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Citizenship in Interaction: A Comparative Case Study of Civic and Linguistic Experiences in Multicultural Schools in Costa Rica and the United States

By

Ana Solano-Campos

Doctor of Philosophy

Division of Educational Studies

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An abstract of a dissertation submitted to the Faculty of

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Abstract

Citizenship in Interaction: A Comparative Case Study of Civic and Linguistic Experiences in Multicultural Schools in Costa Rica and the United States

In their everyday interactions at school, students in multicultural classrooms build civic and linguistic knowledge and skills to participate in increasingly diverse societies. Recognizing the role of schooling to shape children and youth's abilities for active participation in multicultural societies, nations around the world have worked to acknowledge students' diverse backgrounds in education policy and curriculum. In the Americas, Anglo-American multiculturalism and Latin American *interculturalidad* are two of the models of diversity that permeate efforts to address difference and promote national cohesion. Alongside these models of diversity, each country's particular history contributes to the creation of unique narratives about who is considered a citizen and about the characteristics of an "ideal" citizen.

By comparatively looking at two top migrant destination countries in the Americas—the United States illustrating multiculturalism and Costa Rica illustrating interculturalidad—I set out to explore how these distinct models of diversity, and the statal narratives that accompany them, promote different civic and linguistic outlooks and abilities in students. Using critical sociocultural theory and the framework of statal narratives, I examined classroom dynamics embedded in larger cultural narratives in one multicultural fourth grade classroom in each country. Through document analysis, ethnographic observations, interviews, and focus groups, I explored the ways in which students' constructions of language and citizenship appropriated, contested, or perpetuated each country's approach to difference.

Findings indicated that the children's understandings of citizenship and language aligned with statal narratives that encouraged nation-centered approaches and promoted ideologies of linguistic deficit. Children's constructions of citizenship were located along a citizenship continuum and their practices of citizenship varied across structured, guided, and monitored school spaces. I also identified linguistic ideologies that systematically excluded and compartmentalized the repertoires of students from different linguistic backgrounds. In all of these contexts, teachers and children also found opportunities to interrogate and resist dominant narratives and used strategies and resources to construct citizenship and language in interaction with each other.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to the children and teachers at Escuela Montaña Verde and River Song Elementary: Thank you for sharing your worlds with me. The agency and power within you inspires me every day.

"A journey begins before the travellers depart."
Charmaz, 2011, p. 1

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"I celebrate teaching that enables transgressions—a movement against and beyond boundaries. It is that movement which makes education the practice of freedom."
bell hooks, 1994, p. 12

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[1] Solano-Campos, A. T. (2014). Refugee children saying and doing citizenship: Global-local tensions and common civic spaces in an international school in the United States. *Citizenship Teaching & Learning*, 9, 135-156. doi: 10.1386/ctl.9.2.135_1 Available online at http://www.intellectbooks.co.uk/journals/view-Journal,id=193/

[2] Solano-Campos, A. T. (2013). Bringing Latin America's 'Interculturalidad' into the Conversation. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 34(5), 620-630. doi: 10.1080/07256868.2013.807231 First published 08/05/2013, copyright Taylor & Francis, available online at http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/07256868.2013.807231

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Chapter One: Statement of the Problem

In recent decades, growing migration patterns have transformed the education landscape in public schools around the world, which are now tasked with the education of increasingly diverse citizenries. In light of this, contemporary governments in multicultural societies are concerned with reconciling a perceived struggle between unity and diversity. Embedded in this preoccupation with national cohesion are discourses that posit citizenship and language as essential tools in the construction and maintenance of democratic multicultural societies.

In one line of argument, there is concern that democracy in diverse societies is in danger and hope that citizenship education can protect it. Hébert and Sears (2004) indicate that there is a sense of crisis in citizenship education. This "citizenship crisis" is compounded by the perceived "civic deficit" of youth and children (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003) and by the "civic education gap" (Levinson, 2010) of students from underrepresented groups. To address the citizenship crisis, scholars and practitioners have turned to the potential of citizenship education to nurture students' democratic attitudes and actions, emphasizing civic knowledge, deliberative skills, and critical thinking in formal education spaces and curricula.

In a second line of argument, there is a widespread ideology of "national uniformity" (Woolard, 1998, p. 21), which assumes that linguistic diversity challenges the national unity of democratic countries. This ideology depicts the linguistic resources of minoritized groups in terms of deficit, as threats and liabilities, while simultaneously strengthening support for elite bilingualism and linguistic hegemony in which standard varieties of majoritarian and colonial languages are posited as prestigious and superior.

Within this narrative, language policy and language education debates have emerged about the most appropriate ways to integrate linguistically diverse students into mainstream school communities, with assimilating tendencies often at the forefront of education agendas.

Government officials across the globe have incorporated the twin concerns of citizenship and language in education policy and curriculum. Yet, the nature of this incorporation has varied according to each country's particular context, generating unique narratives about diversity, citizenship, and language and ascribing particular civic and linguistic characteristics to citizens. Acknowledging the role of the different national contexts of schooling to shape children's abilities for active participation in multicultural settings, but recognizing that children are co-constructors of their social worlds, in this dissertation I look at children-based civic and linguistic resources and practices in two top migrant destination countries in the Americas, the United States and Costa Rica.

Purpose of the Study

Broadly, this study illuminates the challenges and possibilities of the historical and geopolitical contexts of schools for the education of culturally and linguistically diverse citizens. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to examine how student interactions with their peers and teachers may move from the interpersonal or intercultural and into the political and civic sphere (Kymlicka, 2003). I set out to provide a thick description of how immigrant, refugee, and local children in one school in Costa Rica and one school in the United States constructed common civic and linguistic spaces in contrast to or in alignment with larger cultural narratives.

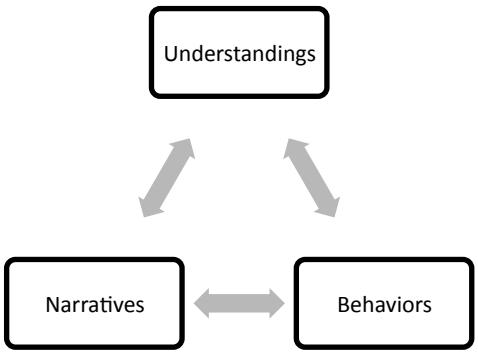
Research Questions

In this study I respond to Hahn's (2010) invitation to examine the conditions under which students "identify with or resist dominant narratives of history and dominant messages about citizenship" (p. 17). In order to explore both micro and macro elements influencing citizenship and language learning, I investigated the following research questions:

1. How do children and their teachers understand citizenship and language?
2. How do children and their teachers perform citizenship and language in their interactions with each other?
3. What are the narratives about citizenship and language that permeate the classroom?
4. How do children and teachers respond to these narratives in their everyday lives at school?

In asking these questions, I looked at the relationship among understandings, behaviors, and narratives of citizenship and language in multicultural settings (Figure 1).

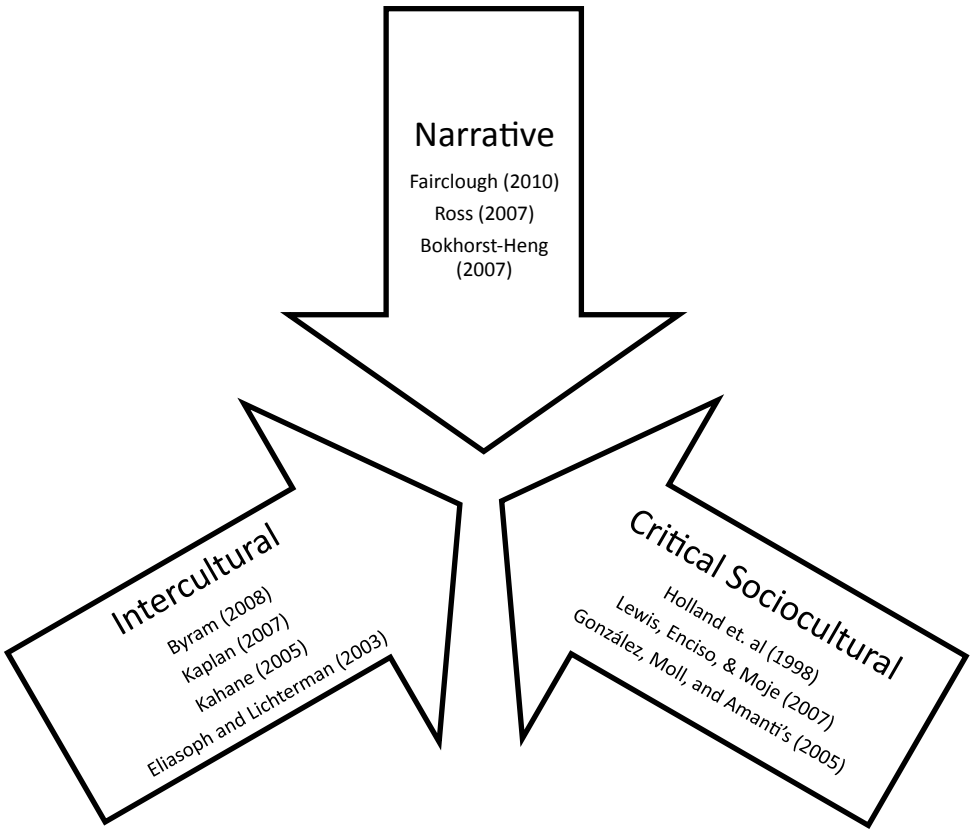
Figure 1. Domains of study addressed by research questions



Theoretical Framework

In this dissertation, I put forth particular understandings of citizenship and language to frame the research questions and data. I also grounded this study in critical-sociocultural, intercultural, and narrative approaches to citizenship and language (Figure 2). By bringing these different but complementary perspectives together, I created an interdisciplinary lens that addresses the different domains of human experience involved in the civic and linguistic practices of students in multicultural classrooms.

Figure 2. Theoretical Perspectives



Broadly, I positioned citizenship within new conceptualizations that acknowledge national, transnational, and global ideas of diversity and civic virtues (Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Alviar-Martin, 2008; Banks, 2009; Byram, 2008; Davis, 2008; Osler & Starkey, 2003). More specifically, I drew from Hébert and Sears (2004) definition of citizenship as "the relationship between the individual and the state, and among individuals within a state" embedding civil, political, socio-economic, and cultural or collective dimensions which are "dynamic and interconnected in a complex interaction within a global context" (p. 1). I also drew from Osler and Starkey's (2005) conceptualization of citizenship as a legal status, feeling of belonging, and practice. Most importantly, I approached citizenship as a collective, process-oriented, situated, every day journey (Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009; Rubin, 2008).

My perspective of language was informed by the fields of linguistic ideology (Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998) and critical applied linguistics (Pennycook, 2001). I define language as a system of thought and communication that both produces and reproduces particular meanings, identities, practices, and relationships. I also understand language politically, as a source and resource for power, oppression, appropriation, and resistance. Specifically, I embrace the view that "language, then has much more than *semiotic* and *symbolic* function; it also has a *rhetorical* function, used to discursively construct identity" [emphasis from the original] (García, 2009a, p. 82), and in this particular case, nation-based civic and linguistic identities.

Critical Sociocultural Theory

In the past, traditional deterministic theories of socialization, which had been heavily influenced by developmental psychology, looked at children through the lens of

behaviorism, as passive receivers of stimuli, reinforcement, and punishment (Corsaro, 2011). Later on, constructivist approaches to socialization emerged that brought attention to children's active role in their learning and socialization processes. Vygotskian sociocultural theory, in particular, emphasized the significance of interpersonal interactions and language for children's internalization of knowledge and skills.

Fairclough (2010) points out that "the empirical research of citizenship must involve recognizing and researching the dialectic between pre-constructions of citizenship and performances of citizenship within everyday practice" (p. 434). In order to address the collective and constructivist aspects of citizenship and language in multicultural schools, but also the role of particular positionings and narratives within those settings, I used Lewis, Enciso, and Moje's (2007) and Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain's (1998) articulations of sociocultural theory as part of the methodological framework for this study.

Critical sociocultural theory tells us that children are not passive receivers of stimuli (Corsaro, 2011), but that they have an active role in their learning and socialization processes. Lewis et al. (2007) argue that current strands of sociocultural theory focus on identities and communities of practice, but do not address discourses at the macro level and do not necessarily address how individuals shape activities and produce or resist power as they are situated in particular systems. Critical sociocultural theory provides a framework to examine power dynamics situated at the micro level and embedded in macro-level discourses. In alignment with sociocultural theory, I also used González, Moll, and Amanti's (2005) conceptualization of *funds of knowledge*, which highlights that students, families, and communities already possess experiences,

resources, and skills that come together to inform their knowledge-construction process and that have the potential to enrich pedagogical practice.

Intercultural Viewpoints

In addition to critical sociocultural theory, I framed this study within theoretical perspectives that view citizenship in terms of cross-cultural interaction, relationship building, and communication. Understanding culture as a dynamic, collective process to create common values, relationships, and shared identities that are influenced by particular histories and social contexts, I drew from Eliasoph and Lichterman's (2003) premise of "culture in interaction" (p.782). For Eliasoph and Lichterman (2003) "the meaning of culture depends in part on what it means to participate in a group setting that filters that culture" (p. 784). Citizenship in interaction also denotes conceptualization of intercultural citizenship that take into account language learning like those put forth by Byram (2008) and Osler and Starkey (2005). Byram (2008) particularly suggests that civic action in culturally and linguistically diverse settings calls for the use of particular linguistic, cognitive, and social skills to mediate the interactions among people socialized in different cultures, so that those interactions are productive and conducive to democratic political participation.

Citizenship in diverse contexts also involves relationship building. According to Heater (2004), Aristotle "believed that a special kind of civic friendship supplies the vital bonding which ensures that citizens work together in a spirit of mutual goodwill" (p. 19). In alignment with Aristotelian ideas, Kaplan (2007) has argued that "understanding modern national identity requires a reappraisal of the role of friendship as a political sentiment" (p. 225). Scholars like Kahane (1999) posit that a model of civic friendship

that stresses bonds across differences and that focuses on the ongoing nature of relationships is appropriate to address citizenship in modern societies. Studying citizenship in interaction also requires taking a close look at language ideologies, specifically at the relationship between language and power (Macedo, Dendrinos, & Gounari, 2003; Paniagua Arguedas, 2006; Pennycook, 2001; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998). In particular, it calls for an examination of how language is used to build, perpetuate, or resist specific constructions of citizenship.

Narrative Perspectives

In spite of globalizing trends, the nation-state continues to have a crucial role as a source of political and cultural identity and legitimacy (Sunier, 2009). Even more so, Dussel (2001) notes that different countries have "their own ways of dealing with difference within the nation-states" (p. 96), producing distinct stories about citizenship, immigration, and diversity that permeate the school context. Hence, I approach citizenship and language as practices taking place in a specific national setting influenced by particular histories. The concepts of narrative and discourse become instrumental to study such stories and histories as they are created and perpetuated through the education system.

I used Ross's (2007) conceptualization of narrative, which posits it as the way to express, reinforce, and frame "collective memories and perceptions" (p. 30). For Ross (2007) narratives are important because they reveal the understandings, fears, privileged and excluded actors, and normative processes of construction and strengthening of particular events and motivations of a group, and in this case, of the nation as "an imagined political community" (Anderson, 1983, p. 6). I also drew from Bokhorst-

Heng's (2007) framework of statal narratives. For Bokhorst-Heng, statal narratives highlight the role of the state as "a critical actor in the creation, reproduction, and dissemination of [an] official narrative" (p. 633) that ascribes particular characteristics to its citizens. Bokhorst-Heng (2007) posits that multicultural discourses and practices should be studied "within the unique 'imaginings' of the nation" (p. 629) and proposes a set of guiding questions as tools to "examine the processes of imagining the nation and national identity in relation to diversity and multiculturalisms" (p. 633). Statal narratives provide a lens to understand and compare the way in which the education of a multicultural citizenry takes place in different nation-states.

In addition to the idea of narratives, I draw from Fairclough's (2010) conceptualization of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Fairclough (2010) describes discourses as "semiotic ways [such as language] of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors" (p. 232). As a theoretical framework, CDA highlights the "dialectal relations between discourse and power, and their effects on other relations within the social processes and their elements" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 8). Not only that, it looks at social wrongs and at "possible ways of righting or mitigating them" (Fairclough, 2010, p.11).

Significance of the Study

This study's significance is threefold. First, the study's theoretical framework opens up discourses of citizenship (Nicoll, Fejes, Olson, Dahlstedt, & Biesta, 2013) to include and affirm students' civic and linguistic resources. Contemporary discourses situate children and youth from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, many of whom are

emergent bilingual immigrant and refugee students, within a "civic deficit" and "civic education gap." In this study, I position these students in a light of possibility by acknowledging and documenting the civic and linguistic practices that they already have and that they construct on an everyday basis.

Second, the comparative study of citizenship can promote much needed scholarly cross-pollination within the Americas, particularly between Anglo-American and Latin American researchers. Such cross-pollination has the potential to illuminate the challenges and possibilities of the particular geopolitical structures of schools to educate diverse citizenries. Third, the study contributes to an emerging and underrepresented field in the academic literature, that of South-South migration. To date, studies on South-South migration in general, and of Nicaragua-Costa Rica migration in particular, have provided varying types of evidence of persisting inequality issues in education. This dissertation highlights the possibilities of education research that explores South-South migration processes to address those issues.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions clarify key terms that will guide understanding of the main concepts and ideas used in this study.

Charter school. The U.S. school in this study is a charter school. According to the United States Department of Education (n.d.) charter schools are:

> Nonsectarian public schools of choice that operate with freedom from many of the regulations that apply to traditional public schools…Charter schools are accountable to their sponsor-- usually a state or local school board-- to produce positive academic results and adhere to the charter contract. The basic concept of

charter schools is that they exercise increased autonomy in return for this accountability.

Citizenship. The concept of *citizenship* has evolved throughout time (Heater, 1999, 2004). In ancient Greece, the Aristotelian definition of citizenship focused on the civic virtues and actions necessary for participation in the "polis," or city-state, highlighting citizenship as a legal/political role and status exclusive to a few (Heater, 2004, p. 17). Over time, this definition changed to incorporate allegiance to a territory. This allegiance, along with its responsibilities and rights, ultimately became birthright. Castles (2004) posits that after the French and American revolutions, there was a "linking of *citizenship* [the territorial political community] with *nationality* [the cultural community]" (p. 20).

According to Leydet (2011), contemporary scholars (Cohen, 1999; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Osler, 2010) describe citizenship not only as a status, but also as political agency/participation, and as membership. Citizenship can also be defined in terms of the qualities that citizens are expected to display. For Hébert and Wilkinson (2011) these qualities or citizenship values are "a constellation of ideals relating to democratic citizenship, which may be manifested as principles, dispositions, and concepts that have individual and social meaning, as well as cognitive, affective, and moral dimensions" (p. 29). Citizenship values include but are not limited to respect, generosity, justice, equality, and solidarity, among others.

Culture. Nieto and Bode (2012) define culture as "the values, traditions, worldview, and social and political relationships created, shared, and transformed by a group of people bound together by a common history, geographic location, language,

social class, and religion, or other shared identity" (p. 158) and as a dynamic, multifaceted, dialectical process that is embedded in context, influenced by social, economic, and political factors, socially constructed, and learned (Nieto, 2010, pp. 78-89). In this study I refer to national cultures, in which various ethnicities and races are embedded, as well as to the culture of the classroom and the school.

Discourse. Fairclough (2010) describes discourses as "semiotic ways [such as language] of construing aspects of the world (physical, social or mental) which can generally be identified with different positions or perspectives of different groups of social actors" (p. 232).

Diversity. I use Adams' (2010) definition of diversity as the "differences between social identity groups based on social categories such as race, gender, sexuality, and class. These differences are reflected in a group's traditions, language, style of dress, cultural practices, religious beliefs and rituals, and these are usually termed 'differences' from some norm that is privileged" (p. 1).

Immigration. Immigration is the movement and settlement of individuals across nations (Kivisto and Faist, 2010). For Trueba (2004), "the immigrant does not have frequent and intensive contact with his original culture and consequently can eventually lose his home language and culture and assimilate into mainstream society (p. 40). However, globalization has made it possible for individuals to transcend national frontiers and to continue to nurture bonds with both their country of origin and their country of residence. This is commonly known as "transnationalism," or the "unique capacity to handle different cultures and lifestyles, different social status, different roles and relationships, and to function effectively in different social, political, and economic

systems" (Trueba, 2004, p. 39) in different nation-states. The identities of transnational people do not stem from attachment to a specific territory, but draw from their cultural, linguistic, academic, and professional affiliations to various countries.

Interculturalidad. Interculturalidad is the main diversity paradigm in Latin America. It is imagined as the moment of contact or area of *convivencia* [coexistence] among individuals from different cultural backgrounds. Interculturalidad is intrinsically linked to the colonial legacy of the Latin American region and—in particular—to movements of indigenous rights, *mestizaje* [miscegenation], and transculturation throughout the region. Most Latin American scholars seem to align with current trends to positively compare interculturalidad to multiculturalism. Latin American scholars contrast multiculturalism with interculturalidad as focusing on recognition rather than dialogue, as encouraging affirmative action rather than "transformative" action, as creating parallel societies rather than integrated societies, as promoting tolerance but not convivencia, as describing rather than constructing (Cunningham, 2001; García Canclini, 2004; López 1997, Tubino, 2001, 2002; Walsh 2001).

Interculturality. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (2005) posits interculturality as "the existence and equitable interaction of diverse cultures and the possibility of generating shared cultural expressions through dialogue and mutual respect" (p. 5). According to the UNESCO, Article 4.8 of the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2006), interculturality "presupposes multiculturalism and results from 'intercultural' exchange and dialogue on the local, regional, national or international level" (p. 17).

Intercultural education. The UNESCO guidelines describe intercultural education as a framework that stresses the right to culturally appropriate and responsive education, makes possible the provision of "the cultural knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to achieve active and full participation in society" and ensures the promotion and creation of cross-cultural solidarity and respect (2006, p. 32).

Multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a body of thought "about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity" (Song, 2014). Multiculturalist paradigms in the Americas have traditionally been associated with Anglo America, mainly with the United States and Canada. In the case of the United States, multiculturalism encompasses issues of cultural identity, recognition, and redistribution (Castles, 2004). United States multiculturalism is often associated with a "modern" strand of education that attends to issues of oppression, resistance, social justice, and cultural democracy in school policy and curriculum (Meer & Modood, 2012). In fact, the emergence of multiculturalism in education in the United States is linked to the Civil Rights Movement and to the struggle of African-Americans for equality in the 1960s and 1970s (Banks, 1994; Gay 2010; Sleeter, 1999).

Multicultural citizenship. The concept of *multicultural citizenship* was coined in 1995 by the Canadian political theorist Will Kymlicka in his seminal text *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Kymlicka (1995) used this term to argue that "group-differentiated minority rights are consistent with basic liberal principles of individual freedom and social justice" (p. 173).

Multicultural citizenship education. Banks (2004) affirms that citizenship education in diverse societies should help students identify and nurture healthy cultural,

national, and global identifications, at the time that they develop "understandings of their roles in the world community" (p.7). Multicultural citizenship education involves curriculum reform that promotes the acquisition of knowledge and skills for cross-cultural dialogue and civic action (Dilworth, 2004).

Multicultural education. Multicultural education is a movement to promote equity in schools. It is conceived as an anti-racist, caring, liberating, transformative, inclusive, cross-cultural, democratic, and critical approach in education (Banks, 1994; Gay, 2010; Irvine, 2003; May & Sleeter, 2010; Nieto & Bode, 2012; Sleeter, 1996).

Narrative(s). A narrative is a story; an account of individual and/or social experiences co-constructed for different purposes and which build upon each other across time and place (Conelly & Clandinin, 2006). In this study, I use Ross's (2007) conceptualization of narrative as the way to express, reinforce, and frame "collective memories and perceptions" (p. 30). For Ross (2007) narratives are important because they reveal the understandings, fears, privileged and excluded actors, and normative processes of construction and strengthening of particular events and motivations of a group.

Nation. Some scholars argue that the word *nation* refers to socio-cultural aspects, while the term *state* encompasses political and territorial elements. The combination of both terms into what is widely referred to as a nation-state suggests a social, historical, cultural, and political community that exists within predetermined and sometimes arbitrary territorial boundaries. In this dissertation I will use Anderson's (1983) definition of the nation as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6).

Nationality. For David and Bar-Tal (2009) nationality is a type of collective identity or "notion of we-ness that transcends the individuals and leads to a collective action" (p. 356) and that "indicates a joint awareness and recognition that members of a group share the same social identity" (p. 356).

National identity. For Kymlicka (1995), national identity is "the sense of membership in a national group" (p. 13), or a feeling of belonging to a nation. He distinguishes national identity from patriotism in that patriotism is "the feeling of allegiance to a state" (p.13).

Refugee. The United Nations (2011) defines a refugee as a person who,

> Owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (Article 1A(2), p. 14).

Statal narratives. Statal narratives are narratives that highlight the role of the state in ascribing particular characteristics to its citizens (Bokhorst-Heng, 2007, p. 633).

The nature of the state-school connection becomes increasingly complex as countries grow in cultural and national diversity. In multicultural school settings in top migrant destination countries, students and teachers face important challenges to practice civic and linguistic attitudes and skills that reflect their cultural, national, and global repertoires. However, they are also in a position to make equally important contributions

to the civic and linguistic spheres in which they interact. In this dissertation, I looked at three domains of study: understandings, behaviors, and narratives through an interdisciplinary theoretical framework that combined discursive, intercultural, and critical sociocultural standpoints. In chapter 2, I discuss the scholarly literature which was the foundation for this study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

I approach the study of citizenship and language in multicultural classrooms informed by research on children and citizenship, national identities, comparative citizenship and multicultural education, and by studies on the education of immigrant and refugee children in Costa Rica and the United States. The studies that I present in this chapter indicate that ways to think and teach about citizenship and language differ in countries around the world; yet, they point to similar challenges and opportunities for student civic involvement across nations. In addition, in this section I highlight the ways in which my research project expands earlier work and can make contributions to the scholarship in various fields of study.

Children as Citizens

Researchers have concluded that children have strong interest in issues of membership and participation. Not only that, they are engaged citizens and civic agents (Bickmore, 2008; Devine, 2002; Holden, 2006; Holden & Clough, 1998; Holden & Minty, 2011; Howard & Gill, 2000; Biesta, Lawy, & Kelly, 2009; Taylor & Smith, 2009). To date most research on citizenship learning has been conducted inside of the formal citizenship curriculum.

Peace education scholar Kathy Bickmore (2008) examined the relationships among conflict resolution, children, and global politics. Bickmore (2008) investigated students' responses to the following questions: 1) What is conflict? 2) What are sources of conflict? and 3) How is conflict managed? Bickmore (2008) conducted the study in a combined grade four and five classroom of 33 students in Ontario, Canada. Two thirds of the students were immigrant children from Asia, the Middle East, the Caribbean, and

Europe. Through an adaptation of the grounded theory approach, Bickmore (2008) found that in her sample children's interpersonal interactions aided their understanding of intergroup, political, and international conflict and that "young children are indeed able to handle complex political and international conflicts" (p. 2).

Holden and Minty (2011) also found that children are interested in global issues. As part of a comparative study with samples from Spain and Poland, Holden and Minty (2011) explored the understandings of global citizenship of over 600 children ages 11, 14, and 17 in the United Kingdom using non-representative samples. Holden and Minty learned that students in their samples were concerned about global issues, but not well informed about their causes and solutions.

Researchers Howard and Gill (2000) also studied children's constructions of citizenship, power, and politics with samples of convenience. In their qualitative study of Australian children ages 5 to 12, Howard and Gill (2000) interviewed 27 children to learn about their perceptions of power dynamics at home, in school, and in their community. Like Holden and Minty (2011), Howard and Gill found that children in their study had partial understandings of government structures, often characterizing power as benign. Nevertheless, the researchers pointed out that the children were eager to participate in conversations about civic participation, and concluded that in order for children to appropriately understand the goals and principles of democratic living, their experiences must be taken into account in research and educational practice.

Biesta, Lawy, and Kelly (2009) addressed citizenship learning within students' experiences in an ethnographic study in the South West of England. During the first phase of their research they interviewed 29 young people ages 13 to 20 to find out how

everyday participation in their communities impacted their citizenship learning. Biesta, Lawy, and Kelly concluded that citizenship learning is dependent on the interplay between contexts, relationships, and dispositions and on "the interaction between citizenship learning inside and outside of the formal citizenship curriculum" (p.20).

The scholars in this section highlight that children in multicultural classrooms are cognitively capable of independently, and collectively, learning about and constructing ideas about diversity, citizenship, and civic action. These researchers have found that students' constructions of citizenship do not always match theoretical definitions of citizenship put forth by scholars, with young people often emphasizing the social and civil dimensions of citizenship rather than its civic or political ones (Ireland, Kerr, Lopes, & Nelson, 2006; Lister, Smith, Middleton, & Cox, 2003). Not only that, children actively resist, transform, appropriate, or perpetuate those ideas. I seek to continue the scholarly tradition forged by these researchers to look at civic engagement in both the explicit and implicit curriculum and to highlight the agency of students in their own civic development.

Citizenship and National Affiliations

In the seminal text *Imagined Communities*, originally published in 1983, Anderson (2006) proposed that "nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artifacts" (p. 4) and that the nation is an "imagined political community" (p. 6). Today, identification with this national imaginary "continues to be a tremendously powerful component of identity, if only because it is still the only basis on which a collective can demand sovereignty." (David & Bar-Tal, 2009, p. 357). Not surprisingly, researchers around the world have addressed the centrality of individual and group identifications

with a nation for the development of children's citizenship (Banks, 2008; Carrington & Short, 1995; 1996; Howard & Gill, 2001; Osler, 2010).

Research on the development of national identity in children has been particularly prolific. Psychologists and sociologists have done extensive theoretical and empirical work on the implications of out-group and in-group behaviors, as well as on cross-cultural behaviors. In 2011, scholars Martyn Barrett and Louis Oppenheimer reviewed previous findings on children's national knowledge, attitudes, and identifications. They found that by middle childhood most children had geographical knowledge of their own country, and the country of others, and had knowledge of symbols used to represent their countries. By middle childhood, most children had also acquired and developed elaborated national stereotypes, exhibiting a preference and strong national pride for their own country over other national groups, but still demonstrating a liking for other national groups.

Barrett and Oppenheimer (2011) reported that many of the studies on national identity use quantitative methods and scales. One of those studies by Barrett, Wilson, and Lyons (2003) aimed at determining whether 5-11 year old English children (N=307) attributed positive or negative characteristics to American and German national in-groups and out-groups, whether the characteristics of the in-group varied if presented in a comparative frame of reference, and how important national identity was to the children. Through interviews in which the children performed attribution and relative subjective importance tasks, researchers established that within this age group there was a reduction of national in-group bias, but that children displayed national in-group favoritism at all ages. Although the importance of national identity did increase with age, the researchers

also concluded that the presence of a comparative context did not influence "the importance that children ascribe to their national identity relative to their other identities" (p. 216).

Verkuyten (2001) obtained similar findings. Verkuyten gave a questionnaire to evaluate friendship and social distance to Dutch children in 21 elementary school classrooms in various Dutch cities. The questionnaire was designed to collect data on children's perceptions of their in-group, Dutch citizens, and three national out-groups: American, German, and Turkish people. Verkuyten measured national identification, degree of social distance in each group, and self-feelings. Based solely on students' answers to the questionnaire, the author concluded that there is a relationship between national identification and in-group favoritism. He also found that little social distance does not always suggest less social exclusion, but a desire to conform to social norms that are considered appropriate. However, Verkuyten did not determine how the relationship that he outlined actually took place in students' classrooms.

Researchers who have conducted qualitative studies on the topic point out that children in plurinational contexts construct and appropriate national identities based on concrete elements, experiences, and narratives with which they are familiar. Waldron and Pike (2006) conducted a qualitative study on what it meant to be Irish. The study was conducted with 119 children ages 10-11 in five primary schools in Ireland. The researchers conducted student collaborative activities to collect drawings and writing samples of all students. They also conducted group interviews with 15 children. Waldron and Pike found that children referred mostly to the material and expressive aspects of culture to refer to national identity. Identification with a national past, comparisons with

other countries, and relevance of place of birth were also elements that children associated with national identity.

Carrington and Short (2008) had similar findings. They interviewed 265 children, ages 8 to 12, in one elementary school in the United Kingdom and another one in the United States. The researchers set out to investigate how age, location, and ethnicity influenced children's national identity. Carrington and Short found that children "construe their national identity in largely concrete terms, referring mostly to its surface features, such as: place of birth, living or working in the country, or ties of consanguinity" and that very few children "viewed their national identity primarily as a form of cultural affiliation" (Carrington & Short, 2008, p. 120).

Similarly, Moinian (2009) found that children have close family relations that act as ethnic markers. His study of five Swedish children with Iranian parents, ages 12 to 16, revealed that the children constructed hybrid identities to access various cultural spaces. Moinian (2009) argued that there was a dissonance between the children's experiences of dynamic identity construction and institutional foci that deemed ethnic categories as fixed and static. Through observations and interviews Moinian determined that students created a third space where they could perform and recognize their various complex linguistic, cultural, and socioeconomic identities.

In another qualitative study Habashi (2008) conducted open-ended interviews with 12 Palestinian children ages 10-13 to explore the meaning of contemporary Palestinian identity in children's voices. Habashi found that children constructed a Palestinian identity in terms of other (allying, religious, scattered, and oppressor other) and self (geographical, historical refugee, resistance, religious, ennobled, and traitor

selves). For Habashi "the contemporary notion of national identity echoes the fragmented relationship of the meaning of territories (Tuathail & Dalby, 1998)" (p. 28). He found that "children's capacity to construct an identity is associated with the familiarity of past generations' experiences and with their ability to connect to the global geopolitical discourse that affects the local milieu" (2008, p. 28).

Among the empirical studies examining citizenship in diverse settings is Koh's (2010) study of the national identity of 155 students in 4th and 5th grade in Singapore and the United States. Koh (2010) conducted observations of social studies classes, interviews, and drawing exercises with children in two schools in each country. She looked at the resources that children in multicultural classrooms use in their constructions of citizenship and national identity. Koh (2010) concluded that "minority children from both countries adhere to the general narrative of

their national stories but have rewritten it in ways in which they insert themselves personally into the narrative" (p. 231). Collectively, these findings suggest that children understand and internalize constructions of nationhood at a very young age. Not only that, they actively appropriate dominant ideas about what it means to identify with and be a member of a national group.

Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship and Civic Education

Over the years, researchers of citizenship education have explored the development of civic values, attitudes, knowledge, and participation in children and youth (Angell, 1991, 1998; Bickmore, 2008; Connell, 1974; Hahn, 1998; Hess, 2002; Hess & Torney, 2009; Holden & Clough, 1998; Howard & Gill, 2000; Osler & Starkey, 2003, 2005, 2006; Stevens, 1982; Waldron & Pike, 2006). Among their many findings,

citizenship education scholars suggest that along with the formal aspects of education, elements such as classroom climate and school ethos have a significant impact on students' civic engagement (Angell, 1991, 1998; Hahn, 1998). Many researchers of citizenship education have also used an international, comparative perspective in the study of citizenship, political attitudes, political socialization, and civic engagement (Arthur, Davies, & Hahn, 2008; Cunningham, 2010; Hahn, 1998; Kerr, 1999; Papoulia-Tzelepi, Hegstrup, & Ross, 2005; Reid, Gill, & Sears, 2010; Roland-Levy, C., & Ross, 2003; Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr, & Losito, 2010; Torney-Purta, Lehman, Oswald, & Schulz, 2001). At the core of this approach is the presupposition that children and youth in different nation-states are exposed to "many different ways to model democratic inquiry and discourse" (Hahn, 1998, p. 232). In the last decade, scholars such as Grant and Lei (2001) and Banks (2004, 2008, 2009) have also advanced a comparative, international approach to the study of multicultural education, in particular as it pertains to citizenship education for culturally and linguistically diverse students.

Three studies that pioneered comparative orientations to citizenship and civic education are Hahn's (1998) study of political attitudes and experiences of adolescents in Denmark, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States, and the 1979 and 1999 Civic Education Studies of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) (Torney-Purta et al., 2001; Torney, Oppenheim, & Farnen, 1975; Torney Purta, Schwille, & Amadeo, 1999), which examined the civic education and engagement of 14-year-old students in nine and 28 countries 20 years apart. Since then, many scholars have conducted comparative investigations exploring issues of citizenship and civic education in different national and academic contexts

(Alviar-Martin, 2008; Carrington & Short, 2008; Holden & Minty, 2011; Koh, 2010). In addition, the IEA recently released the international report for the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) (Schulz et al., 2010), the largest comparative study to date (38 countries) to investigate citizenship learning across countries.

Much of the research on citizenship education in multicultural and comparative contexts has relied on methodological approaches favoring document analysis, interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, and surveys. Although some studies include classroom observations, very few researchers have approached citizenship education from an ethnographic perspective. In terms of setting, most studies have targeted social studies classrooms almost exclusively. Existing studies focus on children's or teachers' self-reported national identifications, political knowledge, civic attitudes, and perceptions of citizenship, identity, and membership. It is exactly this focus on perceptions and attitudes that limits contemporary understandings of citizenship. An emphasis on students' and teachers' understandings of citizenship leaves out whether their actions align with those perceptions and in what ways.

One of few ethnographic studies on the topic is Schiffauer, Baumann, Kastoryano, and Vertovec's (2004) study of civil enculturation of Turkish secondary students in the Netherlands, Britain, Germany, and France. Schiffauer et al. (2004) conducted ethnographic observations, interviews, focus groups, and textbook/curriculum analysis in one purposefully selected school in each country. First, they looked at how each nation was represented in history textbooks used in each school. Based on the analysis of the textbooks, they drafted taxonomies of cultural difference for each nation. Then, they proceeded to look at the role of discursive practices, religion, and language (both mother

tongue and the target language) and their negotiations of cultural difference in the civil enculturation of the students in daily routines and practices.

Schiffauer et al. (2004) concluded that each nation organized difference in their own way, and that "in conceptualizing cultural differences, pupils mostly followed the hegemonic forms of argument of the surrounding society and as a result showed how far they have assimilated structural elements of the respective discourses about meanings of culture and otherness of immigrants" (p. 295). I draw from Schiffauer et al.'s (2004) rich methodological legacy and combination of macro-micro analysis, but I expand on it by going beyond the study of one particular ethnicity or nationality. Instead of looking at one immigrant group and its relationship to the "majority" in a uni-directional or bi-directional way, I look at the multi-directionality of the exchanges among local children, children of immigrants, immigrant children, and refugees from different countries.

Another comparative study that aimed to understand children's citizenship in their everyday lives and its relationship to macro-level structures is Childwatch International's study of children's perceptions and constructions of citizenship, particularly of rights and responsibilities, in New Zealand, Brazil, Norway, South Africa, Australia, and Palestine (Taylor & Smith, 2009). Through a childhood studies framework, "which positions children as experts and social actors in understanding their worlds" (Taylor & Smith, 2009, p. 35), the authors conducted observations in purposefully selected schools and focus groups with students and surveys with parents and teachers in each country. The authors triangulated the data to obtain their findings. The sample consisted of 584 purposefully selected children and youth 8/9 years old and 14/15 years old across the six countries. An equal number of girls and boys from different socioeconomic status and

cultural groups participated in the study. The sample also included 180 parents and 132 teachers.

The researchers at Childwatch International found differences in the historical and political contexts, the schooling, and the adult/child power relations of each country that contextualized and influenced children's citizenship. They determined that children "envisaged childhood as a site of citizenship practice" (Taylor & Smith, 2009, p. 179) and that, even if they did not always have opportunities to do so, they were constantly in search for "authentic opportunities to engage, participate, and contribute as citizens" (p. 170).

In an investigation of cosmopolitan citizenship in one international school in Atlanta and one international school in Hong Kong, Alviar-Martin (2008) aimed to determine how teachers' beliefs, implemented curricula, students' perceptions of civic identities, and students' citizenship learning reflected cosmopolitan citizenship education. Alviar-Martin used a mixed methods design that included observations, interviews with teachers and students, document analysis, and a student survey (N=392). Relevant to this study were the findings that teachers' understandings of citizenship guided their instructional practices and that pedagogical freedom was an important element of teachers' ability to teach according to their beliefs.

Finally, in an ethnography of first and second generation Muslim youth in a Danish *folkenskole*, Jaffe-Walter (2011) spent seven months conducting participant observations and interviews with students and teachers. She also examined nationalist discourses represented in Danish media and policy making. Jaffe-Walter examined the way in which Muslim immigrant youth and teachers positioned themselves and were

positioned by others. She looked at the students' and teachers' processes of identity formation, at their negotiation of dominant narratives about Danishness, and their construction of critical counter narratives. Jaffe-Walter found that various political discourses "define structures, procedures, and identities that are all deployed to 'discipline' the immigrant" (p. 200) and that both teachers and students negotiated those discourses employing different strategies. Particularly, she found that "counter-narratives support the emergence of a new discourse of cultural citizenship…that moves beyond the binary of Danes and immigrants to insist upon new forms of belonging that incorporate cultural and religious differences" (p. 202).

Researchers such as Rubin (2008) and Biesta, Lawy, and Kelly (2009) have pointed out that scholars and educators have largely treated citizenship learning as an individual, knowledge-based, outcome-oriented, teacher and curriculum-driven, formal endeavor rather than as a collective, process-oriented, situated, every day journey. Along this line, Nicoll, Fejes, Olson, Dahlstedt, and Biesta (2013), remind us that "what appears relatively ignored is that citizenship is already enacted by those students who are the target of citizenship education – they already practice citizenship in a variety of ways" (p. 2). In this study, I make a contribution to expand on this emerging research agenda.

Comparative Studies in Latin American Countries

In Latin America, research that is not always explicitly comparative (Hamel, 2008; Hornberger, 2000; Hooker, 2005; López, 2009; Moya, 1998) has provided comparisons across the region for bilingual and indigenous education issues. Indigenous bilingual education and intercultural bilingual education initiatives in Latin America have been linked from their beginnings to indigenous movements seeking the political

recognition and participation of their communities, and thus, have implications for citizenship education.

Since the 1999 IEA study, in which only Colombia and Chile participated from Latin America, countries in the region have become increasingly present in international and regional comparisons (Levinson & Berumen, 2007; Tibbitts & Torney-Purta, 1999; Torney-Purta & Amadeo, 2004). In research for the Latin American report for the ICCS study, Cox (2010) compared the curriculum in six Latin American countries: Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, and Paraguay. The ICCS study reported that, traditionally, civic and citizenship education in Latin American countries has taught students "about institutions, patriotic symbols, and the functioning of government" (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman, & Lietz, 2011, p. 28). Yet, the researchers found that in recent years,

> There was a shift toward emphasizing interpersonal relations and attitudes toward others in the community as important for peaceful coexistence in society. Four of the six countries…gave more importance in their curricula to "civics" (in terms of interpersonal or inter-group relations) than to "citizenship" (citizen's relationships with state and government)" (Schulz et al., 2011, p. 27).

Costa Rica participated in the OECD's Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) study for the first time in 2010 (OECD, 2010, p. 6). However, the country, unlike the United States, has not participated in any of the civic education studies conducted by the IEA and is rarely, if ever, represented in comparative research on citizenship and civic education. Among the few large-scale comparative studies in which Costa Rica has participated is the Red Interamericana para la Democracia's (RID)

(2005) study on the "Índice de Participación Ciudadana" (IPC), or citizenship participation index, that was also conducted in Brazil, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and Argentina. The researchers concluded that even though Costa Rica had the highest indices of protection of democratic values in Latin America, it also had the lowest indices of civic participation.

Additional research by Suárez (2008) explored the degree to which Costa Rica has expanded discussions on human rights, diversity, and cultural pluralism in modern civic education. Suárez examined country variations in curricular tools in a comparative study of Costa Rica and Argentina. Suárez examined education programs and civic education textbooks in each country. He selected particular keywords associated with "modern" and "traditional" civics and identified the number of times those words were mentioned in each particular text.

Suárez (2008) focused on the central role of universal human rights, describing both countries' legacy of income disparity and inequality. He pointed out that Costa Rica has experienced a long history of involvement with human rights education, was an early adopter of global citizenship education, and continues to perceive education as a tool for development and economic growth. Using the framework of modernization theory, Suárez concluded that in Costa Rica an emphasis on citizenship rights increased over time, while the emphasis on citizenship responsibilities declined. He found that "patriotic nationalism… [gave] way to a more multicultural model" (p.486).

Yet, Suárez (2008) argued that Costa Rica has remained much more nation-centered than Argentina. He pointed out that his study was only about "the intended curriculum" and that in order to breach the gap to "the implemented curriculum" more

research should be conducted. The proposed research project will address Suárez's suggestion to study the way in which the intended curriculum is actually implemented and to determine how students respond to it. This research project will also illuminate whether Costa Rica follows the patterns or approaches to civic and citizenship education identified by Cox (2010) and Suarez (2008) and how they differ from those of the United States.

Scholarship on Intercultural Citizenship

The comparative study of the intercultural aspect of citizenship has been mainly explored in European contexts (Bommes, Castles, & Withol de Wenden, 1999; Guilherme, Pureza, Osler, Starkey, Meyer, Haas, & Castro, 2007; Krywosz-Rynkiewcz & Ross, 2004; Ross, 2008). A particularly relevant comparative project exploring intercultural citizenship was INTERACT (Guilherme et. al, 2007) a three-year transnational collaboration (2004-2007) among scholars in Portugal, Denmark, Spain, and the United Kingdom. The project consisted of document analysis, curriculum analysis, and interviews with institutional actors and teachers in each country.

Guilherme et al. (2007) set out to: explore how the intercultural dimension of citizenship education was addressed in official documents; examine the ways in which students and teachers implemented policies of intercultural education; and identify future needs of teachers related to the intercultural dimension of citizenship education. Among its many findings, the project revealed that Spain and Portugal had similar structural and conceptual frameworks, stressing education for values, in opposition to Denmark and England, which focused on education for democracy. In addition, the idea of interculturality was widespread in Spain and Portugal but not in Denmark and England.

Overall, “most teachers reveal a lack of academic preparation in the field that would enable them to fulfill their role as intercultural educators” (p. 100). The researchers also found that teachers in England expressed greater commitment to teaching about global awareness than teachers in the other three countries.

Another important project including the interpersonal dimension of citizenship is the CiCe (Children’s Identity and Citizenship in Europe) network, from the Erasmus Academic Network. Since 1998 CiCe has brought together about 100 universities in 30 countries across Europe to teach and conduct research on citizenship education for children and youth. The work of CiCe focuses on theoretical, policy, and teacher preparation concerns. CiCe has generated several conferences and professional guidelines, and innumerable research papers and publications. One of the main contributions of CiCe is an eight volume series, edited by Alistair Ross, addressing different dimensions of citizenship as children and youth understand them. The fourth volume (Krywosz-Rynkiewcz & Ross, 2004), particularly, discusses social friendships and relationships (Krull & Kadajane, 2004; Nowicka, 2004) from a theoretical standpoint. This dissertation will expand on the literature on comparative intercultural citizenship by exploring it outside of the European context. With a descriptive foci, rather than a prescriptive one, I look at children and teachers to ask not “what or how can they do better?” But, “what are they already doing? and how are they doing it?”

Cross-Border Dynamics and Education

The study of cross-border dynamics and education is exponentially more prolific in the United States than in Costa Rica. Researchers in the United States have studied modes of incorporation of immigrants (Ogbu, 1998), needs of refugee and immigrant

students (McBrien, 2005; Quaynor, 2012; Salinas & Franquiz, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2008, 2010), transnationalism (Trueba, 2004), bilingual and second language education (Cummins,1991, 1996; Krashen, 1999; Ovando, 2006, 2003), content area instruction (Franquiz & Salinas, 2011), third spaces (Van Reken, 2010), teacher education (Irvine, 2003), and culturally responsive practices (Gay, 2010; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Nieto & Bode, 2012).

Among the many studies looking at immigrant children and youth in the United States is Quaynor's (2012) comparative case study of two public international elementary schools. Quaynor (2012) explored the implemented curriculum and instructional practices in both schools to determine what students were taught about citizenship. Particularly, she investigated the meaning of citizenship education for refugee youth in both schools. Quaynor conducted classroom observations, focus groups with sixth grade students, and interviews with teachers and administrators in both schools. Using Banks' (2004) conception of ethnic, national, and global identifications along with Osler and Starkey's (2005) dimensions of citizenship, Quaynor found that "although schools can educate students for inclusive citizenship, global education initiatives do not always translate into classroom pedagogy that is responsive to the needs of refugee students" (p. 133).

In addition, Quaynor determined that language and literacy skills in English were important elements in students' exercise of full citizenship. Yet, she observed that in their interactions with peers, students claimed membership in various linguistic communities, switching between their home languages and English during class activities. In spite of this, Quaynor remarked that "students did not typically interact across cultural groups without facilitation by teachers" (p. 104).

In an ethnographic case study of a purposefully selected school in California, Olsen (2008) looked at the patterns of interaction and dynamics among the many ethnic and immigrant groups of students in the school. She also studied the role of teachers and administrators in school dynamics and in the academic opportunities of their students. Olsen conducted observations and interviews with students, parents, teachers, and administrators over many years. She found that newcomer students were subjected to a process of "Americanization" and that language, ethnicity, and class influenced students' academic placement.

Overall, researchers report that immigrant and refugee children still face assimilating tendencies at school (Olsen, 2008; Ovando, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2008, 2010). Scholars have pointed out that it is important to instill healthy cultural, national, and global identifications in children in multicultural school settings by affirming students' funds of knowledge (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005), cultural capital (Yosso, 2006), transnational experiences (Trueba, 2004), and translanguaging practices (García, 2009a) via culturally responsive pedagogies (Gay, 2010; Nieto & Bode, 2012).

Central American, and particularly Costa Rican, migration flows are both an emerging field in Latin American scholarly production and an underrepresented area in international academic literature. The effect of immigration patterns on students' lives has been documented by only a few local researchers (Araya Madrigal & Hernandez Carballo, 2011; Locke & Ovando, 2012; Paniagua Arguedas, 2007; Ruiz Guevara, 2009; Sandoval García, 2004, 2011). In one of the most extensive research articles on the topic, Paniagua Arguedas (2007) provided an overview of the quality of education for

Nicaraguan children in Costa Rican elementary schools. She collected *testimonios,* narratives, of both Nicaraguan and Costa Rican children and youth in the largest binational community in the country, La Carpio. She obtained data through a convenience sample of over 400 individuals from two earlier projects in which community members were interviewed and invited to submit writings and drawings about their life in La Carpio. Paniagua Arguedas selected the narratives and interviews submitted by children and youth. Those narratives were eventually published in the edited book *Nuestras vidas en Carpio: Aportes para una Historia Popular* [*Our lives in Carpio: Contributions to Popular History*] (Sandoval García, Brenes Montoya, Masis Fernández, Paniagua Arguedas, & Sánchez Soto, 2007).

Paniagua Arguedas (2007) looked at the narratives through the framework of symbolic borders, or *barreras simbólicas*. She identified three symbolic borders that Nicaraguan children and youth encounter in Costa Rican education: 1) the exclusion of immigrant children from educational institutions, 2) the creation and perpetuation of hostile spaces and discriminatory attitudes in classrooms, and 3) the implementation of Costa Rican-centric content and curriculum. Paniagua-Arguedas' findings are representative of findings by other scholars (Aguilar Montealegre & D'Antoni Fattori, 2008; Araya Madrigal & Hernandez Carballo, 2011; Ruiz Guevara, 2009) and also align with findings from the *Estado de la Educación 2008*, which at the time reported that Costa Rican children discriminated against Nicaraguan children, and describe the immigrants as having "adaptation problems" (p.67).

Paniagua Arguedas' findings also coincide with UNICEF reports stating that "the education level of Nicaraguans in Costa Rica is lower than the Costa Rican national

average (D'Emilio et al., 2007, p.4). UNICEF has also highlighted that migrant children and children of immigrants in Costa Rica often face changes in family relations and gender roles, mainly significant emotional impact due to family disintegration, psychological distress, risky behavior, and vulnerability to abuse.

In another study, through the framework of *interculturalidad*, Araya Madrigal and Hernandez Carballo (2011) conducted qualitative research in six public schools; both private and public, to better understand the sociocultural and demographic backgrounds of immigrant children and their families. They conducted classroom observations and interviewed immigrant children, their parents, their classmates, and teachers. Araya Madrigal and Hernandez Carballo (2011) concluded that "participants were not aware of the legal rights and responsibilities of immigrants, and particularly that teachers lacked knowledge of the education safeguards that guaranteed immigrant children's access to quality education." [my translation] (p. 1). In addition, they found contradictory opinions between teachers and students in terms of children's interactions in the classroom. Whereas some immigrant children described being discriminated against, their teachers did not always acknowledge that situation. The researchers determined that discrimination increased if children displayed markers of identity associated with their cultural background, such as skin color and accent.

In an ethnographic case study in Costa Rican classrooms, Purcell-Gates (2008) looked at the marginalization and academic achievement of Nicaraguan children versus that of their Costa Rican peers. She found that although Nicaraguan children were subjected to deficit stereotypes, and ascribed "negative characteristics of difference" (p. 12), "they are not based on data but more on broader issues of fear, xenophobia,

perceived (and partially constructed also) national crises, historical enmities, and scapegoating" (p. 12). She challenged

> the accepted beliefs that (a) Nicaraguan parents don't care about education like Costa Rican parents; (b) Nicaraguan children have extremely low levels of general knowledge, in particular vocabulary knowledge, as compared to Costa Rican children; (c) Nicaraguans look different from Costa Ricans in ways that signal inferiority (e.g. dark-skinned, dirty/unkempt); and (d) You can't trust any of them as you can Costa Ricans! In other words, this [*sic*] data challenges the 'difference/deficit' stereotypes" (p. 12).

Finally, Ruiz Guevara (2009) conducted a case study of three Nicaraguan children and their teacher in a Costa Rican school to identify the teacher's beliefs in regards to the development of her immigrant students. The researcher found that there was "a contradiction between the discourse about emphasizing attention to diversity and the teacher's actions to promote the development of her students' skills" [my translation] (p. 1). In particular, Ruiz Guevara found that the teacher identified each immigrant child as a *pobrecito*, or victim, and often attempted to assimilate students into the Costa Rican culture. According to the researcher, the teacher sometimes attributed children's lack of participation to their accent, in what Ruiz Guevara posited as a "pedagogy of silence" (p. 25). Overall, Ruiz Guevara reported that there were few opportunities for the Nicaraguan children to openly express their Nicaraguan culture" [my translation] (p. 20).

UNICEF has reported that "the education level of Nicaraguans in Costa Rica is lower than the Costa Rica national average (D'Emilio et al., 2007, p.4). The report highlighted that migrant children and children of immigrants often face changes in family

relations and gender roles, mainly significant emotional impact due to family disintegration, psychological distress, risky behavior, and vulnerability to abuse. Drawing from the work of Costa Rican scholars, this dissertation expands current efforts to document the effect of contemporary cross-border dynamics in Costa Rica on the education of immigrant and local children. Particularly it provides a more extensive description of the experience of immigrant and Costa Rican children as they go about interacting and building relationships every day than did earlier research. As such, it may facilitate a better understanding of the ways in which students in Costa Rican classrooms respond to dominant narratives about difference.

The studies presented in this review of the literature indicate scholars' increased interest in the intercultural dimension of citizenship, particularly in Europe and Latin America. They also speak to the various challenges and needs of teachers and students in schools with immigrant populations. Overall, this study goes beyond traditional foci on formal instruction, content, and knowledge of citizenship by juxtaposing it with children's perceptions and actions in various formal and informal school spaces. In the next chapter, I describe the research design, data sources, and research methodology that I used to collect and analyze the data presented in this study.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In order to answer the research questions, I used a comparative qualitative vertical case study research design. I conducted analyses of policy and curriculum documents, ethnographic observations, and focus groups and interviews with teachers and students in two fourth grade classrooms, one in Costa Rica and another one in the United States. Phillips and Schweisfurth (2007) posit that comparative inquiry "serves…to increase awareness of the interplay between schools and their social environments" (p.25). As top migrant destination countries in the Americas with distinct orientations towards diversity, Costa Rica and the United States had similarities and differences that made them appropriate contexts for comparison. Using qualitative methods allowed me to obtain the first-hand experience and investment over time to develop a deep understanding of each setting's discourses and of the participants' everyday constructions of citizenship and language. As a vertical case study (Vavrus & Bartlett, 2006), this research has a "concomitant commitment to micro-level understanding and macro-level analysis. It strives to situate local action and interpretation within a broader cultural, historical, and political investigation" (p. 96). In this chapter, I provide a description of the setting, research sites, participants, data collection methods, and analysis methods.

National Contexts

Separated by roughly 1500 miles, Costa Rica and the United States have similarities and differences that illuminate the challenges and possibilities of particular geopolitical contexts for the development of civic and linguistic skills necessary in multicultural school settings (See Table 1 and Table 2). They are both stable democracies

with strong economies and development indicators. They are also top migrant destination countries with a history of colonization.

Table 1. Contextual Considerations

Context	Costa Rica	The United States
Historical	Spanish colonialism	English and other European settlers; slavery
Sociocultural	Official religion: Roman Catholic; official language: Spanish.	No official religion. Over 300 religious denominations. No official language.
Political	Democratic Republic	Democratic Federal Republic
Economic	Developing nation	Highly technologically developed nation
Organization of Schooling	Centralized	Decentralized
Education Assessment	High stakes testing in 6th and 11th grades.	High stakes testing; grade levels depend on the state/test.

Sources: CIA World Factbook, 2013a, 2013b; Gutek, 2006.

Table 2. Country Demographics

Feature	Costa Rica	The United States
Location	Central America	North America
Area	51,100 sq km	9.8 million sq km
Population	4,755,234 (2014 est.)	318,892,103 (2014 est.)
Linguistic Diversity	10 languages	226 languages
Religious Denominations	5+	300+
Immigration Statistics	8.6 %	14.3%
Literacy Rate	96%	99%
GDP	$12,500 (2012)	$51,700 (2012)
Education Expenditure	8% GDP (2011)	5.4% of GDP (2010)

Sources: CIA World Factbook, 2013a, 2013b; Asamblea Legislativa de la República de Costa Rica, 2011; International Organization for Migration, 2013a; 2013b; Lewis, Simons, & Fening, 2013a, 2013b; The Pew Forum, 2008; The World Bank (2014).

Nested in the heart of Central America, Costa Rica is one of the smallest countries in the region. With a population of a little over 4.5 million people, at least 80% of the Costa Ricans are Roman Catholic, and speak Spanish, the official language (CIA

Factbook, 2013a). Although demographics about Costa Rica often portray its population as "white," Costa Ricans are people of many races, ethnicities, and languages (see CIA Factbook, 2013a; Lewis, Simons, & Fening, 2013a). A country without an army, Costa Rica has enjoyed long periods of peace with little, if any, international conflict. This political stability, coupled with a thriving tourist industry and increasing investment of foreign technology firms makes Costa Rica one of the strongest economies in the Latin American region (World Bank, 2011).

An exponentially larger country in territory and population, the United States is formed by people of many different races and ethnicities. People in the United States speak over 245 languages (Lewis, Simons, & Fening, 2013b) and belong to over 300 religious denominations (The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, 2008). With a literacy rate of 99% (The World Factbook, 2013b), the United States ranks at the top of many of the development indicators established by international organizations (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2012), playing a prominent role in many of them. Described as a "highly technologically developed nation" (Gutek, 2006. p. 161), the United States has a strong, diversified, capitalist, and market-oriented economy.

Structure of schooling. According to the World Bank (2011), basic education indicators in Costa Rica, such as universal primary education, rank above regional median indicators. World Bank (2011) reports also indicate that the education gender gap in primary education is almost closed. As in much of Latin America, the contemporary Costa Rican education system was originally created and controlled by the Catholic Church. Mission schools acted as centers of indoctrination of the indigenous and mestizo

populace into the Spanish language, religion, and system of production. With a literacy rate of 96% (World Bank, 2014), contemporary public education in Costa Rica consists of a centralized system overviewing two years of preschool, six years of primary school, either a five-year academic high school track or a six-year technical track, and higher education. As of 2012, the Costa Rican government investment in education reached 7% of its GDP, the highest in the history of the country (Costa Rican Ministry of Education, 2012). Currently, privatization trends have resulted in a proliferation of private institutions at all levels of instruction. Overall, private primary and secondary education enjoys more prestige than private higher education; foreign degrees are also highly regarded.

Unlike the education system in Costa Rica, the school system in the United States is highly decentralized, with federal, state, and local governments regulating and funding schools. Funding comes particularly from property taxes at the state and local levels (Gutek, 2006). As in Costa Rica, mission schools and a colonial education model emerged in the 1500s in the territory that became the United States. In the following centuries, slavery, particularly in the Southern United States, hindered the African population from formal access to schooling. After independence, the common school movement in the 1800s set the foundations for the current public education system. Today, most students in the United States go through various years of preschool, five years of elementary school, three years of middle school, and four years of high school. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2012), around 70 percent of the individuals who complete high school also pursue higher education.

Immigration patterns. Costa Rica and the United States exemplify nations experiencing high immigration today. Long democratic traditions and economic and political stability in both countries have attracted immigrants from neighboring and far-away places. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2013a) reports that immigrants to Costa Rica in 2010 constituted 8.6 percent of the total population. Costa Rica is one of the top destination countries for migrants in Central America, particularly for Nicaraguan migrants, who in 2000 constituted around 76.4 percent of the total foreign-born population (Castro, 2011). In fact, migration flows from Nicaragua to Costa Rica are "one of the most important south-south flows in the [Central American] region" (IOM, 2013c, para. 7). These migration flows have been caused by political and economic unrest in Central America and are aggravated by a long history of disputes about the Costa Rican-Nicaraguan border that date back to the colonial years, and that have recently resurfaced. In addition, the United States Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (USCRI) (2009a) reports that "Costa Rica hosted around 11,900 recognized refugees during 2008, 9,900 of them Colombian" (para 1.).

In the United States, massive immigration waves from various parts of the world have taken place throughout history. Today, the United States stands out as the country with "the largest number of international migrants in the world" (IOM, 2013b, para. 1). The United States is also the country that admits the highest number of refugees for resettlement world-wide (USCRI, 2009b). In 2011 alone, the United States admitted 56,384 refugees and 1,062,040 residents (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2011). The United States Census Bureau (2012) estimates that in 2010 the number of foreign-

born individuals in the country was nearly 40 million people, around 12.9% of the total population.

Research Sites

The schools in this study were not representative of schools in each country. However, they reflected social phenomena in the rise in each nation: the growing number of immigrant and/or refugee children in public schools. I purposefully selected one public elementary school in each country that enrolled both immigrant and nonimmigrant students. Both schools were located in areas with large concentrations of immigrants and/or refugees. I conducted the data collection process according to Emory University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) procedures for social sciences research and received IRB approval to conduct research in both schools. I contacted the principal in each school to discuss my research and to request written approval to conduct the study in his school. I invited each principal to nominate a classroom or teacher that would be appropriate, available, and willing to participate. Then, I contacted the teachers to invite them to be part of the study. After that, I visited each class to explain my study. I discussed the research procedures with the children and sent home information handouts outlining what I had talked about. A week later I sent home parental permission forms. I then went over the student assent forms with those students whose parents gave consent. In order to protect the participants' identity, I used pseudonyms for both schools and for all students, teachers, and informants.

Escuela Montaña Verde. Escuela Montana Verde (EMV; pseudonym) was an urban public school located in Costa Rica's Central Region, in what is known as the Gran Area Metropolitana, in one of the counties with the largest concentration of Nicaraguan

immigrants in the country (Castro Valverde, 2002, p. 21). EMV was founded in the early 1900s and was located in the heart of the city, with businesses and traffic buzzing around it. The school functioned with what is called an "horario alterno" or "alternating schedule" in which children in grades 4, 5, and 6 (II Ciclo de Educación General Básica) attended school from 12:30 pm to 5:40 pm on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and from 7:00 am to 12:10 pm on Tuesdays and Thursdays (whereas children in grades 1, 2, and 3, or the I Ciclo de Educación General Básica, attended school from 7:00 am to 12:00 pm on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and from 12:30 pm to 5:40 pm on Tuesdays and Thursdays). In addition to serving children from first to sixth grade, the school also housed a kindergarten program. The school facilities included a computer laboratory, a library, a cafeteria, and a courtyard.

The school enrolled children from various neighboring areas, a significant number of which came from La Quebrada (pseudonym), a grouping of various communities located in a nearby district and also one of the largest *precarios* [shantytowns] in the country. Neither the *Ministerio de Educación Pública* [Ministry of Education] (MEP) nor EMV had statistics on the national background of children in the school at the time of my research there (Leitón Aguilar, personal communication, 2013). I did have anecdotal evidence from the teachers that many of the children who attended the school were immigrant children or children from binational households who faced great economic needs. The teachers at EMV reported that many of the parents in La Quebrada sent their children to EMV to avoid enrolling them in their local school, which was perceived as having fewer resources and being less rigorous. EMV had a free breakfast and lunch program.

Costa Rica has a centralized school system led by the Ministerio de Educación Pública (MEP). The MEP is the entity in charge of policy and curriculum development for all public schools in the country. EMV followed the MEP's curricular recommendations/mandates. The children received the following number of lessons each week for particular subjects: Spanish (9), Religion (2), Farming (2), Science (4), Computer Science (2), English (4), Social Studies (4), and Mathematics (7) classes; for a total of 35 lessons per week (see Table 3). They were also supposed to have Arts, Music, and Physical Education (P.E.) in what they called *fuera de horario* [outside schedule] but during the time that I was there, they did not have "outside" lessons at all due to scheduling conflicts. Each class period was 40 minutes, and the children had 15, 10, and 5 minute breaks throughout the school day.

Multiple teachers taught the class. *Profe* [short for professor] Pamela taught Spanish and Social Studies, whereas Profe Hania taught Science and Mathematics. The students had other teachers for Religion class and for English class. Because the school did not have green areas to teach Farming, Profe Hania used two designated class periods for Science. Children at EMV received all classes in their homeroom classroom, and teachers were the ones who came to the students' room—except for special classes like music and arts, for which students had to go to another classroom. Profe Pamela was the children's homeroom teacher.

River Song Elementary. The school in the United States, River Song Elementary (RSE; pseudonym) is a public charter international school located in one of the largest refugee resettlement areas in the country, in a large metropolitan area in the Southeast. I was a volunteer at RSE for over one year before collecting data there. The school was

created in the mid 1990s and was located in the grounds of a church, with the infrastructure being composed of a main building, housing the administrative offices, library, music, arts, and grades K-3, another building housing the cafeteria (which doubled as a gymnasium), and adjacent trailers, housing language classrooms and grades 4 to 5. According to school materials, two thirds of the students at RSE lived at or below the poverty level and almost 50% of the student body was made up of children who were immigrants or refugees. The students came from around 40 different countries and spoke up to 25 languages (School printed material, 2010).

Table 3. Classroom Schedule at EMV

Class Period	Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
1	7-7:40		Science		Spanish	
2	7:40-8:20		Science		Spanish	
recess	8:20-8:35					
3	8:35-9:15		English		Social St.	
4	9:15-9:55		English		Social St.	
recess	9:55-10:05					
5	10:05-10:45		Computer		English	
6	10:45-11:25		Computer		Spanish	
recess	11:25-11:30					
7	11:30-12:10		Spanish		Math	
1	12:30-1:10	Spanish		Social St.	Arts	Science
2	1:10-1:50	Spanish		Social St.	Arts	Science
Recess	1:50-2:05					
3	2:05-2:45	Religion		Spanish	Music	Math
4	2:45-3:25	Religion		Spanish	Music	Math
Recess	3:25-3:35					
5	3:35-4:05	English		English		Math
6	4:05-4:55	Farming		Math		Math
Recess	4:55-5:00					
7	5:00-5:50	Farming		Math		Spanish

RSE followed the education standards required by the state but also the curricular guidelines established by the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO) Primary Years Programme (2000, 2009). The children attended RSE every day from 8:00 am to 2:00 pm, but some children stayed until 5:00 pm in the afterschool program. RSE also had a free breakfast and lunch program. The children received Social Studies, Mathematics, and English Language Arts in their classroom with Mr. Williams, their homeroom teacher. The children had a total of nine class periods a day and two fifteen-minute recesses. Class periods at RSE were not uniform. Every day, the children received 55 minutes of mathematics, 45 minutes of special subjects such as music, physical education, arts, and media center, 90 minutes of literacy, 15 minutes of "Drop Everything And Read" (DEAR), 50 minutes of social studies, and 45 minutes of language (either French, Spanish, or ESOL) (see Table 4). Sometimes, Ms. Selma, a paraprofessional or teacher's aide, would assist Mr. Williams in the classroom. The children had music, arts, media center, and physical education classes once a day in a weekly rotation. For these classes, the children went to the corresponding classroom.

Participants

Within both schools, I purposefully selected a fourth grade class because students in middle childhood, and more specifically fourth grade students, are at a crucial age in which awareness of social and global issues increase (Huston & Ripke, 2006). Children in middle childhood are also able to discern among different national groups and the physical, ethnic, and political characteristics these groups exhibit (Barrett, Wilson, & Lyons, 2006).

Table 4. Classroom Schedule at RSE

Class Period	Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
Carpool	7:40-8:10					
1	8:10-8:20	Setting up	Setting up	Setting up	Setting up	Setting up
2	8:20-9:15	Math	Math	Math	Math	Math
3	9:20-10:05*	Physical Education	Arts	Media Center	Music	Physical Education
Recess	10:05-10:20					
5	10:25-11:55	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy	Literacy
Lunch	12:00-12:30					
Recess	12:30-12:45					
7	12:50-1:05	DEAR/ Math	DEAR/ Math	DEAR/ Math	DEAR/ Math	DEAR/ Math
8	1:05-1:55	Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies	Social Studies
9	2:00-3:45	Languages	Languages	Languages	Languages	Languages

*The subjects on this class period were taught according to a rotating weekly schedule.

At EMV I worked in Profe Pamela's classroom. Profe Pamela was a woman in her late 30s who had recently been hired to work at EMV, but who previously taught in rural schools for about three years. Twelve students out of 22 students in the class participated in the study. The participating children at EMV came from Nicaragua and Costa Rica, and many of them lived in binational households and communities (Table 5). Two of the children were Nicaraguan immigrants. Four of the children were Costa Rican-born children that came from families with one or two of their parents from Nicaragua. The remaining seven children identified themselves and their parents as Costa Rican.

At RSE, the principal suggested that I work with Mr. Williams' (pseudonym) fourth grade class. Mr. Williams was an African American man in his mid-30s, who had worked at the school for almost ten years. Twelve of the 17 students in Mr. Williams'

class participated in this study. The children at RSE came from a variety of cultural, linguistic, and national backgrounds (Table 6).

Table 5. Participating Students at Escuela Montaña Verde

Child	Child's Country of Origin	Child's National Identification	Parents' Country of Origin	
			Mother	Father
Ruben	Nicaragua	Nicaraguan	Nicaragua	Nicaragua
Fabio	Nicaragua	Nicaraguan	Nicaragua	Nicaragua
Tomas	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Nicaragua	Nicaragua
Yolanda	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Nicaragua	Nicaragua
Ivan	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Costa Rica	Nicaragua
Ernesto	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Nicaragua	Costa Rica
Santiago	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Costa Rica	Costa Rica
Manuel	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Costa Rica	Costa Rica
Julieta	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Costa Rica	Costa Rica
Isaac	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Costa Rica	Costa Rica
Julian	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Costa Rica	Costa Rica
Eduardo	Costa Rica	Costa Rican	Costa Rica	Costa Rica

Table 6. Participating Students at River Song Elementary

Child	Child's Country of Origin	Child's National Identification	Parents' Country of Origin	
			Mother	Father
Ahmed	The United States	The United States	Somalia	Kenya
Ahn	Myanmar	Burma *	Myanmar	Myanmar
Ameerah	The United States	The United States-Somalia	Somalia	Somalia
April	The United States	The United States	The United States	The United States
Emma	The United States	The United States	The United States	The United States
David	The United States	The United States	The United States	The United States
Helima	Iraq	Kurdistan**	Iraq	Iraq
Irina	Russia	Russia	The United States***	The United States***
Izza	The United States	The United States-Senegal	Senegal	n/a
John	The United States	The United States	The United States	The United States
Khari	The United States	The United States	Sierra Leone	Sierra Leone
Latisha	The United States	The United States-Ethiopia	The United States	The United States

* Myanmar was formerly named Burma. Ahn indicated a preference for the name Burma and identified as Burmese.

**Kurdistan is a geo-cultural region including portions of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Armenia and Syria. Iraqi Kurdistan, where Helima was from, is considered an autonomous region of Iraq that has its own self-governing body and constitution. Kurdish people in Iraq have a distinct national identity based on their Kurdish culture, religion, and language.

***This information refers to Irina's adoptive parents, not to her birth parents.

Two of the children at RSE were refugee children, four of the children were children of refugees, five of the children were local children, and one of the children had come to the United States through international adoption. Most of the students had known each other since kindergarten, except for David, who came at the beginning of fourth grade, and April, who joined them in the second semester of fourth grade.

Data Sources

According to Rubin and Rubin (2005), "naturalistic, qualitative social researchers gather information by observing and by talking with and listening carefully to the people who are being researched" (p.2). For that reason, I collected the data using documents, participant observation, focus groups, and interviews. The relationship among the research questions, data sources, data collection methods, and data analysis methods are highlighted in Table 7.

Documents. The documents that I examined consisted of education policy, education programs, and civic education curricula enforced by each government administration at the time of my research. In Figures 3 and 4, I list the documents that I analysed. I complemented these texts by consulting the work of scholars and organizations studying the educational access and quality of various ethnocultural groups in each country.

It is imperative to highlight that the two sets of documents presented important differences. First of all, because Costa Rica has a centralized education system, all education policy and curriculum decisions are made at the national level. As a result, the documents that I selected had all been drafted by the Costa

Rican Ministry of Education, or Ministerio de Educación Publica, (MEP) and all schools in the country were required to implement them.

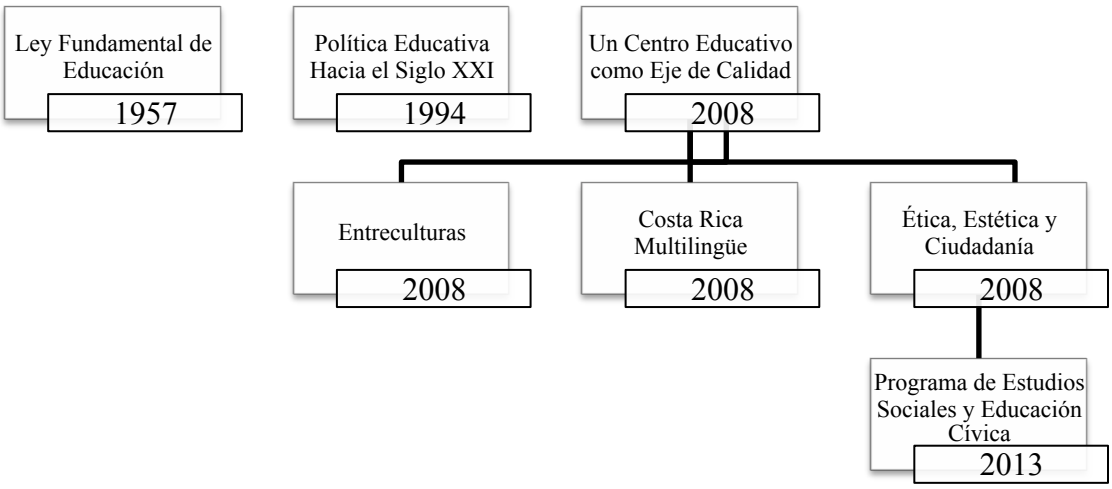
Table 7. Methodology

Research Questions	**Data Sources**	**Data Collection Methods**	**Data Analysis Methods**
How do the children and their teachers understand citizenship and language?	Fieldnotes, researcher journal, teachers, students	Focus groups, semi-structured student interviews, semi-structured teacher interviews, observations	Grounded Theory, Critical Sociocultural Analysis,
How do children and their teachers perform citizenship and language in their interactions with each other?	Classroom, recess, and lunch observation fieldnotes, students, teachers, researcher journal	Focus groups, semi-structured student interviews, semi-structured teacher interviews, observations	Grounded Theory, Critical Sociocultural Analysis
What are the narratives about citizenship and language that permeated the classroom?	School websites, community websites, Costa Rican Ministry of Education website, and U.S. Department of Education websites, curriculum guides, standards, textbooks in use, school curricula, education policy documents, school materials (visuals and others displayed on school grounds).	Online searches, archival work, school and classroom observations	Statal narratives, critical discourse analysis
How do children and teachers respond to these narratives in their everyday lives at school?	Classroom, recess, and lunch observation fieldnotes, students, teachers, researcher journal	Focus groups, semi-structured student interviews, semi-structured teacher interviews, observations	Grounded Theory, Critical Sociocultural Analysis

The United States, on the other hand, has a decentralized education system in which the role of the federal government is limited, with state and local

governments bearing most responsibility and authority on education matters (Gutek, 2006). Because of this, the documents for the United States case represent national, state, and local levels of policy making. They also represent the influence of professional organizations, such as the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), and consortiums, like the World-Class Instructional Design and Assessment (WIDA) for English Language Learners (ELLs), which make voluntary recommendations.

Figure 3. Documents Costa Rican Case



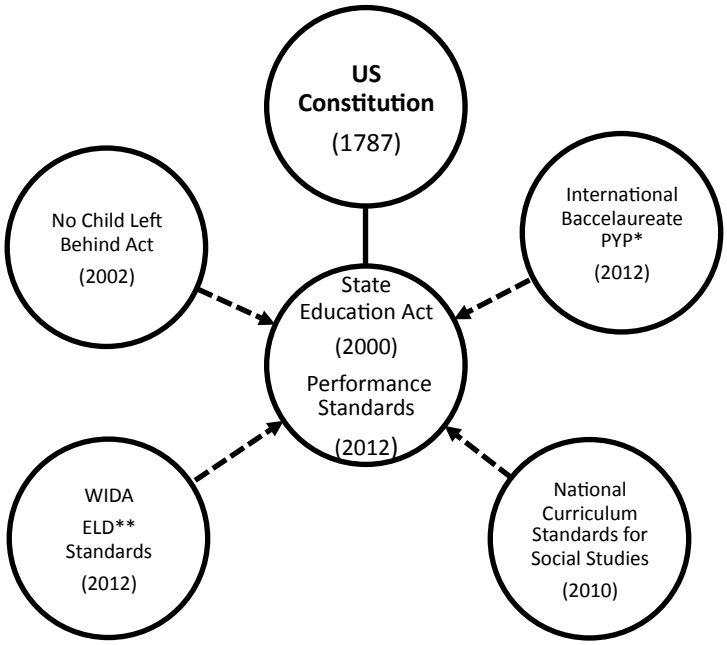
Another important difference is that at the time of my fieldwork, the Costa Rican government still had in effect educational policies that had been created during the early 1940s and 1950s and which were built on but not replaced by newer policies.

In the case of the United States, education policies (like the Elementary and Secondary Education Act) are reauthorized by drafting new documents which are

meant to substitute previous versions (such as the No Child Left Behind Act). That meant that most of the documents for the United States case were newer documents, primarily drafted in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Finally, in both Costa Rica and the United States, children in elementary school study citizenship and civics in the social studies class and not as a stand-alone subject. In the United States, individual states write their own social studies standards which are often modeled on the standards created by national organizations like the National Council of Social Studies (NCSS). In Costa Rica, schools follow the guidelines in the *Programa de Estudios Sociales y Educación Cívica* [Social Studies and Civic Education Program] drafted by the Ministry of Education.

Figure 4. Documents United States Case



* Primary Years Programme (PYP)
** English Language Development (ELD)

Fieldnotes. As a participant observer, I took "part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events" of each group of students (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011, p. 1). I took notes of naturally occurring speech and overall student interactions during high priority times such as class time, recess, and lunch time. During class time, I sat in the class observing the students during their lessons (see Appendix A for observation rubric). Sometimes, I took the initiative to walk around the class helping the children. Other times, their teacher asked me to help with a particular task or group of children. During lunch and recess, I talked to the students while eating or playing with them. I followed my observations with reflective memos containing comments on observed interactions.

At EMV the school year had three quarters. I conducted fieldwork during the first quarter and part of the second quarter of 2013, from February to late June. I had originally planned to conduct ethnographic observations three days a week. However, because of the alternating schedule and constant scheduling changes and cancellations at EMV, there were weeks in which I documented class sessions on an everyday basis. At the end of the data collection process, I had a total of 42 fieldnotes over a period of 13 weeks, averaging 11 hours of observations per week. At EMV, I observed Social Studies, Spanish, Science, English, and Religion classes, as well as recess and lunch.

At RSE the school year was divided into two semesters. The first semester ran from August to December, and the second ran from January to May. I collected data at RSE during the second semester of the 2011-2012 academic year. I conducted ethnographic observations and documented class sessions in writing from mid-February to the end of May of 2012, for a total of 12 weeks of fieldwork and generating 34 days of fieldnotes overall and averaging 12 hours of observations per week. At RSE, in addition

to recess and lunch, I observed the following classes: mathematics, social studies, "specials" like music, art, and physical education, foreign language classes (Spanish and French), and English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) classes. In the case of languages, because they were all taught at the same time by five different teachers, I took turns observing one language class per week.

Focus groups. Focus groups "seek both to capitalize on the ways that cultural categories, values, and social relations become apparent through conversation and interaction and to control that knowledge production by maintaining a central topical focus and defining a foreshortened period for discussion" (Kratz, 2010, p. 806). In each school, I conducted three focus groups with four students in each group. The specific life journeys of the children in the study made them particularly vulnerable to discussing their own personal stories about status, belonging, and participation in front of their peers. Thus, I prepared a focus group interview protocol drawing from other studies that have used imaginative response to engage children in research activities (Carrington & Short 1995; Krott & Nicoladis 2005; Waldron & Pike 2006).

I based the focus group protocol on Krott and Nicoladis' (2005) Alien Puppet Interview (API) study. In their study, Krott and Nicoladis introduced children age three to nine to a puppet named Mork. They explained "that Mork came from another planet, that he did not speak English very well and that he was interested in why we used some words" (p. 143). The children were asked to explain 25 noun-noun compound words to Mork. In my adaptation of the API, I introduced the students to a character named "Bubbly," or "Burbujeante" in Spanish, a visitor from another region of the universe and unfamiliar with Earth. The protocol questions (see Appendix B) prompted the children to

discuss possible scenarios if Bubbly came to live in the United States. For example, “Can you explain to Bubbly what the word *nationality* means?” “Would Bubbly be a citizen, immigrant, or something else?” In my questions, I made sure to steer away from vocabulary that could construct the children in negative ways or that could be associated with an anti-immigrant rhetoric.

I used a digital voice recorder to record the focus group interviews, which focused on children’s ideas about citizenship, immigration, language, and conflict. I completed contact summary forms and reflective memos for each focus group. At the teacher’s request, we assigned students to each focus group based on which students had finished their work at the time. This meant that I was not able to select the groupings based on previously designated criteria. The focus groups took place in nearby classrooms and play areas that were not in use at the time. I recorded and transcribed the children’s responses. I also completed contact summary forms and reflective memos for each focus group.

Individual interviews. As a participant observer following Rubin and Rubin’s (2005) guidelines for responsive interviewing, I frequently interacted with the teacher and the students and asked them questions about their behavior. In responsive interviewing, “the researcher [responds] to and [asks] questions about what he or she hears from the interviewees rather than relying on predetermined questions” (p. viii). I also conducted individual interviews with each child. The purpose of the interviews was to have a more in-depth look at students’ family background, civic funds of knowledge, and collective civic experiences at school. As with the focus groups, I used an interview protocol (see Appendix C for student interview protocol and Appendix D for teacher interview

protocol) and a digital voice recorder to record the interviews. As with the focus groups, I completed contact summary forms and reflective memos for each student interview. Although I had initially planned on interviewing both homeroom teachers, Mr. Williams, the teacher at RSE, was not able to participate in the interview due to personal circumstances.

Researcher's log. I kept a log where I noted my interpretations, feelings, and thoughts about the phenomena that I observed. This added an element to the triangulation of data sources and helped to avoid researcher bias during the data collection process and in the interpretation of the findings. The log was also a space to maintain records of important contextual information, such as current policies and events.

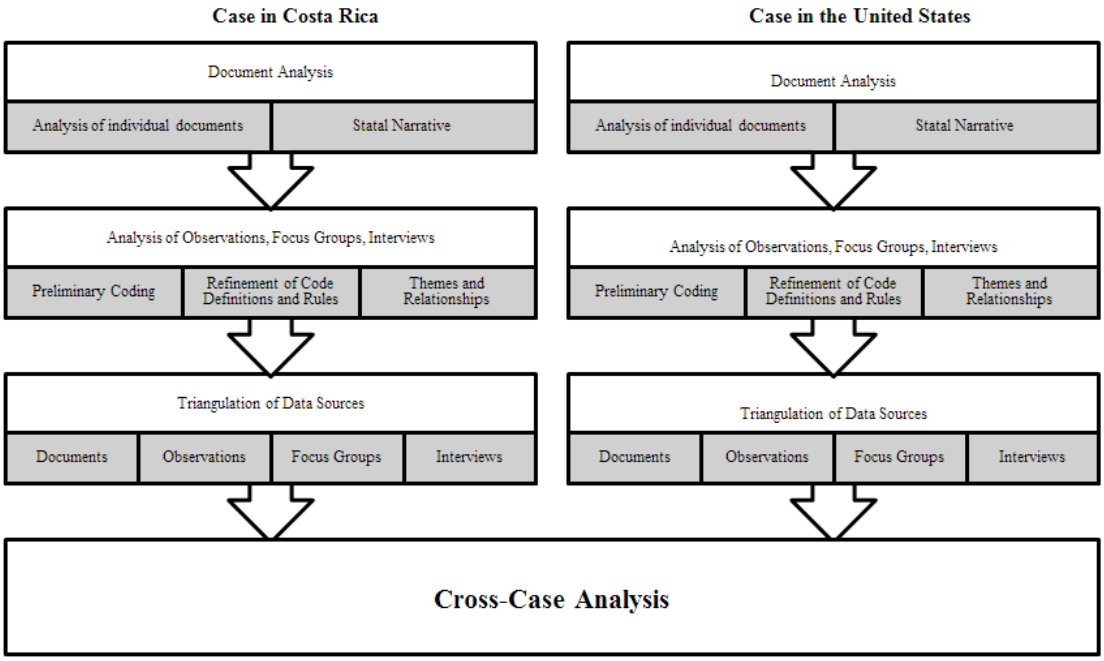
Data Analysis

For data analysis, I used content analysis, constructivist grounded theory, and triangulation. I analyzed the information that I gathered for each data source, one country at a time, triangulating the data across the sources for each country. Then, I compared the information for the two countries. A graphic representation of the data analysis process is included as Figure 5.

Content analysis. For the analysis of the documents, I conducted what is commonly referred to as "content analysis," or a form of discourse analysis that focuses on "themes and messages" rather than on "the details of grammar and how they function in communication" (Gee, 2011a, p. 205). I created document summary sheets in which I included basic bibliographical information and a content summary for each document. Then, I imported the documents into MAXQDA. First, I coded the documents, refined those codes, and developed categories, comparing them across documents. Second, I

wrote memos about the main linguistic characteristics, context, social practices, figured worlds, situated meanings, and discourses that emerged in each text, and their relationship to citizenship (Gee, 2011b). After that, I identified the main codes and categories in the memos and compared them to the first set of categories. I used the themes that emerged in this comparison along with Bokhorst-Heng's (2007) levels of analysis (national identity, power relations, and relationship between ideology and practice) (Table 8) to draft each country's statal narratives.

Figure 5. Data Analysis Process



Constructivist grounded theory. For the analysis of the fieldnotes, focus group transcripts, and interview transcripts, I used Constructivist Grounded Theory (Charmaz, 2006). Instead of using pre-existing categories to analyze the data, I set out to identify patterns and themes that emerged in the participants' responses and behaviors. I exported

the fieldnotes, focus groups transcripts, and interview transcripts to the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA. First, I read the documents and transcripts carefully to identify the main linguistic characteristics, context, social practices, situated meanings, and discourses that emerged in each text. Then, I assigned codes to each segment of meaning and through constant comparison among the codes, I refined them and developed categories. Through further revision and comparison of the categories, and by recording my observations and analysis in writing via memos, I identified themes that coincided across data sources.

Table 8. Analysis of Statal Narratives

Focus of Analysis	**Questions Guiding Document Analysis**
National Identity	What is it that [policy makers] regard as the ideal conceptualization of the nation and its citizenry? How do its diversity narratives work with this identity?
Power Relations	How does this statal narrative reproduce the power structures within the nation?
Relationship between Ideology and Practice	What does education do to reproduce the narrative and induct new citizens into the statal narrative?

Adapted from Bokhorst-Heng, 2007, p. 633.

Triangulation. Gee (2011b) explains that validity for discourse analysis must be based on the elements of convergence, agreement, coverage, and linguistic details. He argues that if the different analytic tools offer "compatible and convincing answers" (Gee 2011b, p. 185), if other researchers support the conclusions of the analysis, if the conclusions of the analysis can be applied to other kinds of related data, and if the analysis is "tied tightly to details of linguistic structure," (Gee 2011b, p. 186) the analysis is very likely to be valid and reliable. After the analysis, I checked to evaluate the extent to which the themes I found converged and agreed across documents. I also checked

whether my findings coincided with the findings of the researchers in the literature review and provided examples that connected the linguistic characteristics of the text to my interpretations. In order to establish the trustworthiness of the findings in fieldnotes, focus groups, and interviews, I collected data from a variety of sources across a range of settings, provided thick descriptions of the methods and interpretation, and performed data quality checks. In addition, I triangulated emerging themes across data sources and linked data and findings to theory.

Researcher's positionality. According to Fetterman (2010), in naturalistic research the researcher can be thought of as a human instrument. In my case, experiences as a teacher of English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) and as a recently arrived immigrant to the United States informed the way in which I approached this study as well as my interpretation of the findings. I also had a unique position in the class as an outsider (researcher-other) but also as an insider (immigrant-student), which functioned as a dual lens through which to examine the data.

I was born and raised in Costa Rica, but moved to the United States in 2004. Moving to the United States, I had to go through different stages to become acquainted and comfortable with my new surroundings. I had to learn to navigate complex social and linguistic spaces that were influenced by historical tensions and events different from Costa Rica's. As a language learner and immigrant myself, I connected with my students and related to many of the struggles that they had to go through—especially when it came to social interactions. As an ESOL teacher, I noticed that the students in my class, who came from many different countries, learned important albeit "hidden" lessons about diversity, language, and citizenship from their interactions with peers from countries

other than their own. It was then that I became motivated to learn more about the ways in which children in classrooms like mine construct cultural, linguistic, and civic spaces. It is my experience that children in schools constantly engage in powerful interactions with peers and teachers that influence their potential to build democratic multicultural societies.

A Note on Translation, Terminology, and Conventions

All of the children at EMV spoke Spanish as their native language, and so did I. I translated the protocol for the focus groups and interviews into Spanish from the English version that I had prepared for RSE. Once I had translated the protocols from English to Spanish, I reached out to a translator to produce a back-translation of the text (from Spanish to English) to ensure accuracy of meaning. Parental consent and student assent documents were also translated in this way. I conducted the focus groups and interviews in Spanish and the children responded using Spanish as well. The texts of the transcripts were also in Spanish.

For this dissertation, I have translated the responses of the children and teacher at EMV into English. I refer to the original Spanish terms in cases where I used them as *in vivo* codes or when their meaning does not accurately translate into English. In those cases, I first provide the Spanish word in italics and the English translation in brackets. In cases where the Spanish term is presented multiple times, I provide the translation only once per chapter, the first time the word appears in the text. When I presented a Spanish word or phrase in a title or subtitle, I placed the translation as a footnote and not within the text. All translations are the mine except where otherwise noted.

The terminology that I use throughout chapter 6 is consistent with García's (2009a) position about the complexity of bilingualism. When possible, I avoid the terms "home," "first," or "second" language (except when quoting from or referring to a source) and use the term "children's language(s)" instead, which denotes the children's ownership of their linguistic systems and avoids linguistic impositions and hierarchies. I also use the term "emergent bilinguals" rather than "Limited English Proficient" (LEP) and favor the term "bilingual" or "multilingual" learner over "English Language Learner" (ELL). Overall, I have attempted to use vocabulary that emphasizes the assets of the students' in the study and that rejects notions of linguistic deficit associated with immigrant and refugee students.

Finally, throughout the dissertation, I include participants' voices from both EMV and RSE. I cite their words by presenting the participant's pseudonym and the information for the data source. For focus groups I use FG; for individual interviews, II; and for fieldnotes, FN. Following the data source, I included the date and, after a colon, the line number from the corresponding transcript in which the information was located.

In the following chapters, weaving in contextual considerations and participants' voices, I discuss the main themes that emerged from my data analysis. In Chapter Four, I start with a discussion of the diversity paradigm, statal narratives, and educational climate that I identified in each country during the document analysis and fieldwork. In Chapter Five and Chapter Six, I illustrate the various expressions of citizenship and language that the students and teachers communicated in the focus groups, interviews, and observations. Through students' and teacher's voices, I share insights into the participants' civic and linguistic experiences in multicultural contexts. Grounded in this

knowledge, in Chapter Seven, I examine how the findings inform my research questions, unveiling lessons for the fields of comparative, multicultural, citizenship, and language education. I discuss the various implications of these findings and suggest future directions for theory, research, policy, and practice.

Chapter Four: *Extranjero*[1] and Immigrant, National Narratives of Difference

During the focus groups and interviews, the children at EMV were prompt to point out that they used the word *extranjero* [foreigner] rather than the word *inmigrante* [immigrant]. The word inmigrante is hardly ever used in popular contexts, although it might be used in official education documents and circles. At RSE the children used the word *immigrant*, although some children referred to the word *refugee*. This choice of words reflected each country's narratives about difference. In Spanish, extranjero (2013a) means someone from another country or from a country that is not one's own. Inmigrante (2013b) means someone who arrives in another country to settle and reside in it. Semantically, the word extranjero defines a person in terms of what the individual is not, as an outsider or "other," whereas the word inmigrante, highlights movement and incorporation into a new country. The words *foreigner* and *immigrant* have similar connotations in English.

The preference of the children at EMV to use the word *extranjero* over *inmigrante* was a semantic choice that echoed larger narratives, as was the preference of children at RSE to use the word *immigrant*. In this chapter, I explain how the particular orientations to difference reflected in this choice of words were not specific to EMV and RSE, but were embedded in historical and contemporary narratives at the national level—and were perpetuated and contested in education policy and curriculum in each country. In this chapter, I address each country's context separately, interweaving information from the document analysis and fieldnotes.

[1] "Foreigner"

The Myth of Costa Rican Exceptionality

Costa Rica has been known internationally as the most stable Central American democracy. In contrast to other countries in Central America, Costa Rica has often been described in the scholarly and popular literature as a country of racial, democratic, and educational exceptionality. These descriptions reflect a "national imaginary" in which Costa Rica is exalted as a white, egalitarian, and literate country (Sandoval Garcia, 2004), disguising, minimizing, and/or erasing the history, struggles, and contributions of ethnocultural groups (Quesada Camacho, 2001). At the margin of this narrative, immigrants have consistently been perceived as threats and even "forbidden by law" (Sandoval García, 2004, p. 85).

Scholars M. Biesanz, R. Biesanz, and K. Biesanz (1999) explain that during colonial times, upon the arrival of Spanish conquerors in Costa Rican territory, "interracial mixing was increasingly rapid" (p. 97). They state that "biological amalgamation and cultural assimilation were not, however, accompanied by residential and social mixing" (p.98). The elite continued to look up to Europe. Because non-European features were not desirable, the elites propagated the belief of a nation characterized by homogenous whiteness. As time went by, racial distinctions in this national imaginary were blurred and class took center stage. Nevertheless, as Biesanz et al. (1999) state:

> Most Ticos [short for Costa Ricans] are aware of, and often overestimate, the cultural and physical differences between themselves and the most conspicuous minorities- Indians, blacks of West Indian ancestry, Nicaraguans, and Chinese.

> Although they give lip service to tolerance, many consider members of these groups not only different but also inferior. (p.110)

In the mid-20th century "the policies for attracting immigrants [to Costa Rica] were fundamentally aimed at recruiting the White population of Western Europe" (Alvarenga, 2011, p.4). In this "selective policy for immigrant groups" (Alvarenga, 2011, p. 4), European immigration was encouraged, but the immigration of African and Chinese workers was barely tolerated, with exceptions made for hard labor jobs like the building of the railroad and working in the banana plantations. Eventually, concerns with the low population growth rate, and its impact on the economic growth of the country forced the Costa Rican state to:

> "Accommodate" its immigration policy to permit the entry of "undesirable" populations… By doing this, the law established an important distinction between "distinguished foreigners" who were well received and "suspicious foreigners" who, even when accepted, needed to be kept under strict control. (Alvarenga, 2011, p. 12-13)

In the 1980s and 1990s "a new wave of foreign immigrants appeared, motivated by political violence and misery, in their majority Nicaraguans…Throughout the entire century, 'undesirable' Nicaraguan immigration has continued to dominate" (Alvarenga, 2011, p. 18). For Alvarenga (2011):

> It is difficult to determine when Costa Ricans from the Central Valley and minority groups from the Caribbean generated the first xenophobic manifestations against Nicaraguan minorities. However, the stereotypes about this ethnic group which dominated the 1990s [their violent and bellicose nature] were already quite

> generalized in the 1940s… These prejudices were even shared by workers from other marginalized ethnic minorities in the Atlantic, like the blacks and the Bribris. They categorized Nicaraguans as barbarians and extremely violent. (p.17)

Nicaragua-Costa Rica migration flows are framed by "push and pull" economic, political, and social dynamics (Locke & Ovando, 2012, p.136) and by disputes about the Costa Rican-Nicaraguan border that date back to colonial years (Sandoval García, 2004). The latest in this long line of disputes happened in October of 2010, when Costa Rica and Nicaragua became news in the international media because of a territorial dispute over Calero Island, an island on the San Juan River, on the Costa Rica-Nicaragua border. The dispute grew increasingly tense as Costa Rica, which does not have an army, alleged the presence of Nicaraguan troops and complained of environmental damage to the island. Costa Rica lodged these complaints to the Organization of American States' (OAS) International Court of Justice, the World Court for Environmental Damage, the Ramsar Committee (for protection of wetlands), and the United Nations Security Council. Even Google Maps was involved in the dispute, as Nicaraguan reports claimed it showed Calero Island belonging to Nicaragua and not to Costa Rica. In January of 2011, Nicaragua removed its troops from the disputed area and in March the International Court ordered both countries "not to station military forces or police in the disputed zone" (EFE, 2011).

In this context, Nicaraguan immigrants in Costa Rica have historically and consistently been discriminated against and othered. They have been demonized on both racial and citizenship grounds, as reflected in popular jokes and media representations. Sandoval García (2004) explains that:

> Recent processes of exclusion and racialization of Nicaraguans are related to the ways in which the Costa Rican national identity has been historically represented, through the accentuation of differences in relation to external others (neighboring nations) and internal others (indigenous people, peasants, and blacks). (p.xv)

The macro-level processes of "exclusion and racialization" and "accentuation of difference" that Sandoval García talks about were evident in my time at EMV.

No Tengo Extranjeros[2]: Deficit Perspectives and Teacher Mistrust

On my first week of fieldwork, I had various interactions with EMV staff and faculty that contextualized the social landscape in multicultural Costa Rican classrooms. During my first day at EMV, the principal was unable to meet with me because of an unforeseen commitment. We had exchanged several emails, and she had given me approval to conduct the study at EMV, but we had never met, nor had she assigned me a teacher or classroom for the study. Consequently, I found myself meeting with one of the administrative assistants,

> "What is your research about?" she inquired. "I am interested in how children in multicultural classrooms construct citizenship and language" I answered. "Why did you come to Costa Rica to do that?" She seemed serious and stern as she asked this, and the only thing I thought of saying at the time was "because I am from Costa Rica and…" Without letting me finish, she smiled and happily exclaimed "Oh! That makes sense!" Her demeanour changed immediately, becoming warm and inviting, rather than inquisitive and distrustful. Then, she enthusiastically proceeded to give me an unsolicited overview of the situation of

[2] "I don't have any foreigners"

> Nicaraguan children at EMV. She said, [at the school] "there are many full-blooded Nicaraguans …We have many really violent Nicaraguan [students]… [They are violent] because they are educated there [in Nicaragua]… but the ones who are born in Costa Rica, they eventually adapt… The mothers, who are usually single mothers, they [often] take them back to Nicaragua." (FN, 02/25/2013: 5)

Her depiction contained three common assumptions about Nicaraguans: that they are "violent," that they are not well-educated, and that they grow up in single-family homes. Her comments echoed popular perspectives of deficit and pervasive social narratives about the Nicaraguan "other" that, by comparison, exalted "native" Costa Ricans; narratives that permeated the school context.

Although the administrative assistant had identified me as an insider, feeling comfortable to share her thoughts about Nicaraguan families, the teachers at EMV did not. On the contrary, they seemed defensive and suspicious. On my second day at the school, the principal reassured me that there were a high number of Nicaraguan students enrolled in the school, "*aunque ninguno es excluido*" [although none of them are excluded] (FN, 02/26/2013), she remarked. She also said that I could work with *Profe*[3] Javier's fourth grade class. When I talked to Profe Javier, he told me that he did not have any *extranjeros* in his class.

In order to help me find a class with extranjeros, Profe Javier took me around the school asking other teachers, "*¿Usted tiene extranjeros?*" [Do you have foreigners?], or "*¿Cuantos extranjeros tiene usted*?" [How many foreigners do you have?]. I told each

[3] *Profe* is short for *professor*, a title that students and educators use to refer to teachers and professors.

teacher that I wanted to learn how children in multicultural classrooms, in particular in classrooms with immigrant students, constructed citizenship and language. Although I was hoping to identify spaces and practices of collaboration and convergence among the children at EMV, I sensed that the teachers had positioned me as a threatening outsider. They had assumed that I was looking for instances of discrimination and exclusion, and they systematically denied or played down the presence of immigrant children in their classroom, overtly emphasizing that immigrant children were not discriminated against at EMV. Almost whispering, one of the teachers said, "They are all Costa Rican [my students]…They are all *nacionales* [nationals] but some of their parents are from… you know, Nicaragua" (FN, 03/01/2013: 3). Another teacher said that she only had one immigrant student who was new, straight from Nicaragua, but that he had adapted very well, and that she did not think there were any issues in her class because all of her students were friends and interacted and knew each other well.

Finally, we reached a classroom, outside of the main courtyard area, where a teacher, Profe Pamela, reported having at least four extranjeros. Profe Javier told Profe Pamela that the principal had sent us there to see if she could help me. The teacher grew hesitant, saying things like "the year has just started;" "this is a group that is just coming together from different schools;" "I co-teach with a colleague, and I have to ask her," but in the end she looked at me and said "OK [you can do your research here]…We were all students once, and I remember teachers telling me 'no,'… and well, I might also learn something!" The teacher's responses, including Profe Pamela's initial reaction, revealed that the education of immigrant children in this Costa Rican school was an important and sensitive topic.

Interculturalidad[4]: Colonial Past and Liberatory Hope[5]

The EMV teachers' reactions were not isolated events. They took place in the context of a nation-wide education reform to infuse curriculum and pedagogy with principles of *interculturalidad* [interculturality]. At the time of my data collection, workshops were being conducted across the country to educate teachers on intercultural principles, creating an overload of new content and expectations. Although fairly unfamiliar to Costa Ricans, interculturalidad is a model of diversity that has permeated many facets of life and education in Latin American countries.

The cornerstones for interculturalidad lie in Latin America's colonial legacy. Two particular concepts, the concepts of *mestizaje* [miscegenation] and *transculturation* illustrate the centrality of continuous social cohesion, cross-cultural interaction, and hybridity that permeates descriptions of interculturalidad. Now a contested concept, mestizaje, the idea of racial mixing (Wade 2005), was championed by Latin American political leaders such as Jose Martí (1891) and José Vasconcelos (1925) as a narrative of racial unity and cooperation, becoming a marker of national identity for people in Latin America. Immortalized in art and literature, the narrative of mestizaje led political, economic, and social conventions across the region. A narrative that Miller (2004) posits "could be enlisted in the development of a regional identity that both recognized internal differences and unified Latin America in its distinction from Europe and the United States" (Introduction, Section II, para.17).

[4] Interculturalidad is the most prevalent approach to diversity in the Latin American region. See pages 12-13 for a definition.

Later, Ortiz (1940) introduced the concept of transculturation as a multidirectional process of cultural transfer, in opposition to the unidirectional idea of acculturation. The conquest and colonization of Latin America did not take place in one direction, but in the multidirectional "thousand tiny confrontations and tacit negotiations taking place in people's daily lives, always within the force field of hierarchy domination" (Chasteen, 2001, p. 74). More succinctly, Spitta (1995) explains that transculturation is "the complex process of adjustment and re-creation—cultural, literary, linguistic, and personal—that allows for new, vital, and viable configurations to arise out of the clash of cultures and the violence of colonial and neocolonial appropriations" (p. 2). Although initially used in reference to Cuban society, the idea of transculturation was expanded to the Latin American region by Rama (1982). Ideas of transculturation and hybridity have been further developed and debated by other scholars (García Canclini, 2004; Trigo, 1996).

In addition to the processes of racial and cultural mixing that took place in Latin America, interculturalidad is informed by indigenous struggles, agency, and resistance against cultural and linguistic oppression. One of the most important sites for this resistance has been the classroom. López (1997, 2009), López and Küper (1999), and López and Sapón (2011) have written extensively about the emergence and development of bilingual education initiatives across Latin America that put forth ideas and policies of interculturalidad. However, interculturalidad, either as rhetoric, public policy, or educational practice has not been the norm in all Latin American countries. Countries with smaller indigenous populations like Costa Rica, for example, have remained at the margin of discourses of interculturalidad for many years and have just recently started to

acknowledge the pluricultural and plurilingual composition of their societies (González Oviedo 2009).

Entreculturas[6]: Continuities and Discontinuities in the Costa Rican Narrative

In 2008, as part of a new education reform initiative, the Costa Rican Ministry of Education approved the project *Entreculturas* [Among Cultures], an "*estrategia de Educación Intercultural*" [strategy of intercultural education] (González, 2009, p. 31) financed by the World Bank (p. 43). In alignment with recommendations from the World Bank, this reform aimed at promoting greater decentralization of school control, creating greater alignment of national curricula with the particular sociocultural and historical realities of communities around the country, and promoting *educación intercultural* [intercultural education] that instils respect for diversity and provides tools to challenge discrimination. Regional education offices around the country suddenly became responsible for enforcing and promoting the Entreculturas vision to "exalt and strengthen the pluricultural and multiethnic character" of Costa Rican society (Ministerio de Educación Pública de Costa Rica, 2007, p. 15). Thus, from 2008 to today, interculturalidad became a key concept to contextualize contemporary understandings of citizenship and language in Costa Rican schools.

All education policy documents and curricular programs in effect during my fieldwork reflected the new emphasis on interculturalidad, but also echoed existing nation-centered discourses. In the texts, the ideal Costa Rican citizen was envisioned as a democratic and peaceful individual and the conceptualization of democracy was grounded in a human rights rhetoric. The abolition of the army in 1949, followed by the

[6] "Among cultures"

political stability of the country in times of political unrest in Central America during the Cold War, launched Costa Rica into the human rights and peace education arena. This was particularly evident after 1987, when former president Oscar Arias Sanchez received the Nobel Peace Prize for his work to end civil wars in neighboring Central American countries. According to Suárez (2008), Costa Rica was one of the few countries to address human rights in the curriculum by 1990 and to incorporate civic education as a subject in 7th to 11th grades. In the contemporary civic education curricula, human rights, studied as first, second, and third generation rights, are upheld as models for human development and nation-building.

I found the influence of interculturalidad in the Costa Rican policy and curricular documents, with a consistent emphasis on coexistence. The documents consistently defined education in ways that revolved around social values and skills and made constant references to the importance of reconciling individual and collective interests and having in mind the *bien común* [common good]. *Convivencia* [coexistence] was cited as one of the most important values and skills of a democratic citizen. Negotiation, consensus, conflict resolution, mediation, and dialogue were highlighted as instrumental skills of contemporary Costa Rican citizens, along with the skills to deliberate and problem solve.

For example, the textbook that Profe Pamela used in her social studies class, *Saber de Estudios Sociales 4*, divided the content in three trimesters (aligned with the academic school year in Costa Rica) and included convivencia as a *tema transversal* [theme incorporated across all units]. The first trimester included lessons on Costa Rican cartography, geology, and geography. The second trimester included the study of Costa

Rican geography, climate, and environmentalism. The third trimester included units on Costa Rican history, civic education, and peaceful conflict resolution. The authors of the text defined civic education as "the study of human behavior in society…the study of human relations" (Murillo & Vásquez, 2013, p. 142) and stressed that its goal was to "establish good relationships of coexistence in society" (Murillo & Vásquez, 2013, p. 142).

The text presented students with the rights and responsibilities of citizens in their family, community, and country. It mentioned *derechos* [citizen rights] such as "to have a family" and "to go to school" (Murillo & Vásquez, 2013, p. 143) and *deberes* [citizen responsibilities] like "to help with chores around the house" and "to help an elderly person to cross the street" (Murillo & Vásquez, 2013, p. 143), adding "all of these actions should be expressed with love and sincerity" (Murillo & Vásquez, 2013, p. 143). In addition, the textbook included lessons on the Costa Rican Constitution, student participation in school government, and conflict resolution. The text did not address the topic of naturalization.

The documents also showed a progression towards neoliberal values to nurture globally competitive individuals. There was consistent and growing engagement with neoliberal and globalized ideas over time. For example, with each document, I encountered more references to efficiency, competition, production, decentralization, corporate involvement, and to citizens as consumers than there were in previous documents. I also found more references to the ability of Costa Ricans to have the language and communication skills to be able to integrate themselves to the global community. In particular, in 2008, the Ministry of Education approved two decrees

declaring English learning and teaching as a matter of national interest and created the *Fundación Costa Rica Multilingüe* [Multilingual Costa Rica Foundation], an entity in charge of leading language instruction across the country. In spite of its name, *Costa Rica Multilingüe* focuses on English teaching and learning as a tool to promote an intercultural society, international understanding, access to global knowledge, access and competition in the global job market, and global exchange. Overall, the neoliberal stand of the Foundation and its initiatives are clear: the Foundation emphasizes open markets, corporate involvement in education, competition, links of education to economic models, and connecting language proficiency with economic growth and overall wellbeing.

In many of the documents there are constant references to the role of technology (e.g. video games and the internet), the media, and literacy in the construction of democratic values, attitudes, and actions. They also highlighted the role of international cooperation, international conventions, international and multilateral agreements in the development of Costa Rican society. The ability to take care of the environment and promote sustainability was also an important concept present across documents.

Although the ideal Costa Rican citizen continued to be envisioned as nation-centered, discourses seemed to be opening up to acknowledge and affirm different ethnic and global identities. In more recent texts, there was a drastic departure from the dominant narrative of white homogeneity. Contemporary narratives about diversity were based on the idea of contextualizing education. Context, particularly community, cultural, and national context, were cited as the elements that ground individuals so that they can later develop a global identification, what some call the "roots and wings" approach. This contextualization was grounded in the *cotidianeidad* [everydayness] of students' realities.

This contextualization seemed to focus on community, folklore, and situatedness of students' lives, rather than in their cultural capital. In addition, in curricular guides, there was new attention to prejudice reduction, something that did not exist before—at least not explicitly or to this level of specificity. The recent documents also emphasize learning and teaching about legislation that protects the cultural rights of individuals.

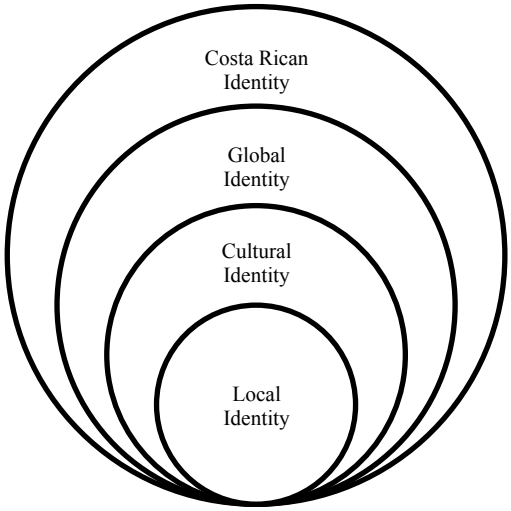
I also noticed from 2008 on the absence of the words *religion*, *spirituality*, and *Christian values*, which were often used in older documents to describe a Costa Rican citizen. Although schools across the country still offer mandatory Christian-based religious education classes for those children who identify as Catholic or Christian, the words do not longer appear as descriptors of the Costa Rican citizen in government documents. In fact, media reports indicate that religious values are currently perceived as being threatened by sexual education initiatives and by the work of Lesbian, Gay, Transgender, Bisexula, and Queer (LGTBQ) organizations across the country.

The documents emphasized the construction of one national identity. Earlier texts assumed a homogenous national community, stressing values like *amor por la patria* [love for one's homeland]. More recent documents encouraged healthy development of various identifications, a concept that resonates with Banks' (2004) work. However, the relationship among the various identities is not envisioned as Banks' (2004) well-known Venn diagram with intersecting circles for national, ethnic, and global identities, but as a stacked diagram in which various circles are embedded in a bigger one that represents the national identity (Figure 6).

La inclusividad lo es todo[7]: Teacher Infiltration and Resistance

Even though at the time of my research there had been a departure—at least rhetorically—of the statal narrative from the traditional white egalitarian discourse of Costa Rican exceptionality, in practice, the intentional implementation of intercultural principles in instructional practices had not yet taken hold. The rhetoric of interculturalidad faced implementation challenges at EMV, where it had just started to infiltrate the dominant canon. Although there were structures in place to support initiatives of interculturalidad and inclusion, the teachers indicated resistance towards the new appreciation and affirmation of diversity.

Figure 6. The Costa Rican Citizen



Whereas vocabulary of interculturalidad inundated the Costa Rican state rhetoric, at the school level, the teachers also talked about the concept of *inclusividad* [inclusion]. The school had a "Committee of Inclusion and Interculturalidad" that had been formed

[7] "Inclusion is everything"

around 2006, which was part of a collaborative effort with a state university and the Ministry of Education to work towards making the school an *escuela inclusiva* [inclusive school] by its 100th anniversary. The members of the Committee were also working with one of the state universities in creating "*una identidad instituticional inclusiva*" [an inclusive institutional identity]. In the Costa Rican context, the concept of *inclusividad* was born from and is associated with the field of special education. When I asked one of the members of the committee, Profe Luciana, what they meant by inclusividad she said, "*La inclusividad lo es todo*" [Inclusion is everything] (FN, 4/18/2013:7-13).

EMV staff implemented what they called an "integral and inclusive school model." According to school materials created by the Committee, the model was based on human rights and implemented through "inclusive practices that promote attitudes for understanding and valuing human diversity in the student body, families, faculty, and staff" (EMV, Institutional Brochure, 2013). The school's slogan was Rosa Luxemburg's quote, "for a world where we are socially equal, humanly different, and totally free." The vision of the Committee was, "to be a model of an inclusive education community in the Dirección Regional Educativa [school district] forming people who embrace principles of equality and equity to allow healthy coexistence and improvement of the quality of human life." Their mission was to "offer a well-rounded education nurtured by inclusive policies, values, and practices that answer to the needs and interests of the education community and that shapes individuals capable of building a just and harmonious society."

The Committee promoted the values of respect, understanding, brotherhood, responsibility, solidarity, and cooperation. The student profile envisioned children who,

> Know the theoretical foundations of respect and human dignity; understand and value human diversity; promote equality among individuals regardless of their gender, ethnicity, economic status, and religion, among others; are committed to defend freedom, justice, peace, cooperation, dignity, and the common good; are aware of their commitment to Costa Rica's historical roots, values, and traditions and those of the countries represented in the school community's diversity; practice respect for nature and the environment; promote the harmonious coexistence among people and the environment" (EMV, Institutional Brochure, 2013).

EMV was part of various projects that addressed the goals set forth by Entreculturas through activities for social inclusion. Profe Luciana said that the Committee had designed workshops over the years to reflect upon the concept of interculturalidad and to work on prejudice reduction. She also spoke about the need to develop activities for perspective-taking. Unfortunately, she indicated that the Committee had encountered strong resistance from the teachers at EMV, who frequently stated "*ya estamos cansadas de eso de inclusividad, ya los sabemos*" [we are tired of this inclusion thing, we already know that].

Not only that, Profe Luciana shared that majoritarian groups in the school, such as Catholics, often felt threatened and displaced in activities that opened up discourses of diversity, such as religious diversity. However, for her, the work of the committee "has also made evident the assimilation and the silencing that teachers who hold other religious beliefs go through" [FN, 04-18-2013: 7]. She suggested that it was also important to bring up the issues of sexual and gender diversity, which alongside religious

diversity, were more taboo. "We have already jumped into the water [at this school]; we have named privilege, discrimination, and diversity. Now we have to work with the privileged who now feel excluded," she said. It was in this context of tensions and transitions that my fieldwork in Costa Rica unfolded.

A los de Nicaragua les dicen Nicas[8]

During one of the focus group discussions, Ruben said that children in his classroom were always saying "bad words" (FG2, 03/31/2013:179), to which Santiago added "like to the people from Nicaragua, who are called Nicas" (FG2, 03/31/2013:180). Santiago's association of the word "*Nica*" [short for Nicaraguan] with a bad word was not surprising. "*Nica*" is a negative term used by many Costa Ricans to label Nicaraguan people. In explaining why some people used that word, Ivan said "Well, because they don't like the people from Nicaragua" (FG2, 03/31/2013:192). My conversations with the children at EMV were filled with examples like this.

The children's comments during the focus groups and interviews both reflected and resisted dominant narratives about Costa Rican exceptionality. Comments that indicated a reflection of dominant narratives spoke to issues of criminalization of immigrants and admiration of the Costa Rican "beautiful" landscape and "peaceful" way of life. For example, Fabio said that in comparison with Guatemala, El Salvador, and Colombia, Costa Rica was not as dangerous,

> In this country, there is not as much *maleza* [evil] as in other countries like Guatemala, El Salvador… *Maleza* means that people kill others… Well, in this country, people also kill others, but not as much…In those countries, people are

[8] "Nicaraguans are called Nicas"

> killed in front of others, there are many drug dealers… The same in Colombia; it is very dangerous. (II, 04/15/2013:70-72)

Interestingly, Fabio did not use Nicaragua in his comparison. Ruben, however, pointed out, "What I don't like about Nicaragua is that people there drink a lot, so when the police come they catch them" (II, 04/18/2013:121). Ivan also added to this negative or deficit perspective of Nicaraguans. He shared that his uncle, aunt, and cousin were Nicaraguan, and that they had arrived in Costa Rica last year, "They said [they left Nicaragua] because they do not like living there, because people there are always stealing and everything, so they decided to come here" (II, 04/18/2013:60). Ivan had been to Nicaragua, but he did not like it as much because "there is a lot of trash and people are always mugging others, and over there they spook you and there are elves and everything" (II, 04/18/2013:86). Julian reported that his friends from other countries told him that "Here [in Costa Rica] is nicer than there, where they come from" (II, 04/15/2013:115).

Julieta's comments also supported the narrative of Costa Rican exceptionality. She told me that living in Costa Rica was "nice... because here, they do not fight as they do in other countries...In the United States and in China, they are going to make war, and then it is really ugly for people to kill each other" (II, 04/16/2013:76-80). I asked Julieta how she knew this information, and she said, "Because they showed it in the news. [I watch the news] with my dad and mom. [We watch] Channel 7 news" (II, 04/16/2013:83-87).

The children learned this narrative of exceptionality through their interaction with children from other countries and through the media, but they also learned about it from

their own experiences in their communities and in the classroom. For example, Ruben told me,

> "There are people who hate Nicaraguans and some Nicaraguans who hate the Ticos." When I asked him why they hated each other, he replied, "I don't know. Because of problems that their parents had… So they get those habits from their parents… " When I asked Ruben why there were people who did not become friends with Nicaraguans, he said: "Because they are my enemies, like Ivan." When I asked Ruben what he meant by the word "enemy," he replied, "That you dislike them and that they say a lot of things they should not, and look for trouble." I was shocked to hear him use the word "hate," because it was such a strong word for such a young boy. (II, 04/18/2013:197-203)

The children also displayed strategies to resist dominant narratives about Costa Rican exceptionality and Nicaraguan deficit. One of the strategies that children like Ruben, Fabio, and Yolanda used was to tell counter-stories that contradicted the narrative of criminality commonly associated with Nicaraguans. For example, Ruben stated, "In Nicaragua there is no theft, and if you steal, you will be beat up" (II, 04/18/2013:119).

Other children like Julieta and Ivan explicitly disagreed with the discriminatory treatment of Nicaraguans. Julieta shared, "[People say that] They [Nicaraguan immigrants] are not normal like us…Almost everybody laughs at them because they are from Nicaragua…[I think that is] bad… and it is not true." (II, 04/16/2013:120-128). Julieta's retelling of discourses that posited Nicaraguans—in contrast to Costa Ricans—as "not normal" indicated the "othering" of Nicaraguan immigrants and the "normalization" of Costa Rican identity.

Other children, like Ivan, resisted anti-immigration discourses by deploying a human rights rhetoric. The following exchange exemplifies this strategy:

Ana And do you think that Nicaraguan children are teased by other children?

Ivan Yes.

Ana Why do you think that is? Give me an example.

Ivan Well, because they are extranjeros, and because of the way they speak.

Ana And how do they speak?

Ivan *Ea* [expression commonly used at the beginning of sentences], *puej* [then, used at the end of sentences], *ándale jodido* [come on dude]…It makes me laugh [to try to imitate them]. But some people always tease them because they are extranjeros and because they are not from here.

Ana What do you think about that?

Ivan Well, that it is bad because we are all human beings, and it does not matter how different each of us is, because we are human beings; we are always equal.

(II, 04/18/2013:137-144).

When I asked Profe Pamela about her experience teaching at EMV, she remarked that the children in her school community had "many needs…affective, material, economic needs…I feel that they have great challenges" (II, 04/24/2013:77-79). She added,

I have worked in other schools where the children are very sarcastic, they call [immigrant children] nicknames and even [tell them] "go back to your country"… They verbally bully them… But sometimes I feel that this does not come from the

> children, but that they hear [those words] in their homes. Sometimes they use phrases that you hear adults say…I work in the moment. [I tell the children] Today we are here but we do not know if our family is going to become an immigrant family at some point. Whether we go to Nicaragua, Panama, or any other country… We will then be "the different ones" and we would not like… We should not treat others in ways we would not like to be treated, right? So, almost always, I notice that there are tensions at the beginning of the school year, but I try to stop them and clarify things, and to bring the ship to a good landing. (II, 04/24/2013:100-112)

Pamela's empathy came from her own identification as an internal migrant and from her attachment to her city of origin in the North Pacific region of Costa Rica. She often talked about how she was proud of the traditions and folklore in her province of origin. For example, she mentioned,

> We [people in her city of origin] use our own sayings and expressions; and everywhere we go, we stand out because people [recognize us]; they say, "Oh, you are from [city of origin]." We are *amantes de nuestra tierra* [we have love for our homeland]. (II, 04/24/2013:141-144)

She also shared how she tried to incorporate those elements in her classroom, "In my case, with my *regionalismo* [loyalty to her region of origin], I always bring them something from my city [during the cultural encounter lesson that I plan once a year]. Sometimes I bring them *rosquillitas* [savory little ring-shaped pastries common in her city] in a little bag, and we share..." (II, 04/24/2013:391-393).

As an outlier in the Latin American region, Costa Rica's impetus to recognize and nurture the diversity of its citizens is quite new and interrupts dominant discourses about the white homogeneity of the Costa Rican citizenry. At EMV both teachers and children had internalized the myth of exceptionality and were aware of the stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes towards Nicaraguan immigrants. In their comments, they shared various strategies to perpetuate or resist those narratives. In the next section, I present the statal narrative for the U.S. case.

The United States: A Land of Freedom

Like Costa Rica, the United States was built on a narrative of exceptionality. Gutek (2006) argues that,

> In the American experience, the idea that the U.S. is a "shining city on a hill," "a beacon to the world," a special country blessed by Providence, and a country with a Manifest Destiny all express nationalism. Underlying American nationalism is the pervading ideology of American exceptionalism, the belief that the U.S. is an extraordinary, unique land and that its uniqueness makes it better than other countries. (p. 122).

The U.S. narrative of exceptionality can be traced back to the colonial period, when European imperialism and the Judeo-Christian tradition merged to create a "white Euro-American sense of cultural superiority" (Gutek, 2006, p. 162). The genocide of the American Indians and the enslavement of people of African descent were expressions of this sense of superiority during the 1600s and 1700s. Even after Independence, the democratic traditions of the Enlightenment had a "heavy overlay of White supremacy" (Ladson-Billings, 2004, p. 102).

In the 1800s and early 1900s various waves of immigration from European, Latin American, and Asian countries to the United States led to the common narrative of the United States as a "nation of immigrants." The work of American historian Oscar Handlin (2002) during the early 1950s propagated this narrative by highlighting that "immigration— more than the frontier experience, or any other episode in its past — was the continuing, defining event of American history" (Vitello, 2011). I have extended this narrative to include earlier "waves" who walked across the Bering Straits, settlers from England, France, and Spain—and later the various ethnic "minorities" including enslaved Africans, Japanese farmworkers, Chinese railroad workers, as well as "Spanish-speaking residents of Puerto Rico and much of the American southwest [who] did not immigrate to the United States, [but]… simply happened to be in lands conquered by the growing nation" (Fraser, 2010, p. 180).

In the United States, immigration waves have been accompanied by assimilationist narratives and anti-immigration backlashes. In his account of the foundations of American ethnic identity and Anglo dominance, scholar Martin Marger (2006) argues that the first waves in the 19th century (Irish and German) and second waves (Italian, Russian, Polish, Greek, Czechs, and Armenians) of European immigration were eventually embraced by the mainstream U.S. population because:

> Despite early prejudice and discrimination toward the Catholics among them, particularly the Irish, these northwestern European groups were, by comparison with groups that would follow them, advantaged in two ways: they were close enough culturally to the Anglo core group to assimilate within relatively short historical time, and they were physically indistinct from the Europeans who had

> preceded them to America, thereby avoiding long-lasting imputations of racial identity (p. 142).

In fact, Marger continues, "it is important to understand that prejudice and discrimination leveled at white ethnic groups have historically never been as intense, widespread, or institutionalized as that aimed at racial-ethnic groups—African Americans, Latinos, American Indians, and Asian Americans" (p.205). Therefore, with each wave of immigration to the United States, there was a backlash of nativist movements that revised and modified immigration policies, as well as educational policies in public schools in order to assimilate immigrants into the national imaginary. Issues of religious freedom have also come to the forefront of social concerns. Especially after 9/11, there has been a "contemporary conflation of terrorism with Islam" (Adams & Joshi, 2010, p. 232).

In recent years, the immigration of Latin Americans to the United States has again gained political, popular, and media attention. In 2010, the state of Arizona passed strict anti-immigration laws, banned ethnic-studies programs in public schools, and demonized Non-Native English Speaking Teachers (NNESTs). Two years later, the state of Georgia followed in Arizona's footsteps by passing a similar anti-immigration law, House Bill 87. In both of these examples, linguistic diversity and bilingualism were positioned as threats to the identity of the nation and to national unity, a tension that has existed since colonial times (Ramsey, 2012).

The Multiculturalist Turn

Complementing the narrative that portrays the United States as a "nation of immigrants," another important narrative is the idea of the "Great American Melting

Pot," which presented the country as a space where differences were diluted to produce a homogeneous citizenry. Castles (2004) explains that "in the U.S. 'melting pot' model of the early 20th century, the free compulsory public school was meant to Americanize immigrant children of very diverse backgrounds" (p. 35). Later, multiculturalist movements emerged that addressed issues of social justice and oppression of marginalized ethnocultural groups in the country.

The emergence of multiculturalism in education in the United States is linked to the Civil Rights Movement and to the struggle of African-Americans for equality in the 1960s and 1970s (Banks, 1994; Gay, 2010; Sleeter, 1996). United States multiculturalism is often associated with a "modern" strand of education that attends to issues of oppression, resistance, social justice, and cultural democracy in school policy and curriculum (Meer & Modood, 2012). Gay (2010) affirms that multicultural education originated "out of concerns for the racial and ethnic inequities that were apparent in learning opportunities and outcomes, and that continue to prevail" (p. 28). Sleeter (1996), too, asserts that multicultural education "[received] its major impetus from the rejection of racial minority groups to racial oppression" (p.10).

Multicultural education in the United States is considered "an approach to school reform designed to actualize educational equality for students from diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, social-class, and linguistic groups. It also promotes democracy and social justice" (Banks 2009, p. 13). As an anti-racist, caring, liberating, transformative, inclusive, cross-cultural, democratic, and critical education approach (Banks, 1994; Gay, 2010; Irvine, 2003; Nieto & Bode, 2012; Sleeter, 1996), multicultural education in the United States has been at the core of mainstream conversations about cultural diversity.

As with multiculturalism, the definition of multicultural education has constantly evolved to incorporate important issues in particular cultures, time periods, political arenas, and academic circles. Thus, it can be better described as a spectrum (Phuntsog, 1999). Indeed, notions of multicultural education range from cultural transmission and cultural pluralism to cultural transformation (p.102). Certain variants of multicultural education focus on race exclusively, while others emphasize the intersections of race, class, gender, language, nationality, culture, and ability or some combination of these and more elements. Although these notions have changed across time, many of them continue to coexist alongside one another (Sleeter, 1996).

The U.S. policy documents that I examined (see Figure 4) reflected multiculturalist influences. The texts explicitly mentioned particular ethnocultural and ability groups (LEPs, children with disabilities, Alaskan natives, etc) and specific efforts by the national government to fund initiatives aimed at improving the academic achievement of those particular groups. Across the documents there were references to the commitment of the federal and state governments to providing access and quality of education to children from various ethnic and underrepresented groups by giving access to financial support for special projects and grants. There was also an acknowledgement of the inequitable structural practices preventing the education of these groups.

For the most part, the content of the U.S. policy documents highlighted this "monoglossic" orientation to language, an orientation that "assumes that legitimate linguistic practices are only those enacted by monolinguals" (García, 2009a, p. 115). The U.S. documents referred to bilingual students as Limited English Proficient (LEP) or English Language Learners (ELL) stressing their linguistic incompleteness and deficit

rather than their linguistic assets. Although some of the U.S. documents recognized students' bilingual skills as resources, they did so in the context of using them to facilitate students' transition to English and Americanness. This indicated a framework of subtractive bilingualism, whose ultimate goal is monlingualism. García (2009) explains this model as "the children come in speaking one language, the school adds a second language, and children end up speaking the school language and losing their own language" (p. 116). The texts positioned bilingual students as students "at risk" and focused on preparing them to compete internationally.

NCLB, particularly, eliminated the Bilingual Education Act originally established under Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). Ovando, Combs, and Collier (2006) state that "while early Title VII legislation was characterized by its promotion of compensatory, deficit models of bilingual education, the 1994 reauthorization encouraged the development of bilingualism and biliteracy" (p. 83). NCLB erased all references to bilingualism, instead drafting Title III, most recently titled as the English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement, and Academic Achievement Act.

In contrast with this national policy trend, the IB PYP positioned cultural, national, and linguistic diversity in the student body, faculty, and staff as resources that "enrich the learning and lives of the whole school community." In terms of linguistic diversity particularly, the IB PYP was the only text I examined that explicitly encouraged support of mother tongue development. This feature sets many international schools apart from regular U.S. public schools.

Neoliberalism, Civics, and the Nation

Ladson-Billings (2004) argues that "perhaps more difficult than carving a separate civic reality within the United States has been the inability to unravel the nation's particular brand of democracy from its relationship with capitalism (and more specifically global capitalism)" (p. 115). The county, state, and national policy documents that I examined echoed this challenge. In the texts, particularly the most recent ones, I constantly found references to neoliberalism.

Torres (2005), explained that,

> Throughout the world, a neoliberal agenda promoted by international organizations, professional organizations, and in the case of the United States by the American establishment, includes a drive towards privatization and decentralization of public forms of education, a movement toward educational standards, a strong emphasis on testing, and a focus on accountability. That is to say, educational neoliberal reforms are based on an economic model of educational policy (para. 2).

Some of the neoliberal values that I found in the documents were standard-based education, flexibility, student outcomes, data-driven education, accountability, informed parents, and college and career-ready education. This neoliberal rhetoric appeared stronger after the No Child Left Behind Act (2002). Under the banner of quality education for all, NCLB introduced measures to align education with economic goals. After 2002, there was an increasing emphasis on effectiveness, autonomy, capacity building, replication, sciences, technology and math (STEM) career oriented education, outcome-driven education, innovation, competition, and rewards.

At the time of my study, NCLB supported civic education through the "Education for Democracy Act" which outlined the study of history, government, democratic principles, citizen rights, civic competence and responsibility, and economic education, and Congress funded programs created by the Center for Civic Education (e.g. "We the People" and "Project Citizen"). The NCLB text emphasized civic knowledge, particularly knowledge of U.S. history, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, the U.S. Constitution, functions of government and democratic principles for participation in public civic life. This emphasis was also reflected in the Historical Understandings and Government/Civic Understandings sections of the state curriculum standards, which in addition to historical events and figures, democratic principles, and government leaders and documents, highlighted the "important for citizens in a democratic society to participate in public (civic) life (staying informed, voting, volunteering, communicating with public officials)" (State Curriculum Standards, 2008, p. 4).

Unlike most public schools which follow state and national social studies standards and textbooks, at RSE, the contents for the study of citizenship were drawn from the IB PYP and the state standards. In the IB PYP (2000), the citizen was conceptualized as an inquirer who possesses a variety of values and a transdisciplinary well-rounded education for "responsible citizenship" (p. 3), "international understanding" (p. 3), and "global relevance" (p. 41). The PYP (2000) envisioned students as "world citizens" (p. 69) committed to action and service. Among the values, skills, and attitudes of the world citizen were responsibility, tolerance, respect, justice, integrity, honesty, social skills (such as accepting responsibility, respecting others, cooperating, resolving conflict, group decision making, etc), critical thinking skills, appreciation, commitment,

confidence, cooperation, creativity, curiosity, empathy, enthusiasm, independence, integrity, respect, tolerance, empathy, compassion, courage, independence, and curiosity.

The NCSS National Curriculum Standards for Social Studies (Appendix H) had similar themes to those of the IB PYP. Ten interrelated themes, aimed at developing civic competence, emphasized 1) cultural understanding, 2) historical understanding, 3) spatial views to understand locations, 4) identity development, 5) the role of institutions, 6) systems of power and governance, 7) production and consumption of resources, 8) scientific and technological advances, 9) global connections, and 10) civic ideals and practices. More specifically, the democratic beliefs and values highlighted by the NCSS Standards were individual rights, individual freedoms, individual responsibilities, and governmental responsibilities (National Council for the Social Studies, 2010, p. 167). The NCSS Standards envisioned citizens as active critical inquirers and civic participants.

The state standards implemented at RSE (Appendix I) resembled the NCSS standards, but did not address the themes of global connections. The state standards for fourth grade social studies showed greater alignment with the language used in NCLB, emphasizing content on history and government of the United States. Particularly, the fourth grade state standards focused on early Native American cultures, European settlement, the American Revolution, and the westward expansion. However, they also addressed functions of government, democratic beliefs and principles, and rights and responsibilities.

During my time at RSE, there was indeed an emphasis on civic knowledge, and in particular of citizenship rights represented in the U.S. Bill of Rights. During the focus groups, some of the children used the narrative of freedom when I asked them about the

meaning of nationality and about what nationality Bubbly would be if he came to the United States. For instance, Ahn said, "He [Bubbly] can be anything he wants, [this is] still a free country for everybody" (FG2:03/02/2012:56), whereas Ameerah shared, "Well, you don't have to be American; you can be Bubblish because I am from Somalia, and I am in American, and I can be Somalian because that is a part of [freedom of] speech and a part of [the] American Constitution" (FG2, 03/02/2012:52) (Solano-Campos, 2014, p. 145).

Embracing Global visions, Facing Nation-Centered Realities

RSE followed the IB PYP fourth grade curriculum as well as the state standards for fourth grade. As a public school, it also followed curricular and testing mandates established by the state and supported by federal policies that emphasized standard-based testing. The challenges and contradictions that arose from this complexity were evident in the different meanings of citizenship that were communicated, both explicitly and implicitly, in the school climate and in the academic content. More specifically, these parallel curricular orientations created dichotomous and inconsistent messages about what it meant to be a citizen. On the one hand, the IB curriculum portrayed individuals as global citizens. On the other hand, the state-standards were concerned with nation-centered conceptions of citizenship that neglected global affiliations.

International and global narratives. RSE had an aura of globality that aligned with the IB PYP. RSE's community promoted a positive school climate that fostered students' feeling of membership into a global collective as well as a feeling of pride in the internationalization and diversity of the school. This was evident in the many forms of "symboling" (Gay, 2010, p. 41) that I found throughout the school. At RSE, visuals

and bulletin boards did indeed convey powerful messages about the values of the school community. For example, on the way to Mr. William's classroom, visitors could see a giant map of the world painted permanently on the pavement outside the fourth grade classrooms. Once inside, Mr. Williams' classroom was filled with posters that presented positive moral messages such as: "Happy people don't put others down," "we are planeteers! Each organism has a role in the movement of energy through the ecosystem" and "be part of the solution." In the classroom, a large colorful world map decorated one of the side walls along with a smaller map of the United States. On the other side wall, there were tips and rules highlighting expected IB PYP attitudes, such as cooperation, curiosity, and integrity.

RSE emphasis on globality was also evident in its faculty, curriculum, and pedagogy. The faculty and staff at RSE were almost as diverse as the student body and they often functioned as models of culturally and linguistically diverse individuals with healthy cultural, national, and global identifications. In addition, an emphasis on foreign language learning permeated the school ethos. During the length of this study, all children at RSE were required to take a language class, Spanish, French, or ESOL. The emphasis on a well-rounded world-citizen established by the IB curriculum was also present at RSE where "specials" such as arts, music, and physical education were strongly emphasized.

At the school level, RSE acknowledged and affirmed its students' diverse national backgrounds via an annual Festival of Nations. At the fourth grade level, RSE planned out-of-school experiences to engage children in learning about racial equality/inequality. In the classroom, the teacher displayed many of the tenets of culturally responsive

teaching (Gay, 2010), such as validation of students' cultures. For example, Mr. Williams encouraged Muslim students to read translated versions of the Koran during silent reading time. He also used a variety of teaching methods to reach students with different learning styles and linguistic needs, incorporating scaffolding, storytelling, technology, and collaborative elements to his lessons.

State standards. In spite of the implementation of the IB curriculum and pervasive global culture of the school, the faculty at RSE faced various challenges in their efforts at developing and maintaining global attitudes and values. As a public charter school, RSE had to comply with the state-wide standardized curriculum, which many times was at odds with the international and global values of the IBO. In addition to state standards, government-mandated standardized testing also interrupted the global emphasis of the school. At the time of the study, schools in the United States had to comply with the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act, which required schools to show Adequately Year Progress (AYP) in order to receive federal funds. AYP was measured through standardized state tests in English for various subjects administered to particular grade levels, one of which was fourth grade. As a result of this, children were presented with heavy nation-centered content from the state curriculum and test preparation activities.

The state standards for fourth grade did not explicitly examine the idea of the United States as a nation of immigrants, a melting pot, or a culturally diverse nation, but they did present the nation as historically diverse through attention to Native American cultures, European settlement, and westward expansion. The contrast between the IB

curriculum and the state-standards was illustrated in the social studies class. According to the IBO (2000, p. 7):

> Social studies in the international school is international […]. The pluralistic nature of communities within and among nations, and the relationships between local and global concerns and issues, are addressed through the study of the host society, the students' own cultures and the cultures of peoples not directly represented in the school's community.

However, the state performance standards for fourth grade social studies integrated United States geography, civics, and economics, and had an emphasis on United States history to 1860. Unlike most public schools, RSE did not use social studies textbooks. Rather, most of the content for the social studies class came from the *USA Studies Weekly*, a weekly magazine used in some schools throughout the country. I was able to observe lessons on Westward Expansion, the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Revolutionary War, the Civil War, and Branches of Government. Through these lessons, children were inducted into the master narrative of the United States as a country of exceptionality and democracy and presented with the particular rights, responsibilities, and governance expected of citizens in the United States.

In one of the lessons I observed, included in a unit on the Revolutionary War, the children did a reading from the *USA Studies Weekly*, titled "Becoming an American." The text mentioned three ways in which people could become citizens of the United States: 1) have parents who are American citizens, 2) be born in the United States, and 3) go through naturalization. After reading the text, the teacher asked the students: "How many of you are American? And, how did you become American?" Immediately and

eagerly John, a local student, raised his hands. He said: “I am one and two.” Then, Ameerah shared, “my mom passed the test!” “Before or after you were born?” asked the teacher. “After,” she said. David, another local student, asked: “What if you were born here and go back to your country?” He was followed by Irina, also local, who asked: “What if my dad is from Britain and my mom is from Michigan?” “Well, that is a good question: Am I American?” asked Mr. Williams rhetorically. “It is a question you can discuss with your parents,” he added, perhaps avoiding an in-depth discussion of a potentially controversial issue. Then April said: “Is Samoa part of America? My grandpa is from there!” (FN, 03/05/12:8).

As this vignette illustrates, the children were often presented with dominant ideas of American citizenship that they contrasted with their lived experiences. The three criteria for legal citizenship status in the reading did not mention transnational, cosmopolitan, or global interpretations of citizenship; yet, drawing from their personal experiences, the children spoke to issues of geography, transnationalism, multiple identities, and ethnic legacies that complicated the dominant narrative. However, during this exchange, refugee children and children of refugees, with the exception of Ameerah, remained silent. The content of the conversation: American citizenship as a legal status, created a space for the exclusion of other forms of membership, participation, and belonging.

In my analysis of the policy and curricular documents, it became clear that each school had incorporated various elements of its country’s statal narrative of diversity. In the school in the United States, the themes in some documents suggested the idea of a democratic and globally competitive citizen, but unlike in the Costa Rican school, the

references to citizenship highlighted individual traits such as civic knowledge, rather than collective values. However, the extent to which these narratives trickled-down into the classroom depended on the particular contexts of each school. At EMV, principles and practices of interculturalidad seemed to threaten tradition and the status quo, generating resistance from teachers, whereas at RSE there were tensions between the international goals established by the IB PYP and the vision expressed in documents at the national and state levels. In the next chapter, I explore how these narratives and tensions were expressed or resisted in children's constructions of citizenship.

Chapter Five: Everyday and Everywhere Constructions of Citizenship

From my analysis of data from focus groups, interviews, and observations I identified two main findings that were common across the two schools: 1) children's understandings of citizenship were situated along a continuum from static to dynamic qualities and 2) there were spaces of citizenship learning in each school that promoted specific civic knowledge and skills depending on the context. The data analysis also revealed one important difference between EMV and RSE: EMV focused on collective citizenship rituals, whereas RSE emphasized individual civic responsibilities. This indicated that EMV reflected the Latin American emphasis on civics as interpersonal or inter-group relations (Schulz, Ainley, Friedman & Lietz, 2011, p. 27) and RSE reflected a national emphasis on citizens' individual relationships with the state and government. However, children and teachers in both schools appropriated these larger discourses in unique ways.

The Citizenship Continuum

During the focus groups and interviews, I asked the children at EMV and RSE to explain to Bubbly what the word *citizenship* meant to them. At the beginning, children in both sites struggled to define citizenship, and drew from contextual, semantic, experiential, and cognitive resources to construct their explanations. They made informed guesses using context clues to infer and construct meaning. For example—initially—some of the children I interviewed discussed the meaning of citizenship using an immigrant-citizen dichotomy or using cues from the root of the word, which is "city." Noticing children's unfamiliarity with the word, I asked follow-up questions that

prompted them to explain what citizens do or to decide whether Bubbly would be a citizen of their country if he moved there.

The children's responses can be described as existing on a continuum that encompassed static qualities of citizenship on one end and dynamic qualities of citizenship on the other end, with some children holding both static and dynamic conceptions of citizenship at the same time. Table 9 illustrates the range of definitions of citizenship provided by the children in each school and how both dynamic and static qualities sometimes coexisted within the children.

On one end of the continuum, static traits associated citizenship with one nation-state. They were prescriptive and highlighted citizenship as fixed and permanent (see Table 10). The children at EMV and RSE expressed similar types of static traits, but there were four important differences: 1) whereas children at EMV mentioned speaking Spanish as a characteristic of a citizen, children at RSE did not mention language as a requirement for citizenship (although they mentioned language as a marker of national identity and nationality); 2) the children at EMV mentioned various kinds of expected behavior as elements of citizenship, something that the children at RSE did not; 3) the children at RSE referred to their parents' citizenship as determinant of their own citizenship, something that the children at EMV did not mention; and 4) the children at RSE all indicated the importance of the naturalization requirement to obtain citizenship status, which they were taught in school and observed from their parents, whereas children at EMV did not.

Table 9. The Citizenship Continuum

Student	Static Conception of Citizenship ⟺ Dynamic Conception of Citizenship	
Ruben	[Citizenship means] that you come to another country, and you come here to visit someone or to stay here, and you go on trips, and then you go to your place... FG2, 03/31/2013:86	[Citizenship] is to make friends... It's to make friends, to have a family, to get married, to have children, to have pets… II, 04/18/2013:127
Ivan	It means someone who lives in the city…. [not] an "extranjero;" [which is] someone who comes from another country to visit, and that goes to another country afterwards… or stays here forever. FG2, 03/31/2013:85,102	Being friendly and good…Not mistreating people or screaming at them… Sharing with others and giving them things that they do not have. II, 04/18/2013:34, 107-112.
Ernesto	[Citizenship is] to learn the language and be a good citizen. II, 04/17/2013:145	[Citizenship is] to help people with disabilities. II, 04/17/2013:145
Santiago	To appreciate the flag and the country. II, 04/23/2013:75	[Citizenship is] not throwing trash. II, 04/23/2013:169
Eduardo	It is to know to behave yourself…[Citizens are] people who respect the rules. II, 04/17/2013: 63-65.	To help others. II, 04/17/2013: 65.
Tomas	I think that [citizenship] is to live in a country a lot…For a long time…To only live in Costa Rica, I think. To speak Costa Rican, to be born in Costa Rica…[It means] a lot of things… II, 04/15/2013:182-188	n/a
Khari*	I think you are going to be a citizen, but then before you be a citizen you have to pass that thing that test thing to be a citizen and stuff (FG1, 03/02/2012:84)	n/a
Ahn*	If he landed in America maybe he might think… I will take a citizen test… FG2, 03/02/2012:46	…And he will take it [the test], and he will become one of the citizens, and then maybe he can go [to] any country he wants. FG2, 03/02/2012:46
Irina*	If he takes a test, he will be a citizen. FG3, 03/15/2012:136.	So, he will be involved with a citizen, we will be involved in Earth now if he takes the test. FG3, 03/15/2012:136.
John*	You have to live in the United States for seven years before you can become a citizen. I've heard it before. FG2, 03/02/2012:48-49	n/a

*The asterisk denotes students at RSE.

Even though the children at EMV were not taught about the naturalization process explicitly, the topic came up a couple of times during class time and during our

conversations about national identity and nationaliy. Three of the students, Ernesto, Eduardo, and Santiago explicitly mentioned the words *naturalization*, *paperwork*, and *marriage* as ways in which Bubbly could become Costa Rican. Those three processes are outlined in the Costa Rican Constitution, which indicates two ways to "be" Costa Rican: by birth (on Costa Rican territory or from Costa Rican parents) or by naturalization (through residency or marriage) which also involves: 1) demonstrating good character, occupation, and proficiency in Spanish, 2) taking a test on Costa Rican history and values, and 3) swearing settlement in Costa Rican territory and respect to the Costa Rica's Constitution.

Table 10. Static Citizenship Traits

Static Traits	EMV	RSE
Nation-Centeredness	1	4
Place of Birth	2	2
Place of Residence	1	2
Length of Residence	1	3
Language	2	
Good Behavior	6	
Parents' Place of origin		1
Citizen-immigrant Dichotomy		1
Taking a test		4
Passing a test		2

* The numbers in each column refer to the number of children who reported that trait. Some children reported more than one trait.

At the other end of the continuum, dynamic qualities were descriptive and reflected a more global and fluid orientation (see Table 11). The kinds of dynamic traits that the children mentioned varied depending on the school they attended. The children at EMV described citizenship as relationship building, philanthropy, and environmental awareness. The children at RSE referred to citizenship as choice, belonging, and involvement. There were more children reporting dynamic traits of citizenship in the

Costa Rican school than in the school in the United States. The only exception that I found was that the two children in the United States who described citizenship as a choice were refugees or children of refugees. The only dynamic trait that both groups of children had in common was "mobility."

Table 11. Dynamic Citizenship Traits

Dynamic Traits	EMV	RSE
Belonging		1
Involvement		1
Mobility	1	1
Relationship Building	3	
Choice		2
Philanthropy	3	
Environmental Awareness	3	

* The numbers in each column refer to the number of children who reported that trait. Some children reported more than one trait.

I also noticed that more children at EMV reported dynamic traits, and that they were more specific than the children at RSE in their description of those traits. Whereas the children at RSE spoke to general ideas of choice, belonging, and participation, the children at EMV talked about making friends, helping people, and taking care of the environment. However, in both schools, the children reported more static than dynamic traits, indicating a tendency to understand citizenship as a legal status associated with one nation-state, rather than as a feeling of belonging or participation encompassing transnational spaces. I did not identify any patterns separating the responses from immigrant or refugee children from those of local children.

Children's descriptions of citizenship during the focus groups aligned with the narratives that I found in the instructional materials, policy, and curricular documents for each country and school: Whereas most children at EMV communicated the idea of

citizenship as a feeling of belonging and social practice (e.g. “to make friends,” “to have a family,” “to help people with disabilities”), most children at RSE focused on the legal requirements associated with obtaining membership into a nation-state (“to take the test”). At RSE, citizenship was explicitly studied in one of the lessons I observed, although not until after the focus groups. I did not observe any lessons on citizenship at EMV, but the textbook included a section that defined citizenship, civics, and citizen rights and responsibilities. It is possible that in their responses children also integrated mainstream conceptualizations of citizenship learned in previous school years and from their own experiences in binational households and binational friendships.

EMV: Everyday Citizenship

During my interview with Profe Pamela, she highlighted concrete elements of citizenship such as national and regional anthems, patriotic holidays, school assemblies, proverbs, storytelling, and folktales as components that she thought were important for education. For Pamela, the most important element that children in her class should learn to become citizens in a democracy was the importance of freedom. She added that children learn about citizenship every day and that citizenship learning involves familiarizing children with particular social and political processes (II,04/24/2013:254). She shared: “You learn [citizenship] every day… from not calling people names, or disrespecting others, to experiencing [citizenship] at a larger scale, like taking part in the school elections” (II, 238). Profe Pamela’s comments reflected the Costa Rican statal narrative, but also the children’s descriptions of citizenship as a nation-centered process inclusive of both social and civic practices. This concept of “everydayness” was also

stressed in curricular guidelines prepared by MEP and is what best describes citizenship learning at EMV.

Ecologies of exclusion at EMV. One of the main themes that emerged in my analysis of the data at EMV was the various ecologies of exclusion that the students in Profe Pamela's classroom had to face every day. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I found out that Profe Pamela's classroom had been created because of a "surplus" of students in the other classrooms. The class was created by assigning together all of the children that the other fourth grade teachers did not want in their classrooms, the "troublemakers" and "low-achievers." Upon the creation of Profe Pamela's class, the children were moved from their previous classrooms around the courtyard at the center of the school, to a classroom at the margins of this center, located in the wing for kindergarten and special subjects such as arts, music, and special education. Ironically, in addition to the geographical exclusion to which they had been subjected, the children also faced a curricular exclusion that prevented them from being able to attend arts and music classes. The schedules for those teachers were already full when their class was created. Yet because of their location, although they could not go to arts or music lessons, they constantly heard and saw other students in fourth grade participating in those classes.

At first sight, Profe Pamela's classroom seemed a chaotic space. An average lesson in Profe Pamela's classroom involved: children speaking without raising their hands (and thus several children speaking at the same time or interrupting each other); children being distracted doing something other than their work (e.g. using their cell phones or speaking to their friends); children bringing up issues that were not related to the subject matter at hand; throwing or spitting little balls of paper to their classmates;

calling classmates from one side of the room to the other (usually yelling and using nicknames); standing up without permission to borrow an item (pencil, sharpener, eraser; sometimes several times in a row); and eating or chewing gum.

Some teachers described Profe Pamela's classroom as "the worst class" (FN, 05/21/2013: 16) and constantly reminded the students of their low-academic achievement in their attempt to motivate them to do better. Other teachers addressed the children's behavior by presenting rules to the students and reminding the students of the expected behavior. However, most of their teachers engaged in what I coded as "comparative shaming," the act of explicitly comparing them to other fourth grade classes and stating that those students were doing better socially and academically than them. For example, on one occasion, the science teacher told the students in Profe Pamela's class,

> I don't mean to make comparisons, but in the other fourth grade class only five children had bad grades… In the other class, I even have time to give them extra practice… We have already talked about this many times, but you take it in through one ear and it gets out through the other (FN, 04/12/2013: 12)

Having been labelled by their teachers in terms of deficit, the students in Profe Pamela's class often acted according to what people expected them to be based on that label. All the children contributed in one way or another to maintain the class' bad reputation. For instance, they often perpetuated narratives of criminalization by engaging in pranks that involved stealing items and snacks from other children and even the teachers. The science teacher declared once that there was no way to make the children behave and work orderly, "not even by bringing in the police…" (FN, 05/28/2013: 7).

Indeed, this emphasis on behavior was reflected in students' reported understandings of citizenship as "good behavior."

The children's perceptions of the class showed a high degree of intertextuality with their teachers' observations. They frequently described their classroom in negative terms, using words such as "ugly," "messy," and "disastrous." Ivan shared that in his classroom "everybody misbehave[d]" (FN, 06/05/2013: 19-23), whereas Julieta commented that she would have liked children to say less curse words (FN, 06/05/2013: 19-23). One day Fabio asked me what I was writing in my journal. When I replied that I was writing a story about the class, he replied "Oh no, how ugly…Picture that! A story about this classroom, where all children scream, throw things to each other, and do not pay attention!" (FN, 05/29/2013: 50). Children like Yolanda commented, "I don't like this classroom," to which Ruben added, "They only fight and say lies" (FN, 06-05-2013: 33-34).

Performing citizenship. The children frequently participated in school activities created for the students to learn and model democratic attitudes and practices, such as *actos cívicos* [classroom assemblies, literally "civic acts"], classroom government, and school government. However, in the so-called "chaos" of their classroom, the children also had structured systems in place to challenge, appropriate, and manipulate authority, as well as for working together and making group decisions. As a result, in their everyday interactions, the children reclaimed attention, spaces, and resources that they lacked. They were constantly engaged in the collective definition and redefinition of boundaries, relationships, and political action in their classroom and school. For example, the children often challenged statements or decisions the teacher made about particular

classroom issues. In addition, some times the children steered class lectures to topics that were not in the curriculum but in which they were interested, like current events. Other times, the students used sports as tools for the creation of citizenship as a feeling of belonging.

***Actos cívicos*.** One of the ways in which children at EMV were inducted into the national narrative of democracy was through school assemblies or *actos cívicos*, literally translated as "civic acts." Alongside the Tribunal Supremo de Elecciones' (TSE) Instituto de Formación y Estudios en Democracia (IFED) (n.d.), the Ministerio de Educación Pública (MEP) (2009) established guidelines for the political participation of children and youth in schools across the country. EMV provided several government-mandated opportunities for students to practice *ciudadanía en democracia* [citizenship in democracy] (Ministerio de Educación Pública, 2013). Children's participation in these political and civic activities initially struck me as highly scripted and mechanical, as a "performance" of citizenship. However, these activities also involved teachers' "scaffolding of democracy" by modelling, directing, and monitoring mainstream forms of civic participation.

During my time at EMV, I joined the children during several actos cívicos. Hernández Cruz (2000) calls these assemblies held on patriotic occasions, *rituales de la patria* [motherland rituals]. At EMV the school celebrated two kinds of actos cívicos, "morning rituals" and "holiday rituals." Both kinds of actos cívicos were explicit displays of nation-centered narratives and symbols, an induction into the Costa Rican imagined community. The morning rituals consisted of having all the children join in the courtyard at the beginning of the school day to sing the National Anthem and to pray together.

Holiday rituals consisted of celebrating historical dates of national importance or important political decisions.

Patriotic holidays were more elaborate affairs than morning rituals. As with the morning rituals, the children went out to the courtyard and grouped themselves by classrooms, lining up in front of their class with their teachers at the head of the group. Children brought chairs from their own classrooms so that they could sit when indicated. The act of introducing the chairs indicated both that the event would be not only longer, but formal and ceremonious. The children created rows facing the stage, which was across the school entrance and which occupied two thirds of the courtyard, with the middle left unoccupied for guests, children, and teachers to parade towards the front and take specific roles.

Students were also encouraged to participate in their classroom and school government. The election of the classroom council was just the beginning of the electoral process at EMV, which culminated in what is called the *Semana Electoral* [election week]. This process included the creation of the *Asamblea de Representantes* [Chamber of Representatives], which was made up of all the classroom presidents. It also included the selection of one student per classroom by the classroom council to be part of the Tribunal Electoral Estudiantil (TEE, or the equivalent of the Federal Election Commission). The *Asamblea de Representantes* would then choose the officers of the TEE, through secret ballot, among all selected candidates. After that, the TEE initiated their functions overseeing the creation and inscription of political parties, announcing elections, working with the principal to create the voter registry, and organizing and

regulating the debate, Election Day, and presidential inauguration (Instituto de Formación y Estudios en Democracia, n.d.).

The morning rituals, holiday rituals, and school government activities aimed to instil civic knowledge, values, skills, attitudes, and dispositions in students. Participation in actos cívicos, classroom government, and school government consisted mainly of closed responsibilities, which were mandatory, fixed, and teacher-regulated. However, these activities engaged students in the practices of expected democratic behavior and practices.

Negotiating decisions and action. The children at EMV often engaged in what I coded as "back and forth dynamics." Back and forth dynamics referred to interactions between the students and Profe Pamela in which she presented the children with an issue or task at hand, and they negotiated the particular decisions and actions involved in that issue/task through verbal back and forths. Almost always, the negotiation involved the teacher making a statement or request and the students challenging it. Then the teacher would present options that supported her initial position, and the children would either accept her reasoning or continue questioning it until they found a "happy medium." This conversational pattern happened during informal exchanges with the teacher, but not during formal teaching or lecture time. The constant back and forth between children and teacher is best illustrated in the following vignette,

Profe Pamela reminded the children that they had to organize two activities to collect

> funds to be able to buy extension cords, fans, and curtains for the class because it was always very hot in their classroom. A child suggested that they could bring

food to sell in the school. The teacher explained that they could not sell food in the school because the cafeteria paid the school to be the only source of food; so, no one else could sell food in the school unless they had a special permit. One of the children said, “Well, while we get permission to do that, we can have some raffles,” whereas another pointed out “but, we can sell juice, candy…” The teacher said, “Yeah, we can do a raffle, on Friday, I can bring a surprise, it can be for a girl or for a boy,” but nobody went along with her idea. The children were all contributing their ideas at the same time, without raising their hands. Someone else said, “We can simply bring mangoes!” And yet another, “Or we can ask our moms to make *empanadas* [turnovers], and another “or [ask] one of the moms to make a cake!” “But didn’t I tell you that we cannot sell food?” Profe Pamela said, “Let’s have a raffle, let’s involve the school [by having the teachers and students buy tickets]…The prize can be a cake.” “But let’s ask for permission to sell food,” one of the children insisted. “Only teachers are going to buy tickets for the raffle [because they have money]” somebody else shouted. “Also” Eduardo pointed out “what happens if next year we move to another classroom? Why are we then going to fix this one?” “Come on” said the teacher “let’s not think that way. We are going to be here all year, and maybe even next year,” Profe Pamela replied. “Let’s just sell mangoes” Santiago said. “Let’s see, who is going to cut the mangoes and put them in little bags?” the teacher asked the children, making clear the consequences of deciding to make that choice. The children looked at each other realizing how much work that would be… [The negotiating went on for about ten more minutes]. “We should tell Laura Chinchilla [Costa Rica’s

> president at the time], said one of the children. "What? Why tell Laura Chinchilla if we can work this out ourselves?" asked the teacher (FN, 03-04-2013:44-93).

In the end, the children decided on having a raffle with a cake as a prize, as the teacher had suggested earlier, with further negotiating on how much the cake would be, how much each ticket for the raffle should be, how the raffle would work, who would pick the winning number, and what flavor they wanted for the cake. Although the teacher guided the outcome of this particular example, during their exchange with the teacher, the children practiced deliberative skills for action and for the common good.

Current events. The study of current events was not explicitly stated in education policy, curricular programs, or textbooks. However, during my fieldwork, the students were constantly engaged in conversations about current events, which they used to redirect classroom instruction and routines in ways that favored their interests. For example, on May 3, 2013, the president of the United States, Barack Obama, visited Costa Rica. A couple of days after President Obama landed, Tomas interrupted the class by asking out loud, "Did you see what came out in the paper the day that Obama landed, the one about the La Platina Bridge?" Tomas was referring to an internet meme[9] (available at http://cb24.tv/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Platina.jpg) that portrayed President Obama traveling in a limousine throughout Costa Rican streets. The meme poked fun at Obama's fancy cruising with his entourage on what many *ticos* [short for "Costa Ricans"] believe is the bad infrastructure of one of the main bridge passes in Costa Rica, the Platina Bridge.

[9] An internet meme is an idea that spreads throughout the internet and that can take the form of an image, video, link, or other online content.

After that, a conversation ensued among the children about whether Obama spoke Spanish or the Costa Rican president at the time, Laura Chinchilla, spoke English, with some children stating that Obama had a translating device in his ear, others saying that he spoke Spanish, and yet others commenting that the Costa Rican president spoke English. Some children also had a small argument over whether the name of the President was Obama or Barack Obama (FN, 22 05/06/2013: 20-24).

Another similar event was the visit of the president of China, Xi Jinping, on June 2, 2013. A day after President Xi's arrival in Costa Rica, a conversation ensued about whether or not his visit would be beneficial for Costa Ricans, with Fabio, who was originally from Nicaragua, leading the conversation and stating "he is going to give us money, and that will help us a lot" (FN, 06/03/2013: 16-19). Fabio's comment was particularly telling, because in his discussion of the event, he positioned himself as a member of the Costa Rican community.

The children's attempts to engage in conversations about these issues were often short-lived because teachers cut off their conversation, prioritizing the content that they had already planned for the day. During my interview with Profe Pamela, she acknowledged that children often brought up current events in class before she did:

> With events like the Boston marathon bombings, they came to class and asked me 'profe, did you see the news about the bombs? Who do you think it was? Why did those people do that?' So, I would tell them, "well, we don't know, we should not speculate, we need to wait for the investigations… We are not sure who did it, and we don't know if they lived in the United States…We do not really know for sure what provoked them to do those things." Also, for the election of Pope

> Francis [on March 13, 2013], which was something transcendental, the fact that he was from Latin America, right, so the children would remark "Profe, he is from our continent" (II, 04/24/2013:287-301).

Although Pamela commented on the children's interest in current events, she did not comment on whether or how their enthusiasm could be capitalized in the classroom.

***Mejengas* [soccer matches].** The children also used sports as civic tools to claim spaces and resources. During my interview with Profe Pamela, when I asked her to tell me about an instance in which she felt like a citizen, she told me about her years as a basketball player representing her elementary school and high school. She said,

> Many times I represented my institution outside of Guanacaste [a city in the North Pacific region, where she was from]. Once, I went to the national finals, and that year the two basketball teams for the high school where I studied were national champions, gold and silver...And to have people sing the national anthem before they give you a medal... that feels like, wow.... To have people sing your anthem in another country because of something remarkable like that, I don't know how that would be... it would be extremely amazing..." (II, 04/24/2013:129-137).

The children also shared, albeit implicitly, this perception of sports as civic actions. During recess, the children used these informal and friendly soccer matches, which in popular culture are referred to as mejengas, to populate and dominate school spaces that were traditionally reserved for official events, such as the school assemblies. Student-driven and organized mejengas were a subversive space from which children collectively resisted control and exclusion. Soccer is a sport played between two teams with 11 players in each team, one goalkeeper in each. A soccer match is composed of two

45-minute halves. Mejengas do not follow the rules for official soccer matches, nor did the children seem concerned about any of those elements. I noticed students' mejengas in my first couple of weeks in the school:

> The students hurry out of the classroom, excited and loud, to go to the soccer field, which is painted on the pavement of the courtyard, right in the center of the school, joining the fourth, fifth, and sixth graders who are also there on recess. The courtyard is like the school's heart, beating life into the otherwise empty and quiet building. (FN, 03/06/2013: 10)

However, as the school year went on, the children moved their mejengas to the hall right in front of their class. When I asked them why, one of the children told me that they were not allowed to play soccer anymore because they played *muy concho* [really rough] and could hurt other children or themselves. However, the children had no intentions of giving up their soccer matches. Instead, they subverted the new order by occupying a peripheral school space; a space that was not only outside of the school's center but also outside of most teachers' gaze. The children knew this and had done so intentionally: They were purposefully using a space of exclusion to their advantage. They were also reinstating in their school day, the physical activity that they were missing from not having Physical Education (P.E.) classes.

The children were resourceful in ensuring their soccer matches. In addition to a space to play, the game required two other resources: a ball and players. From what I gathered, the children were not allowed to bring soccer balls into the school or classroom or to borrow soccer balls from the P.E. teacher. Therefore, the students resorted to their own devices when it came to securing a soccer ball. This meant that the children often

re-purposed everyday objects, such as bottle caps, into soccer balls. They also frequently made their own soccer balls from thrown away materials, such as scrap paper from the trash bin. Although Ernesto and Santiago were the ones securing the soccer balls most of the time, the other children also did, now and then, find or create something to use as a ball. Sometimes, they even had replacement balls, in case the teachers seized the one they were using at the moment.

The other crucial element for the mejengas was the children themselves. On any given day the number of children playing soccer would change, but the game usually included Ernesto, Santiago, Fabio, and Julian. I observed each child playing soccer, even the girls, at least once throughout my time at EMV. At EVM the children played with uneven teams and marked the goals with any object that was at hand. Any person could be the goalkeeper, any person could be a player, and teams were randomly created on the spur of the moment, by jumping in on one side or the other. While I was there, I did not see any of the students excluding children from the soccer games. The soccer matches were spaces for inclusion. Anybody could play.

Puzzled by this organic process, I asked Julian "How do you decide who plays in the match?" He responded smiling, "Well, we just all come and stand by the wall, and then we throw ourselves in the game." Right then the children celebrated a goal yelling "Goooooool!!!" and laughing. The game goes on. "Right here, *mae* [dude], I'm not being covered" tells Santi to a team player. "So, who plays against who?" I asked Julian. He and Ernesto stopped playing momentarily to tell me who is on each team. Julian, Fabio, and other children were playing against Ernesto and Santiago. "How come?" I asked. "Well, because they are really good" Julian said laughing. "Yes, we are the best; we are

winning!" shared Ernesto excitedly. When the match was over, Fabio and Julian went into the classroom chanting "champions, champions!" "What do you mean champions?" asked Santiago. "Ok, tie" said Fabio. "Let's play some more then" said Santiago. They played for a little longer and then came in the classroom. "Let's go in" said Santiago "we can continue playing in the second recess." "Champions!" said Julian. "Who?" asked Santi playfully "we are tie, 5-5" he said. Then, amused, Ruben pointed out "profe, they fight about fútbol!" (FN, 05/31/2013:17).

In the spirit of this friendly competition, the children did indeed take the *mejengas* very seriously, not only creating championships in which they saw themselves going to the finals, but also continuing each mejenga from one recess to the next, or from one week to the next (FN, 06/03/2013: 42). Although the existence of rules was not evident to an outside observer during the game, the children did have rules in their soccer matches. For example, when one of the children stepped on the bottle cap longer than seemed fair, the children told him "that is not fair," and thus enforced a rule based on that particular context (FN, 06/03/2013: 42).

Although the mejengas were territorialized (directly related to an assigned area, in this case the area in front of the children's classroom), the children were not territorial about this space. They did not show control or concern for the ownership of that area. In fact, one day during recess, I found a group of students from another class playing soccer where Profe Pamela's students usually played. "Who are these children?" I asked. None of my students said anything. "Sometimes we play here" one of the children from the other class answered. Without thinking twice, and even though he did not know them, Santiago simply stood by the wall and jumped into the game. After that, one of the

children playing asked Ernesto, who was also by the wall, “hey, can you play for me, please?” while he ran somewhere else, possibly to the restroom (FN, 05/29/2013: 41). Although the game was something to be protected from the teachers, it was also something to be shared with other children.

The mejengas were not exclusive to recess. I also observed the children playing soccer inside the classroom when the teacher was not paying attention. In these occasions, it seemed that the children’s goal was to play as much as they could without being caught by the teacher. So, their games usually ended with the teacher saying something like “stop that already” (FN, 05/29/2013: 24). Towards the end of my fieldwork, I went around the school looking at the other children during recess. I noticed that even though Profe Pamela’s students had been banned from playing soccer in or by the courtyard, other children had not:

> I went around the school, and I saw different groups of children, just like “mine,” playing in halls and in the courtyard with soccer balls made up of bottle caps and socks. It was like a universe of “mejengas” all around the school, and each team was a constellation of stars. (FN, 06/04/2013: 32)

The children in Profe Pamela’s classroom were missing from that universe at the center of the school, but they had found ways to counteract discourses of deficit by taking advantage of the same space that was used to marginalize them.

RSE: Citizenship as Expression

Like the children at EMV, the children at RSE were also busy constructing collective civic spaces. They used their agency and talents to open up spaces for protests, integration, and recognition. The three vignettes that I present in this section depict the

unexpected and creative ways in which children at RSE enacted citizenship. They portray the back and forth that takes place among "contexts, relationships, and dispositions" (Biesta et al., 2009) in school settings.

Standardized test rally. School-wide events constituted structured sites where children built on their civic practices and identities. One event in particular, a rally planned by the teachers towards the end of the school year to generate enthusiasm for the upcoming days of required standardized tests illustrates children's construction of citizenship in interaction with dominant discourses. One late April afternoon, the children expressed their resistance to the culture of accountability that they found at school. The teachers had organized an event to release some of the tension associated with the upcoming standardized tests. Before the event, Mr. Williams had instructed the fourth grade children to go to languages, as they usually did. Instead, they left chanting "T-E-S-T-I-N-G, T-E-S-T-I-N-G, T-E-S-T-I-N-G!, holding signs that they had made earlier following teachers' directions, and parading around the entrance of the school. Some of the signs read: "Tests, bring it on!' or 'Testing, you won't break me!"

On their own initiative, the children marched and chanted around the entrance of the school several times, creating momentary chaos and taking time away from their language classes. The teachers had not planned for this spontaneous march and struggled to manage to get the children to languages before going to the cafeteria for the rally performances. Later on at the rally, Khari and Izza sang a song that they composed themselves about the test. In their song, they referenced fifth graders as brothers and sisters who could help them succeed; they also referred to the lower grades as family who they could help by giving testing advice in the future. The lyrics also thanked teachers

and finished with the words, "State-wide testing…We can do it!" (FN, 04/20/12:9). The impromptu demonstration, in which children protested about standardized tests, reflected children's appropriation of the faculty's efforts to raise scores on standardized measures of achievement. It illustrates the ways in which children re-constructed the discourses and dispositions that they encountered at school—and in society at large—in ways that both challenged and perpetuated them.

Friday talent shows. Spaces for the children to express their artistic inclinations and preferences were examples of citizenship in interaction in guided sites. Every Friday afternoon, the children in Mr. Williams' class were in charge of their homeroom period, a class period traditionally led by the teacher and dedicated for social activities. The students used this time to organize and execute weekly talent shows where they performed songs and dances and recited poems for their classmates. In the figured world of this classroom, the talent shows served a unifying, integrative space for the students, bringing them together as citizens of their class. Together, the children planned the performances and organized the agenda for the next talent show. They had to make decisions about the content of the shows and about any guests they wanted to have. They also coordinated with Mr. Williams to collect a "classroom tax" to buy snacks for that day. There was no appointed leader for the decision-making process, which usually involved the teacher asking students questions about the planning process and different students giving ideas and suggestions to the whole class.

The children took days and sometimes weeks preparing for their performances, which could be individual or collective. For each talent show, a previously selected Master of Ceremonies, or M.C., introduced the performers and maintained the previously

agreed-upon order. The performers brought their own music and the teacher and teacher assistant helped with the set-up and the rest of the children made up the audience. During each performance the children watched attentively, quietly, and respectfully and at the end of each act they clapped and cheered. More than a space for artistic expression, the Friday Talent Show allowed students to incorporate new members into their classroom, to get to know each others' talents and likes, to build on civic attitudes and skills that are important for coexistence in the society at large.

Micropolitics in action. In addition to the classroom and school-wide events, children constructed citizen-in-interaction in times like recess. Recess offered opportunities for children to organically use their civic identities and practices. An example of this is Helima's and Ahn's use of leadership and participation during a game, which I coded "play politics." One particular afternoon, Helima took a set of little rocks out of her pocket and started playing with them on the floor, inviting others to play with her. The children were most likely playing *knucklebones,* or *astragaloi*, an ancient version of jacks, played with animal bones or stones instead of plastic or metal jacks (Beaumont, 1994, p. 33). From conversations with Ahn and Helima, I gathered that they played this game in their countries of origin. Ahn and Irina noticed the game and asked Helima if they could play. Helima initially denied Irina's request to join the group, but accepted Ahn's. When confronted about her decision, she later said, "OK, they can play…specially Ahn because she is really good" (FN, 02/17/2012, 100:101). It was clear that Helima considered Ahn an asset to the game. Ahn was also a friend, an insider. The day before, Helima had said that she and Ahn were "buddies" and that they always worked together. Ahn was really good, and she won the game. That day I wrote, "The

other children were in awe of her. You can tell she seemed happy to be so good at it, but she was very humble about it" (FN, 02/17/2012, 118:119).

Interestingly, in my observations, I had noticed that both Helima and Ahn were constantly pulled out from the class for special support in language arts and mathematics, and that they were constantly struggling to catch up with classroom work. They had also been identified as needing extra help in English; so, they attended ESOL, rather than a foreign language class. Although Helima seemed to have some friends inside and outside her class, Ahn did not often socialize with many children in the class and preferred the company of children in other classes. The game had provided both children, who were academically and socially at the fringes of the classroom, to use a familiar game to shine and succeed. In particular, Helima, who was more outgoing and socially incorporated into the classroom, used her leadership to give Ahn an opportunity to participate in the classroom community, an opportunity that Ahn welcomed and used graciously. Her skills at playing astragaloi had earned her access to and recognition from her peers. In this case, Helima and Ahn actively translated their knowledge of astragaloi to their classroom at RSE, constructing an opportunity to position themselves as contributing members of their classroom community and heightening their feelings of belonging.

Sites of Citizenship Learning

In my analysis of the data from RSE and EMV, I found that particular types of citizenship learning happened in different school spaces. I identified three sites where citizenship learning took place: "structured" sites; "guided" sites; and "monitored" sites (Table 12). Structured sites were teacher-regulated spaces, like the classroom at RSE and school assemblies at EMV. Most of the activities in the classroom were aimed at

promoting civic knowledge. In both schools, structured spaces promoted knowledge and modeling of civic practices. In these spaces the children were constantly engaged in mainstream practices of citizenship that included what I coded as "closed" or "open" student responsibilities (Table 13).

Table 12. Structured, Guided, and Monitored Sites in EMV and RSE

Sites of Citizenship Learning	EMV	RSE
Structured Sites	School Assemblies; School Government	School Rallies
Promotion of civic knowledge and civic participation		
Guided Sites	Classroom	Talent Shows
Promotion of civic participation, e.g. decision-making and negotiation		
Monitored Sites	Playground	Playground
Promotion of citizenship as feeling of belonging		

Closed responsibilities were created by the school or teacher. They were mandatory, fixed, and teacher-regulated. They implied abiding by a rule rather than actively participating in creating it. Open responsibilities were also created by the school, mandatory, fixed, and teacher regulated, but they provided students with options in how and when to execute them. They gave students some opportunities for democratic deliberation and decision making. Each school emphasized different kinds of responsibilities. Whereas EMV highlighted collective citizenship rituals, RSE focused on individual responsibilities.

Overall, RSE had more opportunities for students to take part in open responsibilities than EMV, but closed responsibilities at EMV provided more opportunities for children to practice mainstream forms of political participation. For

example, students at EMV participated in student government and they negotiated with their teacher often, something that I did not observe at RSE. However, the children at RSE were constantly involved in formal opportunities for volunteering and choosing among various activities to contribute to their classroom and school community. The children at EMV did not have dedicated spaces for this type of activities.

Table 13. Student Responsibilities in Each School

Type of Responsibilities	EMV	RSE
Closed Responsibilities	Participation in school assemblies (praying, singing the National Anthem, following required protocol), participation in school government (being part of classroom government, being part of school government, attending debate, attending Inauguration day, voting) wearing a uniform, and tucking in shirts.	Wearing a uniform, lining up, placing school supplies inside desks, convening in a specific area after recess, organizing their desks, abiding by seating assignments, standing up when greeting the Spanish teacher, taking lunch boxes to the cafeteria, being door stopper, being line leader, and checking out and returning books from/to the library.
Open Responsibilities	Donating money for different social causes, decision making during class time	Planning Friday talent shows, lunch duty (volunteering for and choosing among various tasks like cleaning tables, placing chairs on tables, or sweeping the floor in the cafeteria), recycling duty, volunteering in the kindergarten science fair, tutoring kindergarten students, and filling in surveys about the quality of the cafeteria services.

Guided sites were teacher-created spaces that placed children at the center of the decision-making process. At RSE, guided sites included weekly talent shows and school rallies. At EMV, guided sites included classroom time. Monitored sites were leisure sites that afforded students the greatest degree of agency, creativity, and freedom, such as the cafeteria and the playground. Whereas structured sites emphasized civic knowledge and responsibilities, guided and monitored sites provided broader opportunities for democratic decision making, participation and for the development of citizenship as practice and as a feeling of belonging to a community. Monitored sites like recess were more conducive than structured or guided sites to children's use of their unique global and civic capital. Each particular space contributed to the scaffolding and development of different but equally important civic dimensions for democratic living.

In both schools, I encountered particular meanings and performances of citizenship (Table 14). At EMV, children's understandings of citizenship displayed mostly static properties that conceived the citizen in relation to his or her country of birth or residence. Democratic rituals, practices, and activities at EMV inducted children into the Costa Rican narrative of exceptionality that I discussed in Chapter Four and into their expected citizen responsibilities. These school participatory events were scaffolded by teachers and administrators. Spaces during recess and class time provided opportunities for children to explore ways of being active citizens in their own terms, yet with the teacher's implicit collaboration. For example, through mejengas and unsolicited input to classroom topics, children reclaimed attention, spaces, and resources that they lacked.

Table 14. Constructions of Citizenship at EMV and RSE

School	Meanings of Citizenship		Performances of Citizenship	
	Teacher	Students	Teacher	Students
Escuela Montaña Verde	Citizenship as representation and everydayness	Citizenship as both static and dynamic	Emphasis on collective rituals	Emphasis on participation
River Song Elementary	n/a	Citizenship mostly as static, with some dynamic elements	Emphasis on individual responsibilities	Emphasis on participation

At RSE, the children also expressed understandings of citizenship that constructed it mainly as a status, which they were taught in the curriculum and which they observed in their families. However, in their everyday lives at school, the children at RSE were active participants of their classroom and school communities, performing various civic responsibilities, like volunteering in grade-level and school-wide initiatives. In addition, the students at RSE built citizenship as a feeling of belonging by coming together to share their talents and interests. In the next chapter, I elaborate on children's constructions of language, namely of their understanding and performance of language hierarchies, and of their constructions of semantic devices that reflected particular ideologies.

Chapter Six: Linguicism and Linguistic Duality, the Exclusion and Compartmentalization of Language

During my fieldwork at EMV and RSE, I noticed that most students expressed an appreciation for language learning. At EMV, the children were interested in learning English and communicating with English-speaking people. At RSE, the students identified themselves as bilingual or multilingual. These expressions of appreciation for linguistic diversity were reflections of discourses that position languages as global commodities and symbols of prestige. In both schools, I also encountered linguistic ideologies that systematically excluded and compartmentalized the repertoires of students from different linguistic backgrounds (see Table 15).

Table 15. Language Ideologies

School	Language Ideology	Expressions of Language Ideologies
Escuela Montaña Verde	Monoglossic: elite bilingualism	Linguicism; Linguistic Assimilation; Branding
River Song Elementary	Monoglossic: subtractive and additive bilingualism	Linguistic Assimilation, Linguistic Diglossia

In this chapter, I share insights into the participants' linguistic experiences in their particular school contexts. At EMV, the children shared their thoughts on Nicaraguan Spanish, often qualifying it as a "different language." They remarked on the stereotypes associated with a Nicaraguan accent and commented on a pervasive semantic practice that perpetuated discrimination toward Nicaraguans. At RSE, students showed an appreciation for linguistic diversity, but refugee children and children of refugees lacked systems of support for bilingualism and plurilingualism. Together, these findings

illustrate the challenges that schools like EMV and RSE may face to address pervasive language ideologies.

Con la lengua que se me enreda[10]*:* Language Ideologies at EMV

During my time at EMV, I observed several instances of linguicism, "a sort of 'linguistically argued racism'… a process by which an unequal division of power is produced and maintained according to a division between groups on the basis of the language [or varieties of the language] that they speak" (Macedo et al., p. 61). In my interactions with the children in Profe Pamela's class, they displayed a high degree of awareness of the prestige and linguistic capital obtained by speakers of standard Spanish varieties, which in this case was perceived as standard Costa Rican Spanish and/or Spanish from Spain. For instance, Fabio commented,

> Sometimes, North Americans speak Spanish, but not good Spanish... They do not speak it as well because Spaniards speak better… Because over there, they pronounce the "z" and in here we don't pronounce the "z" (FG3, 04/10/2013:167-179).

When I presented the EMV children with the possibility that Bubbly did not speak Spanish, three of the children (Ernesto, Yolanda, and Santiago) suggested that Bubbly should learn Spanish. Although some children (Yolanda and Eduardo) demonstrated interest in learning Bubbly's language, children like Ernesto expressed discomfort with that idea, indicating that he did not like to have classmates from other countries that much because "you have to learn their language and everything" (II, 04/16/2013:80) and said that it was more difficult to play with someone from another country "because sometimes

[10] With a twisted tongue

we don't understand each other" (II, 04/16/2013:87). Ernesto's advice to Bubbly was "to learn our language" (II, 04/16/2013:127). He said that Bubbly "should change his [linguistic] customs or explain why he can't speak Spanish" (II, 04/16/2013:133).

Generally, the comments from the children placed the burden on the immigrant to assimilate to the new language rather than for the receiving group to demonstrate interest/curiosity for learning the language or language variety of the newcomers. When I asked Manuel if Bubbly would be teased at school, he said "yes...Because he is from another country and he does not know how to speak" (II, 04/18/2013:104-106). Not surprisingly, the children often resorted to recommending assimilative practices to Bubbly. For example, Julieta recommended that Bubbly "ask someone to help him speak normal" (II, 04/16/2013:150). In the same vain, Isaac advised Bubbly to "speak like us, like this, English, Spanish, like this" (II, 04/16/2013:124).

About the reasons why Bubbly should learn Spanish, Yolanda explained "because he is the one who is going to come to this country" (FG1, 03/19/2013:190), and Ernesto commented, "Yes, because everybody in Costa Rica is not going to learn Bubblish" (FG1, 03/19/2013:184). He added that Bubbly should learn Spanish "so that he can study… [His classmates] won't be able to talk to him [if he does not speak Spanish]" (FG1, 03/19/2013:194). The children's comments indicated the idea of minority/majority dynamics and highlighted that the immigrant is expected to assimilate linguistically and culturally to the receiving country.

The children also spoke to narratives about the inferiority of other varieties of Spanish, like Nicaraguan Spanish. Having an accent in general and a Nicaraguan accent in particular was a significant challenge for Nicaraguan children at EMV. Even though

both Nicaraguan and Costa Rican children at EMV spoke varieties of Spanish which were intelligible to each other, the children in the study often described Nicaraguan Spanish as another language. For example, when I asked Ernesto how he became friends with children in his neighborhood, he said "Well, learning their language... Nicaraguan!" (II, 04/16/2013:68-70). When I asked Julian what language they spoke in his class, he said "Costa Rican" (II, 04/15/2013:77). Not only that, for the children at EMV, the connection between language and national identity and belonging was intertwined: Language was not only a marker of identity but of national identity. Tomas' words illustrated this, "They are told that they are from another country, because of their language... the Nicaraguan language..." (II, 04/16/2014:150). At EMV an accent was a tale of immigration status, and thus of outsider status.

The children at EMV also expressed several linguistic stereotypes, namely that Costa Rican Spanish was "normal" and that Nicaraguan Spanish was not. Nicaraguan children were aware of and internalized these perceptions of deficit. During the individual interviews, Ruben told me, "sometimes they do not understand my language because I speak like this, like with a twisted tongue…" (II, 04/18/2013:183-187). When I asked Ernesto what the differences between the two varieties of Spanish were, he said: "That Nicaraguans speak like more weird" (II, 04/16/2013:74). Tomas also referred to Nicaraguan Spanish as "weird" saying,

> They speak in a weird way... I don't know how to speak that way because I am not from there... I think my parents know how to speak that way, but I think they forgot because they have lived here for about 15 years (II, 04/16/2014:150-160).

Although Ernesto and Tomas had grown up in binational households and had relatives from Nicaragua, they used this narrative of deficit to identify themselves as insiders rather than Nicaraguan-outsiders.

Yolanda, whose parents were Nicaraguan, spoke to the us-them and here-there dichotomies. She referred to people from Nicaraguan as people who "speak just like us [Costa Ricans], only with an accent" (II, 04/14/2014:150). She said that Costa Rican and Nicaraguan Spanish were different, "They [Nicaraguans] say other words different from the words here. At home I speak with the words from here... [and my mom and dad] understand me" (II, 04/14/2014:140-144). Like Tomas and Ernesto, Yolanda distanced herself from her Nicaraguan background by stating her insider status. She even commented that something difficult about having parents who were from another country was that "Well, the dad might teach the children to speak like him or the children might learn the dad's language" (II, 04/14/2014:132).

The children's comments hinted at the semiotic process of "iconicity," or "the interpretation of linguistic form not just as a dependable index of a social group but as a transparent depiction of the distinctive qualities of the group" (Kroskrity, 1998, p. 19). Kroskrity (1998) explains that iconicity happens, "When a linguistic form-in-use is thus ideologized as distinctive and as implicating a distinctive kind of people, it is often further misrecognized, in Bourdieu's term, or revalorized, as transparently emblematic of social, political, intellectual, or moral character" (p. 18). In other words, the responses of the children at EMV reflected larger social processes in which the Nicaraguan variety of Spanish was not only associated with immigrant groups, but also constructed as a

reflection of stereotypes that positioned Nicaraguans as "weird" and not "normal," as "other."

Profe Pamela indicated being aware of the importance of language for processes of exclusion and inclusion. During the interview, she shared,

> [Inclusion] in education, is also about including words, like regional words… For example, in fourth grade we studied them in the Spanish class. Regional words are words that you use in a specific region within a country or in different countries. For instance, my kids laugh because I tell them that in other countries people call beans *porotos*, buses *chivas* or in other places *guaguas*. . Peppers are called *chiltagua*; so, language is another form to be inclusive. (II, 04/24/2013:316-323)

She mentioned that at the beginning of the school year some children would address Nicaraguan children calling them "nicas" and "*conchos*" [rowdy] (II, 04/24/2013:365) and telling them "go back to your country" (II, 04/24/2013:365). When faced with these behaviors, she said that she stopped the children and reminded them that "they [Nicaraguans] are going to be part of our population and we have to be respectful and tolerant" (II, 04/24/2013: 368-369).

Branding: A Semantic Device for Exclusion

One important semantic device that illustrates linguicism at EMV was the elaborate student practice of assigning and using nicknames. This practice perpetuated the narrative of the Nicaraguan "other." I identified this practice early on, during a conversation with the children in which they announced that everybody in the classroom had a nickname. Initially, I hypothesized that this tendency to assign and appropriate

nicknames was a practice of co-construction of group identity, a rite of passage to indicate belonging and membership in the group.

Upon further observation and analysis of the children's use of nicknames, it became clear that the nicknames were used mostly by the boys, in particular by the self-proclaimed *tres mosqueteros* [three musketeers], Tomas, Eduardo, and Manuel. It seemed they had initiated this practice, and it had spread to the rest of the children, who often imitated what they did (FN, 04/12/2013: 20). As time went by, I noticed that the children used the nicknames in different ways. For example, sometimes the children used a nickname to get someone's attention (e.g. when borrowing an item: "Bean, let me borrow the scissors I gave you" (FN, 05/29/2013: 37) and to tease or make fun of someone, (e.g. "Look, it is Barbie face!" FN, 06/04/2013: 38). However, other times the use of nicknames was so widespread that the children used the student's nickname throughout the day instead of his or her given name. Towards the end of my fieldwork, it became evident that only the boys who had explicitly identified themselves as Nicaraguan were called by their nicknames on a regular basis.

I found that branding was a type of micro-aggression to which the Nicaraguan children at EMV were subjected. For Sue (2010),

> Microaggressions are the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual-orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group (Sue, Capodilupo, et al., 2007). Perpetrators are usually unaware that they have engaged in an exchange that demeans the recipient of the communication (p. 5).

Similar to Sue's (2010) assertion that "perpetrators are usually unaware that they have engaged in an exchange that demeans the recipient of the communication" (p. 5), when I asked Tomas, Eduardo, and Manuel about the practice of branding, this is what happened,

> I asked them about the nicknames: "Why do you use nicknames for some people but not for yourselves? Have you noticed that?" "No, we also have our own nicknames" Eduardo replied. "Barbie Face is Manuel; Cantinflas is Tomas, and Pepinillos is Eduardo" he elaborated. "Actually, if we don't assign them nicknames it is because we don't get along… The ones that we call by their nicknames are the ones that we trust…Others we call nicknames because we don't trust them" he clarified. (FN, 06/05/2013: 51-57).

Even as Eduardo tried to deny that they only used nicknames for other children, he acknowledged that they used nicknames in different ways, one of them being to identify children who they did not trust. Minkel-Lacocque (2013) explains that "scholarly conversations on racial microaggressions have historically focused on the act itself and not on what happens after the act is committed" (p. 456). During my fieldwork, I was able to observe not only contested microagressions, which Minikel-Lacocque (2013) defines as "the process by which the target of a microagression names and contests the perceived racist act" (p. 459), but also appropriated and perpetuated microagressions.

In order to avoid and/or in response to the practice of branding, Nicaraguan children and children of Nicaraguan parents employed a range of strategies. Nicaraguan children appropriated the nicknames, appropriated branding behavior, and verbally resisted the nicknames. For example, one of the Nicaraguan children appropriated his

nickname. He said that he liked his nickname "potato face" because potatoes were delicious, and therefore, his face was delicious (FN, 03/15/2013: 11). Fabio, on the other hand, both resisted and appropriated branding behavior. For example, Fabio appropriated branding behavior by creating a nickname for a new student, perpetuating the dynamics of exclusion to which he himself was subjected (FN, 05/3/2013: 41). He also commented that he did not like being called nicknames, and he constantly confronted children when they did. Ruben commented on this by saying,

Ruben: Fabio… he is Nicaraguan, and he comes from Granada, like me, so when he has problems here, I tell him that it is better not to… not to get into fights, that he should tell the teacher…

Ana: And he has problems? Why?

Ruben: Because he does not like to be called "Mr. Bean."

Ana: Children here use a lot of nicknames, right?

Ruben: Yes.

Ana: And, why do you think that is? That they call everybody nicknames?

Ruben: Because they believe they are the strongest, and because they are the biggest and we are the smallest [in age]…They think they are like a gang, so they spend the time bullying us, so one does not want to have problems with one's mom and with them (II, 04/18/2013:189-195).

In this conversation, Ruben described the behavior of the "three musketeers" as bullying and mentioned power dynamics at play in the practice of branding.

Children of Nicaraguan immigrants at EMV seemed to avoid microagressions by passing as Costa Rican, staying at the margin of social interactions, and appropriating

branding behavior. For instance, Ernesto and Yolanda went to great extents to hide their familial affiliations. Ernesto also appropriated branding behavior by joining others to call the new student the nickname Fabio created. Branding was such a subtle mechanism of exclusion and discrimination that teachers were not aware of it. When they witnessed it, they usually brushed it off as one more kind of misbehaving that the children did, using *boletas* [cards deducting points from their conduct grade] or *recados* [notes] for parents, but unaware that it was a systemic issue.

At EMV, Profe Pamela and her students understood language in ways that aligned with contemporary narratives of the Costa Rican citizen as rooted in one nation, but as globally competitive. Their understandings of language displayed a high degree of awareness of the prestige and linguistic capital obtained by speakers of standard Spanish and English varieties. Unfortunately, the children also created semantic and linguistic resources in the forms of micro-aggressions that perpetuated discriminatory tendencies towards Nicaraguans. In the next section, the findings at RSE will provide a point of comparison to examine how different national trajectories produce and encounter various spaces for linguistic diversity.

Linguistic Dualities and English Dominance at RSE

As an IB school, RSE had an explicit international orientation and commitment to language education. Since its inception, the intentionally-global curriculum of the IB has emphasized language learning as a valuable commodity. Children in elementary international schools implementing the IB Primary Years Programme (PYP) (2000, 2009) are envisioned as individuals who can communicate in several languages, who understand the various functions of language, who are aware of linguistic diversity, and

who are knowledgeable of the power of language in society (IBO, 2000, p. 24). For example, the PYP Student Profile outlines that students in IB schools learn to "respect differences and similarities between language and dialects. They are aware of the use of language as an expression of bias and strive to maintain an objective stance" (p. 41). In theory, this includes not only foreign languages but mother tongue maintenance as well. The IBO (2000) states,

> The PYP believes that mother tongue language development is crucial for maintaining cultural identity and emotional stability and that acquisition of more than one language enriches personal growth and helps facilitate international understanding. International schools have a special responsibility to recognize and support each and every aspect of language development. (p. 7).

The PYP also outlines some ways in which mother tongue maintenance can be achieved. For instance, "bilingual dictionaries are available in the classroom, letters to parents are often translated before being sent home, students are encouraged to use books in their own language for project work and, often, mother tongue classes are part of the programme" (p. 76). However, Carder (2006) has argued that when it comes to the PYP,

> It is for each individual school to devise a language policy that addresses the above principles. There is nothing specific about crucial ages of development, the advantages of additive bilingualism… the dangers of subtractive bilingualism, or the complexities of some students' language backgrounds" (p. 121).

In fact, various scholars have found the kind of bilingual education exhibited, if at all, by most international schools can be described as "elite bilingual education" (Hamel, 2008; Hélot & de Mejía, 2008) or "prestigious bilingual education" (García, 2006, p. 236),

where foreign language learning for "language majority" students is emphasized but home language maintenance, development, and practice for bilingual and multilingual immigrant or refugee learners is not. This was also the case at RSE.

Collectively, the students at RSE spoke 14 languages. During the period of this study, all children at RSE were required to take a language class, Spanish, French, or English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) (Table 16). Yet, the children's constructions of linguistic diversity at RSE were different depending on each child's particular background and immigration history. Overall, whereas refugee children and children of refugees both communicated "owning" their home languages, they differed in their reported use of their home languages at school. They also differed in their discussion of the challenges of growing up bilingual. In contrast, local children both exoticized and abnormalized bilingualism.

Language ownership. Refugee children like Ahn, indicated a strong ownership and identification with the language (s) they learned in their country of origin. One day during lunch,

> Ahn said that she spoke three languages, Burmese, English and "*my* language." "Oh, your language?" I asked, "what is your language's name?" "Chin" she said, "it is the language of my family and my people. It is like Burmese, but different (FN, 02/12/2012:127-130).

Ahn referred to Chin as "my language" and "my words" and connected it with social groups like "my family" and "my people." During the interview, when I asked her if any of her classmates spoke Burmese or Chin, she replied, "in my classroom some of them

are trying to learn my words, Burmese words, so in my hike on Saturday, my friend singed [sic] a Burmese song, and then they started singing and started learning."

Table 16. RSE Students' Languages and Language Choice

#	Student	Students' Language/s	Foreign Language Choice*
1	Ahn	Myanmar, Chin, English	ESOL
2	Helima	English, Kurdish, Arabic	ESOL
3	Ameerah	English, Somalian, Hindi	French
4	Ahmed	English, Swahili, Somalian	Spanish
5	Khari	English, Creole, Mandei	French
6	Izza	English, Wolof	French
8	Emma	English, Spanish	Spanish
9	David	English, Spanish	Spanish
7	April	English, French, Spanish	French
10	Irina	English, Russian	Spanish
11	John	English, Spanish	Spanish
12	Latisha	English, French, Spanish	French

*Newcomer children or children with low levels of English proficiency were required to take ESOL rather than a foreign language.

Children of refugees shared some conceptualizations of language with refugee children like Ahn and Helima in their expression of ownership of their home language, describing it as their main language. For instance, in my interview with Ahmed, when I asked him about the language that he spoke at home, he said "[I speak] English [and] mine…The one I speak at my house… The one I speak at home is the main language I speak, and English is the second language" (II, 03/16/2012: 56). When I asked Ahmed about the languages that his classmates used at school, he explained, "English, and their main language at home" (II, 03/16/2012: 66). Other children of refugees echoed Ahmed's comments.

Linguistic compartmentalization. Refugee children and children of refugees spoke to a linguistic duality in which native and home languages embodied the

"unofficial" domain of the home, whereas English resided in the official space of the school and the society at large. The children described different degrees of concern and struggle with their various linguistic identities. Refugee children spoke to moments of agency and resistance, in which in spite of the dominance of English at their school, they used their home languages with children in other classrooms or grade-levels, often cousins or relatives who also attended the school. For instance, Ahn explained,

> Sometimes my friend in the other classroom speak[s] Myanmar because we speak together, other times… You know Lily in the other class? She, uhm, she is like from me, because she speaks the same language, and I speak the same language as her, we both speak Burmese (II, 03/05/2012:33).

Helima also spoke about the incredible resource that her cousins were for her when she came to the school, allowing her to mediate her school experience using Kurdish. She told me,

> Uhm, sometimes when I came to RSE, I never speak English, and then at least my cousin were here before me, and then I just speak with them, and they said: uhm, my name, like that. I told them in Kurdish because I didn't know in English (II, 03/07/2012:53).

However, during my observations I did not witness any of the children speaking a language other than English. Although refugee children at RSE described the challenges of bilingualism, they were optimistic in their depiction of those challenges and of their dual linguistic identities.

Children of refugees indicated that they struggled with a linguistic home-school duality, a linguistic either/or. They spoke to a linguistic duality that prescribed English as

the language of school, and their native language (s) as the language (s) of home, something that refugee children did not explicitly express. For example, when I asked Izza about what language Bubbly should learn if he came to the United States, she described the unspoken, yet pervasive practice of keeping the home language as a tool for maintaining family ties, but learning English as an asset for the "new generations." She shared, "I think he should learn both language[s]. So that he can speak Bubblish when he goes back home and sees his parents and English so that he can teach the Bubblies…Bubbly's babies" (FG1, 03/02/2012:112). Khari, on the other hand, shared "[I speak] Three [languages]… English, Creole, and Mandei…At school I speak English" (II, 03/07/2012:27-33).

The comments of the children at RSE are reminiscent of Fischman's idea of societal diglossia or "the functional distribution of two languages" (García, 2009a, p.75). In RSE's case, there was an unspoken social arrangement of compartmentalization of languages in which English was tied to the domain of the school whereas children's home languages were relegated to the "unofficial" and "less powerful" domain of the home. The implementation of English as the main medium of instruction only exacerbated this compartmentalization. English was the spoken and written standard throughout the school. This practice created spaces for the exclusion of children's languages and for the promotion of language hierarchies. It also placed speaking English in a position of status and prestige, whereas the maintenance of languages other than English was perceived as a deficit (Byram, 2006; Macedo et al., 2003).

Both refugee children and children of refugees at RSE also spoke about the tensions associated with learning both their parents' languages and English. For example,

Khari explained, “Well, it’s hard that most of the people here are not really from another country, they were like born here but their parents are from a different country so they go with their parents’ country…” (II, 03/07/2012:83). Izza said:

> I speak Wolof to my mom, but sometimes I speak English and she speaks Wolof to me, and I can’t really understand [Wolof]… [Khari]… her mother knows how to speak Wolof, so I speak Wolof with her a little bit… It feels nice to speak with someone that has the same language than me (II, 03/07/2012:25).

Helima, on the other hand, shared about the tensions of growing up with bilingual siblings but monolingual parents:

> [It’s] Hard… Because sometimes I talk with my mom, and I speak Kurdish when I just stepped in the house… I can’t speak English because every time because my mom doesn’t know English, she doesn’t know what are we [sic] saying. Some she knows… [She feels] sad because she doesn’t know how we, how do we talk [sic] and then she doesn’t talk about that people are talking about her, maybe she doesn’t know that people are talking about, we don’t talk about her, we talk about funny stuff in my house… I am sad because I wish my whole family gets a good life and my mom gets good English…I am going to teach her one day… (II, 03/07/2012:79-85).

Finally, local children and children who identified themselves as local also pointed to a linguistic home-school duality. However, the local children described a linguistic border separating emergent bilingual children from “native” speakers of English. Not only that, in their comments, local children simultaneously valued, devalued, and “othered” bilingualism. For instance, April said that other children

maintained "their" language in order to stay connected to family, but stressed that English was essential to speak to "us." In her comment, April communicated an "us-them" dichotomy based on linguistic ability or linguistic background. She explained,

> Well, if you want to be special… Well, there is [sic] a lot of immigrants who speak their language to their family, and if your family came with you and you could speak Bubblish to them, but you could also learn English as a whole family, and then you could speak to us or Ms. Ana… [or] somebody else, one of your friends that you meet… You could speak English to them... (FG3, 03/15/2012:199).

In addition, April qualified bilingualism as a "special" quality. This is something that Emma also did during the interview:

> Ana: "And what language do you usually use to speak to each other?"
>
> Emma: "English."
>
> Ana: "How do you like that?"
>
> Emma: "Uh, [giggles], it's normal, but it is also… kind of feels, just average." (II, 03/16/2012: 44-47).

In her answer, Emma normalized English and described it as "average," simultaneously exoticizing and abnormalizing bilingualism. Only one of the students, David, a local student, mentioned bilingual education during the study. He said,

> Uh, I think he [Bubbly] should go to a Bubbly school to learn English. So, one class would be Bubblish, one class would be English, one class would be Bubblish, one class would be English and then so on and so on. (FG1, 03/02/2012:119).

David's description of a bilingual school as "a Bubbly school" or a school for Bubblish people, illustrates the dominant perception that bilingual education is education for "the other." This construction of English as normal and of bilingual education as abnormal created avenues for the exclusion of the children's multilingual identities and practices.

The dominance of English. The pervasiveness of English was evident, albeit not unexpected, in the responses of students at RSE when I asked them what language Bubbly should speak if he came to Earth. The majority of the children at RSE said English. They acknowledged that English was an important language to know and use in order to participate in their school community. In addition, Khari, for example, pointed to majority-minority dynamics, communicating dominant discourses that place linguistic assimilation as a responsibility of minoritized groups, rather than multilingualism as a societal agreement. She said, "He [Bubbly] can't go to school if he doesn't know how to speak English… I think he [Bubbly] should learn English 'cause people won't understand him… It would be hard for everybody [to learn Bubblish] for just one person" (FG1, 03/02/2013:109). Other children, like Ahn, emphasized that Bubbly could hold dual linguistic identities and practices, highlighting that idea of ownership of "having" a language. She shared, "uhm… [Bubbly] can learn English, and still have his language at the same time" (FG2, 03/02/2012: 61).

However, for other students, that choice was limited to identification and not necessarily to a practice, certainly not a school practice. The comments that spoke to the idea of a practice indicated the idea of linguistic exchange, placing the burden on the immigrant/newcomer to teach his/her language, or describing linguistic exchange as a form of transitioning and mediating towards English proficiency. For instance, Ameerah

remarked, “he can go to school and learn English and he can teach people how to speak Bubblish” (FG2, 03/02/2012:65) whereas Ahmed pointed out, “If he had a friend that speaks a different language and doesn’t speak English, he can teach him Bubblish and the other man or woman can teach him their language, and then they can learn English” (FG3, 03/15/2012: 208). On the other hand, Ahn replied, “Uhm…[Bubbly] can learn English, and still have his language at the same time” (FG2, 03/02/2012:61).

Comments from children who identified as local, like Irina and Latisha, suggested that, not surprisingly, linguistic identity was intrinsically connected to civic identity. For them, it was expected that immigrants would assimilate linguistically in order to show allegiance to the national culture. Irina commented, “He should learn English because he is going to become American. Not Bubblish” (FG3, 03/15/2012:59), whereas Latisha highlighted, “I think he should learn English and learn a lot of English… How are you going to, uh, tell them if you want to be a citizen if you can’t speak English?” (FG1, 03/02/2012:111).

During the interviews, most of the participating children at RSE characterized learning English as an asset necessary for understanding at school, for socializing and communicating in order to meet new people, and to transition to more advanced classes. When asked how someone from another country could become friends with children in the United States, the children agreed that the person should learn English. Although some suggested using gestures, most students gave recommendations that mentioned going to ESOL lessons, avoiding use of their home language, making clear that the newcomer could speak both English and the home language, going to a school like RSE, and finding a friend who could help him to translate. Not only that, Khari spoke to the

idea of fear as one of the consequences of this linguistic assimilation, sharing, "Well, some people are afraid to speak their language at school because they think someone might laugh at them" (II, 03/07/2012:49).

The language practices of children at RSE reflected ideologies that posit English as a symbol of western power. In addition, the children at RSE experienced school environments where a utilitarian perspective of English was perpetuated and where ideas of linguistic diversity and Americanness were at odds. These were the messages that the children received about the worth of their linguistic capital and resources, and which often led to the linguistic assimilation that the children described in their comments.

This linguistic assimilation was expressed in two ways. First, there was an emphasis on elite bilingualism. In line with the school's emphasis on internationalization, the curriculum offered foreign language choices that were perceived as "global linguistic capital," namely Spanish and French. This focus on foreign language aligned with ideologies of additive bilingualism; however, it also caused subtractive bilingualism because the language options provided by the school did not reflect the linguistic capital of the students. Even worse, they denied it. Not all the children in the school were "elite" or "elective" bilinguals, learning a foreign language by choice, but "forced," "circumstantial," or "emergent" bilinguals, who had to learn English because of their journey as refugees (Baker, 2011; García, 2009). Even more, some children were "simultaneous" or "childhood" bilinguals, who had learned two or more languages before arrival in the United States or at their school (Baker, 2011; García, 2009).

The emphasis on taking ESOL classes before being able to learn another language, stressed the importance of learning English to claim membership into the

community. As Rong and Preissle (1998) assert, the "acquisition of nonaccented English and dropping of native languages represent the test of an immigrant's patriotism" (p. 36). In fact, the children's understandings and actions seemed to imply that even in an "international" school various degrees of assimilation, particularly linguistic, were expected of immigrants and refugees in order for them to be "American," highlighting what Byram (2006) has eloquently stated, that "the right of the nation-state to expect linguistic competence and linguistic identity [often] goes unchallenged" (p. 110). Because of this, in many cases, a utilitarian perspective of English learning was embraced by many of the children.

Even if teachers and students seemed to embody a certain degree of pride in the international composition of the school, diversity was implicitly understood as a process towards Americanness, particularly when it came to language. Albeit unintentionally, a deficit perspective of immigrants and refugees rather than an approach taking into account their linguistic *funds of knowledge* (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) continued to permeate the school narratives. However, children who spoke English as a "native language" did not have to face these pressures. For them, learning a foreign language was an addition to their global, linguistic repertoire, rather than a symbol of allegiance to the national community.

The children at RSE indicated appreciation and pride in their linguistic identities and in the linguistic diversity of the school. However, depending on their background, the children reported qualitatively different perceptions and experiences of bilingualism and linguistic diversity, a trilogy of parallel universes of understanding in which refugee children, children of refugees, and local children received and performed different

messages about the value of their linguistic identities and practices. Although RSE had systems of support for emergent bilingual students in the form of ESOL instruction, the ESOL program did not address or nurture children's bilingualism. Additive and elite bilingualism in the form of foreign language instruction did not look at children's existing bilingual skills as a resource, either. Overall, the language practices that I observed at RSE during the time that I was there reflected diglossic orientations that stayed within transitional approaches to language and in which students' multiple language systems competed with each other.

Both EMV and RSE had monolingual conceptions of language. In the case of RSE, these findings coincide with other studies, like Quaynor's (2012), reporting that international schools do not necessarily capitalize upon the linguistic capital of their refugee and immigrant students. In the case of EMV, these findings support existing literature that reports that Nicaraguan children are "othered" and victimized at school. However, these findings also shed light on the way in which children in two schools in Costa Rica and the United States understood and resisted the language ideologies that they found at school. In the next and final chapter, I examine how these findings inform the research questions and I discuss implications for theory, policy, research, and instructional practice.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

In this dissertation, I examined children's constructions of citizenship and language in two multicultural classrooms, one in Costa Rica and one in the United States. My goal was to paint a portrait of the civic and linguistic tools and practices that children in these schools used to perpetuate, appropriate, or contest various dominant narratives. I conducted document analysis, participant observations, individual interviews, and focus group interviews in two elementary schools with culturally and linguistically diverse students in order to answer the following research questions:

1. How do children and their teachers understand citizenship and language?
2. How do children and their teachers construct citizenship and language in their interactions with each other?
3. What are the narratives about citizenship and language that permeate the classroom?
4. How do children and teachers respond to these narratives in their everyday lives at school?

In this comparative case study, I described the positions, understandings, and actions of the participating students and teachers at EMV and RSE at two specific points in time. These findings may not reflect the experiences of all children and teachers in those schools, or of children and teachers in other geographical and national settings. The experiences of the students and educators at EMV and RSE that participated in this study speak to their particular circumstances and to the challenges that they encountered in their specific school contexts. As such, the findings that I presented in the previous chapters illuminate, rather than prescribe, the kinds of challenges and possibilities that

children and educators may encounter in multicultural schools in similar settings. In the following paragraphs, I provide a succinct answer to each research question, outline implications that problematize existing theoretical perspectives, and provide recommendations for new research avenues, educational practice, teacher preparation, and policy implementation.

Table 17. Research Questions and Findings Matrix

Research Question	Escuela Montaña Verde	River Song Elementary
How do children and teachers in multicultural contexts understand citizenship and language?	Citizenship continuum Citizenship as status and nation-centered	
	Relationship Building Philanthropy Environmental Awareness	Belonging Involvement Choice
How do they perform citizenship and language in their interactions with each other?	Contradictions between understandings and performances Spaces for citizenship learning	
	Actos Civicos & School Government Current Events *Mejengas* Assimilation & Branding	School Rallies & Volunteering Talent Shows Knucklebones Compertamentalization of language
What are the narratives about citizenship and language that permeate the classroom?	Collective civic practices Elite bilingualism Acknowledgement of diversity	Individual civic action Subtractive/elite bilingualism Diversity recognition and redistribution
How do children and teachers respond to these narratives in their everyday lives at school?	Negotiation & Claiming spaces Microagressions Iconicity & Human Rights rhetoric	Protests & Artistic Expression Performativity Alliances

Understandings of Citizenship and Language

The first research question asked, "How do children and their teachers understand citizenship and language?" I found that children's understandings of citizenship existed along a continuum of dynamic and static qualities. Most of the children in my study associated citizenship with static traits that highlighted citizenship as a status. Although I was not able to interview the teacher at RSE, I did interview the teacher at EMV. Profe Pamela's understanding of citizenship, which was grounded in her experiences as an athlete and in her regional identity, also reflected static and nation-centered traits.

In terms of language, both groups of children mentioned the importance of speaking the dominant language in order to become a member of the national community. The children at EMV reported knowledge of language ideologies that posited Nicaraguan Spanish as inferior and that reflected deficit-oriented and discriminatory attitudes towards Nicaraguan immigrants in the society at large. At RSE, the children expressed different understandings of language depending on their background, whether they were refugee children, children of refugees, or local children. Refugee children expressed ownership of their various language systems and reported using them at school, whereas children of refugees indicated language ownership, but also a linguistic duality. Local children spoke to a compartmentalization of languages and to the relationship between language and national belonging.

Performances of Citizenship and Language

The second research question asked "How do children and their teachers perform citizenship and language in their interactions with each other?" Whereas the children at EMV and RSE defined citizenship mostly as a status, their actions indicated otherwise.

They were actively involved in the structures of participation created by their teachers and schools. Not only that, they were engaged in constructing citizenship as a practice and as a feeling of belonging in non-academic spaces like recess. In fact, I found that in both schools there were three sites of citizenship learning that promoted different civic knowledge and skills: "structured," "guided," and "monitored" spaces. In structured spaces, like the classroom at RSE and school assemblies at EMV, the children in both schools learned important civic knowledge and were involved in civic responsibilities and practices scaffolded by their schools. In guided spaces, like talent shows at RSE and classroom time at EMV, the children practiced democratic deliberations and decision making for public good. They also created, negotiated, and strengthened relationships. In monitored spaces, like recess, students at EMV and RSE had opportunities to organically engage their unique backgrounds and interests to build civic communities, that were reminiscent of Dewey's (1916) "little publics."

The children at EMV and RSE communicated the existence of pervasive language ideologies in their schools. During my observations, I confirmed that the children in both schools had created practices that mirrored those ideologies. At EMV, the children engaged in the practice of "branding" students who self-identified as Nicaraguan by assigning them nicknames that replaced their given names in student interactions. At RSE, children's practices revealed the dominance of English in their lives at school. In both contexts, the children's behaviors were evocative of the concept of "performativity" (Austin, 1962; Butler, 1990; Pennycook, 2004) which refers to the act of performing and negotiating identity through language.

In fact, at EMV the practice of creating nicknames was a speech act to position other students as Nicaraguan immigrants. In light of this practice, some children of immigrants actively decided not to perform their Nicaraguan identity by concealing their accents and backgrounds. At RSE, children of refugees indicated using English at school as a performance of their American identity. García (2009a) reminds us that "[Ethnolinguistic minorities] decide who they want to be and choose their language practices accordingly" (p.83). The students at EMV and RSE indicated and showed awareness of this agency to perform identity.

Narratives about Citizenship and Language

The third research question investigated, "What are the narratives about citizenship and language that permeate the classroom?" Both countries had narratives of exceptionality—built during colonial times—that perpetuated white privilege and excluded minoritized ethnocultural groups. In Costa Rica, these narratives presented the country as a white, egalitarian, and literate nation. In the United States, the narrative of exceptionality presented the national community as a "nation of immigrants" and a "land of freedom."

Upon examining selected documents, I found that each country has high ideals for its citizens—at least rethorically. In both, the United States and Costa Rica, the documents described citizens as well-rounded individuals who show cultural awareness and can participate in the global economy. However, there were important differences in each country's conceptualization of the citizen. In Costa Rica, the citizen was mainly envisioned as a bilingual Spanish-English individual in everyday peaceful coexistence with those around him/her. Although the documents acknowledged the many

backgrounds of Costa Ricans and showed commitment to prejudice-reduction, the idea of citizenship transmitted in most documents was nation-centered. In the United States, the documents communicated an emphasis on individual civic action and knowledge. In addition, the citizen was envisioned as English-speaking, and bilingualism was only mentioned in reference to underrepresented populations.

Positions and Dispositions towards Statal Narratives

Finally, the fourth research question asked, "How do children and teachers respond to these narratives in their everyday lives at school?" I found evidence that larger cultural and educational narratives permeated the contexts of both schools. In both settings students and teachers resisted and appropriated those narratives. At EMV, there was resistance from the faculty towards the new policies and trainings on interculturalidad. The children at EMV showed the perpetuation and appropriation of those narratives. For example, the children perpetuated the narrative of immigrant exclusion through micro-aggressions in the practice of branding; yet, the Nicaraguan children both appropriated and resisted the practice in various ways. In my observations at EMV I also saw evidence, in the school assemblies and constant request for donations, of the focus on the collective reflecting the statal narrative of Costa Rica. At RSE, there was a heavy emphasis on individual responsibilities that reflected curricular content in the documents. In addition, I observed that—in alignment with narratives about English dominance—there was recognition of linguistic diversity at this international school that did not trickle down to students' everyday lives.

If other researchers studying other sites obtain findings similar to min, then there are a number of implications for education policy, theory, and practice. In the following

two sections I discuss my findings in light of previous research. Then I present the implications for citizenship and language education that stem from those findings. After that, I provide concluding remarks.

Implications for Citizenship Education

According to Levinson (2010), children from lower socioeconomic status, minoritized ethnic groups, and immigrant/refugee status often have fewer opportunities to learn and develop privileged and/or mainstream dimensions of civic knowledge, skills, and action in their schools and neighborhoods and therefore, fewer opportunities and tools for enacting political change and social justice. This was not the case at RSE and EMV, where the children in the study encountered many opportunities to participate in mainstream forms of citizenship. However, during my time in both schools I observed that the important global capital and transnational networks of the participating children at EMV and RSE did not seem to be intentionally utilized at school during my time there. These findings have important implications for pedagogy, curriculum, teacher education, theory, and policy.

Many of the ideas about citizenship that the participating children expressed and enacted, such as interest in current events, dual civic identities, and citizenship as friendship—which were informed by their particular life histories, journeys, and interactions—remained silent, if not silenced, at school. Researchers such as Banks (2004) have pointed out the relevance of supporting students in multicultural settings in the creation of healthy cultural, national, and global identifications that can lead to transformative citizenship. Yet, the social studies lessons, textbooks, and curricula that I observed in each school focused on "mainstream" epistemic resources for citizenship,

which were nation-centered and communicated ideas of citizenship as an individual relationship with one nation-state.

Callahan and Muller (2013) state that "children of immigrants encounter the social science curriculum with a perspective distinct to those of their peers and their parents" (p. 2). My research suggests that children like the participating students at EMV and RSE might benefit from instruction and resources that address what it means to be a citizen in contemporary multicultural societies, including topics like dual civic and national identities. In both schools, children shared with me experiences of transit and settlement across countries as well as of transnational networks that they maintained via Skype, telephone, and email. These transnational physical and virtual journeys were not explicitely utilized in classroom instruction. A transnational multicultural education (Arshad-Ayaz, 2011) that includes a multi-focal dimension can "help students contextualize identity markers within the proper context of the global economic and political structures that are instrumental in the formation of these markers in the first place" (p. 73).

In this study, I also identified contradictions between the "vocabularies of citizenship" of the children at EMV and RSE, and their "lived citizenship" (Lister et al, 2003, p. 235). My findings coincided with Lister et al. (2003), who found that "citizenship was not part of the everyday language of the young people in [their] study." (p. 237). However, I observed that even when the children at EMV and RSE did not use the "official" or "adult" vocabulary of citizenship, they communicated and demonstrated civic skills, knowledge, and attitudes that are essential for active participation in multicultural democratic societies (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE,

2003)—even when their participation in the political structures of their classroom and school was carefully guided by adults (Devine, 2002; Holden & Minty, 2011).

Although the teachers usually emphasized mainstream forms of civic knowledge and participation in structured school spaces, my observations in guided and monitored school spaces revealed that these "informal" spaces are also important for the citizenship learning of children like the ones at EMV and RSE. Studies on play and citizenship (Elbers, 1996; Long, Volk, & Gregory, 2007; Paley, 1992) suggest that through play students learn to contextualize, interpret, and enact rules and roles for immediate and future participation in society. To date several studies on the relationship between sports and national identity (Dzankic, 2012), and sports and citizenship (Lopez & Moore, 2006; O'Dodovan, MacPhail, & Kirk, 2010; Walseth, 2008) have provided varying evidence of the importance of physical and leisure collective activities for students' citizenship learning. These scholars agree that, even if studies are inconclusive, participation in sports might have positive influences in the political participation of children and youth. However, this is an area of inquiry that needs to be better investigated.

Adding to an already extensive body of literature confirming the relationship between social studies classes and future political participation of children and youth (Callahan & Mueller, 2013; Hahn, 1998), my findings suggest that children in schools like EMV and RSE draw from the social studies curriculum—which is often influenced by the country's statal narrative—when formulating their own constructions of citizenship. What is not clear from the existing scholarship is the degree to which an emphasis on civic participation rather than history or government promotes future political engagement.

In the two countries where I conducted the study, civic education at the elementary school level was deliberately delivered as part of the social studies class. This had one important repercussion: during their social studies lessons, the teachers at EMV and RSE often focused on the historical or political aspects of citizenship and taught them as facts. This conflation of social studies with the teaching of civic, political, or historical facts/events (rather than with the development of civic skills and attitudes) is something that researchers have studied and that needs to be better addressed in teacher preparation programs and in-service professional development programs.

Most importantly, in light of this, should civic education have a more prominent role in the curriculum taught at the elementary school level? Education policy makers in both countries prioritized the study of civics to middle school/high school, but teachers and students in elementary schools had limited official spaces for the intentional study of civics. Not only that, even when there is a dedicated time period for this, students sometimes learn contradictory lessons on citizenship and civic participation from the hidden curriculum (Hahn, 1998). Other times they learn powerful messages and skills from their involvement in activities outside of the classroom. Practitioners and scholars agree that teaching for democracy involves not only teaching civic knowledge but teaching democratically across various school spaces (Apple & Beane, 2007; Gutmann, 1999; Zinn & Macedo, 2005). Education policy makers need to consider the inclusion of democratic education in conversations about school reform.

Finally, I found that the children in the study were located along a citizenship continuum in which they held various static and dynamic traits of citizenship. This is consistent with other studies that have suggested the many complex social and cultural

factors that influence students' constructions of citizenship. Lister et al (2003) explain that,

> The ways in which individuals frequently drew on a number of models simultaneously to make sense of citizenship and their own identities as citizens suggests that the "lived citizenship" of young people needs to be understood in fluid terms, cutting across fixed
> theoretical categories. Such findings pose a challenge for both the theorization and politics of citizenship. (p. 251)

My research suggests a path towards a theory of "citizenship in interaction" in which I envision citizenship is an ongoing process of co-constructing civic identities, civic practices, and civic relationships through dynamic everyday encounters. Theorizing citizenship in interaction would require taking a look at the different contexts and spaces that influence children and youth's constructions of citizenship and investigating whether and how students show mobility over time and place across the citizenship continuum.

Scholars have highlighted the challenges of "opening discourses of citizenship" (Nicoll et al. 2013). In this study, I found evidence of those challenges. These findings urge us to ask about the messages about citizenship that children receive at school, and, particularly, that refugee and immigrant children receive about the worth of their multiple transnational affiliations and practices. Most importantly, these findings suggest the need to further investigate 1) how schools can best support refugee and immigrant children to construct epistemic resources and civic spaces that build upon their transnational experiences and practices of citizenship and 2) how practitioners and scholars can come

together to challenge social structures that continue to perpetuate a deficit notion of low-income, minoritized, immigrant, and refugee students' civic capital.

Implications for Language Education

At EMV and RSE, I found that the children faced structural challenges to freely use their particular linguistic systems, and that they often experienced covert or overt linguistic discrimination. More specifically, language was both a reason for exclusion and the tool to exert that exclusion. These findings reflect the need to address issues of linguicism in schools by contesting practices at the micro level and policies at the macro level that perpetuate deficit notions of linguistic diversity.

During this study, I noticed that the topic of linguistic diversity was not explicitly included in any of the subjects that the participating children studied at school nor was it discussed in any of the lessons I observed. Although both RSE and EMV had included foreign language learning in their curricula, the foreign language classes that I observed did not include components of culture, citizenship, or ideology—nor did any of the classes in the other content areas that I observed. In the European context**,** scholars like Osler and Starkey (2005) and Byram (2008) have identified the importance of language for the development of citizenship. Starkey (2002) describes "language education as a site of learning for democratic citizenship" (p. 20).

In fact, Starkey (2002) comments that "the teaching and learning of languages has an important part to play as an element of an interdisciplinary approach to a positive culture of antiracism" (p. 12). However, this was not the case at EMV or RSE. The foreign language classes at RSE and EMV functioned as spaces to perpetuate the prestige of particular languages and to obtain linguistic capital to compete in the global market.

They did not explicitly set out to contribute to children's development of democratic citizenship, confirming Starkey's (2002) point that unless language learning is "accompanied by other well-conceived educational experiences" (p. 12) it does not "necessarily reduce or remove prejudices" (p. 12).

At the micro level, my findings indicate that teachers and students would benefit from learning about and discussing the ways in which language intersects with citizenship. For example, the theory of Linguistic Human Rights (LHR) (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1995) can be incorporated in teacher preparation programs and elementary school language/social studies lessons. At the macro level, these findings contribute to urge parents, educators, scholars, and policy makers to actively advocate for and establish education initiatives and policies to denounce linguistic discrimination in schools and to protect the language rights of minoritzed populations.

In the RSE case specifically, my findings support the emerging scholarship documenting the contradictions between the global rhetoric of international schools and their structures of support for bilingualism. In recent years, there has been an increase of state-funded public international schools in the United States, many of which are Title I schools serving immigrant and refugee children who have unique linguistic backgrounds and needs. However, researchers have pointed out that there is little research on the treatment of bilingualism in international schools (Carder, 2006; Murphy, 2003a, 2003b).

Research on the treatment of bilingualism in international schools in the United States has been conducted mostly in middle schools and high schools (Carder, 2006; García, Flores, & Woodley, 2012), although there is also some research about younger learners (Murphy, 2003a; Murphy, 2003b). This research has pointed out the challenges

and possibilities of international schools to adequately support bilingual learners. In particular, it tells us that although there are programs in place that address the issue of bilingualism in IB middle schools and high schools, adequate guidelines and support for bilingualism and mother tongue maintenance in elementary schools still need to be developed (Carder, 2006). In addition, research outside of the United States (Resnik, 2009; Visser, 2010) has found that international schools do not always attend to the linguistic assets and needs of emergent bilingual students.

Two related phenomena, westernization and globalization permeated school practices at RSE. One one hand, scholars like van Ord (2007), have pointed out that although the IB curriculum is "overtly international at the content level… [it is] thoroughly western at the epistemological level" (p. 375). On the other hand, these tensions reflect larger narratives that might very well be associated with what Bunnell (2009) explains is a "paleoconservative" fear that American citizenship can be replaced by global citizenship. Observations, focus groups, and interviews yielded evidence of the tensions between diversity and "Americanness" that took place at RSE. These two discourses contributed to the placement of English, as a symbol of western power, in a position of status/priority at RSE while at the same time creating a push for an integration of local and international demands.

Even though IB schools have traditionally catered to the elites, the unprecedented access of immigrant and refugee students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds to an international education (IBO, 2012) should compel educators and scholars to examine how IB schools are addressing the linguistic needs and asserting the linguistic capital of these students. Although RSE had systems of support for emergent bilingual students in

the form of ESOL instruction, the ESOL program did not address or nurture children's bilingualism. The biggest challenge that RSE faces, as do many international schools across the country, is precisely the multilingual composition of the study body. Whereas one-way and two-way bilingual education programs have the potential to succeed in binational/bicultural settings, international schools would benefit from programs that reach student populations with greater linguistic diversity.

Scholars like Carder (2007), García (2009b), and Murphy (2011) have made significant contributions to the imagining of what bilingual education in international schools can and should look like. Carder (2007) has theorized a three-program model for enriching language education in international schools. The model includes a second language program, a mother tongue program, and a professional development component for faculty and staff. García (2009b) has advocated for dynamic bilingualism in the form of multiple multilingual education. For García (2009b), multiple multilingual education is,

> Not only…the use of more than two autonomous separate languages in instruction, but to
>
> > the intertwining of language practices, to the translanguaging that must be the *modus operandi* of schools that tend to heteroglossic ethnoglinguistic groups whose language practices are multiple. These multiple multilingual programs mix and blend types of bilingual education programs as they see fit, and develop academic language use in one or more languages. (p. 149)

In her edited volume of early childhood education in international schools around the world, Murphy (2011) has provided a window into the possibilities of international

schools to nurture and develop children's bilingualism. More research is necessary to document the results of implementing these different approaches to bilingualism in international settings. More importantly, research that looks at bilingual education initiatives and policies within a post-colonial critical lens is essential to complement current efforts addressed at improving pedagogical and curricular practices.

My findings at RSE corroborate the challenges of international schools to support and maintain the linguistic repertoires of bilingual and multilingual students. They also highlight the need for more research in that area. In particular, I identified a need to investigate whether the language experiences of children in other school contexts also differ depending on whether they are refugee children, children of refugees, or local children. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2008) pointed out that

> Studies seem to repeatedly confound the experiences of immigrant youth (that is the foreign-born who come to the United States) with the fortunes of those of immigrant origins (children whose families have been in the United States for two, and in some cases, three generations). While there are similarities between the experiences of immigrants and those of the second generation, their realities are distinct and must be separately understood. (p. 4)

Likewise, I found that in both countries the linguistic realities of refugee/immigrant children and children of refugees/immigrants in my study were different. Not only that, the children received different messages about the worth of their linguistic capital depending on their immigration status. Research on the linguistic identities and practices of refugee/immigrant children and children of refugees/immigrants and how they are different or similar is important to determine courses of action to better affirm children's

linguistic identities and practices across different stages of language development (e.g. emergent bilinguals, simultaneous bilinguals) and incorporation and to support their particular needs. In that line of research, scholars could ask, "What kinds of systems of support would best utilize students' linguistic assets to improve their academic achievement?" "What kinds of resources and initiatives exist in other school, community, and home spaces, and how do they complement the work of the school?" "What kind of support for bilingualism and multilingualism do children get through transnational virtual and physical journeys and networks?

I pointed out a number of implications for policy, theory, and practice. I found that efforts for school reform should also include conversations about the importance of civic education and about the dangers of education policy that promotes linguicism in schools. In terms of theory, I identified a need to further investigage the idea of *citizenship in interaction* across various school spaces that promote specific civic and linguistic dimensions and across the citizenship continuum. Particularly, the relationship between play/sports and citizenship requires more attention. The concept of *scaffolded citizenship* is also something that needs to investigaged in more depth. Finally, I found that teacher education programs and professional development for educators might benefit from including content and instrucational strategies that address the topics of dual civic/national identities, transnational journeys, Linguistic Human Rights, and language ideologies across the curriculum and across school contexts.

Concluding Remarks

The stories of the children and teachers at EMV and RSE, the struggles they encountered at school and the strategies they used, portray the multiple ways in which

geographies, histories, cultures, and personalities interact to create new avenues for transformation. As scholars theorize new ways to look at citizenship and language, Fairclough (2010) reminds us that,

> One way of reading this emphasis on citizenship as a communicative achievement is that it is an attempt to get us away from preconceptions about what citizenship is, and to force us to look at how it's done—at the range of ways in which people position themselves and others as citizens in participatory events (p. 412).

In this dissertation, I have captured "the range of ways" in which students in two different schools in two different national settings positioned themselves and others in participatory events. This range of ways was unique in each school, but it was also similar. Most importantly, the many ways in which children and teachers did citizenship at EMV and RSE indicates that, students and educators used their agency every day to become engaged participants in their multicultural and multilingual communities. However, my findings also point to the need to continue to challenge statal narratives, educational policies, and instructional practices that position bilingual students from low-income underrepresented backgrounds in a light of deficit and that jeopardize their civic and linguistic rights.

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Appendices

Appendix A
Observation Guide

Date: Class: Time: Total Time:

1. Classroom Environment (or overall environment if recess or lunch):

Where does the class or activity take place? Why? What visuals are there in the classroom/area? What is the mood of the space (light, temperature, etc.)? How are desks organized? How are children and teachers sitting? Why are they seating in this way? Who determines seating arrangements and overall organization of the classroom in this particular day?

2. Nature of the Activity:

What is happening? Why? Who is leading the activity? Who is doing the teaching? Does this activity promote citizenship learning/civic action? In what way?

3. Content of the Lesson/activity:

What is the subject being taught? What ideas of citizenship, diversity, or immigration are being taught explicitly (e.g. standards)? What elements are being taught implicitly? How do the children respond to these ideas?

4. Teacher Instructional Strategies and Resources:

What language (or kind of language) is used to teach the lesson? What instructional resources does the teacher use? How did the teacher go about selecting those resources? How are the children involved in learning about the lesson? What are the rules for participation? Who sets those rules? What language do the children use to participate in the lesson? Are students' national/cultural backgrounds integrated in the lesson? In what way?

5. Student-student Interactions:

What kind of interactions do students engage in? In what context do these interactions take place? What is the purpose of these interactions? What do the children consider appropriate/inappropriate behaviors during these interactions? Are there any rules of interaction? How are these interactions initiated and ended? Who interacts with who? Why? What language do the students use in their interactions? How do these interactions change depending on place and time? How do students go about making decisions together? What issues challenge/facilitate the decision making process? How do students go about planning an activity, game, or event? What do the children do about conflict and exclusion? What is the role of each participant in their interactions with each other? Do children bring up their national/ethnic identities into their interactions? In what way? What kind of boundaries do the children create in their interactions? What function do these boundaries have? How do the children go about creating and crossing boundaries? What tools do they use? What kind of civic knowledge, values, and attitudes do the children display in their interactions?

6. Student-teacher Interactions:

How does the teacher communicate with the students inside and outside of the classroom? How does the teacher communicate with different children? What is the purpose of these interactions? What language does he/she use? What do the children and teacher consider appropriate/inappropriate behaviors during these interactions? In what context do these interactions take place? Are there any rules of interaction? How are these interactions initiated and ended? What is the role of each participant in these interactions? How do teachers and students go about making decisions together? What elements challenge/facilitate the decision making process? Does the teacher bring up her/his national/ethnic identity? In what way? What kind of civic knowledge, values, and attitudes do the children display in their interactions?

7. **Communal/Citizenship Interactions**: How and why do students treat each other in a collective or civic manner? How do teachers enter into this? How and when do teachers and students use such pronouns as "we" or "they," as so much of membership can be accomplished with these? What is the emotional tenor of the room? Are students on board or oppositional? Checked out? What about trust? Where is it? Where isn't it?

Appendix B
Focus Group Interview Protocol

Time expected: 30 minutes
This is a semi-structured interview. Questions might be added or dropped depending on students' answers.

Introduction: As you know my name is Ana. I am from Costa Rica. I am a student, just like you. I have an assignment at school. I have to write something about children and their classmates. I want to know what it is like for a child to be in a classroom with classmates from different countries. So, I would like to ask you questions. Would you like to help me? (Adapted from Bombi, Pinto, & Cannoni, 2007).

The Focus Group:
Bubbly [a puppet] is from Bubbleland. It is visiting Earth on vacation. Bubbly might like to move here. It has many questions about living on Earth. Would you like to help him by answering some of them? Bubbly does not speak English/Spanish, so I will translate the questions and answers for Bubbly.

1. Bubbly heard that you come from many different countries. Is that true? How does a person know what country they are from? How does a person know what country they live in?

2. The other day, Bubbly heard the word "nationality." Do you know what that is*? How does a person know what nationality they are? If Bubbly moves to planet Earth, what nationality would he be? Can somebody have two nationalities*? Can Bubbly still be Bubblish if he comes live in the United States/Costa Rica, or would he be American/Costa Rican?* What is a Costa Rican/American? What are American/Costa Rican people like?*

3. Have you heard the words "citizen," "immigrant," "refugee"? Where did you hear them? What do people mean when they say these words? Where did you learn what these words mean? What does a citizen, immigrant, refugee do? What things do you have to do when you live in Costa Rica/the United States? What things can you do when you live in Costa Rica/the United States? Can someone be a citizen and an immigrant/refugee at the same time? If Bubbly came to Costa Rica/the United States, what would he be?

4. Bubbly speaks Bubblish. Should he learn another language? Or should people on Earth learn Bubblish? *Who decides what language Bubbly should learn when it comes to Earth? What would happen if Bubbly decides to move to Costa Rica/the United States? Can he come to school in Costa Rica/the United States if he speaks another language?*

5. Bubbly might look different than the children at this school. He might also have different customs. Would that be a problem if it comes to study in a school in the United States/Costa Rica? *What are some examples of challenges Bubbly would have at school?*

6. What do people from different countries need to know about each other? How do people from different cultures/countries go about making decisions?

Bubbly is very grateful that you took the time to answer his questions. Do you have any questions for Bubbly? Thank you!

*Adapted from Carrington and Short (2008).
**Italics represented follow-up questions.

Appendix C
Student Interview Protocol

Time expected: 30 minutes

This is a semi-structured interview. Questions might be added or dropped depending on students' answers.

Hi. I am so happy to see you again. Do you remember me? Bubbly has some more questions for you. Would you like to answer them?

1. I would like to know more about you: What is the name of the country you live in? What is the name of the country you are from? Do you have family or friends who live in another country? *How do you feel about that?* Do you speak another language? *How do you feel about that? How do you become friends with someone who speaks another language?* What does it mean to live in Costa Rica/the United States? *Are you Costa Rican/American, or something else?* (adapted from Carrington & Short, 2008)
2. Do you have any classmates or friends at school from other countries? *How many? Do you know where they come from?* (Bombi, Pinto, & Cannoni, 2007). What does a person need to do to be friends with people from other countries? *How did you learn to be friends with children from other countries?*
3. What is it like to be in a school with children from so many different countries? *What do you like about having classmates and friends at school from other countries (in the United States/Costa Rica and possibly country of origin)? What is difficult about having classmates and friends at school from other countries (in the United States and possibly country of origin)?*
4. Tell me about at time that you talked, played, met, or interacted with someone from a different country (*religion, culture, language*). *What happened? Where did it happen? What did you do? How did you communicate? What happened if you did not understand the other person or if you disagreed with them? How did it make you feel? Who else was involved? What do you think the other person was thinking/feeling? Do you think you were thinking/feeling the same? Had you had an experience like this before? What did you think about the experience?**
5. What would you recommend to someone who has never had a friend or classmate from another country/culture?

Bubbly is very grateful that you took the time to answer his questions. Do you have any questions for Bubbly? Thank you!

*This is a new set of questions. It was adapted from Byram, 2008, pp. 240-245.
**Italics represented follow-up questions.

Appendix D

Teacher Interview Protocol

Time expected: 30 minutes

This is a semi-structured interview. Questions might be added or dropped depending on the participants' answers.

1. Where are you from? Where do you call home?
2. For how many years have you been a teacher?
3. Tell me a little about yourself. Why did you become a teacher?
4. What subjects do you currently teach? Do you teach citizenship education or civic education? What does citizenship/civic education mean to you? What materials do you use when you teach citizenship/civic education?
5. How many times have you taught in classrooms with a mix of immigrant and non-immigrant children? Have you taught in classrooms where only one country was represented?
6. What are the challenges of teaching in a homogeneous classroom? What are the challenges that students face in a classroom where many different national origins are represented? What does that mean for citizenship education and civic action?
7. How do the children respond to diversity in the classroom?
8. What is the role of the teacher in classrooms where immigrant and non-immigrant students study together?
9. What does it mean to be a citizen? In a classroom? State? Community? What is the role of a citizen in a multicultural community/school?

Thanks for your time.

Appendix E
Costa Rica Statal Narratives

Document	Citizenship	Diversity and Language
1944 Código de Educación	**Citizenship as nation-centered.** Emphasis on particular moral values and habits, responsibilities, rights, government, knowledge of Central American affairs, knowledge of national symbols and patriotic festivities, historical and geographic knowledge of Costa Rica, knowledge of the national language, and environmental awareness.	There are references to "igualdad de oportunidades" that can promote social mobility. There are also references to religious tolerance. Education is envisioned as a right of children and youth.
1957 Ley Fundamental de Educación	**Citizenship as nation-centered.** Emphasis on political and linguistic attitudes that match the nation-state **(**e.g. democracy and "good habits" such as love for the motherland, "compañerismo," cooperation, "solidaridad," and spirituality) and that focus on the "bien común" and conciliation of individual and community interests/needs. Market oriented values and environmental awareness are also mentioned.	Culture is discussed in relation to the acquisition of mainstream, official, Western, thought as "general culture," "cultural inheritance" "cultural general," and "cultural level." However, there are also references to social justice to give educational access to people of all backgrounds and promote social mobility.
1994 Política Educativa Hacia el Siglo XXI	**Citizenship as glocal.** Emphasis on reconciling global (neoliberal) and national values. Continued focus on the creation and maintenance of a national identity (e.g. love for the motherland, democratic, spiritual, honest, kind), but new-found focus on competition in the world economy (citizen as consumer and producer), administration, renovation, decentralization, efficiency, research and evaluation, critical of socialist structures. There is also interest in technology, sustainability, and transdisciplinarity.	There are increasing references to social justice in education. Education is understood to be at the service of society, providing equality of opportunities, social mobility, differentiation of instruction, access to people from different backgrounds, relevance for students from different backgrounds), and fighting discrimination ("de genero o de cualquier otra naturaleza").
2008 Un Centro Educativo como Eje de Calidad	**Citizenship as neoliberal.** Emphasis on global competition and joining the global economy under the rhetoric of "quality". The citizen is key for the competitiveness and productivity of the nation. The citizen is also a well-rounded individual, respectful of cultural diversity and harmony with nature.	Education is referred to as the "great equalizer," a tool for social equity and sustainability. Decentralization is perceived as the path to empower schools to contextualize education according to the needs of the students.
2008 Entreculturas	**Citizenship as intercultural.** Emphasis on the contextual, generational, multinational, and multiethnic dimension of citizenship necessary in the 21st century. Citizens are knowledgeable, educated, competent, supportive, well-	Official acknowledgment of the diverse composition of Costa Rican society. Decentralization is the path towards debunking dominant power relations, discrimination, addressing the opportunity gap in rural, immigrant, or urban centers, and for

Document	Citizenship	Diversity and Language
	rounded, respectful of diversity and nature, and aware of their legacy to future generations. Concerned with time-space unification, encouraging the "roots and wings" approach.	ethnocultural groups (Afro-Costa Rican, farmers, indigenous). Acknowledging the right of ALL to quality education.
2008 Costa Rica Multilingüe	**Citizenship as multilingual.** Emphasis on English learning. Acquiring linguistic competences for the global job market and accessing global knowledge. The citizen is an English speaking citizen who is competitive and brings economic growth and well-being.	Multilingualism is recognized only in terms of elite bilingual education (foreign language education), not as heritage language or mother tongue language development and maintenance. It is justified as a resource for greater personal gain and professional development.
2008 Ética, Estética y Ciudadanía	**Citizenship as everydayness**. Emphasis on pragmatism and contextualization: convivencia (coexistence), real-life decision making and problem-solving, political participation, well-roundedness (including art and ethics), and democratic values. Encouraging expression, affection, and remembrance of others; redefining relationships, stressing the importance of home and family. Citizenship is community-based, interdisciplinary, multimodal, and global.	There is a continued emphasis on human rights. References are made about fighting poverty.
2009 Programa de Educación Cívica	**Citizenship as nation-centered.** Emphasis on embedding an individual's various identities within his/her national identity. Emphasis on human rights, individual rights, and individual responsibilities as a road to collective wellness, emphasis on importance of collective identity. Convivencia is highlighted as negotiation, consensus, conflict resolution, mediation, and dialogue. The citizen is an ethical being capable of making important moral decisions. Values of the ideal citizen are democracy, tolerance, loyalty, peace, political equality, solidarity, cooperation, social responsibility, respect, and freedom. Citizens also demonstrate civic knowledge (e.g. political regimes and forms of political participation). Use of technology is increasingly important for citizens.	There is a preoccupation with unity within diversity that is grounded in the new-found impetus for interculturalidad. Focus on prejudice reduction, tolerance, affirmation of diversity, acknowledgment of contributions by different cultures and nationalities, laws for the protection of diversity. Convivencia is encouraged, particularly through dialogue. There is also interest in ensuring equality of opportunities through affirmative action (mostly in the form of gender quotes) and equity policies (housing, poverty, education); addressing structural issues and prejudice reduction.

Appendix F
United States Statal Narratives by Document

Document	Citizenship	Diversity and Language
2000 State Education Act	**Citizenship as civic knowledge.** Emphasis on history courses; Government courses; Citizen as Literate and Informed	Acknowledgement of specific cultural groups; Redistribution of resources targeting those groups; Deficit-oriented perspective of language learning; Neoliberal Values
2002 NCLB	**Citizenship as democracy.** Emphasis on history (US Bill of rights, constitution, etc); Government; Democratic principles; Citizen rights; Civic competence; Civic responsibility; Economic Education.	Acknowledgement of inequitable structural practices; Acknowledgement of specific cultural groups; Redistribution of resources targeting those groups; Deficit-oriented perspective of language learning; Cultural understanding as tool towards linguistic assimilation
2008 State Performance Standards	**Citizenship as character trait.** [including the values of democracy, respect of authority, equality, freedom of expression, justice, liberty, tolerance, patriotism, courage, loyalty, honor, respect for the environment, respect for the creator]: Emphasis on history (US Bill of rights, constitution, etc)**;** government**;** democratic principles**;** civic participation**;** economic education).	Study of ethnic and racial groups in reference to the past; Study of ethnic and racial groups only in social studies classroom.
2009 Race to the Top	**Citizenship as neoliberal.** Emphasis on neoliberal values; Quality; Achievement Gap; the citizen as college educated and career oriented.	Acknowledgement of specific cultural groups; Deficit-oriented perspective of students in those cultural groups [“at risk”]; Preoccupation with equitable distribution of funding
2010 Common Core Standards	**Citizenship as neoliberal.** Emphasis on neoliberal values; The citizen as college educated and career oriented.	No explicit mention of cultural/linguistic diversity; Homogenization of content; Equity [access to education for all students]; Deficit-oriented perspective of language learning; Cultural understanding as tool towards linguistic assimilation
2012 IB PYP	**Citizenship as international.** Emphasis on transdisciplinarity; well-roundedness; responsible citizenship [action and service]; international understanding; universal values	Cultural, national, and linguistic diversity as asset; Explicit support of mother tongue development
2012 WIDA Standards	**Citizenship as monolingual.** Emphasis on neoliberal values and aligning linguistic goals with college and career readiness. The citizen is conceived as English-speaking.	Linguistic diversity is seen as an asset to transition to Americanness; Importance of cross-cultural competence; Cultural and linguistic resources as tools towards linguistic assimilation
2012 County Plan	**Citizenship as neoliberal.** Emphasis on neoliberal values [competition, efficiency] and quality.	Cultural diversity as asset; Focus on home-school-community partnerships

Appendix G

Costa Rica Social Studies Program

Contents in the Social Studies Civic Education Program for Fourth Grade	
Reconocemos la historia de nuestro territorio para su valoración y disfrute.	Los Estudios Sociales y la Educación Cívica. Somos parte de la sociedad humana y la Tierra es el lugar donde Vivimos. **Una gran diversidad geográfica en un territorio pequeño****
Conozcamos la historia y cultura regional para la práctica de actitudes democráticas	**Somos parte de una región: las regiones socioeconómicas de Costa Rica**** Vivimos un tiempo: Historia de la región donde se encuentra mi centro educativo Espacios democráticos en mi región
Promovamos actitudes responsables con la naturaleza en las regiones de nuestro país	Nuestro espacio tiene sus propias características: Climas de Costa Rica; Relación del clima y la biodiversidad de mi región; Prácticas y actitudes de los y las estudiantes con la naturaleza

Programa de Estudios Sociales y Educación Cívica, 2013, pp. 127-154

Appendix H

State Performance Standards for Fourth Grade Social Studies
UNITED STATES HISTORY TO 1860. In fourth grade, students begin the formal study of United States history. At this grade, the four strands of history, geography, civics, and economics are fully integrated. Students begin their study of United States history with the development of Native American cultures and conclude with the antebellum period ending in 1860. The geography strand emphasizes the influence of geography on early U. S. history. The civics strand emphasizes concepts and rights developed during the formation of our government. The economics strand uses material from the historical strand to further understanding of economic concepts.
Historical Understandings
1. The student will describe how early Native American cultures developed in North America. 2. The student will describe European exploration in North America.* 3. The student will explain the factors that shaped British colonial America. 4. The student will explain the causes, events, and results of the American Revolution.* 5. The student will analyze the challenges faced by the new nation.* 6. The student will explain westward expansion of America between 1801 and 1861.* 7. The student will examine the main ideas of the abolitionist and suffrage movements.
Geographic Understandings
8. The student will be able to locate important physical and man-made features in the United States. 9. The student will describe how physical systems affect human systems.
Government/Civic Understandings
10. The student will describe the meaning of natural rights as found in the Declaration of Independence (the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness); "we the people" from the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution as a reflection of consent of the governed or popular sovereignty; and the federal system of government in the U.S.* 11. The student will explain the importance of freedom of expression as guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution. 12. The student will describe the functions of government.* 13. The student will explain the importance of Americans sharing certain central democratic beliefs and principles, both personal and civic. 14. The student will name positive character traits of key historical figures and government leaders (honesty, patriotism, courage, trustworthiness).*
Economic Understandings
15. The student will use the basic economic concepts of trade, opportunity cost, specialization, voluntary exchange, productivity, and price incentives to illustrate historical events.* 16. The student will identify the elements of a personal budget and explain why personal spending and saving decisions are important.

*I was able to observe lessons on these standards.

Adapted from State Department of Education, 2008