of the

neocolonial settler state. Such teachers are not heeding the advice of Giroux (2001), that "rather than celebrating objectivity and consensus, teachers must place the notions of critique and conflict at the center of their pedagogical models" (p. 62).

Second, it may be that educators view their work as autonomous and individual. As such, until educators recognize the importance of their work and express a willingness to share their ideas with the greater profession, then cultural reform will be both context-bound and doomed to repetition. Each school will simply continue to reinvent the wheel, and progress in developing culturally and linguistically relevant curricula will be minimal.

Third, it is possible that educators are—purposefully or naively—contributing to the development of an artificial divide between Western and Indigenous knowledge. They may perceive the local in their work as separate from, and not suitable for sharing with, the wider community of schools. As Agrawal (1995) commented, "neo-indigenistas insist upon the scattered and local character of all indigenous knowledge" (p. 428). The holding of such beliefs may contribute to the reluctance to distribute examples of locally developed curricula materials more widely.

Fourth, the apparent unwillingness to share such materials might be indicative of active resistance to the dominant educational culture. According to Ogbu's (1987) analysis, Canadian Aboriginal and First Nations communities are "castelike or involuntary minorities ... [who] through 'conquest and colonization' [are] relegated to menial positions and denied true integration" (p. 321). In order to establish a sense of self, even if this requires the community to "define self as opposite of dominant society" (p. 323), there is a need to withhold that which might give away knowledge and understanding to those who in the past have assumed and (mis)appropriated such knowledge.

These are but four possible explanations for the failure to communicate locally adapted curricula to a wider audience. It is apparent that further research, especially research that incorporates a greater degree of in-depth discussion with a broad range of stakeholders, is required. Such research was not possible in the confines of the study reported here. Anecdotal data suggest that northern educators are at the forefront of curriculum development that is culturally and linguistically appropriate. In order for this work to achieve its full potential in the production of educational change, educators need to understand better the barriers and challenges to sharing such locally developed materials. Failure to do so will contribute to the increased "ghettoization" (Goddard, 1993) and further marginalization of northern schools, their students, and communities.

References

Adams, H. (1975). *Prison of grass: Canada from the Native point of view*. Toronto, ON: General Publishing.

Agrawal, A. (1995). Dismantling the divide between Indigenous and scientific knowledge. *Development and Change, 26*(3), 413–439.

Alberta Department of Education. (1981). *Report of the Northland School Division Investigation Committee*. Edmonton, AB: Author. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 220 245)

Bates, R. (1995, July). *A socially critical perspective on educational leadership.* Paper presented at the Flinders University Conference on Educational Leadership, Adelaide, South Australia. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 413 645)

Battiste, M. (1998). Enabling the autumn seed: Toward a decolonized approach to Aboriginal knowledge, language, and education. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 22,* 16-27.

Berger, T.R. (1991). *A long and terrible shadow: White values, Native rights in the Americas 1492-1992.* Vancouver, BC: Douglas & McIntyre.

Bone, R.M. (1992). *The geography of the Canadian north.* Toronto, ON: Oxford University Press.

Carspecken, P.F. (1996). *Critical ethnography in educational research.* New York: Routledge.

Dei, G.J.S., James, I.M., James-Wilson, S., Karumanchery, L., & Zine, J. (2000). *Removing the margins: The challenges and possibilities of inclusive schooling.* Toronto, ON: Canadian Scholar's Press.

Dickason, O.P. (1992). *Canada's First Nations: A history of founding peoples from earliest times.* Toronto, ON: McClelland and Stewart.

Federation of Saskatchewan Indian Nations. (1973). *Indian education in Saskatchewan* (vol. 1). Saskatoon, SK: Author.

Foster, R.Y., & Goddard, J.T. (2001, April). *Educational leadership in northern Canada: The challenge of diversity.* Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle.

Freire, P. (1982). *Pedagogy of the oppressed.* New York: Continuum.

Frideres, J.S. (1983). *Native people in Canada: Contemporary conflicts* (2nd ed.). Scarborough, ON: Prentice-Hall Canada.

Friesen, J.W. (1977). *People, culture and learning.* Calgary, AB: Detselig.

Giroux, H.A. (2001). *Theory and resistance in education: Towards a pedagogy for the opposition.* Westport, CT: Bergin & Harvey.

Glesne, C., & Peshkin, A. (1992). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction.* White Plains, NY: Longman.

Goddard, J.T. (1993). Band controlled schools: Considerations for the future. *Canadian Journal of Native Education, 20,* 163-167.

Goddard, J.T. (1997a). Reversing the spirit of delegitimation. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 17,* 215-225.

Goddard, J.T. (1997b). Monocultural teachers and ethnoculturally diverse students. *Journal of Educational Administration and Foundations, 12*(1), 30-45.

Goddard, J.T. (2000). Teaching in turbulent times: Teachers' perceptions of the effects of external factors on their professional lives. *Alberta Journal of Educational Research, 46,* 293-310.

Goddard, J.T., & Foster, R.Y. (2001). The experiences of neophyte teachers: A critical constructivist assessment. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 17,* 349-365.

Goddard, J.T., & Foster, R.Y. (2002, April). *Educational leadership in northern Canada: Where cultures collide.* Paper presented to Division G of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, Louisiana. (ERIC Document Retrieval Service No. EA 031717)

Goddard, J.T., Foster, R.Y., Finell, J., & Martineau, C. (2002, May). *Leadership and culture in northern schools: Preliminary findings.* Paper presented to the annual meeting of the Canadian Association for Studies in Educational Administration, Toronto.

Greenfield, T.B. (1978). Reflections on organizational theory and the truths of irreconcilable realities. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 14*(2), 1-23.

Greenfield, T.B., & Ribbins, P. (Eds.). (1993). *Greenfield on educational administration: Towards a humane science.* New York: Routledge.

Hébert, Y. (2000). The state of Aboriginal literacy and language education. In M. Brant Castellano, L. Davis, & L. Lahache (Eds.), *Aboriginal education: Fulfilling the promise* (pp. 55-75). Vancouver, BC: UBC Press.

Hesch, R. (1999). Culturally relevant teacher education: A Canadian inner city case. *Canadian Journal of Education, 24,* 369-382.

Kanpol, B. (1994). *Critical pedagogy: An introduction*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Kanpol, B., & McLaren, P. (Eds.). (1995). *Critical multiculturalism: Uncommon voices in a common struggle*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.

Kirkness, V.J. (1992). *First Nations and schools: Triumphs and struggles*. Toronto, ON: Canadian Education Association.

Levin, B., & Young, J. (1994). *Understanding Canadian schools*. Toronto, CA: Harcourt Brace.

Macpherson, R.J.S. (1996). *Educative accountability: Theory, practice, policy and research in Educational Administration*. Tarrytown, NY: Elsevier Science.

Macpherson, R.J.S. (1997, April). *Building a communitarian policy of educative accountability using a critical-pragmatist epistemology*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago.

Maxcy, S.J. (1995a). Beyond leadership frameworks. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 31*, 473-483.

Maxcy, S.J. (1995b). *Democracy, chaos, and the new school order*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Maynes, B., & Foster, R. (1998). *Directory of Canadian educational poverty programs*. Edmonton, AB: Department of Educational Policy Studies, Faculty of Education, University of Alberta.

McConaghy, C. (2000). *Rethinking Indigenous education: Culturalism, colonialism and the politics of knowing*. Flaxton, Australia: Post Pressed.

McLaren, P. (2001, April). *Life in Schools revisited*. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle.

McLaren, P., & Farahmandpur, R. (2000, April). *Critical multiculturalism, capitalism, and class*. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans.

Nieto, S. (2000, April). *Critical multiculturalism and student voices*. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans.

Ogbu, J.U. (1987). Variability in minority school performance: A problem in search of an explanation. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 18*, 312-334.

Popkewitz, T. (2001, April). *The alchemy of school knowledge, social exclusion, and power*. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle.

Ryan, J. (1997). Understanding Greenfield. *International Studies in Educational Administration, 25*(2), 95-105.

Ryan, J. (1999). *Race and ethnicity in multi-ethnic schools*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.

Smith, L.T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. Dunedin, NZ: University of Otago Press.

Stake, R. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Starratt, J. (2001, April). *The abuse of information: Moral issues in accountability reporting*. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle.

Titley, E.B. (1986). *A narrow vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*. Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press.

Verma, G.K., & Mallick, K. (1999). *Researching education: Perspectives and techniques*. London: Falmer Press.

Wallace, M. (2000). Integrating cultural and political perspectives: The case of school restructuring in England. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 36*, 608-632.

Wilson, B. (2001, April). *Manga/Dojinshi and the Japanese art curriculum: A cultural dialectic*. Paper presented to the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Seattle.