

Chapter 2

Education Without Nationalism: Locating Leadership When Borders No Longer Hold

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Abstract The global economy has undercut nation-state borders. In doing so, as Fraser argues, issues and peoples are misframed and thus misrepresented. In this chapter, we examine three cases of misframing: Los 43, DREAMers and recent Chicago school reform. These cases demonstrate that Educational Leaders Without Borders have to develop dramatically new approaches to leadership. Educational Leaders Without Borders, of course, cannot overcome the failures of the nation-state or the global economy, but they are now responsible for creating communities across borders and representing these communities politically and economically in the new world order.

Keywords Education reform · Ayotzinapa · DREAMers · Metis

The twenty-first century context of public education in the United States is one of ongoing injustices fueled by normative discourses developed under Empire (Willinsky 1998). The logic and design of Empire as a global force are rooted in colonialism (Mignolo 2000) and go beyond creating new labor markets. Through economic and political subjugation, Empire is a world order that has rearticulated old forms of global control and power as it restructures modernity

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through the further racialization of labor. This new, yet not-so-new, global order creates flows from the Global South to the Global North, as the stepchildren of colonialism find their way to Empire for jobs and a status as a *dependent* class. These flows also have resuscitated the discourse of national or regional security. Positioned as necessary to ensure the safety of nations or regions—a convincing argument—security encompasses the control of technologies and other forms of knowledge. This is achieved through patents and/or strategic manipulation, such as limited dissemination or the blocking, altering, appropriating (Shiva 1997) and/or embargoing of knowledge that is perceived as having the potential to destabilize a nation's or region's stability, progress, or ability to prosper or innovate, either politically, economically, or socially (e.g. patenting of Basmati Rice; War on Iraq). Stability becomes tied to expropriation of production to a leading class, paralleling the exploitative relation that defined colonialism. Security has given rise to new ways of surveilling. Indeed, biometrics are now a technology for creating protagonists and exist as a strategy in the Global War on Terror and the control of borders (Amoore 2006; Emmers 2007; Woodward 2005). Surveilling, detecting, detaining, and deporting (Derewicz 2010) have become the way to respond to human migration from the Global South. The human brutality that is behind this social exclusion and expulsion (Sassen 2014) indeed calls for reconceptualizing justice within these new parameters of the public sphere.

Surveillance has also migrated to the classroom, where psychometrics take center stage, replacing biometrics for now. Burdened by a culture of rigid and arbitrary assessment regimes, children and teachers are tracked in ways that foreclose life-changing possibilities (e.g. birth to college versus birth to prison pipelines). The security discourse advances a dichotomized view of human experience, with the ability to construct identities that position individuals as a menace (Noor 2010), and subsume virtually all human practices under the labels of good and evil and absorb both within its structures: A 'bad' student will find his place in prison; an 'illegal' immigrant can be contained in a detention center; a 'good' citizen can have access to the electoral process, and so on. When governing elites call on such discourses to exert total power (Noor 2010) and exclude individuals from political representation, the future of democracy is threatened. This "misframing" (Fraser 2007, p. 19) has repercussions at all levels of an individual's daily life experience and overall life trajectory. It sets up leadership, including Educational Leaders Without Borders, as the agents of misframing rather than as agents of transformation. It sets families against schools, teachers against students, and ultimately consumption against human rights.

A central question for Educational Leaders Without Borders is how to disrupt the Eurocentrism and white supremacy of Empire that are embedded in the politics of expulsion and exclusion, the geopolitics of knowledge and representation, the dichotomies of good and evil, and universal narratives, such as progress and innovation, which are reified in both national discourse and school curricula—and which imply a social ideal that itself implies a shared understanding and acceptance of the elite's ideal. How can Educational Leaders Without Borders help create the conditions in which democratic practice can flourish? With the deeply

entrenched inequality that proliferates on a global level and that is conceptualized as the economic and political divide between the Global North and the Global South, it is either willful insouciance or brutal epistemic violence to believe that an unproblematized harmonious accord undergirds these and other basic tenets of modern public education. To be an educator and Educational Leader Without Borders in the present moment requires much more than acquiring deep understandings of children, families and communities, and of the collective knowledge they possess that can be tapped to rethink schooling and rewrite curricula. It goes beyond engaging in advocacy and policy work that can unite and mobilize schools, families and communities. It asks for much more than just fighting for lush and equitable funding for teacher salaries and ongoing teacher education, educational research, student support, family outreach and inclusion, capital investments to refurbish or rebuild schools, and/or intellectual investments to reimagine *how* we school. Being an educational leader now demands problematizing received knowledge, and then researching, planning, organizing, building coalitions, and mobilizing as *a way of being in the world*. This requires assuming a stance of permanent resistance and struggle rooted in the particularities, singularities, and distinctions of communities that live in daily confrontation with global force. These are the sites of production of critical knowledge (Mignolo 2000), “because their content conflicts with dominant knowledge” (Alcoff 2007, p. 99), thus creating the possibility for new forms of emancipatory practice that include conversations about what schooling should be.

As Fraser (2007) notes, in the globalized world, the political must be about representation which she conceptualizes as being about ‘how’ people are to be understood as members of a political order no longer marked by the nation-state. Thus the term citizen loses its meaning because of attachment to the nation-state. The educational leader then must articulate a sense of membership against the political orders that usually constitute education—governments at all levels. The educational leader must contest the misrepresentations that emerge from the nation-state worldview and represent as both worthy and belonging those whose lives transcend borders. That this will be actively suppressed by governments is no longer an excuse. Governments are now that which deny the reality of globalism, that deny that capital and labor no longer tolerate governmental borders and no longer define what rights humans have in face of unbridled fast capitalism.

In this chapter, we present three cases that highlight the social conditions under which teachers must teach and students must learn. We address educational reform and politics in global, transnational, and local contexts. We agree with Fraser that flows and movement through globalization create transnational spaces and globalized public spheres that require reconsideration of received understandings about democracy, justice claims, and activism. We also believe that this idea has been and is being richly explored within vibrant fields of scholarship, such as Black Feminist Thought (Collins 1990), Chicana Feminism (Sandoval 2000), post-colonial studies (Fanon 1959/1994; Mignolo 2000), and global activism (Indigenous Resistance to invasion, colonization and Empire; Independence movements from colonial power during the 1800s; Los Indignados, Occupy Wall Street, World Trade

Organization Resistance, The People's Summit, etc.). We also agree that the struggle to be recognized as legitimately different and legitimately equal as raced, ethnic, cultured, languaged, gendered, and sexed bodies is not enough to improve the lives of those of us marginalized by an entrenched, armed, global, and violent doctrine of white supremacy. White supremacy is also gendered and classed. White male elites are the dominant group both politically and economically. In the US anyway, white female teachers, though, are the group that teach and enforce whitestream (Urrieta 2007, p. 139) curricula and whitestream social and cultural norms.

We find Nancy Fraser's notion of misframing a particularly useful analytic to examine social identities that are excluded from political representation. Fraser (2007) presents misframing within her discussion of her new theory of democratic justice that encompasses the economic, the cultural and the political (pp. 19, 20 and 29). The political for Fraser is a question of representation, and is a necessary aspect of democracy for making justice claims (p. 21). Within representation, Fraser introduces the notion of frame setting to determine who belongs to a particular community and who does not, and who can make claims and who cannot. Misrepresentation is characterized by misframing, an egregious form of injustice, or "meta-injustice" (p. 22). Misframing involves the "wrongful exclusion" (p. 22) of some to make 'first-order' justice claims in a particular community, such as claims about economic inequality (p. 19). Misframing can also exclude someone from an entire political community, resulting in a non-person status without any ability at all to seek justice (p. 22). Fraser, quoting Arendt, observes that this amounts to political death.

We introduce three cases of misframing to argue that recognition informed by *respeto* (Valdés 1996) is the only stable stance that can push against social injustice. The cases, the 43 teacher education students of Ayotzinapa, Guerrero in México, who are missing and presumed dead, the case of undocumented childhood arrivals, or DREAMers, and Chicago's experience with educational reform, demonstrate the power to exclude through misframing and the power of localized, situated social identities to mobilize, to temporarily challenge, and at times, suspend misframing. We examine the types of justice claims being made in the rural, mineral-rich southern state of Guerrero; among DREAMers in the United States; and in Chicago's neighborhoods where students, parents, teachers, community organizers, and academics have risen up against Chicago's master plan to racially restructure the city once more. While the struggles are not immediately recognizable as interwoven and related, we see in each case inclusion discourses being appropriated by the state to perpetuate the exclusion of already marginalized populations and to perpetrate said injustices for the benefit of an elite.

LOS 43

The forced disappearance and suspected massacre of 43 students enrolled in the Escuela Normal Rural Raúl Isidro Burgos, a college for rural pre-service teachers, or normalistas, has left México in mourning as it mobilizes to seek justice for

the students and their families. In late September of 2014, the 43 students from Ayotzinapa, Guerrero in México, where the college is located, were on their way to México City to march in observance of the Massacre at Tlateloco, the 1968 state-led mass killing of students in the Plaza de Las Tres Culturas. The normalistas first stopped in Guerrero's capital city, Iguala, to petition for resources for their college and raise money for the trip to México City. El boteo, as the fundraising is called because of the 'botes' or cans used for collecting money, was an annual event. A common and sanctioned practice is to commandeer a bus for the roundtrip to México City, and the students had standing arrangements with local bus companies to do this. Upon raising money for gas, as well as meals and toilettries for the bus drivers, they took hold of four, some maintain five, buses. Unlike any previous year, the students were intercepted; 43 were detained and have not been seen again. The remains of one student have been identified; 17 that were not part of the 43 managed to survive. Mexico's ex-Attorney General, Jesús Murillo Karam, who oversaw the government's investigation, stated the official position on the matter: According to confessions of members of the narco-group, Guerreros Unidos, local police detained the normalistas and handed them over to Guerreros Unidos. Guerreros Unidos massacred the students and incinerated their bodies in an open fire in a remote landfill of Guerrero. Official documents circulated, some replete with photographs, diagrams, and quotes from Austrian forensic scientists who examined the charred remains and certified that these were the remains of the missing students. What ensued were national mobilizations and protests, the taking of military installations by parents of the disappeared, and a 'case closed' stance by the government.

Raúl Isidro Burgos (1898–1971) was a teacher, principal and founder of many rural colleges, including the one in Ayotzinapa that bears his name. The commitment to public education to include bilingual and intercultural pedagogies, basic education and workforce preparation, began in the aftermath of the 1910 Mexican Revolution, and was crystallized in the Constitution of 1917. Evoking that document, in the 1930s, President Lázaro Cárdenas established the Normal Rural. These colleges prepared teachers and deployed them to the farthest, poorest corners of México to teach the basics and the social justice ideology of Cárdenas's administration. Socialist education was needed to defeat pockets of latifundismo, where the Mexican feudalism of the hacienda system was still dominant. The 1948 film, *Río Escondido*, presents the rural teacher in the role of advocate for the poor against the power of the local landowner. In Ayotzinapa, the original aims of educating the poor, advocating for resources, and challenging state and institutional power have been upheld. Increasing threats to the livelihood of local families include lack of investment by the national government in education, health and welfare (Parish Flannery 2014, December 4); organized crime; and open-pit land mining conducted by foreign mining companies, such as Gold Corp, Minaurum Gold, Zhong Ning Mining Investment of China, Vedome Resources, and Hoschild Mining (Servicio Geológico Mexicano 2015) on land historically used by the Nahuas, Me' phaa, ñu savi, Mestizo farmworker communities and Afromexicans (Mariposa 2013).

Misframing Los 43

One can argue that surveilling and detecting are the first steps in the process of misframing. Los 43 were enrolled in a college that historically has been positioned as producing students who are radical and militant. Implied in this positioning is that the positioners are in contrast to norms of the school, which is tolerant and even peaceful in the face of massive degradation. The state of Guerrero has the second-highest poverty rate in México (CONEVAL 2015), a result of the degradation of its agricultural economy that provided employment, wages and food to locals. In short, *el campo* [the fields] was a way of life. This economic and political degradation is attributed to Mexican president Miguel de la Madrid (1982–1988), who introduced to México processes of neoliberalization (England and Ward 2007) by lowering tariffs and opening México up to foreign investment (Ortiz de Zárate 2007).

It is true that the students challenged the current corporate-led education reform that mimics the one in the United States. Under this reform, teachers no longer have a right to a pension. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation was listed as a key funder of Mexicanos Primero, the organization advancing the reform. The Mexicanos Primero website no longer makes available its donors' list, but other U.S.-based foundations supporting the organization included W.K. Kellogg. The reform effort has deployed several strategies to denigrate the teaching profession. ENLACE, a test measuring child outcomes that uses a value added model to determine teacher salaries, was administered widely across the country and used to propagate the idea that Mexican teachers were not well prepared to teach. *De pan-za* a film that blames teachers for children's low academic outcomes in states like Oaxaca and Guerrero, where teacher resistance to the corporate reform has been intense, was released nationally and internationally free of charge. Among the dead teacher candidates who commandeered the buses on September 26th, the day of the forced disappearance and suspected massacre of Los 43 but who were not counted in the 43 because they died on the street and thus could be identified, was Julio César Mondragón. Brutally murdered and disfigured, Julio César was a young man hailing from a family of teachers, all vocal in their resistance to the reform.

Guerrero is also among the most militarized states in México, an early response to social claims for economic justice that turned into a decades-long 'Dirty War' aimed at silencing dissent (Krauze 2014, November 10, p. 4). The military remains a constant presence on the streets and highways as part of Calderón's War on Drugs (2006–2012). Guerrero is interpellated by the multibillion-dollar global business of drug production, distribution, and trafficking, producing opium poppy and serving as a primary supplier of heroin to the United States (ONDCP n.d.). Guerrero is a place where S/state power aligned with regional and global economic interests is instantiated as childhood hunger; low average life expectancies; worker abuse and exploitation, as well as environmental degradation by international mining companies; checkpoints that fail to detect drug traffickers but stop protestors; and forced disappearances and killings. The mayor of the state capital of Iguala—where Los 43 were intercepted—and his wife, in an unofficial

co-governance, have been linked to the local heroin trade, allowing them to exert brutal force directly and indirectly with relative impunity. This alignment of global economic interest, regional politics, military and/or federal, state and local security forces is not new, but its ability to be deployed as a form of social control creates highly mobile power. This is the context in which the misframing of Los 43 as being radical and militant has occurred.

Misframing is a common event and constitutive process. Such misframing of dissent and justice claims that challenge the system has the effect of placing justice seekers as outside of the system. The very act of exercising basic human and democratic rights excludes one from the frame of representation. Part of misframing, we propose, is an attack on individual character, the potential for having a livelihood, the right to develop one's mind, the right of the body to not suffer hunger, and finally, an attack on the right to denounce acts of injustice. Los 43 normalistas are fully discredited by the official government stance; at one point in a press conference about their forced disappearance, the former attorney general, Murillo Karam, said the students, 'were no white angels,' suggesting that they got what they deserved. By misframing the students as delinquents, the government can dismiss the legitimacy of their claim and their parents' claim to find and return them. The State will not accede to anything because the normalistas do not adhere to the system, which is why they exist as they do in the first place, not as the communist guerrillas they have been positioned as, but as economically impoverished, politically conscientized *teachers in training*, with a right and responsibility to teach what they know and to express what they need. The epistemology that emerges through interaction and in conflict with the cultural dominant gives way to this conscientized political subjectivity. This framing of Los 43 has rather different implications than the 'official' account. The official account is of outlaws, both legal and extralegal, exercising their power. Reframed, Los 43 is all about the government itself being the agent of oppression. In the 'official' (mis)frame, the fact that it was educators who were slaughtered is unimportant. In the other framing, education is central to their murders as teacher education and teachers themselves were forces of opposition to governmental dominance and exploitation of democratic citizens. Yet there is so much more to the misframing than simply this.

The Parents' Claims...Con solo las declaraciones de los asesinos [...with Only the Declarations of the Assassins]

In the aftermath of the disappearances, the parents of Los 43 demanded a meeting with México's president, Enrique Peña Nieto, and insisted he sign an agreement in which the parents would be notified ahead of the media of any developments in the ongoing investigation. Peña Nieto signed the agreement, yet the official report on the investigation was released to the public and presented as evidence that no further investigation was required, without first having contacted the parents. The parents' response was articulated by Felipe De la Cruz, a father whose son is

among Los 43. Calling it political expediency, he and the other parents rejected the closing of the investigations based “solely on the declarations of the assassins” (Univision 2015, January 28).

Nosotros fuimos a ese lugar. [We Went to that Place.]

In the 42-page official report about the events at Iguala, where the 43 students from Ayotzinapa were last seen, scientific discourse was used to build layers of credibility regarding the state of the incinerated bodies and the location in which they were found. Information on the levels of heat generated by the fire that supposedly burned the 43 bodies included comments about ‘rocks showing thermal impact.’ One version of the report circulated a photograph of a large rock broken apart under the impact of the fire (PGR 2015, January 27). It did not show any of the typical yellowing that is common to rocks impacted by heat. A father, responding to this piece of evidence said,

They told us that even the rocks cracked. We went to that place. We are farmers. We work the land. We burn it every season. They should not tell us lies. Desmentimos las informaciones que Jesús Murillo Karam y Enrique Peña Nieto’ nos están dando. [We prove to be untruthful all of the information that Jesús Murillo Karam (the ex-attorney general) and Enrique Peña Nieto (the president) are giving us]. (News Conference, 2015, January 28).

Using their own observations of the natural world and guided by the deep sense that the State was involved in the death of their sons, the parents countered the government’s narrative. This move was not about challenging a scientific possibility but rather reasserting a truth about a contemporary reality in México that the State cannot admit to: Its collusion—either through direct alignment with or complete blindness to—organized crime. In doing this, the parents keep the pursuit for the truth alive. The parents were not alone in challenging the report. Information contained in leaked government documents that were reported in *Proceso*, a magazine known for thorough investigative journalism, reveals that the students’ forced disappearance was the result of the actions of a collection of actors that included local municipal officials, local police, and the military in collusion with the State, a fact that the parents had suspected all along. A group of forensic scientists from Argentina has also contested the government’s report. The official report has been revealed to be another government lie. The lie though is strategically an effort to substantiate the misframing.

¡Vivos se los llevaron! ¡Vivos los queremos! [Alive You Have Taken! Them Alive We Want Them!]

The parents have rejected the official report on the forced disappearance and killing of their sons, citing statements that pose as scientific fact but which contradict their knowledge as farmers, as lifelong residents of the area, and as parents.

Saying it was the state that committed the crime, they have noted the existence of contradictory information that the government had not addressed in the official report. Following its release, the parents publicly vowed to exhort authorities to continue the investigation. The parents' reply does not dispute the students' forced disappearance but also argues that in reality it was an ensemble of actors in collusion with the state that committed the atrocity. The parents have pursued all legal channels seeking justice for their sons, presenting their case to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances at the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland.

The forced disappearance of the 43 normalistas from Ayotzinapa and the subsequent government mishandling and cover up offer an on-the-ground perspective of the impact of globalization. It reveals that the global economy does not have any borders either nationally or between legal business and criminal business. The parents themselves have had to turn to international institutions to find some form of justice. The deaths were an atrocity. The nation-state, the global economy, criminal enterprise and educational reform are all implicated in it. The parents' rallying cry, *¡Vivos se los llevaron! ¡Vivos los queremos!* [Alive you have taken them! Alive we want them!] cannot be fulfilled.

The challenge then is that Educational Leaders Without Borders no longer can see themselves as representing the state (for it is fully compromised) and must find new sources of legitimation. Instead of relying on elected officials and educational policy, Educational Leaders Without Borders now are faced with the challenge of constituting the people that they then can represent as their constituents. Educational Leaders Without Borders must remake the political, locally and globally, if they are to be agents of justice.

Yet the case of Los 43 has much wider implications for Educational Leaders Without Borders. For example, the recent political assaults on teaching now reveal that the situation in the economically dominant states is much like that of the normalistas. Accountability policy, and linking student achievement to teacher evaluation, has the direct effect of making low achieving students (by the definition of the tests) the enemies of teachers. These policies seek to drive a wedge between the teaching force and the students, undercutting local support for teachers, and this has seemingly been all too successful. It appears though that the elite's efforts to promote corporate educational reform potentially made a strategic error by beginning the direct assault on teachers' salaries, union membership, and tenure, among other things. These efforts in the end undercut the efforts to make students the enemy of teachers via testing, by revealing that the political situation of teachers is now linked to that of their students—both are denigrated and both are vulnerable. This sense of joint interest and joint dissent makes the lessons of Los 43 applicable to Educational Leaders Without Borders across the globe. Educational Leaders Without Borders can be part of organizing teachers and those they teach into a political, if not economic, block. Clearly, Educational Leaders Without Borders will have to find ways to represent these shared interests and to actively frame this as appropriate and necessary for education to be effective. All educators are normalistas now.

DREAMers

Undocumented childhood arrivals to the United States are individuals who were brought to the United States as minors, before the legal age of consent. In all cases, they were brought into the country without any documentation that would allow them to be recognized as resident aliens or citizens. In 2001, Illinois Democratic Senator, Dick Durbin, and Utah Republic Senator, Orin Hatch, introduced legislation that would allow childhood arrivals to remain in the country without fear of deportation and be able to embark on a course of study in an institution of higher education. In this sense, it represented a reform, although the bill's sponsors did not use the discourse of reform in the way childhood arrivals would be perceived and treated had the legislation passed.

The Development, Relief and Education Act for Alien Minors, or DREAM Act, has since been revised and reintroduced to the Congress of the United States from 2007 to 2012, but has not been enacted at the national level, although some states have created their own versions of the law and have enacted these. The current versions of the federal DREAM Act no longer address the educational needs of childhood arrivals. That is, the Act, while seeking to make it legally possible for potential beneficiaries of the Act, or DREAMers, to attend college, has no provisions that would allow DREAMers to access educational grants or loans. If the Act were to pass at the national level, DREAMers would be awarded citizenship if they were to join the military and the Act would allow DREAMers to work. This 'jobs or guns' approach to immigrant incorporation suggests that DREAMers must either assume the same place in society as their parents—as exploited laborers among the impoverished classes (Sassen 1999)—or risk their lives on the battlefield as forced drafted warriors.

Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), introduced as executive policy by the Obama Administration in 2013, embarked on the exact same approach. DREAMers quickly became 'DACamented,' as they applied for the two-year temporary residency, work permit, driver's license and a job. DACA requires students to be either enrolled in school, be high school graduates, have a G.E.D., or be an honorably discharged veteran of the Coast Guard or Armed Forces of the U.S. (USCIS 2015). College enrollment, however, is not readily attainable. DACA-eligible youth are not entitled to receive any federal aid and many cannot afford the out-of-state tuition they would be required to pay in states that do not have tuition equity policies. The official student aid web site encourages students to complete a Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA), so that colleges can determine the student's eligibility for state or local student aid. At the same time, downloadable forms from the same website advise DACA-eligible youth to speak with a high school counselor to determine whether the FAFSA is the best way to access aid. In real life cases, DACA-eligible youth are generally not awarded financial aid for college. The social security number they received as DACA-eligible youth does not give them access to any real or reliable student aid; it has granted them the right to work but not to receive a college education. Moreover, they are now revealed officially as non-citizens. Vulnerability is increased but realizable access to education has not.

Misframing as ‘Illegals’ and ‘Takers’

The failed national DREAM Act, the recently implemented DACA, and the newly proposed and now stalled DAPA (Deferred Action for Parent Accountability) that would have allowed for parents of U.S. citizens relief from deportation, are policy propositions intended for any qualifying non-citizen who entered the U.S. where there was no Customs checkpoint and/or is in the United States without authorization from USCIS (United States Customs and Immigration Services). However, because there is a conflation of the terms Latino, Hispanic, Mexican, immigrant, and illegal immigrant, and the fact that the overwhelming number of the beneficiaries of the policies would be Latino immigrants, discussions on immigration almost always implies Latinos. Within this discourse, Latino immigrants are misframed as taking work from American workers, taking public assistance in the form of welfare or Medicaid, and burdening public resources, such as schooling and law enforcement. Moreover, it is a discourse of illegality that has framed Latino immigrants as illegal. This is a criminalizing discourse that gained traction when the Associated Press recommended the use of the term “illegal alien” in media.

These views are propagated by groups, such as the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), funded in part by the controversial Pioneer Fund (see Southern Poverty Law Center). The claims FAIR and similar groups make are economic ones and tell only one side of the story. For example, U.S. firms have 15 % of the concessions to conduct open-pit mining in the extraction of minerals in México (González Rodríguez 2011). They do this with legally awarded concessions but are often cited for violation of labor rights and contamination and degradation of the local ecology (Toledo et al. 2014). The toxicity that they and other mining companies create has had a damaging impact on the health of residents and on livelihoods of those that relied on agriculture. It forces people to migrate.

The confluence in México of the North American Free Trade Agreement that diminished Mexican worker’s labor rights; the reform of México’s Constitution, specifically Article 27 that ended ideological, political, economic, and public investment in the Mexican farmer and which ushered in foreign mining companies and industrial agriculture; and the multi-billion dollar global drug business that has enmeshed the country, have dramatically foreshortened paths for the economic viability of families. As families must abandon the fields to survive, they migrate out of state or leave the country. When these children arrive to the United States with their parents, they do so as deterritorialized economic refugees of the companies that contributed to the destruction of the families’ livelihood. The parents willingly enter the U.S. labor force knowing they will be underpaid and overworked. This pattern of “immigrant incorporation” is not new; it is a long-established U.S. labor and immigration policy, especially with México, to create a shadow labor force to meet the demands of U.S. industry and commerce (Bacon 2004). It is through this policy that the children and their families are framed as ‘illegals’ and ‘takers’ while mineral companies and global farm production build extraordinary

wealth through the exploitation of the families' ancestral lands in México, and as employers in the U.S. exploit them as cheap labor—made cheap by the fact that employers circumvent pay standards, health standards and tax requirements.

Reframing DREAMers and Other Immigrants

Studies examining the economic impact of immigration in North Carolina (Johnson, Jr. and Appold 2014; Kasarda and Johnson, Jr. 2006) and a similar set of studies by the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation (2013) focusing on Arkansas draw similar conclusions: Immigrants generated a net fiscal gain to each state. Arkansas saw a net benefit of \$3.4 billion (Appold et al., 2013), while North Carolina had a net fiscal surplus of \$537 million. In North Carolina, immigrants were also less likely than native born residents to have health benefits, but if they had health coverage, they were more likely than native born residents to rely on private rather than public resources (Johnson, Jr. and Appold 2014, p. 1). These findings are not unique. A Bush Administration study found that immigration adds \$37 billion annually to the national economy (Lazear 2007); more recently, the Cato Institute reported that had comprehensive immigration reform been achieved, it “would have added at least \$1.5 trillion to the U.S. economy over the course of 10 years” (Hinojosa-Ojeda 2012, p. 176).

Economic impact is one type of immigrant contribution, but there are also others. For example, in many school districts, the immigrant presence has allowed districts to implement dual language programs. These programs are closing the achievement gap in many communities (Thomas and Collier 2012) and point the way for a model of education in a world whose borders are increasingly permeable. Additionally, immigrants can revitalize economically depressed communities and contribute to a decline in crime in cities (Feldmeyer 2009).

DREAMers highlight the pitfalls of the transnation that is created when parents arrive to the United States from other parts of the world seeking a better life for their children. This engineered social space leaves children and youth without rights in the United States and without sustainable life experiences in their countries of origin. Misframed as consenting adults at their point of entry into the United States, they are constructed as criminal subjects. DREAMers incarnate Empire's fantasy of not having to recognize the humanity of individuals so that it can subsume them as transgressors who must be redeemed through their own sweat and blood, literally. Although DREAMers across the country have engaged in valiant and sustained activism, risking deportation by revealing their status, their dream to develop their talents and interests through higher education has not been realized.

Educational Leaders Without Borders find themselves caught in the conflict over the competing frames of immigration. Legally, they must serve the children but they do so under a deficit model. The preferred official model is to suppress Spanish and other languages and to force English on students. The model assumes the students know little, and are often described as “having no language” because

they do not speak English. The research has demonstrated that using and building the home language is the most effective instructional approach in the teaching of reading (Goldenberg 2013), because literacy is transferable across languages. This argues for bolstering first languages and moving to English later in the learning process, offering dual language programs, or teaching reading in the first language early in the educational trajectory.

Moreover, the misframing assumes parents are against learning English when that is not the case. Latino parents want their children to learn English but advocate for maintaining the first language. As 21st century subjects who have their hearts and minds, if not their bodies, in two nation-states in which two languages and two cultures, and in some cases three (see Machado-Casas 2009), are forms of familial, linguistic, resistant, social and navigational capital (Yosso 2005) that contribute to their ability to achieve their goals in two worlds. Finally, the current short-sighted model operates with a hidden curriculum that positions immigrants and U.S. born children of immigrants as the future workers of the world rather than the future scientists, playwrights, lawyers, policy-makers, engineers, and teachers. This failed and failing nativist model of immigrant education assumes that the Anglo-conformant monolingualism and monoculturalism of the cultural dominant in the U.S. is what all must buy into in order to access the American Dream. In this sense, education remains a project of colonialism that misframes individuals in México and other Latin American countries that arrive in the nation-state of the United States as immigrants, when in fact, they have a claim to the Americas as indigenous subjects. As such, and under the rubric of Dewey's democratic practice within education, they have a right to be here and a right to an education that recognizes them as integral to all of the Americas. Educational Leaders Without Borders then are challenged to reject the misframing and engage in culturally sustaining practices (Django 2012) within the school setting so as to support the development of children's bilingualism, biculturalism and transnationalism.

Chicago School Reform

Secretary of Education, Arne Duncan, initiated his career in education in Chicago as Chicago Executive Officer of the Chicago Public Schools (CPS). Shortly before that time, he had converted his first "failing school" into a charter school. As CEO, he left a mixed legacy in Chicago. Initial efforts to support early childhood education positioned him as an ally to families and teachers but this capital quickly diminished as his reform efforts shifted to closing low-performing schools and opening new ones, the core strategies of Renaissance 2010, Richard M. Daley's plan to improve the failing school system (Stovall 2013). By 2010, only 16 of the 92 Renaissance 2010 schools were meeting or exceeding state standards, and eight of these were charter schools (Karp 2010a, p. 7). Critics point out several problems with the Renaissance 2010 model: students displaced by the closing of schools have simply been relocated to another low-performing school (de la Torre

and Gwynn 2009); charter schools that replaced many of the low-performing schools faced deep financial struggles (Karp 2010b, p. 12); Chicago style reforms target low-income, non-white students with repressive pedagogies (Saltman 2013, p. 1); and, patterns of failure that are seen at the national level are evident in Chicago as well, such as ‘low student academic outcomes, high teacher turn-over rates, uncertified teaching staff, and low teacher pay but high salaries for administrators’ (Saltman 2013, p. 1). A 2012 report by Public Agenda on community responses to Chicago’s school reform identified several issues, including a legacy of distrust marked by parents’ doubt about CPS’s intentions toward their children and communities; a distrust that extends to the information school officials disseminate as a response to the doubt and questions; and several tensions around competing definitions of school quality, parent engagement, and who should be accountable for school failure (p. 4).

Historically, Chicago has struggled to be a model of public education. Its beginnings showed promise as schools defined themselves in relationship to the communities they served, offering adult literacy and citizenship classes, but classrooms were overcrowded and funding quite insufficient (Herrick 1970). In the mid-60s, CPS was highly segregated, much like the city itself, along racial lines. Mired in a racialized legacy that includes White Flight to the suburbs (Bacon 2013, June 20) and a return of whites from the suburbs, the Chicago school system serves over 400,000 students who are primarily minorities and low income or poor, with an 85 % participation rate in the free and reduced lunch program (CPS 2015). Unfortunately, only 20 % of Black and 18 % of Latino students attend schools that meet or exceed the state average for achievement (Karp 2010a, p. 7).

In the aftermath of Duncan’s tenure and under a new mayor, Rahm Emanuel,¹ Chicago’s public schools continue to be contested space over whose vision of education should prevail. Radical corporate-driven reforms postulated in Renaissance 2010 continue into the new decade. In 2013, the Chicago School Board voted to shut down 50 more schools, forcing many children to cross over into rival gang territory to attend school (Konkol 2013, May 6). A court injunction could have stopped this travesty even while the massive protests that united Chicagoans across race and socioeconomic class could not, but U.S. District Court Judge John Z. Lee denied the plaintiffs’ injunction. Starting the 2013–2014 school year with 49 fewer elementary schools (some sources say 50), one less high school, five turn-around schools, and 17 co-located schools, all of which impacted the lives of more than 12,000 students (Karp and Sanchez 2014), meant that CPS had created greater risks for Chicago’s minority students attending public schools. Twenty-five per cent of the schools that were closed had a mostly African American student and staff population; only 2 % of the schools on the list to close were schools with a minority

¹Although these moves have not been without consequence for Rahm Emanuel, who faced a run-off election against Mexican American Jesús García, a progressive who entered the mayoral race when Chicago Teachers Union president, Karen Black, stepped down, Emanuel is nonetheless succeeding at a racial re-engineering of Chicago’s public schools and continues as the Mayor of Chicago, beating García with 56 % of the vote.

Black student population (CTU Research 2013, April 18). On the final list of school closures, “majority Black schools [were] 10 times more likely to be closed or “turned around” than schools with a minority Black student population and teaching staff” (CTU Research 2013, p. 5). This same report found that although there were 250 schools that were underutilized and, therefore, eligible for action, schools in which students and staff were majority Black were four times more likely to be placed on initial versions of the eligibility for closing list. That is, school reform in Chicago has been a highly racialized process in which Black children, their families and teachers, have been constructed as the site of school failure and, therefore, in need of intervention. This assault on Chicago’s Black community is not an isolated case (see Buras 2015); African American children and their futures are the targets of marketization in the global move to privatize schools, a longstanding public good.

Equally egregious is the academic risk students have faced in the receiving schools, which are overcrowded with the relocated students, were not necessarily higher performing than the closed schools, and will operate with no further support for several years (Caref et al. 2014). The Chicago Teachers’ Union had published estimates that 60 % of the receiving schools would become overcrowded, based on a formula calculating 25 students as the acceptable upper threshold per classroom. In a follow-up study 1 year after the relocations began, Caref et al. (2014) reported that the promised funding to address the “chronic under-resourcing that students from closed schools ...have experienced, never materialized” (p. 1). For example, receiving schools, or welcoming schools, as they are now called, did not increase the number of social workers to respond to the increase in number of students with disabilities who require social work services (p. 8). Finally, the harm perpetrated against Black children and their families, as their neighborhoods become school deserts, where children learn that they must leave their communities in order to be formally educated, cannot be overstated. Under education reform, the second largest minority group of students in CPS, Latinos, also fared poorly. The politically powerful United Neighborhood Organization (UNO), opened several charter schools in Latino neighborhoods that attracted the attention of parents. Using test scores as the measure of performance, UNO schools performed better than district-run neighborhood schools but not as well as the district-run magnet schools (Walker-Burke 2014, January 8). However, mired in allegations of mismanagement and conflict of interest violations, UNO rocked the Chicago community and supporters of charter schools. UNO, once a trusted organization that had been embedded in the Latino community since the mid-1980s, is now viewed as corrupt. The UNO charter schools continue to operate and are managed by an external agency (Anderson 2014, September 4). It is uncertain what, if any, impact this will have on the children attending UNO schools. In any case, what is misframed is who is responsible for the failing schools. The mayor’s office and the school system misframe the issue as being due to teachers, parents and students, thus necessitating the schools being closed and new schools being required. The parents themselves have a different frame—failings of the schools are because of the historical failures of the city and state to provide the necessary resources. Distrust is the symbol of the failure of democracy to serve its people.

Misframing of Minority Students as Sites of Profits

It is not a stretch to draw a comparison between the monetization of children and the historic legacy of slavery, and, in the Latino community, of exploitation and economic and social marginalization as immigrants and discrimination as citizens. We do not suggest that the plight of the immigrant is in any way commensurate with the evils of slavery, nor do we wish to formulate a hierarchy of suffering. What we are suggesting is that this country has a relationship to its minority populations that is informed by the ethos, economics, and politics of white supremacy. White supremacy is also now intervening in the positioning of African American and Latino school children in ways that deny their full humanity and the right to a future built through the development of their interests, talents, knowledge and experiences in *schools*. Black and Brown children are being misframed as being only of instrumental value. Catalyst Chicago (2005), an independent news magazine providing news and analysis of Chicago schools, a decade ago took an in-depth look of the worth of students from the perspective of the state's investment. More recently, it reported that charters and district-run schools receive between "\$4140 and \$4400 for elementary school students and \$5132 for each high school student" (Karp 2013, August 27). Schools also receive more funding for the number of English language learners, children with disabilities, and children who live in poverty. Karp (2013, August 27) found that charter schools "appear to receive more funding" than the average public school. Although adequate funding is needed, children are nonetheless reduced to their financial value in the district.

The misframing is also a part of global capital to make public services and education in particular a part of the market economy. Renaissance 2010 was an effort to make public dollars available for private gain. Charter Schools now are a business model and are most often opened by larger corporations that plan to make money off the education of the poor. As with the case of México, above, large corporately based foundations are running educational reform as we know it and misframe education in order to make schools fit what corporations see as desirable. The goal is to make consumers not citizens. Finally, Renaissance 2010 is also part of gentrifying the city of Chicago. Whites left the city to avoid people of color but now as suburbanization has reached its limits, they want the city back. Closing schools undercuts communities of color, and promotes the migration of the poor out of the city, echoing the moves in México and globalization in general. Firing teachers of color destroys the middle class of color and thus impoverishes neighborhoods further. The correct frame is one that understands that white supremacy is fully in play. Thus school failure must be understood as being the result of whites who have been, and are, in political control of the government and economy. Failing schools are caused by a willingness to sacrifice children and communities of color to white interests and white capitalism. White elites determine, through their political and economic power, the direction education takes, the purposes it serves, the financing it gets, its structures of control, and ultimately the fate of education today.

At the heart of the issue is, as Pauline Lipman (2011) has asked about urban education reform efforts, who should have the right to the city—that coveted space within the city wall? Renaissance 2010’s not so hidden agenda is to push minorities beyond the city walls and let only whites back in. In what amounts to a racial and ethnic cleansing, the racialized aims of Renaissance 2010, as evidenced by the research conducted by the research arm of the Chicago Teachers Union, has disrupted the lives of mostly African American children and youth attending Chicago Public Schools. Many of these children whose local schools were closed were reassigned to schools in neighborhoods where opposing gangs operate. Thomas Geoghegan, attorney for the plaintiffs who opposed the closing of the schools, points out that although Chicago Public Schools denies that children will be at risk, it will nonetheless spend \$7 million per year on a “Safe Passage” program (Perlstein 2013, August 26). Chicago’s Black children now have a new, higher cost to pay for their right to an education: risking their physical safety after having had taken away from them the network of support that their own local neighborhood school offered. In the final analysis, the real question that is being posed is, ‘Who should have a right to the future?’

In Chicago, Educational Leaders Without Borders must navigate working in the interests of the poor and people of color while being pressed to serve white elites. The poor and of color is a constituency that the state devalues and suppresses, but with whom Educational Leaders Without Borders now are associated. When schools are blamed for governmental failures, then Educational Leaders Without Borders have no recourse. In the language of the 1960s, either they are part of the problem or they are part of the solution. And the solution does not seem to be aligned with white supremacist state actions.

Under such a shameful set of circumstances, Educational Leaders Without Borders must work to disrupt that “legacy of distrust” (Public Agenda 2012) that Chicago parents of children attending public schools reported having; Educational Leaders Without Borders must align themselves with just such parents. The goal is not merely for an educational leader to gain understanding of parent and community members’ views on what a quality public education should be. The goal here is to create the conditions in schools in which students, parents, teachers, and other community stakeholders can continuously be involved in (re)imagining and (re)creating, schools that (re)build community rather than tear it down, schools that are the nexus for regenerating the greater project of (re)constituting a democratic state.

A New Charter for the Educational Leader Without Borders

Educational systems as governmental forms devolve their purposes, responsibilities, structures and forms from the state. Put another way, schools receive their ‘charter’ from the state (nation or subnational entity). However, when the nation-state misframes and misrepresents in part because of its reliance on nation-state borders, then Educational Leaders Without Borders need to conceptualize a new charter for education and for their work. Further, when global

economics misframes and misrepresents people as consumers rather than citizens, Educational Leaders Without Borders must reconceptualize who has rights to education as well as what purpose education should serve.

Usually, critical analysis like the one we have provided above lead to bold proposals of emancipation and transformation. Yet the nature of our critique makes any sweeping proposal mere rhetoric. For example, it is hard to see that there is a clear way forward when global capital is both a legal enterprise and engages in illegal activities, and when, through both the legal and illegal actions, global capital displaces people so that they become criminalized by a nation-state when they have no economic alternative for survival. There are no straightforward proposals available here. Moreover, the idea that Educational Leaders Without Borders can actually lead the way out of such a state of affairs is almost ludicrous. Almost, we say, only because it is also true that Educational Leaders Without Borders cannot avoid this state of affairs by ignoring the issues or by absolving themselves of responsibility because the economy or the government is ultimately responsible. The fact is Educational Leaders Without Borders must face the children every day. They must face the teachers who struggle to make sense of the children's and families' predicaments and what these do to the acts of teaching and learning. Education has always been political but today's situation makes that statement trite.

Scott (1998) gives a portrait of the nation-state and how one may think about working with and against it that we have found useful in gaining our own bearings. Put all too simply, Scott argues that states work through simplifications—ways of making the lived lives of people legible to the state's desires. These simplifications are clearly severe and dangerous reductions of the complexity of living and often have destructive outcomes. Moreover, these simplifications are lenses ground to see the state's interest primarily, ignoring how this may make everyday life difficult and under specific conditions, untenable. Scott documents such cases in some detail. For our purposes here, however, we want to simply note that in each of the cases above those in political or economic power insist that their way of viewing the world, the view that benefits the powerful, is the only way forward. The fact that horrible consequences result, as we have shown, does little to deter their imposition of their preferred (mis)framing of the situations. The facts of mass murder, of protests, of displacement, and so on are *illegible* to the political and economic elites. Scott then reinforces our view that hopes for transformative change are slim.

Yet Scott does suggest an alternative to simply succumbing to the power of elites. Again, his alternative is no solution or panacea—it offers little magic in the face of oppressive power. Yet his way of thinking to us is one way to work in the face of the simplifications that enable state and economic control. Scott argues that ultimately such forms of control undercut the local and practical processes that underwrite any complex activity. He argues that what is suppressed is exactly that which makes life practically possible—practical know-how and experience that he terms *metis*. *Metis* is local knowledge and thus is specific to a place but as he asserts: “Despite its specificity it travels remarkably well” (Scott 1998, p. 312). It is a “cunning intelligence” that is “as economical and accurate as it needs to be,

no more or no less, for addressing the problem at hand” (p. 313). *Metis* involves a range of practical skills and a learned intelligence from responding to constant change, and as such is hard to teach outside of actually engaging in the practice. *Metis* involves “knowing how and when to apply rules of thumb *in a concrete situation*” (p. 316); it is local, situated and particular; requires imaginative translation of what the powerful want to be seen as true; improves the odds of influencing the outcomes; is best learned in daily practice; “depends on an exceptionally close and astute observation” (p. 324); and is based in a community of memory—it asks us to “feel our way” (p. 327). Obviously experience is essential to the effective practice of *metis* as it is implicit and contingent on making small attempts and learning from them, and as importantly it is almost always contentious to those whose interest it is to impose simplifications.

This portrait is recognizable to any educational leader. It takes various forms but for now we can simply think of it as the theory versus practice debate. Yet in Scott’s view, practice is much more partisan—it is against the strategies of simplification as much as it is in service of making things work on the ground and for the people in the community. Yet the reason we are turning to *metis* is because community can no longer be taken for granted. With global capital undercutting the nation-state (and with the nation-state’s history being tied so tightly to colonialism), an educational leader can no longer assume that community is defined by the school district assignment policies or by who can be served legally or in what legal way they are to be served (e.g. language policies requiring transition to English). Community must be made actively and the leaders’ role now is to cajole a community into existence. This means reaching across lines to redefine who qualifies as a resident, citizen, etc. This means figuring out how to work with gangs as well as opposing their egregious acts. This means creatively appropriating regulations and laws. This means reaching across geographies to foster a sense of belonging and embracing technology not to simplify learning but to bring new people into play. This means navigating the simplifications and elaborating what they disallow with that which must exist for education and for justice to thrive. This means having respect for those who need a community to enable their lives to thrive—for as Valdés (1996) argues “*respeto*” is the bridge between cultural difference and education (p. 120).

Conclusions

While the effort to get beyond the borders that are currently drawn, it is unlikely that borders will not reemerge in the making of community. But questions can be asked about borders that a community in part defines. The appropriate questions include: Why this border? Who wants this border and what interests is it serving? Who is served and denied by this border? How can border crossing be facilitated? Who can serve as the *coyote* (Murillo 1999) to facilitate that border crossing? It is the leader’s task to keep these questions in front of the community in formation

and even more so once a sense of community has been established. Asking and responding to these questions are processes that constitute community.

Inside the school, other questions must be addressed as well. Who is the teacher? What counts as curricula? Whose knowledge is to be valued? What ways of being together foster learning? What learning undercuts borders and other simplifications desired by political and economic elites?

There is also no reason to assume that the school is separate from the economy as well. The global economy broached this border many years ago. As Educational Leaders Without Borders we can ask, how do we provide for ourselves? What local economies can be created? What ties to the global economy seem warranted? How can exchange feed children, families and community? What forms of production (goods, services, the Arts, sociability, etc.) should be heralded?

As Scott (1998) argued with *metis*, this work is highly situated. What works in building one community will not necessarily work in another, but we suspect sharing these lessons will create better ‘know-how.’ Preparing Educational Leaders Without Borders will need to be changed to enable sharing and critique. Relying on generalized knowledge would be insufficient and we would think even more qualitative forms of research would need to be reconceptualized. Embedding leadership preparation in community building seemingly is required. But in all this, borders and *borderlessness* must be interrogated and assumptions critiqued. Chicago parents of children impacted by Renaissance 2010 and who defended their neighborhood schools remind us that the logic of the nation-state that claims rights within a defined area can be evoked as a strategy in defense of the neighborhood school.

In some ways, this is unimaginable in today’s terms but today’s terms are built on borders that are gross simplifications and these simplifications are literally (as we documented above) and figuratively, killing us. Education will not save us but it is an arena for us to work towards sustaining humanity in face of efforts that make us pawns in the global economy and in the nation-state, even as it withers.

Key Chapter Concepts

1. Education Reform: The proposition and process of introducing change whose stated aim is to improve the public school system.
2. Ayotzinapa: A settlement in the southern, mineral-rich state of Guerrero in México with a population of approximately 84 per estimates by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) and the site of the Escuela Normal Rural Raúl Isidro Burgos, the teachers’ college where the 43 missing students were enrolled.
3. DREAMers: The name given to students who were brought to the United States from diverse countries without the proper documentation to live in the United States; so named because they would be beneficiaries of the Development, Relief, Education for Alien Minors Act if the DREAM Act were to pass.
4. *Metis*: *Metis* is knowledge that is practical, experiential and local (Scott 1998) and which exists in tension with scientific knowledge.

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