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Critical Questions In Education: Volume 5, Issue 1

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Dearest Colleagues:

Welcome to Volume 5, Issue 1 of *CQIE*! We are excited for the coming year and the continued work of the Academy. First, you will notice that this issue marks the beginning of our change from APA to Chicago style. As a result, some of this issue's articles are in APA and some are in Chicago. Although this shift may be surprising to some, it is meant to retain, or recover, a foundations of education orientation generally rooted in the humanities. Chicago allows for a more substantive discussion in footnotes, and an overall smoother read uninterrupted by repeated parenthetical citations.

As to the present issue, we believe you will enjoy a variety of approaches to similar perennial questions in education. In the opening piece, Dennis Attick interrogates fundamental concerns regarding the use of technology in education that are often ignored in the ever-present frenzy to adopt and utilize what technology offers. Reminding readers of the spectacle always latent in issues of technology, Attick rightfully questions if technologies can in fact deliver the aims of a critical democratic education. F. Tony Carusi follows up this article with a provocative and timely piece that questions the questioners. By unraveling the use of hegemony often employed by those who participate in critical educational studies research, Carusi skillfully exposes how hegemony often gets reinscribed by those wishing to abandon it. Christine K. Lemley's article describes a qualitative case study that explores the relationship between one's personal lived experiences and the ability to engage issues of discrimination and social justice. Lemley offers necessary recommendations for teacher education curricula which can aid the development of a transformative pedagogy in the classroom. Denise D. Cunningham offers an enthnographic study of pre-service early childhood teacher education using both qualitative and quantitative data to argue that the traditional divide between theory and practice must be bridged if teacher candidates are ever to enact developmentally appropriate constructivist oriented practices. These four articles together work well to articulate theoretical and practical revisions and question many of our basic assumptions in education. We hope our readers find them provocative and useful in their work.

This issue also has our regular book review: Gary Younge's *The Speech: The Story Behind Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Dream* is reviewed by Becky L. Noël Smith; and, we have continued our semi-regular tradition of including a video essay. In this issue you will find the first of what

we hope will be an ongoing video series entitled *Academy Talks*. This first installment of *Academy Talks* features a conversation with Gary Borich of the University of Texas at Austin. Dr. Borich tells the story of his educational "about-face" that resulted from research he conducted in India.

Before leaving you to your reading (and viewing), we want to share some exciting Academy news: the next academic year will see not one, but two Academy conferences! Academy director Steve Jones has been diligently planning both. The first will be in Louisville, Kentucky at our traditional mid-October time; the second is tentatively scheduled for mid-April in Phoenix, Arizona. Details for both conferences will be forthcoming very soon.

We are also very much looking forward to this year's special theme issue of *CQIE* which will consider the question of homeless youth and educational policy in an age of neoliberal economic realities. This second special theme issue is shaping up to be deeply engaging particularly for those concerned with the impact such economic realities have on our most vulnerable youth and is slated for publication in the fall.

In closing, we want to extend our gratitude to our peer reviewers: without their thankless work, this ongoing project would simply not be possible.

PAX,

Jessica A. Heybach, Associate Editor

Eric C. Sheffield, Founding Editor

Critical Questions In Education

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"Education is Dead": A Requiem, of Sorts

Dennis Attick, Clayton State University

Introduction

Recently, the university at which I am a full-time faculty member was approached by another university in Georgia that was hoping to develop a partnership to offer new programs in an under-served area of the state. After numerous meetings, and Skype sessions, we met with our potential partners at one of the proposed sites for the new programming. After discussing several of our plans, a member of the faculty of the university with which we were to partner, turned to our Dean and said that while they were interested in offering new programs, they were not really considering adding any education programs because, "everyone knows education is dead." While this comment was a reflection on the fact that numbers for college students enrolling in teacher education programs are in slight decline, the statement is nonetheless problematic. Yet, what is equally problematic for me is that I'm not sure I disagree with this sentiment, albeit for different reasons.

After briefly advancing again my perhaps futile concerns about the consequences of the convergence of education and technology on Deweyn notions of public education, I will explore in this paper how a reliance on communication technologies, and the technorationality this has wrought, contributes to what I refer to as the education spectacle today. Drawing on the works of Jacques Ranciere, Guy Debord, Jean Baudrillard, and Gert Biesta, I hope to illuminate how the spectacle of education, with its reliance on communication technologies, has come to define what is widely accepted as reality for education today and how these technologies are used to promulgate the notion that education is dead.

Education and Technology

While this paper may seem to be a polemic against technology or the use of communication technologies in education; it isn't. The idea of teaching online classes was a novel idea perhaps ten or fifteen years ago, but one only need look at what is happening around the country to see what changes internet technologies are bringing to higher education, particularly with the recent onset of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOC) (Pappano, 2012). Recently, my university held an open forum on our campus in conjunction with several administrators from Georgia Tech to discuss a possible partnership in creating and delivering three MOOCs. Georgia Tech is one of twelve recent recipients of three million dollars in total grants from the Gates Foundation given to several universities around the country who are each to create and pilot three MOOC courses in partnership with the for-profit startup company, Coursera (Kolowich, 2013).

What Georgia Tech is doing is similar to a recent partnership between San Jose State University and Udacity, a silicon valley-based technology company started by three roboticists who believed their university courses could be offered more cheaply and effectively in an online

format (Wadhwa, 2013). Essentially, all of these budding partnerships, between mostly public universities and for-profit technology companies, will consolidate mass numbers of lower-division college courses into online courses offered for one to two hundred dollars and housed in one single campus. If a University can attract 10,000 students with a course that cost them $50,000 to build, and the 10,000 students pay the college $100 for the credential, the University makes $950,000. If the same class is offered more than once, the revenue increases exponentially. In what looks like a win-win situation, the college takes in millions while the student pays one or two hundred dollars for a course that would have cost perhaps ten times more in a traditional format. What is increasingly attractive to overburdened and busy student populations is that students can complete the courses without ever leaving home.

Education, Technology, and Spectacle

With these thoughts on the ongoing encroachment of technology in education in mind, I want to turn now to a discussion of both our reliance on technology, and how technology supports and maintains what I call the education spectacle. Recall, for a moment, that technology is not a new idea. For several thousand years, technology was understood as those things that helped human beings complete tasks. One could look as far back as Plato, for whom *techne* was the work of artists; it was a tool that could be used to unite events and objects for the sake of human growth and benefit. *Techne* was discourse; it was the art of communicating toward understanding. Using this early notion of the word technology, one would be hard pressed to argue against anything that improved an individual's or society's ability to communicate and understand one another.

A discussion today of technology and its impact on modern life may seem anachronistic. Technology, in its various electronic forms, is not going away anytime soon—if ever. Technology, especially communication technology, has altered nearly every aspect of human life today. However, the rapid change wrought in the last twenty years did not come without warning. One example can be found in Neil Postman's (1993), *Technopoly: The Surrender of Culture to Technology*, where Postman argues that the twentieth century saw societies become willingly wedded to electronic technologies. Technologies that Postman warned would eventually subvert most aspects of our lived experiences. He offers:

> Technopoly is a state of culture. It is also a state of mind. It consists in the deification of technology, which means that the culture seeks its authorization in technology, finds its satisfactions in technology, and takes its orders from technology. (p. 71)

Over time, this technology functions as ideology; it is taken for granted, and we prod along barely conscious of its ubiquitous place in our communications and understandings. This technology greatly increases human access to information; yet, that same technology also requires human beings to be subject to the mechanisms that control and disseminate that information. Increasingly, particularly throughout the last half of the twentieth century, information technologies—initially television and later internet technology—began to mediate our relationship with information and each other. The proliferation of mediated interactions gave rise to entire communication industries that created and sustained mediated environments where imagery and spectacle triumphed over truth and logic.

There is a rich literature regarding imagery and spectacle written over the last 100 years as communication technologies became increasingly ubiquitous features of modern life. One

could find a relatively recent foundation in John Dewey's notion of a spectator theory of knowledge, where Dewey draws distinctions between active knowers and passive spectators. In *Quest for Certainty* Dewey (1929/1960) states, "If we see that knowing is not the act of an outside spectator but of a participator inside the natural and social scene, then the true object of knowledge resides in the consequences of direct action"(p. 22). Recall that for Dewey, knowing involves participation; it is an active process that requires individuals be engaged in interactions that lead to growth and change. Knowing is not done to or for someone; knowing occurs through our ongoing interactions with other beings and the natural world. Moreover, knowing does not occur passively, as it so often does in essentialist, data-driven, techno-rational schooling. Knowing is an active process that involves interconnectedness and leads to ongoing growth and change. In a Deweyan sense, spectators are not active knowers; they can only be passive receivers of another's claims to knowledge and truth. The fact in question is understood externally, setting up the problem of the "view from nowhere," which suggests that any holder of knowledge must be decontextualized—something Dewey (1938/1997) repudiates. Internally mediated knowledge is closer to Dewey's ultimate goal of warranted assertibility and it requires context, association, and interconnectedness.

More recently, in *Society of the Spectacle* Guy Debord (1967/1983) furthers Hegelian and Marxist notions of alienation in arguing that alienation does not occur only between human beings and their labor in a capitalist economy. Instead, Debord argues that advanced capitalist societies ultimately come to depend on the economy alone for survival, and, in turn, that economy relies on society to be primarily consumers of spectacle. In this sense, human beings ultimately become alienated from real experiences and from each other. Debord notes, "In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved into a representation" (p. 15). The spectacle, then, is not simply a series of images; rather, the spectacle represents human relationships mediated by images. In the end, real experiences, real relationships, become less valuable than the accumulation of spectacle.

Debord's (1967/1983) argument is echoed in Baudrillard's (1995) four stages of sign-copy simulation in which he traces human society's movement from understanding images and copies as reflections of truth in stage one, to stage four where pure simulation has no relation to reality at all. In stage four, cultural products no longer have to even pretend to be real as most of the public is reduced to consumers of the artificial and what Baudrillard calls the "hyperreal." In stage four, which coincides, historically, with our current age of late capitalism, signs merely represent other signs and any sense of reality becomes a reflection of another disconnected sign. The distinction between reality and representation vanishes; and, "reality becomes a meaningless concept" (p.19). The appearance of the image provides validation for the consumer that what is seen is good and therefore worthy of consumption. It is here where the capitalist economy thrives, in the consumption of the spectacle. Increasingly, the spectacle is maintained, reinforced, and promulgated via communication technologies, both acting as ideology in our modern ideas about information, culture, and each other.

Returning for a moment to Debord (1967/1983), consider his argument regarding the modern consumer: "The real consumer becomes a consumer of illusions. The spectacle is the moment when the commodity has attained the total occupation of social life…it aims at nothing more than itself" (p. 11). These spectacles become what Debord calls "pseudo-needs;" our relationships become "pseudo-experiences," things that can be had, bartered, or in some way consumed. If one holds with Debord and Baudrillard, that our advanced capitalist society is depend-

ent upon consumers of pseudo-needs and pseudo-experiences, it would make sense that many of our social, political, and cultural interactions become spectacles. It would not be surprising, then, that education, too, is part of the spectacle.

Having provided some historical context as to how I'm using the terms spectators, spectacles, and simulation, I want to turn now to the idea of education as spectacle. Vinson and Ross (2010) offer the following regarding the 21st century education spectacle: "Education must be understood according to a setting in which spectacle and surveillance come together, a state of affairs in which discipline is established and maintained as individuals and groups are monitored simultaneously by both larger and smaller entities" (p. 10). To this end, education today is dominated by a convergence of technologies of control with Debord's spectacle. This convergence might best be understood in the following example: bureaucrats rely on various forms of surveillance to monitor student and teacher performance and behavior via testing, while the public consumes the spectacle of school efficacy via published accountability reports, published test scores, and published rates of teacher effectiveness. In time, the way society thinks about education, and the public discourse regarding education, becomes inundated by consumption of the education spectacle, with little or no critical inquiry into the complexities of *actual* school life or questions such as "what is the purpose of education?" Over time, the public's ideas of education, often created by the education spectacle, lead to education being understood as broken, which allows for the creation of solutions that often only reinforce the problem.

The creation of the education spectacle allows politicians, for-profit education companies, and much of the public to embrace the belief that schools are failing (education is dead?) as the only legitimate narrative. When lack of school efficacy becomes perceived as a problem within the education spectacle, the spectacle then only proceeds to reinforce the problem. This point is highlighted by Murray Edelman's (1988) thesis in *Constructing the Political Spectacle*, where he asserts that the construction of social or political problems often has a far-reaching effect in that it helps perpetuate or intensify the conditions that are defined as the problem. Over time, the public stops inquiring as to what the real problem *is,* stops working for actually solutions, and instead looks for answers from politicians and/or purported experts who may have helped construct the problem in the first place.

Education as Spectacle in Race to the Top Schooling

Current federal education policy has continued to centralize and standardize control over what students are expected to know, what teachers must teach and how students must demonstrate learning, while also maintaining standardized, commodified ends for public education. The ongoing focus on standards, accountability, and outputs, represents what Gert Biesta (2012) has called the "learnification of education" (p. 10). Within this framework the *process* of education is stressed over the *purpose* of education. This learnification, which I argue is increasingly dependent on communication technologies, and propped up by the education spectacle, advances an agenda that says education is functionary; that education *should* produce specific, measureable results. When those expected results are not met, the idea can be put forth that education is failing, that it is sick. Or, perhaps even worse, that education is dead.

There are too many examples of how this functionalist education is realized in schools. Take, for example, the Race to The Top (RTT) initiatives that perform as current education reform in this country. RTT offers grants for states that make the most progress in such areas as tracking and recording student and teacher performance, improving teacher quality (measured by

published test results), improving failing schools (again measured by publishable test data), and embracing the idea of nationalized standards. The RTT grants are awarded for schools that can prove such things as meeting benchmarks, demonstrating continuous improvement, and defining the difference between effective and ineffective teachers. These terms have been used continuously, and in such a way, as to forward the education spectacle. Over time, this terminology, often misunderstood by the public, and perhaps purposefully misused by the proponents of the education spectacle, convey a lack of efficacy in those schools that cannot produce the results that the spectacle demands. In turn, a manufactured public outrage over failing schools (education is dead) exerts more pressure on education policymakers to enact more accountability, more standardization, and more control. This desire to control, however, is no accident; it is the result of what happens when, as Biesta (2012) argues,

> A particular discourse becomes hegemonic-that is, when a particular discourse begins to monopolize thinking and talking. It's not so much that the discourse has the power to change everything, but rather that people begin to adjust their ways of doing and talking to such ideas. (p. 12)

What is the result, then, of this discourse dominating over time? The result *is*: uniformity. Uniformity in the ways in which people think about and react to basic questions like: "what is the purpose of education?" and "what should teachers teach?"

Perhaps even more problematic is that these ideas about education become repeated exponentially over a period of time. Discourse around what the purpose of education *could or should be* changes. Over time, education changes, unable to resist the pressures from the spectacle that it ultimately helps perpetuate. Teachers change, or, more specifically, they are *forced* to change. Look, for example, at the movements toward pay for performance, merit pay, data that ties teacher efficacy to student test scores, and in my state we are soon implementing *Teacher Keys* which will track—via communication technologies—many of the curricular and instructional decisions a teacher makes in a given day . These policies and practices reinforce the prevailing notion of what education *is* or *should be*, and with reinforcement from the education spectacle, these policies are soon understood as being rational, logical, and points of common sense. Well, of course we want all schools to continuously improve, of course we want effective teachers, and of course we don't want to leave any students behind.

To recall the earlier discussion in this paper regarding technology, a similar spectacle can be created around the somewhat nebulous idea of technology as *the* means by which to resurrect education. It appears that it matters not from where this technology originates, who owns it, who administers it, just so long as it makes education more efficient, more accountable, and increasingly, more profitable. Udacity, the company mentioned earlier that is partnering with San Jose State University, asserts that they are revolutionizing higher education by offering college students access to college classes at lower costs and with a guarantee of higher quality. The idea of higher quality at lower cost is forwarded as a given; as if someone can, (or should?) expect both high quality and low cost from a college class. Further, the idea of technology improving education by allowing education to somehow achieve more for less assumes that education *should be* forced to produce results within a rational, deterministic economic model. Recall here Postman (1993) lamenting twenty years ago that we were embracing the speed and efficiency technology brought to all aspects of life without any inquiry into whether bigger and faster was always a good thing. Is quicker, bigger, more efficient always better? Sherry Turkle (2012) echoes these

important questions in her critique of how technology brings us together while also driving us apart. Turkle argues: "Technology reshapes the landscapes of our emotional lives, but is it offering us the lives we want to lead? What do we have, now that we have what we say we want-now that we have what technology makes easy?" (p. 17). As technology allows us to do more, see more, learn more, the more reliant we become upon it without inquiry into how technology is changing our relationships with each other and the vast amount of information we encounter each day.

One need not look too deeply today to see and hear technology on the lips of education reformers as a cure-all for what ails public education today. The idea that technology should or needs to be part of reforming education seems to dominate popular discourse in education and political circles today. However, one must ask questions such as, who will administer these new technologies that purport to efficiently and effectively educate the masses? Whom will this education technology serve? To whom will it answer? Quite often, the popular answer to these questions is that technology allows students and teachers to access an inordinate amount of interesting information; technology allows them to work more efficiently, more quickly. As Postman (1993) warned in the last years of the twentieth century:

> In Technopoly, we improve the education of our youth by improving what are called "learning technologies." At the moment, it is considered necessary to introduce computers to the classroom, as it once was thought necessary to bring closed-circuit television and film to the classroom. To answer the question "Why should we do this?" the answer is: "To make learning more efficient and interesting." (p. 171)

Furthermore, if we are going to link education with technology, making the two ideas almost inseparable in the 21st century, then one must raise questions regarding access to technology if equity in education is to be of any concern. As Harvard Law Professor Susan Crawford (2012) argues in *Captive Audience: The Telecom Industry and Monopoly Power in the New Gilded Age,* the United States still lags behind other developed countries such as Japan and Australia in providing affordable, high-speed internet access. More problematic, perhaps, is the ongoing conglomeration and collusion between the nation's internet providers (Comcast, Verizon, and NBC) providing consumers fewer choices when it comes to finding affordable, reliable, high-speed access (Crawford, 2013). If technology is to be seen as *the* key to a "good" 21st century education; and yet, large segments of the U.S. population do not have access to the technology needed to equitably participate in that education, then one must raise ongoing questions as to who or what actually profits from this technologically-advanced 21st century education.

There has been a long standing argument for education as a site for critical inquiry, participatory learning, and democracy. However, one does not need to look far today to realize that we live in an increasingly scrutinized society and what goes on in education, and in our schools, is perhaps just a reflection of society, writ large. With the proliferation of internet and broadband technologies, social media, and the ubiquity of video technology, we are all, in fact, watching each other on a regular basis. Consequently, the desire to see, and be seen, has grown exponentially, in the past ten years alone. In many ways, we have embraced technology and spectacle and turned it on ourselves in a way that Debord (1967/1983) and Baudriallard (1995) seemed to warn that we would. According to Turkle (2011) this is evidenced in our connected lives where we are alone, yet together, albeit voyeuristically. She writes, "Our networked life allows us to hide from

each other, even as we are watching each other" (p.1). We are, perhaps, all performers. At the least, we are all seers and we are all seen, almost incessantly today.

So where do we go from here? What can teachers, scholars, and members of any given community do as they navigate an increasingly mediated educational spectacle? The more the education spectacle positions education as a closed *process*, with delineated steps and measureable goals, the easier it is for teachers, parents, students, and scholars to succumb to the lure of the gadgetry and purported efficiency provided by the use of computer and internet technology in education. Nevertheless, many will be enthralled with the idea that an Ipad makes it easier to complete a MOOC and meet expected learning outcomes while sitting on a couch at home or while on an Iphone at the beach. It is telling to note that the early research on MOOC usage has shown that students are accessing MOOCS not primarily on computers or laptops, but on smartphones and tablets (Pappano, 2012). Apparently, we can all now complete Psychology 101 while stuck in traffic, or in line at the supermarket.

What is lacking in many conversations about education today is a discussion of purpose. What is the purpose of education? What is a good education? Why is a good education important? Is education the key to a good life, and what does that even mean? Is a consumerist-careerist notion of education, where completing the most efficient, quickest, and cheapest education possible so as to land a job in the global economy, really all that's left to education today? Those questions aside, this paper is not an argument against technology in education in sum; I'm not blaming the death of education on technology alone. I am not a Luddite; I've taught classes in a hybrid-online format and I realize there is potential for technology to in some ways democratize education like no other phenomenon before. Technology also allows students access to information and ideas they would not have been exposed to in school twenty-five years ago. Yet, I can't but help to question what this democratization of education via technology might look like within the constraints of the age of spectacle in which we live. If , as Debord (1967/1983) would have us believe, that "what was once directly lived has become mere representation" (p. 10), there exist ongoing challenges for education to unite communities, and to assist students in developing a critical consciousness that leads to asking questions about the issues, injustices, and needs facing all people.

What then, is actually required, to have hope of maintaining a public education for the public good? Is critical awareness of communication technologies and their spectacular power enough? If so, how do we develop that awareness? Does an education that develops critical consciousness actually benefit from the use of communication technology? To assume, as our pseudo-world of spectacle posits, that technology improves education almost without reproach, is misguided, at best. Yet, technology as *the* means to receiving a *good* education seems to be the mantra emanating from the lips of most educators, political leaders, and pundits today. The spectacle of Debord's pseudo-world brings with it implications for critical citizenship today, but at the same time, the technology it relies on offers us the possibility of discovery through inquiry. K-12 teachers, university professors, philosophers and scholars alike must continue to question the role of technology in their own lives, in their teaching and scholarship, and the degree to which the spectacular world today continually mediates understanding and inquiry.

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Lost in Conflation: An Argument for the Ambivalence of Hegemony in Educational Studies[1]

F. Tony Carusi, Massey University—New Zealand

Introduction

The relationship between emancipation and oppression is one of the central pre-occupations of educational studies. Questions regarding the status of the oppressed within an oppressive system and their role in maintaining that system, as well as exploring theories and practices of emancipation in light of these systems are just some of the entry points educational researchers have made into this relationship. Given the interest in how it is that the oppressed contribute to their own oppression, it should come as no surprise that the concept of hegemony has found a home within this field.

Educational researchers, particularly those of the critical ilk, use hegemony as a way of naming oppression and analyzing many of the micro-level operations that serve systems of oppression. While this naming fits within the general topography of the concept of hegemony, it draws only half the map. The genealogy of this concept shows that hegemony is far more ambivalent in its critical uses.[2] By overlooking this ambivalence, what is often missed is the reworking of agency performed by the concept of hegemony. Moreover, critiques in educational studies may well offer a hegemonic solution to the problem of hegemony, offering one hegemony in place of another, and unknowingly fall victim to their own criticism of hegemony as a mode of oppression.

Through a consideration of uses of hegemony in educational studies research, this paper argues that by narrowing the scope of hegemony to oppression, educational studies scholars are at risk of miring hegemonic agency in a theory of ideology founded on a true/false consciousness binary, thus placing the agent of change in a privileged position of truth.[3] Moreover, when hegemony is conflated with ideology in educational studies, the broader sense of agency that hegemony entails becomes unavailable as a mode of emancipation from identified oppressions. However, if we attend to the ambivalence of hegemony, new forms of agency open up that do not entail the occupation of some privileged truth position, and educational studies can offer a

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[1] I express my gratitude to the *CQIE* reviewers, as well as Rahna Carusi and John Lowther, all of whom offered thoughtful and substantial comments to earlier versions of this manuscript.

[2] I use ambivalence here in its etymological meaning of "both strengths." This is to emphasize that hegemony is not tied exclusively to oppression (monovalence) but is equally "strong" for emancipatory projects.

[3] This is not to say that all concepts of ideology reinforce the true/false consciousness split. Ideology has undergone such a wide diversity of theorization, the single term elides the careful consideration it has received within critical theory and beyond. However, the half-uses of hegemony this paper highlights shore up with a particular version of ideology that relies upon the true/false consciousness split. As such, this paper confines its use of ideology to this sense of the term. For examples of more nuanced conceptualizations of ideology, see Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London, UK: Verso, 2007) and *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj Žižek (London, UK: Verso, 2012).

coherent theory of political action to describe and organize resistance to oppressions across the spectrum of education policies and practices.[4]

The first part of this paper, then, offers a review of some of the half-uses of hegemony within educational studies, uses that rely on a hegemony allied exclusively with oppression. The second section shows the underlying conceptual problems that arise when hegemony, understood in its narrow sense, is conflated with a theory of ideology that requires a privileged agent of change. The third section of this paper offers a brief conceptual development of hegemony to highlight the sense of political agency directed toward social change that is frequently over-looked within educational studies. This development concludes with an ambivalent hegemony that generates a contingent agency directed toward an ethical break from a normative system. With the concept of hegemony explored, the final part of this paper considers a new set of axiological issues that arise in light of an ambivalent hegemony and offers an example of the sorts of questions and formations educational studies can analyze, critique, and organize across and between hegemonies.

The Half-use of Hegemony in Educational Research

The beginning premise of this paper is that educational researchers too often understand and use the concept of hegemony as a synonym for any organization of power that achieves domination over some oppressed group in such a way that the oppressed group consents to its own oppression. More often than not, hegemony is used casually as a shorthand for structures and practices of oppression. Take for instance the following use whereby hegemony marks "the way in which [children] actually experience the different modalities of power and powerlessness as an empirical reality within particular class and racial formations marked by deep inequalities of power."[5] Through this rendering, hegemony masks as empirical fact children's experience of oppression structured through class and race where some groups have power and others do not. Another example views hegemony as the foil for Critical Race Theory (CRT), claiming that hegemony must be analyzed and critiqued by CRT in order to address issues of racial inequality and the oppressive practices that follow from hegemony.[6] While these senses of hegemony are capable of highlighting the agencies that go in to such oppressive structuring, absent are the ways in which the contingency of these structures open opportunities for other hegemonic formations to upset the power inequalities each example cites. Elsewhere, Null describes a hegemony exercised through the domination of the "social control interpretation of social efficiency" at the expense of other interpretations of social efficiency, revealing the ways that hegemony makes mas-

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[4] This paper does not take up the concept of posthegemony as articulated by Jon Beasley-Murray in *Posthegemony: Political Theory and Latin America* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010). This is because the concern of posthegemony is the mobilization of power outside and beyond the purview of the State. This concept potentially holds promise for non-Statist forms of education, e.g., deschooling, that do not require the authorization or legitimation of State agencies. However, because of my interest in resistance efforts directed against the State, namely resistance against current, neoliberal education policies and practices promoted through State-run institutions of education, posthegemony falls outside of my scope here.

[5] Henry Giroux, "Betraying the Intellectual Tradition: Public Intellectuals and the Crisis of Youth," *Language and Intercultural Communication 3*, no. 3 (December 1, 2003): 172-186, 183.

[6] David Stovall, "Forging Community in Race and Class: Critical Race Theory and the Quest for Social Justice in Education," *Race, Ethnicity & Education 9*, no. 3 (September 1, 2006): 243-259, 248.

ters at the hermeneutic level as well.[7] Additionally, educational studies scholars show world history textbooks' participation in hegemony, summarizing that hegemony occurs when "socially marginalized groups adopt a concept that is not their own but is borrowed from the dominant group."[8] With this narrow sense of hegemony, marginal groups direct their agency toward and through the master's tools, so to speak, thus consenting to the very concepts that oppress them.

There are myriad examples of this narrow use of hegemony in educational studies, and it is not my intent to offer a comprehensive index. Nor is it my intent to critique these uses wholesale since in the examples included above, the authors offer in their own ways very good evidence of the dominance of hegemonies and their oppressive consequences. However, each of these uses raises the question of what might be done instead. For instance, what should students of world history do to combat the operations of U.S. hegemony in their textbooks? The authors call "for students to review, deconstruct, and challenge current Eurocentric, colonial, and patriarchal perspectives that have been incorporated and institutionalized explicitly and implicitly in textbooks and educational practices."[9] In short, students should critique hegemony. This is a common response from those in educational studies, and it speaks to the field's enduring and valuable engagement with critical theory. Yet, by suggesting critique as an end point, readers are left with a circle of critique that may urge alternative visions but does little in the way of enacting their construction.

Alternatively, there are a number of examples of educational studies research that do envision political projects that might supplant a dominant hegemony. These projects are frequently oriented in the emancipatory language of social justice contrasted against an oppressive hegemony.[10] This is not to say there is a uniform definition of social justice across education, or even educational studies, but that it is common to find researchers espousing social justice as an antihegemonic alternative.[11] Consider, for example, Balderrama's suggestion that robust engagement with and enactment of social justice projects will counter the oppressive hegemonies found in classroom discourses.[12] She describes "hegemonic ideology" as "resulting in unequal distribution of educational attainment, wealth, and power"[13] and examines her own encounters with White supremacist hegemonic ideologies in the classes she teaches. Offering an "ideology of social jus-

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[7] J. Wesley Null, "Social Efficiency Splintered: Multiple Meanings Instead of the Hegemony of One," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 19, no. 2 (December 1, 2004): 99-124.

[8] Young Chun Kim, Seungho Moon, & Jaehong Joo, "Elusive Images of the Other: A Postcolonial Analysis of South Korean World History Textbooks, *Educational Studies: A Journal of the American Educational Studies Association* 49, no. 3 (2013): 213-246, 216.

[9] Ibid., 242.

[10] See, for example, Angelina E. Castagno, "I Don't Want to Hear That!": Legitimating Whiteness through Silence in Schools," *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2008): 314-333; Lindsay Pérez Huber, "Discourses of Racist Nativism in California Public Education: English Dominance as Racist Nativist Microaggressions," *Educational Studies: A Journal of the American Educational Studies Association* 47, no. 4 (2011): 379-401; and Stovall, "Forging Community in Race and Class."

[11] For a sense of the differing definitions of social justice and the consequences of those differences in education, see Deron Boyles, Tony Carusi, and Dennis Attick, "Historical and Critical Interpretations of Social Justice," in *Handbook of Social Justice in Education*, edited by William Ayers, Theresa Quinn, and David Stovall (New York: Routledge, 2009): 30-42.

[12] María Balderrama, "Shooting the Messenger: The Consequences of Practicing an Ideology of Social Justice," in *Ideologies in Education: Unmasking the Trap of Teacher Neutrality*, ed. Lilia I. Bartolomé (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2008: 29-45).

[13] Ibid., 39.

tice" in place of hegemonic ideologies, she defines an alternative "social justice curriculum [that] names and deals with oppression and social structural inequality based on social class, gender, and race. It also *strongly* encourages teachers to be agents of change and reform in their classrooms, schools, and communities."[14] Social justice stands as an abbreviation for both the resistance to hegemony and a localized agency. With resistance and agency located through a social justice curriculum, a number of questions arise regarding what follows from it. Who are the agents of change and reform a social justice curriculum is directed toward? What do agents of change and reform do in their local settings? Does this curriculum extend beyond individual students learning to critique hegemonic ideologies? If so, how do these individuals organize themselves and others in order to effect the sorts of change and reform demanded within the scope of social justice?

These questions remain unanswered, and, given the exclusively oppressive register of hegemony, they may not be answerable. However, such questions are paramount to the task of organizing agents of change and reform and, I argue, can be answered successfully when one maintains the ambivalence of hegemony, capable of describing both oppressive and emancipatory political agencies. To make a case for an ambivalent hegemony, I now turn to some conceptual concerns subtending the narrower version of hegemony that only describes oppressive political formations. These concerns emanate from a critique of the true/false consciousness binary that founds some theories of ideology, a binary that educational studies researchers risk importing when tying hegemony to oppressive formations.

Agency Lost: The Conflation of Hegemony with Ideology

Taking as an example the theme of social justice above, how does one know that social justice combats hegemony, how does one come by that knowledge, and what position must one hold in order to reveal this knowledge to those who consent to their own, presumably hegemonic and non-socially just oppression? These questions emphasize the problems that arise when one critiques hegemony outright and then offers another path in its stead. First, if hegemony is removed from the realm of possible political acts as necessarily oppressive, it is confusing, if not contradictory, to seek consent and action directed toward another political vision, e.g., social justice. In other words, after arguing for a robust critique and dismantling of hegemony it makes little sense to suggest a new path that is itself hegemonic.

Second, by endorsing a political project that will work to dismantle hegemony, educational studies scholars risk taking a position of privileged knowledge. This second point is particularly salient in discussions of hegemony due to the consent given by those taking part in a hegemony. In order to critique a particular hegemony as oppressive, one must show the consent of those under the hegemony as given under false pretense, perhaps due to simple wrongheadedness or because of more insidious motives. Regardless of the reasons, the critic of hegemony positions himself as knowing what those consenting to a hegemony do not, and the task for the critic then becomes one of revelation; i.e., the critic must now reveal the true oppression that lies behind the wrongheaded consent. Here the narrow use of hegemony aligns itself with a traditional Marxist theory of ideology founded upon a true/false consciousness dichotomy. Those who consent to the very processes that produce their oppression operate within false consciousness, mistaking their oppression for "the natural order of things," for example. The critic of hegemony stands within true consciousness, demystifying the oppressive order for what it *really* is and,

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[14] Ibid., fn. 8. Emphasis in original.

subsequently, takes on the task of revealing to those in false consciousness the truth of their oppression in order to emancipate them from it. The true/false consciousness split entailed by the conflation of hegemony with ideology of this sort raises a number of concerns pertaining to the privileged position of the agent of true consciousness.

When authors recommend a critical engagement with a narrow form of hegemony in order to reveal the underlying mechanisms that work towards some oppressive end one may assume that a successful critique, with its power of demystification, will urge action to oppose hegemony once its surreptitious ways are exposed, and, subsequently, emancipate those populations who were initially misguided in giving their consent. As Jacques Rancière points out, models of emancipation that require some master emancipator to reveal or explain to the yet-to-be-emancipated the conditions and techniques of their escape from oppression do not, in fact, emancipate but, instead, replace one register of oppression for another.[15] Gert Biesta highlights Rancière's problematic further:

> [t]he "predicament of ideology" lies in the suggestion that it is precisely because of the way in which power works upon our consciousness that we are unable to see how power works upon our consciousness. This not only implies that in order to free ourselves from the workings of power we need to expose how power works on our consciousness; it also means that in order for us to achieve emancipation, *someone else*, whose consciousness is not subjected to the workings of power, needs to provide us with an account of our objective condition.[16]

Within traditional Marxist terminology, this *someone else* is the agent of true consciousness. Whether that agent be the proletariat class or individuals sympathetic to some oppressed other, Rancière's problem remains regarding the existence of some *true* consciousness that is only deliverable via that person or class who already knows the difference. The conflation of hegemony with a traditional Marxist concept of ideology and its attendant binary of true and false consciousness smuggles into the concept of hegemony the very pitfalls Rancière's critique highlights. In other words, by conflating hegemony with ideology in this way, agency remains in the realm of the privileged, to be imported to those whose consent has blinded them to their oppression.

Hegemony conflated with ideology of this sort also imports essentialist assumptions as demonstrated by Ernesto Laclau's critical engagement with Slavoj Žižek.[17] Briefly, Laclau argues that Žižek's politics rely upon the immanent structuring of the political, i.e., an essential and present truth is accessible through—is immanent to—the political and can be revealed by "authentic" political actions. This sort of immanence establishes the conditions according to which the true/false consciousness dichotomy operates, i.e., some political agency may take up the position of true consciousness and expose the false consciousness promoted by other politics. It seems that we are left in a similar predicament to Rancière's in that there must be some privi-

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[15] Jacques Rancière, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster*, trans. Kristin Ross (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991).

[16] Gert Biesta, "A New Logic of Emancipation: The Methodology of Jacques Rancière," *Educational Theory* 60, no. 1 (2010): 39-60, 44.

[17] The full exchange occurs across the following articles: Slavoj Žižek, "Against the Populist Temptation," *Critical Inquiry* 32, no. 3 (Spring 2006): 551–74; Ernesto Laclau, "Why Constructing a People Is the Main Task of Radical Politics," *Critical Inquiry* 32, no. 4 (Summer 2006): 646–80; and Slavoj Žižek, "Schlagend, aber nicht Treffend!" *Critical Inquiry* 33, no. 1 (Autumn 2006): 185-211.

leged agent operating from true consciousness in order to revert the false consciousness produced by ideological inversion. However, Laclau's critique highlights the essentialist assumptions contained in the true/false consciousness binary. This dualism only makes sense if one assumes there is some kernel of truth papered over by false consciousness; and, if we follow this logic, the task of the emancipatory agent is to reveal what the truth, in essence, *really is*. For traditional Marxists, this revelation is the (true) proletariat unmasking of (false) bourgeois ideology.

For those who conflate hegemony with ideology, this revelation requires the (true) unmasking of the consent of the oppressed to the (false) structures and practices of oppression. With hegemony understood in an essentialist manner, it becomes quite difficult to argue for political change beyond what is "true" due to the immutability of the essence upon which hegemony is based. Thus political agency is delimited to what is "true," the proletariat or agents of social justice. Other forms of agency that exist outside of that delimitation with other sets of demands, e.g., the lumpenproletariat or agents of antisocial justice, are *a priori* false and to be saved or ignored.

The conflation of hegemony and ideology based on true/false consciousness determines the political in such a way that agency operates toward a single, privileged trajectory, a classless society or a just society, for example. What becomes lost in this conflation, are the ways in which the political is underdetermined, that it is always "up for grabs," and that, while oppression can certainly be an outcome of hegemony, this narrow interpretation misses its mark at least by half. The simple identification of hegemony with different modes of oppression and domination ignores the conceptual and contextual development of hegemony as a mode of emancipatory politics. When acknowledging this context, hegemony offers a complete reworking of the role of agency in politics, one which does not occur from some privileged agent but occurs in response to the inevitable failure of any articulation of power to address completely the demands of its constituents. More directly, while it is hegemony that brings particular constellations of oppression into power, it is also hegemony that resists and disintegrates such constellations. By relying only on the former, we become mired in the problems of privileged agency, but, when emphasizing the latter, political agency is loosed from its ideological constraints and capable of recognizing its own contingent, rather than essential, position while still enacting political change.

In respect of these latter capabilities of hegemony, reorienting the concept of hegemony toward a more ambivalent use not only captures the oppressive characteristics that previous examples successfully point to in their own ways, but also allows for emancipatory practices to occur through hegemony. In order to understand hegemony in this more ambivalent sense, I now turn to a brief genealogy of the concept of hegemony which shows the versatility afforded to the concept by Antonio Gramsci and, later, Laclau. By paying close attention to the conceptual development of hegemony, I will show a much more robust version of hegemony that does not found itself upon the true/false consciousness binary as its more narrow uses do. Instead, hegemony offers a form of political agency that operates without consideration of the oppressive or emancipatory trajectory of a political formation. While this introduces a need for deeper axiological inquiry into the concept of hegemony, something I'll address in the final section of this paper, it also offers avenues to enact the political projects that emanate from the field of educational studies in a way that does not require the demystifying revelations of a privileged agency.

A Brief Conceptual Development of an Ambivalent Hegemony: Gramsci and Laclau

Gramsci's concept of hegemony develops in part as a response to the proletariat revolution that never came. In accounting for the failed arrival of the revolution as a function of consent, Gramsci highlights a problem in Marx's base/superstructure model. According to this model, the base is comprised primarily by the division of labor, the means of production, and the material relations between workers and the owners of the means of production. The superstructure is the effect of the base, comprised of legal and political systems, aesthetics, etc.[18] Marx's model sets the base as the material foundation of the superstructure and establishes the determination of the superstructure by the base. As a consequence, revolutionary change must be located in the base due to its constitution of the superstructure. Or, conversely, any change in the superstructure is incapable of altering the base due to the base's status as cause and the superstructure's as effect.

Gramsci reconfigures the base/superstructure model such that each is capable of determining the other by situating it within an historical bloc. When the base/superstructure relationship is viewed through an historical bloc "precisely material forces are the content and ideologies are the form, though this distinction between form and content has purely indicative value, since the material forces would be inconceivable historically without form and the ideologies would be individual fancies without the material forces."[19] Gramsci regards the material (base) and ideologies (superstructure) as mutually entailed such that one would be inconceivable or fantastical without the other. The concept of the historical bloc, then, changes the relationship between base and superstructure such that they enter a reciprocal, even dialectical, process of constitution with one another. He argues that the superstructure and base share a "necessary reciprocity…[that is] the real dialectical process."[20] Consequently, the base no longer serves as the causal element of society but is in a reciprocal relationship with the superstructure, a relationship whereby each domain constitutes the other.

This shift in understanding the dialectic of base/superstructure leads Gramsci to consider the operations not exclusively located in the base through which political struggle can form, and from these considerations emerges his use of hegemony. Hegemony, for Gramsci, consists in the consent given by a ruled group to those who rule. When the ruling group is the state and the state is formed through the consent of the ruled to the capitalist interests of the owners of the means of production, hegemony looks very similar to Marx's base/superstructure topography. However, Gramsci's hegemony is more flexible in that consent can be given across a variety of contexts and take shape in a number of ways. In a revolutionary context, consent of different groups, peasants, intellectuals, and workers to name three, can be given "universally" to the proletariat leadership to produce a hegemony capable of overthrowing capitalism. In order for this to take place, Gramsci identifies three "moments" of relations of political forces that lead to the formation of a hegemony. The first moment operates at the "economic-corporate level," when individuals stand in solidarity with similarly occupied individuals. Gramsci gives the example of

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[18] For more detail on the base/superstructure model, see Karl Marx, "Preface," *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859), available at www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1859/critique-pol-economy/preface.htm (accessed 6 December, 2013).

[19] Antonio Gramsci, *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*, ed. David Forgacs (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2000), 200.

[20] Ibid., 193.

tradesmen "feeling obliged" toward one another, but not sharing that feeling toward manufacturers. In the second moment, "consciousness is reached of the solidarity of interests among all the members of the social group—but still in the purely economic field."[21] Here, a social group merely seeks equality with the ruling group, e.g., seeking legal redress in a system of law that privileges and assumes the bourgeoisie as its paragon and, subsequently, remains within the current structure of domination. At the third moment, the social group recognizes its interests beyond their corporate limits as an economic group. This new recognition "marks the decisive passage from the structure to the sphere of complex superstructures"[22] in which a political party is formed

> to propagate itself over the whole social area—bringing about not only a unison of economic and political aims, but also intellectual and moral unity, posing all questions around which the struggle rages not on a corporate but on a "*universal*" plane, and thus creating the hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups.[23]

The new ability of the superstructure to change the base through hegemonic intervention becomes clear at this point. Through its universalization of economic, political, intellectual, and moral aims, hegemony creates a social group capable of encompassing a broad set of interests and taking up political struggle to upset a ruling group.

Hegemony, then, collapses the hard line between base and superstructure by placing class struggle and its outcome within the interests of a social group "universalizing" those interests and exercising that universalization over subordinate groups to garner their consent. This leads to a group formation that extends beyond the economic realm and poses a threat to the current ruling hegemony. A hegemony at its most successful will rupture the norms and practices that uphold the base/superstructure rather than merely replacing its leaders and leaving the structures of privilege and oppression intact.[24] For Gramsci, this means that through the operation of hegemony the proletariat could universalize their struggle to a number of other classes and, thereby, unseat the capitalist interests that held power in his milieu. However, another, perhaps unintended consequence of his concept of hegemony is that political agency is opened up to a more general process of universalizing particular interests to upset ruling political formations no matter their alignment. In other words, hegemony operates ambivalently. It has no ties to the oppressed or the oppressor, but, instead, is directed toward the political as such. This is the consequence picked up by Laclau's concern for hegemony.

Laclau brings new attention to Gramsci's concept of hegemony to emphasize the relationship between the particular and universal in political formations. His theorization of hegem-

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[21] Ibid., 205.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid. Emphasis added.

[24] The radical change of hegemony can be juxtaposed to Gramsci's notion of the passive revolution, according to which sociopolitical change is obtained through gradual and incremental displacement of one social group in favour of another. The sort of change that arrives through passive revolution generally maintains systems of privilege and oppression, but replaces those who benefit by it. Passive revolution offers a strong theoretical tool for the analysis of the neoliberal domination of education reform across thirty years and the series of leadership changes that have maintained a neoliberal model while altering its beneficiaries. For more, on Gramsci's use of passive revolution, see Ibid., 246-299.

ony extends beyond Gramsci's use of the term by folding concepts from post-structuralism into a model that accounts for the formation of a "people." He argues that taking the formation of a "people" as a political category designates "an act of institution that *creates a new agency* out of a plurality of heterogeneous elements."[25] The primary focus for *On Populist Reason* is how the institution of a "people" is precisely the activity of hegemony. Important for my current argument is how hegemony is capable of creating new agency, but in order to arrive at that point, some details on Laclau's theory of hegemony are needed.

For Laclau, hegemony is "the kind of relation inherent to the political as such,"[26] and he defines it as the "operation of taking up, by a particularity, of an incommensurable universal signification."[27] However, Laclau's theory of hegemony relies on a number of moves that these simple formulations elide. Hegemony operates in Laclau's framework in terms of demands rather than groups.[28] In brief, a set of unanswered demands establish an antagonistic frontier on the other side of which stand those demands that structure a ruling hegemony. Should a ruling hegemony, say a government, remain inconsiderate to the demands of those it governs, or should demands be lodged that are incapable of being incorporated by the government, i.e., demands that are radically heterogeneous, those demands accumulate and in their shared status as unincorporable enter into an equivalential relation with one another, thus establishing the other side of the frontier.[29] In short, the frontier demarcates a set of antagonisms between an "us and a them."[30] The "us" links these demands into a chain of equivalences, i.e., a heterogeneous array of demands, race, class, and gender equity, for instance, chain together in order to seek redress from the entity designated as "them."[31] This chain continues to grow as demands are formed and the articulation of some particular demand eventually becomes the signifier for all the individual demands. Subsequently, all the particular demands are reconstituted into a universal demand, social justice, for example.

Laclau describes this signifier that universalizes particular demands as empty. It can be a word, an object, an image, or most anything that universally signifies some set of heterogeneous demands in a particular spatio-temporal context. Moreover, an empty signifier through its emptiness is radically contingent in that it is filled with demands developed against a specific time and place, and in a specific socio-political climate. As such, an empty signifier is incapable of being determined through any *a priori* and ahistorical substrate. As an example of the contingent for-

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[25] Ernesto Laclau, *On Populist Reason* (London: Verso, 2005): 224. Emphasis added.

[26] Ernesto Laclau, "Why Constructing a People Is the Main Task of Radical Politics," 650.

[27] Laclau, *On Populist Reason,* 70.

[28] Laclau justifies this shift on account of the "stable and positive configuration" connoted by a group. Instead, a demand, he argues, accounts for the heterogeneous makeup of groups and can stand both inside and outside an established order due to its ability to make claims to that order. Ibid., ix.

[29] This is not to say that the establishing of an antagonistic frontier is always successful or necessarily results in the formation of another hegemony. However, when successful, an antagonistic frontier entails the constitution of a hegemony's enemy and its own identity.

[30] Important to the constitution of the frontier is that the "us" and "them" are not dialectically incorporated into a larger historical process, as would be the case in a Hegelian encounter. Were the Hegelian variant operative here, then the metanarrative of history would re-establish the very problems Laclau seeks to avoid, such as a privileged historical actor that can access the truth of history and lead the masses out of their oppression. For more on this point see Laclau, *On Populist Reason*, 84-85.

[31] Ibid., 131.

mation of a universal demand that signifies an array of particular demands, Laclau uses one of the slogans of the 1917 Russian Revolution, "Bread, Peace, Land." These three words do very little to address each individual's particular demands in all their refinement; yet, neither do they rely on some essential truth that existed prior to and beyond their articulation. Instead, the chaining together of many heterogeneous and contingent demands gives rise to a universal demand that consolidates a "people" along an antagonistic frontier. Further emphasizing the radical sense of contingency of the empty signifier, Laclau points out that "[particular] grievances which had nothing to do with those three demands nevertheless expressed themselves through them."[32] Thus, an empty signifier's universalization contingently incorporates a heterogeneous set of demands and, recalling the above definition of a particular attaining the status of a universal, hegemony is born.[33]

This universal demand is an empty signifier because it has no content in itself and includes heterogeneous demands; yet, there are limits to its inclusion, and through these limits a hegemony consolidates demands into a system. Consider public education as an empty signifier. Public education includes a number of particular, often contradictory, even irrelevant, demands. As an empty signifier it contains demands for better environmental practice, better citizens, higher status position, acquiring a job in a globally competitive economy, and equal opportunity, among many others. As the demands increase, the emptier the signifier must become in order to house more and more diverse and contradictory demands. As long as the empty signifier is capable of emptying itself more, hegemony can represent its demands, contradictory as they may be, against an antagonistic frontier and signify its status as a system, i.e., its systematicity. Laclau writes, "any system of signification is structured around an empty place resulting from the impossibility of producing an object which, none the less, is required by the systematicity of the system."[34] While the production of public education's object(s), e.g., the perfectly educated student, is impossible, the emptiness of public education arranges a diverse yet systematic network around its impossible object(s), viz., schools, policies, teachers, teacher educators, administrators, tests, textbooks, etc. More directly, the hegemony of public education is the public education system.[35] However, public education also shows us the limits of an empty signifier to the degree that other demands set themselves against and as an alternative to public education, e.g., private education and homeschooling. These alternatives further show the ambivalence of hegemony. Through Laclau's framework, the articulation of an empty signifier that establishes an antagonistic frontier is itself hegemonic as well. Therefore, private education, homeschooling,

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[32] Ibid., 97-98.

[33] While beyond the scope of this paper, Laclau further emphasizes the contingency of empty signifiers by considering their co-optation by competing hegemonies. Empty signifiers are capable of being "floated" across an antagonistic frontier by an opposing hegemony as a way of depoliticizing antagonisms; "You want social justice? Well we have social justice!" For more on floating signifiers, see Ibid., 129-138.

[34] Ernesto Laclau, *Emancipation(s)* (London: Verso, 1996): 40.

[35] For confirmation of this one need only look at the volumes of research on "the public education system" that reach diametrically opposed conclusions yet refer to and assume at the outset the presence of "the public education system" or a facet therein. This is not to say such research necessarily isn't valid or valuable, but that it is "structured around an empty place" and engages in a hegemonic move through its universalization of particular demands into the presumed public education system. In light of the empty signifier, researchers can acknowledge that research is an activity that contributes to the structuring of the very system under study and, as such, does not study a system that exists entirely prior to or independently of that research, thus avoiding the natural status arbitrary systems obtain when researched as separate entities, substantially existing "out there."

and de-/un-schooling are hegemonic enterprises set against the hegemony of public education, i.e., the public education system.

The limitations and delimitations of the empty signifier and the contingency from which a hegemony arises provide the conditions for the sort of agency that is lost in hegemony's conflation with ideology detailed above. In consideration of the former, empty signifiers proliferate across socio-political struggles, and there is no one empty signifier that is capable of resolving those struggles in such a way as to create a smooth space for a single hegemony to gain uniform dominance. In fact, due to the antagonism inherent to the formation of hegemony vis-à-vis the demarcation of an antagonistic frontier, hegemony always requires another hegemony in order to set itself against a frontier, i.e., the "us" needs a "them" in order to be the "us" in the first place. As such the limits of empty signifiers are always under duress—a persistent hegemony always needing to reaffirm its own systematicity to maintain its position, an emerging hegemony pointing to the failure of another hegemony's ability to answer its demands. This requires the continued formation of empty signifiers, and subsequently, necessitates a proliferation of agency to articulate heterogeneous sets of demands. In other words, the formation of demands occurs through the exercise of agency, an agency which attends to those whose demands go unregistered by or are radically heterogeneous to another hegemony and manifests in the organization of a "people" structured around an empty signifier. This alone, however, is still susceptible to the pitfalls of the true/false consciousness binary mentioned above to the degree that the proliferation of empty signifiers by itself could be directed toward a better and better approximation of the true hegemony, i.e., the formation of empty signifiers as asymptotic and ever approximating a closer resemblance to the true political formation. This is why the latter point of contingency is needed.

Due to the contingent status of empty signifiers and the lack of *a prioi* status such contingency entails, there can be no essential substance to be taken up by an empty signifier. There is no foundation from which an empty signifier can arise that is not particular to that signifier. Nor are there steadfast rules that govern what empty signifier makes a better hegemony. While this may aggravate current calls for ethical reform, it opens up such calls to an agency that does not maintain a privileged position of articulation. Instead, the contingency of empty signifiers produces hegemonies as much as it undoes them, and the agency required to articulate demands develops according to the contingencies of an empty signifier.

The contingency of empty signifiers results in a relatively open socio-political field in which multiple agencies are and will continue to be directed toward the maintenance, dissolution, and creation of hegemony. As hegemony holds no particular allegiance to oppressor or oppressed, nor do its agencies. This ambivalence frees up critical projects to adopt hegemonic strategies in ways that seek the formation of new empty signifiers around heterogeneous sets of demands. For instance, when supporters of social justice identify current education policies and practices as ethically bankrupt and abhorrent, they are making demands in turn that are radically heterogeneous to a hegemony that entrenches divisions in race, class, gender, etc. The language of emancipation becomes particularly salient when set against a system of public education that maintains and promotes a social order that privileges and oppresses on the basis of race, class, and gender and other arbitrary categories of difference. However, when this argument is made with its language of oppression and emancipation, the "them" of public education and "us" of social justice, one cannot further argue that this political change is not itself hegemonic. In fact, due to the agency made available through hegemony, it behooves critical groups to adopt hegemony as a mode of resistance. When hegemony is taken as "inherent to the political as such," social justice advocates are able to universalize their demands around empty signifiers particular

to their contexts and set against a ruling hegemony. In other words, through both Gramsci and Laclau's work, hegemony can oppress as well as emancipate.

Hegemony, then, provides a framework through which educational studies can intervene in and hegemonically counter discourses that support other, ruling hegemonies of education without succumbing to the problems of agency introduced by the conflation of hegemony with ideology. By reconceiving the concept of hegemony as ambivalent, researchers shift from a unilateral critique of oppression to an intervention into the formation, degradation, and maintenance of hegemonies as expressions of political agency.[36]

However, by conceiving of hegemony in this way, rather than conflating it with ideology, we face a different set of axiological concerns, namely, the problem of hegemony's ambivalence toward the kinds of political projects it manifests. We might ask: if hegemony is inherent to the political as such, then how can one distinguish between hegemonies beyond the language of mere difference. (Neither politics is better, they're just different.) What argument can be made for favoring one hegemony over another? Asked differently, what are the ethical and normative considerations that go in to promoting and/or critiquing particular hegemonies? For example, is there a way to ethically critique the hegemony of public education in its current, neoliberal form while promoting a different hegemony which not only seeks the ruling hegemony's abolishment but offers an alternative political project?

The Ethical and Normative Dimensions of an Ambivalent Hegemony

By reorienting hegemony away from its conflation with a theory of ideology that relies upon the true/false consciousness split, educational studies gains an avenue for envisioning new forms of political agency but loses the foundation upon which critics could identify hegemony with oppression. Decoupling hegemony from an exclusively oppressive register produces a need to consider new ways to distinguish the ethical and normative status of particular hegemonies. One attempt at considering the axiological issues of an ambivalent hegemony comes from Celeste Condit, who introduces the concept of concordance as a way to locate the constitutive voices of a given hegemony.[37] According to this concept, a hegemony can be analyzed through the amount and kind of voices, or demands, that participate in its formation and establish a spectrum whose poles run from monovocality to polyvocality. In other words, the more open a hegemony is to multiple concerns emanating from multiple interests, the better the outcome of the antagonisms that take place within that hegemony. Concordance is subject to limitations in that a concordant version of hegemony is open specifically to those who have some stake in the issue around which a hegemony forms. As a limit, this means that hegemony is not radically inclusive, i.e., the empty signifiers limit and delimit, and all the uneven relations of power and privilege that can make some voices more important than others are still present. Concordance, then, is a concept that can mitigate, though not eradicate, the privileges of some groups over others to the degree that a hegemony includes multiple voices who are affected by the decisions made when forming that hegemony. To ground her analysis, Condit examines the discourses and events that surrounded the invention of in-vitro fertilization (IVF) and she identifies three major and contentious voices in what led to the availability of IVF: the Catholic Church, feminists, and the medi-

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[36] This also holds consequences for the term counter-hegemony to the degree that an ambivalent hegemony maintains the ability for something described as counter-hegemonic to be a hegemony itself. Thus, hegemony's ambivalence allows for a positive description of counter-hegemony as a hegemonic articulation with its own empty signifiers and antagonistic frontier. This description goes well beyond the negative sense of counter-hegemony as anything that is simply against hegemony.

cal community. Her attention to the multiple voices that formed multiple compromises is an example of concordance that offers an axiological framework for hegemonic formations, namely, the greater the degree of polyvocality, the better the hegemony and, conversely, the greater the degree of monovocality, the worse.

Condit, though, neglects a criticism brought by both Laclau and Žižek when she overlooks the possibility for polyvocality to devolve into a logic of difference that can be reincorporated by the dominant hegemony thus preventing the more radical change both Laclau and Žižek see as crucial.[38] Briefly, Laclau contrasts the logic of difference with the logic of equivalence. The logic of equivalence, as described above in terms of the chain of equivalences, is the operation through which a series of different demands are converted into a single empty signifier. Conversely, the logic of difference is the operation whereby no equivalential links are made between demands, thus demands remain at the level of the individual.[39] Were this to happen, polyvocality would be more akin to consumer choice, e.g. a multiplicity of voices whose aim is to establish which soft drink brand should adorn a school's scoreboard or the *best* school-of-choice. The difficulty this kind of polyvocality presents is that it fails to address the larger issues around which a dominant hegemony establishes itself. Said differently, when multiple voices are concerned with the brand of their "choice school," no voices are questioning, for instance, the lack of union representation, the problematic nature of merit pay, or the assumptions embedded in the particular version of "choice" on offer; thus the political change encouraged in the concept of hegemony is not merely overlooked, it is erased from the terms of the concordance. This is not to discount Condit's work, but more to supplement her theory by caveat, acknowledging the potential for any challenging hegemony to be reinscribed, and thereby dissolved, by a dominant one.

Understood as a supplement to a revised notion of concordance, Laclau's distinction between the normative and the ethical adds another axiological dimension to the indeterminate status of hegemony. He argues that a hegemony that subverts the power of a ruling hegemony introduces an ethical break from the normative system established by that ruling hegemony. In order for the ethical dimension of a hegemony to be successful, the chain of equivalences, reconstituted by the empty signifier of a particular hegemony, maintains the antagonistic frontier between themselves and the ruling hegemony, thus preventing their reinscription into the logic of difference that allows the ruling hegemony to continue to operate fundamentally intact.[40]

Given the development of hegemony provided by Laclau, the ethical break from the normative is a result of the failure of a hegemonic system to address and incorporate the heterogeneous demands of a number of groups, demands that link into a chain of equivalences. Addition-

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[37] Celeste M. Condit, "Hegemony in a Mass-mediated Society: Concordance about Reproductive Technologies," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 11, no. 3 (September 1994): 205-230.

[38] Slavoj Žižek, "Against the Populist Temptation; Ernesto Laclau, "Why Constructing a People Is the Main Task of Radical Politics; and Slavoj Žižek, "Schlagend, aber nicht Treffend!" While the two authors fundamentally disagree throughout this series of exchanges, they do both point to, and generally agree on, the problems that the logic of difference entails for democracy, or, as I extend it to Condit, polyvocality.

[39] We can see this operation in the "to me" suffix that frequently concludes claims seeking to avoid confrontation, converting a controversial claim into a matter of personal preference, e.g., "Hegemony is necessarily a form of oppression, to me." By couching claims in terms of preference, antagonism is neutralized as a mere difference of opinion and arguments for political change shift to discussions of taste and decorum.

[40] See Ernesto Laclau, "Identity and Hegemony," in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality* (London: Verso, 2000): 44-89, especially 80-86; and "Structure, History, and the Political," in *Contingency, Hegemony, Universality* (London: Verso, 2000):182-212, especially 183-85.

ally, the ethical break comes through an exercise of political agency such that a new set of empty signifiers emanate from the universalized demand to establish an antagonistic frontier. Any hegemony that is incapable of answering the demands of its constituents through its normative system sets the stage for an ethical break and, subsequently, a hegemonic challenge. This ethical break directs new forms of agency, forms made possible by the new set of relations produced by an empty signifier, toward the displacement of a ruling hegemony's normative system, and the challenging hegemony views their ethical break as entailing the betterment of society. By combining particular demands into a universal demand, like freedom or justice, a worldview emerges that, through the broad coalition of demands, offers a better, e.g. freer or more just, society for those who suffer under the normative system of a ruling hegemony.[41]

This ethical/normative distinction, in conjunction with a revised sense of concordance, offers a framework through which the axiological questions raised earlier may be approached. In particular, those critiquing one hegemony in favor of another can consider the groupings of demands, or voices, that go in to the formation of specific hegemonies, i.e., map the polyvocality of hegemonies under consideration, while attending to the antagonism respective hegemonies establish between one another, and evaluating the play between the logic of equivalence and the logic of difference. For instance, what demands are answered in current U.S. education policy initiatives like Race to the Top (RTTT) focusing on the use of large data systems to determine teacher quality based on test scores from teachers' students? Who has voiced those demands and what antagonisms have those demands identified as "them" in setting up their antagonistic frontier? Moreover, what demands are critical of RTTT and from whom are they coming? Do these criticisms espouse a logic of difference, accepting the validity of the empty signifiers deployed in RTTT, or a logic of equivalence, creating new empty signifiers in an effort to upset those promoted by RTTT, thus establishing an antagonistic frontier and hegemony of its own? What kind and degree of polyvocality does this other hegemony entail? What normative system does RTTT support and what ethical break does another hegemony propose? And, finally, what new forms of political agency are made possible through the empty signifiers directed toward an ethical break?

An Ambivalent Hegemony in Educational Studies

Taken together, the above questions offer an example of what sorts of analysis hegemony offers educational studies. Recalling the half-uses of hegemony from the beginning of the paper, educational studies frequently finds itself caught up in identifying hegemony with oppression by conflating it with a form of ideology that relies on a true/false consciousness split. This results in a privileged form of agency according to which those critics ordained by true consciousness exercise true agency in the demystification and revelation of oppression for those oppressed. The agent becomes trapped by delivering emancipation at the cost of emancipation. Thus, other political projects, like those often aligned with the empty signifier of social justice, face theoretical difficulties when explaining how calls for social justice are different from hegemony, which, according to its half-use, is always oppressive. Organizing for political action, resisting an identified hegemonic formation beyond the level of individual resistance, and offering more than cri-

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[41] This is not to claim that a hegemony is ethical for time immemorial. Instead, a frontier that constitutes a hegemony as an ethical break is later challenged as a normative system by new antagonisms, some of which develop into full-fledged ethical movements. Any hegemony is always at risk of being subverted, redirected, nullified, or successful. Moreover, the greater the degree of success a hegemony obtains through its ethical break, the closer it comes to converting into a new normative system, thus providing the grounds for another ethical break constituting a new hegemony.

tique and hope for something different become clouded or, worse, entirely unavailable, in the conflation of hegemony with ideology.

However, taking up a more ambivalent concept of hegemony offers both a critical lens and a constructive alternative for educational studies. By understanding hegemony as an ambivalent concept, educational studies scholars can not only identify particular hegemonies as oppressive in great detail, they can analyze, construct, and promote empty signifiers directed toward upsetting a hegemony under critique. Political agency, then, does not require a privileged status that reveals the wrongheadedness of the oppressed. Instead it is something constructed in tandem with the empty signifiers that shape the antagonistic frontier.

This is not to say hegemony formation is an easy or straightforward task. I am not suggesting that all that needs be done is to deploy a few empty signifiers and the rest will take care of itself. Instead, I encourage those of us in educational studies to attend very closely to the array of particular demands that are incapable of being incorporated in an education policy climate that assumes the validity of evaluation based on market mechanisms, data systems, and test scores across all levels of the education system, from state departments of education, to schools, administrators, teachers, and students. Consider ways in which these particular demands are universalizing under empty signifiers such as social justice, eco-justice, anarchism, among others: What antagonistic frontiers are being developed? What forms of agency are enacted under these empty signifiers against those frontiers? What do ethical breaks from the normative systems underpinning education policies entail and how are they manifesting? What hegemony can be formed and directed against a ruling neoliberal hegemony in light of the answers to these questions? Educational studies with its unique commitment to critical theory and political action in education, stands as an area in which these questions can be explored with wide-ranging theoretical and practical expertise. With support from educational studies research, the maintenance and oppression of hegemony has already received a great deal of attention. With an ambivalent hegemony, educational studies may now turn to the formation and emancipation that hegemony also offers.

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Social Justice in Teacher Education: Naming Discrimination to Promote Transformative Action

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> *...[M]any teachers have not had sustained contact with people of diverse backgrounds, nor have they learned about people different from themselves in other ways. As a result, it is no surprise that some teachers have negative perceptions, biases, and racist attitudes about the students they teach, and about the students' families, cultures and communities...it is only by confronting the ones that get in the way of student learning that change will occur. (Nieto, 2005, pp. 217-218)*

Introduction

Scholars largely agree that teacher education programs could transform pedagogical practices through a) reflection on individual, school, society and institutional practices, and b) action on these reflections to enhance attitudes, beliefs and curriculum (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007; Gay, 2010; King, Hollins, & Hayman, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Malewski, 2008; Nieto, 2005; Shade, Kelly & Oberg, 1998; Sleeter, 2001; Young, 2011, Zeichner, 2009). One tactic is to enhance teacher candidates'critical reflection during their college coursework. This study focused on using curriculum to develop social consciousness among teacher candidates (Reed, 2009). In this case study (Stake, 1995; Creswell, 2005), I have examined the ways in which twenty teacher candidates reflected on discrimination and proposed emancipatory action to promote more just schools and societies.

This case study focused on the overarching question, "How do teacher candidates reflect on discrimination to promote transformative action?" and examined one assignment, composed of two written papers. At the beginning of the semester, the teacher candidates wrote a paper in which they identified discriminatory acts they had experienced or observed. Then, at the end of the semester, the teacher candidates wrote another paper and incorporated readings and class discussions to illustrate how they could transform the incidents to have emancipatory outcomes. Some of the teacher candidates described contemporary situations in which they could enact change; most described past discriminatory acts so the transformative actions they proposed were hypothetical. The purpose of this activity was to demonstrate how the teacher candidates could identify and access resources they could use to promote more equity in school and community settings.

In this paper, I use social justice pedagogy as a theoretical framework and critical incident analysis as a methodology. I provide demographics for the teacher candidates and instructors involved. Teaching for social justice is as much about the environment created as it is about the lessons taught, so I describe the course readings and classroom pedagogy. I explain the main

data for this study, the two written assignments used to engage the teacher candidates in critical incident analysis. I present five teacher candidate narratives that include varied ways of discussing identified themes of discrimination, agency, and privilege. Finally, I recommend specific strategies and approaches that college professors could use to engage more teacher candidates to analyze incidents of discrimination and promote emancipatory outcomes.

Theoretical Framework: Social Justice Pedagogy

This project was informed by research and literature, including culturally relevant pedagogy, multicultural education, social justice, and agency. The research on culturally relevant pedagogy and multicultural education demonstrates a need for teacher educators to examine their programs and practices and advocate dispositions throughout their coursework, such as: 1) academic achievement, 2) cultural consciousness, 3) critical/sociopolitical awareness, 4) commitment and skills to act as allies/agents of change, 5) constructivist views of learning, 6) dedication to bridging school to home, and 7) dedication to learning about students' histories (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Gay, 2002; Kendall, 2006; King, Hollins & Hayman, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1994, 2001; Shade, Kelly & Oberg, 1998; Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

Social justice pedagogy can be understood within the context of multicultural education which builds on an objective "to help all students acquire the knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to participate in cross-cultural interactions" which could lead to "personal social, and civic action that will help make our nation more democratic and just" (Banks, 2003, pp. vii-viii). Social justice pedagogy also involves "exploring the social construction of unequal hierarchies, which result in a social groups' differential access to power and privilege" (Lewis, 2001, p. 189). By taking on social justice pedagogy, each individual is challenged to understand what it means to create classroom communities with access, equity, quality, and opportunity to learn as a fundamental goal.

Components of social justice pedagogy include social relations, instructional strategies, and curriculum (Zeichner, 2009). Three goals common in the literature of social justice pedagogy include: ensuring that all students flourish, preparing students for active democratic participation, and creating a more just society (Russo & Fairbrother, 2009). Ensuring that all students flourish focuses on student achievement inside and outside of the classroom. Preparing students for democratic participation is both a process in which people have a sense of their own agency as well as a sense of social responsibility toward others, their society, and the broader world in which they live (Bell, 2007). The purpose of the exercise used in the study was to accomplish all three goals.

Agency is the conscious role educators play when they focus on social change and acting as allies for the collective benefit of all, especially those in disadvantaged positions from themselves (Kendall, 2006; Moore, 2008). Inden (2000) defined human agency as "the power of people to act purposively and reflectively…to reiterate and remake the world in which they live, though not necessarily from the same point of view" (p. 23). In this way, agency functions as a way to re-examine a situation with possible aims of empowerment and transformation. Agency becomes action to effect change that promotes equity.

Agency and social justice pedagogy were essential to the assignments in this study. Adams, Bell & Griffin (2007) promoted social justice pedagogy to explore how the teacher candidates identified and proposed to transform incidents of discrimination. With social justice as a foundation, these assignments "require[d] a moral and ethical attitude toward equity and possi-

bility and a belief in the capacity of people as agents who can act to transform their world" (p. 13). Combining these two notions, agency and social justice, the goal of the two papers was to identify and reflect on inequitable and discriminatory acts in order to transform them to create more just schools and societies. Within a social justice pedagogy framework, equity (fairness and justice) becomes a focus over equality (sameness) for students of marginalized populations who need support in order to succeed. The framework goes further and requires educators to provide more to those with limited access so that they have a fair chance at success.

Through analyzing incidents of discrimination, the teacher candidates considered social contexts and then determined what actions they would use to address these inequities. "Moving beyond thought and words to action…" social justice pedagogy models "social responsibility and critical engagement in community and global issues" (Peterson, 2003, p. 367). In see-judge-act Freirian style, social justice pedagogy promotes change through identifying injustices. Drawing on Freire's notion of consientization (Freire, 1970), social justice promotes heightened social consciousness and awareness that renders injustice unendurable and necessitates actions to enact transformational equitable change.

The concepts of individual and institutional discrimination and agency were utilized to analyze the interviews in the study. Within a social justice pedagogy frame, individual discrimination "refers to the behavior of individual members of a race/ethnic group that is intended to have a differential and/or harmful effect on the members of another race/ethnic group" (Pincus, 1994, p. 82). Individual discrimination describes oppression as being maintained "by attitudes or behaviors of individual persons. These attitudes and behaviors can be conscious or unconscious, but their effects are equally destructive" (Adams, et. al., 2007, p. 39).

Individual discrimination involves individual acts of overt, explicit discriminatory acts and/or subtle micro-aggressions. This might include racial jokes or comments, a form of discrimination that explicitly or implicitly oppresses historically marginalized people. The teacher candidates described individual discrimination when they identified individual instances of discrimination. One example included a fellow teacher of a teacher candidate relating that he no longer made home visits, no matter how well or poorly a student was achieving, because he believed it was a waste of time. The teacher was talking through a cultural deficit model. This overt discriminatory language referring to "those students" is explicit yet ambiguous, for the teacher is not directly naming race/ethnicity or class, but is referencing students from historically marginalized identities.

Institutional discrimination "refers to the policies of majority institutions, and the behavior of the individuals who implement these policies and control these institutions, that are intended to have a differential and/or harmful effect on minority groups. A major goal of institutional discrimination is to keep minority groups in subordinate positions within society" (Pincus, 1994, p. 83). Institutional discrimination is defined as the network of institutional structures, policies, and practices that repeatedly create advantages for certain populations, while creating discrimination, oppression, and disadvantages for historically marginalized populations. Adams, et. al. (2007) defined "institutional levels of oppression" as occurring when "social institutions codify oppression in laws, policies, practices, and norms. As with behaviors and attitudes at the individual level, institutional policies and practices that maintain and enforce oppression are both intentional and unintentional" (p. 40).

Institutional discrimination is grounded in practices and processes that are often difficult to identify. Examples of institutional discrimination could include systems of hiring practices or racial profiling. Institutional policies within such systems claim to be objective and neutral, yet

as narratives from this study demonstrate historically marginalized groups are disproportionally targeted. The teacher candidates demonstrated acts of institutional discrimination when they identified systems of discrimination; one example from a narrative in this study illustrated that school hallway passing policies required students of color to show passes while not requiring white students to show passes.

Methodology: Critical Incident Analysis

As Catherine Riessman (1993) stated, "The construction of any work always bears the mark of the person who created it" (p. v). As the author of this paper, I position myself through the following lenses: a) my views as an individual within communities; and b), my views as a researcher within an institution. I am a middle-class, white, bilingual, visually disabled woman who grew up in the Midwestern region of the United States. I now work in a College of Education at a large (approximately 24,000) 4 year public city university in the southwestern United States. Throughout my scholarship and teaching, I am committed to using power and privilege to address issues of social justice and equity. I believe personal stories, particularly those of historically marginalized populations, unlock knowledge to interrupt inequities that exist. I use narrative inquiry as a methodology in my research to illuminate meaning from lived experiences and to privilege voices, particularly voices of historically marginalized populations in the United States (e.g., Indigenous people).

I wanted to create a semester long activity for teacher candidates to use their lives as text. I had completed a similar study with one class as an instructor at a liberal arts college the year before and wanted a) to be the sole researcher, b) collect data at a public university, and c), have a larger applicant pool (three classes). Twenty-one teacher candidates agreed to voluntarily participate; twenty completed both interviews. For the study, the teacher candidates wrote two four-five page papers. In the first paper, the teacher candidates identified an incident of discrimination they had observed or experienced (See Appendix A: First Paper). They shared this first text with their classmates to learn about each other's lived experiences with discrimination as well as received and provided feedback to one another. Then they interviewed me about the incident. Next, they had about eight weeks of class in which they read books and articles about power and privilege in school and society that addressed inequity through issues like race/ethnicity, socio-economic status, sex/gender, disability, and sexual orientation.

In the second paper, the teacher candidates revisited the initial identified discrimination and, through class readings and discussions, proposed how the story could be transformed to end more equitably, with fairness and justice (See Appendix B: Second Paper). They incorporated readings to justify their choices. The teacher candidates again shared their papers with other classmates to receive and provide feedback. Then they interviewed me a second time. The entire assignment was intended to promote social justice, to encourage the teacher candidates to identify ways in which they could transform discrimination, using agency to create more equitable outcomes in school and broad social contexts. I wanted them to see how they could envision and enact change. Interviews about the written papers were the one constant for the teacher candidates in all three courses, so I focused on these interview responses for the analysis. Through the papers, students engaged in critical incident analysis (Tripp, 1993).

"Critical incident work is one way we can assist the [teacher candidate] to extend to cognitive skills of reflection and critical analysis" (Burgum & Bridge, 1997, p. 1). Often, the process is challenging because the participant needs time and tools to rethink what happened and how

incidents could have ended differently, more equitably, had different people, abilities or interactions been present. Critical incidents "are indicative of underlying trends, motives and structures. These incidents appear to be 'typical' rather than 'critical' at first sight, but are rendered critical through analysis" (Tripp, 1993, p. 25).

Developing expertise requires opportunities to apply and integrate theory with practice. The critical incident analysis encouraged through both papers was meant to provide students the opportunity to apply and integrate theory with practice. They were asked to identify discrimination and then use knowledge gained through readings/discussions to interrupt the discrimination and make the incident end more equitably. Fitts and Posner (1967) described a three-stage theory of expertise development: 1) cognitive stage, 2) associative stage, and 3) autonomous stage. In the cognitive stage, knowledge like concepts, procedures, and jargon are acquired. During the associative stage, knowledge is integrated with less deliberation, so continual application is important to become more familiar with how and why to apply certain concepts to particular practices. During the final autonomous stage, knowledge and behaviors are integrated. Drawing on this model, social justice outcomes are developed by first acquiring knowledge and next having time to apply knowledge to practice in contexts that support equitable outcomes. This research project purposively underscored this sequential process and first had students identify discrimination and then make transformative choices to reflect equitable outcomes with the intent that through this practice they would gain skills and access tools necessary in future situations.

Through critical incident analysis, the papers allowed teacher candidates to engage in "reading the world" (Freire & Macedo,1987, p. 32). They analyzed incidents that could benefit some and disadvantage others through implicit and explicit discrimination. This critical reflection was meant to promote awareness of everyday discriminatory practices that the teacher candidates previously may have never questioned. In addition, the critical reflection was intended to empower the teacher candidates to identify societal injustices and then apply class readings and discussions to propose action in order to transform these injustices.

In creating these assignments, I draw on Tripp's (1993) contention that any event can be rendered critical after analysis. This was essential to me because some novice teachers enter teaching with limited, if any, experience working with children and families different from their own. I justified using this technique because I believe that if teacher candidates can learn how to consider socio-political factors involved in events where discrimination was experienced or observed, they could identify resources (people, knowledge, skills) available to counter the discrimination and promote more equitable outcomes. Therefore, the critical analysis process could have long-term affects because affective analytical skills are used to develop professional judgment.

I completed four class observations for each class and two individual semi-structured interviews for each voluntary teacher candidate participant in order to explore the emancipatory possibilities that critical incident analysis affords. The class observations informed the questions I asked during the semi-structured interviews and simultaneously provided a space for me to hear how the teacher candidates responded to each other's incidents. Because most of the teacher candidates in our teacher education program are white, able-bodied and first language English speakers, hearing stories from classmates that did not fit these criteria provided important discussions around individual and institutional discrimination and agency.

Study Participants

Teacher Candidates: Important to understand is the context of the classes and how they reflected/did not reflect the larger predominantly White university. The predominantly White identifier here describes both the student and faculty demographics. On the main campus, where the study took place, the majority of undergraduate teacher candidates tend to be White, middle class, able-bodied women with an increasing number of first generation students. There are typically one to two male students, one to two self-identified students of color (mainly Latino or American Indian), and one student with a disability. These numbers would differ slightly across programs, particularly in the special education program, which tended to have a higher number of students with disabilities. On the main campus, the majority of graduate students tend to again be White, middle class, able-bodied women, with three to four self-identified students of color (mainly Latino and American Indian and sometimes international students). The graduate bilingual multicultural education program often has an increased number of self-identified students of color and second language English speakers. This context begs the question, "How can teacher education candidates understand diversity when there is limited diversity in their own classrooms?" This study purposively intended to begin answering this question, especially through time dedicated in each class to make meaning of each other's lived experiences in the critical incident papers as well as other assignments, readings and discussions.

Participation in the study was voluntary and without extrinsic compensation. Twenty teacher candidates participated in both interviews (eleven graduates and nine undergraduates). Demographics for these twenty teacher candidates included fourteen women and six men. Fifteen of the teacher candidates self-identified as White, one as Filipino American, one as Japanese American, one as Latino, one as Latina, and one as Vietnamese (See Table 1). Of the graduate teacher candidates, three were former classroom teachers.

Instructors: I proposed this study to three university Educational Foundations faculty members committed to social justice issues through their teaching, scholarship, and service. Demographics for the three instructors included one woman and two men. All three self-identified as White. One instructor was a tenured full professor and had taught at the university for 15 years. The other two instructors were assistant professors and had taught for 1.5 years.

Data Collection

I received Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval to visit classrooms, observe teacher candidate interaction, and conduct two to three interviews for each teacher candidate who voluntarily agreed to participate. Teacher candidate volunteers who participated in the study and the three instructors signed a consent form. I will keep consent forms and recordings in a locked file in my university office for five years; then I will destroy this material. I attended each Educational Foundation class four different times to be available for questions and clarification of the assignments and listen to the teacher candidates provide peer feedback for each other's papers. I visited the classes at the beginning of the semester when the instructors described the first writing assignment, identifying an incident of discrimination. At this time, I also described the research study and invited all teacher candidates to participate. I visited the classrooms a second time when the teacher candidates had identified an incident of discrimination and brought their written papers to class to peer edit with their classmates. I sat with the teacher candidates who had volunteered to participate in the study.

I visited the classes a third time when the instructors described the second writing assignment, analyzing the critical incident. I was again available for questions and clarifications. I visited the classes a fourth time when the teacher candidates had completed the second writing assignment and brought their written copies to class for peer editing. During this visit, I again purposively sat in the groups where study participants discussed their papers. Throughout the semester, I interviewed each of the participating teacher candidates after they had completed each assignment and received feedback from their classmates and instructors. I did not see the papers for all of the participants, so I did not use the written papers as a data source.

I created the interview questions for both interviews after I visited the classes and listened to small groups discuss their papers (See Appendix A: First Interview Questions and Appendix B: Second Interview Questions). During the discussions, I noted that some teacher candidates were able to accurately define and apply "discrimination" or "agency." Others were able to use the same definition but inaccurately applied it to an incident, most often when they (or someone else with privilege) had been unfairly treated. During the interviews, I decided to have them define the terms and clarify how they applied the terms to their incidents. The teacher candidates that inaccurately defined "discrimination" or "agency" as "individual" or "institutional" in their critical incident narratives instead described privileges that they denied or maintained.

Course Readings and Classroom Pedagogy

All three classes addressed educational foundation issues that impact teaching and learning, specifically intersectionalities of historically marginalized identities like race/ethnicity, gender/sex, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, and disability. All of the courses introduced cultural, historical and philosophical contexts of schooling. Main texts for the courses included: *Letters to a young teacher* (Kozol, 2007), *Deculturalization and the struggle for equality: A brief history of the education of dominated cultures in the United States* (Spring, 2007), *Why are the black kids sitting together in the cafeteria* (Tatum, 2003), and *Plato: The republic* (Grube & Reeve, 1992). All of the classes address topics of power and privilege in school and in society. All of the teacher candidates relied on different readings to justify how they made choices to promote transformational and equitable outcomes in the second paper. The following is an example that reflects the way many of the teacher candidates used the readings to inform the choices they made in the second paper:

> *I incorporated Tatum's spheres of influence because my sphere would be my peers and the people that I surround myself with and how they show me how to act and talk by modeling it for me. I talked about Kozol's agency, and being change agents. I used Baldwin's readings and how, I could be mixing readings up, but I think he really highlighted if we want to see a change and be a change, we have to get out there and speak up. That you have to do it yourself, you can't, just pass it off on someone else, you have to be out there witnessing and hoping and becoming part of something.* (Eileen, personal interview, April 11, 2008)

Findings: Identifying Discrimination and Exercising Agency

After analyzing the teacher candidate narrative responses, I coded when teacher candidates described discrimination and agency as individual or institutional; I noted that most of the

teacher candidates in this study had been unable to describe incidents and reactions to the incidents as either individual or institutional discrimination and agency. So, I added more categories to my findings in order to position the responses of all teacher candidates. For these teacher candidates, I realized their discrimination narratives identified neither individual nor institutional systems of privilege, so I labeled these narratives as "privilege denied." For the teacher candidates who articulated exercising agency through maintaining the privilege described in the incident, I categorized agency as "privilege maintained." And for the one anomalous teacher candidate who claimed she had no agency, I labeled this narrative as, "no agency" (See Table 1 and Table 2).

In this section, I provide five narratives from teacher candidates that reflect the responses from each of the five categories of discrimination and agency illustrated in Table 2. I chose five because of limited space and I wanted to present one from each category in greater detail. I include a) a brief description of the teacher candidate, b) the incident involving discrimination identified by the teacher candidates, and c) the action that the teacher candidates exercised (or proposed to exercise) to provide a more equitable outcome. When they signed the IRB consent form, all teacher candidates chose names they wanted me to use for presentations or written reports. The following teacher candidate response provides an example involving institutional discrimination and individual agency.

"It was just that kid was Latino, I was White": Institutional Discrimination/Individual Agency

Eileen, a middle-class White undergraduate teacher candidate, wants to become an elementary special education teacher. She would like to set up a business for students with special needs and limited access to services. She grew up in a home where education was revered, yet both her parents worked full time and were limited in their involvement with day-to-day school activities. Her teachers supported her on a daily basis and she was affirmed as an outstanding student, pulled from traditional classes to attend advanced placement (AP) classes.

For our first interview, Eileen explained that when her instructor assigned the first writing assignment to identify an incident of discrimination experienced or observed, she really couldn't think of any examples. Then she decided to recount an event when she decided to cut class because a Latino friend of hers told her she could get away with it because she was White. Eileen questioned her friend's prompting, wondering if she would indeed be treated differently.

> *She described how discrimination was involved in this situation in the following passage: It was just that kid was Latino, I was White. He looked like a gangster. I looked like a good kid…[H]e was the one who was doing something wrong and I was perfectly fine…But this was like the first, I think, outright discrimination I actually witnessed and, like, the first time I actually realized, Whoa! That was wrong!* (Eileen, personal interview, February 28, 2008)

Eileen illuminated her benevolent ignorance to possibilities of discrimination. She described structural instances of discrimination; her classmate knew that the security guard would target him because of his Latino identity. I categorized Eileen's response as institutional discrimination because Eileen's friend knew that no matter which security guard or Latino student was present, the Latino student would be stopped and checked for a pass because of ethnicity. In con-

trast, Eileen would be allowed to go by without being stopped because of her White identity. This recurring pattern alludes to racial profiling that this Latino student knew existed in his school.

During our second interview, I asked Eileen how she exercised agency and she replied:

> *I decided that I had to be the one to interrupt it because it would only have a greater ef-fect on that person if here is a girl who looks completely innocent and who looks like…she would never do any harm. I think that I had to step in and I had to…make a change because it would catch the person off guard more if I did it…and that it would make the person a little more wary…if I came outright instead of having…some…civil rights activist or talking to an administrator and the administrator talking to the security guard…I don't think it was necessarily that I had any power except that I had emotion, emotion being my power.* (Eileen, personal narrative, April 11, 2008)

Through this decision to be "the one to do it all," Eileen exercises individual agency. She may have encouraged this particular guard to enforce equitable treatment but no official plan or policy would be put in place for all guards dealing with all students. The next example demonstrates individual discrimination and institutional agency.

"I used myself to get the ball rolling and also involved more people": Individual Discrimi-nation/Institutional Agency

Bobby, a middle-class Latino graduate teacher candidate is a third-generation immigrant. His parents do not hold a higher education degree and continuously supported Bobby throughout school, becoming involved by attending after-school functions and parent-teacher conferences. At the time of the interview, Bobby was pursuing his master's degree in elementary education simultaneous to his work as an in-service teacher at the local public elementary school that he had attended. He described his education as positive and fulfilling. He explained that he was able to access courses and extracurricular activities throughout his education as he had hoped.

At our first interview, Bobby explained the following incident:

> *My [incident] was about a student that I had in class where there were some concerns I wanted to address. Parent-teacher conference time came around and I thought that'd be the perfect time. However, the parents didn't show up to the conference and so I wanted to go to their house…When I was leaving [my school] some of the teach-ers…were…asking me where I was going. And I just told them, well, I'm going to go do a conference at the house…. And they just said, "Well, we used to do that. We don't waste our time on stuff like that.* (Bobby, personal interview, April 2, 2008)

Bobby's experience as a current teacher and as Latino enabled him to identify structures that both influenced the existence and possible changes for this event. I asked him about the discrim-ination that was present and he responded:

> *…where the teachers were saying…"I don't waste my time with that"…I think the student is discriminated against…nobody wants to help them…This was a family that has been in our school for a couple years now and so this was also coming from the teachers that had*

these kids before. (Bobby, personal interview, April 2, 2008)

This colleague's decision—to no longer practice home visits because of personal preference—led me to categorize this analysis as individual discrimination. Individual teachers may have been choosing to implement home visits as a productive way to connect the school to community, but it was not an institutional practice and not practiced by this particular teacher.

In our second interview, Bobby described how he could exercise agency in the following passage:

> *...myself going to the principal and telling him… "Is this something we need to take a look at?"...Presenting literature, talking about it, raising the issues... Stopping to say, "Hey, what are we doing and is it positive? And if it's not, what can we do about it?" So I used myself...to get the ball rolling but then I also involved more people like the counselor and like some people from the university that could come and talk about culture, talk about the different things about schooling...* (Bobby, personal interview, June 11, 2008)

Bobby was one teacher candidate who actually was able to enact the transformation he proposed. He discussed concerns about his colleagues with the principal and encouraged the principal to address the situation through school-wide discussion. Bobby's proposed actions involved people that could change policy and practice, which clearly highlighted potential institutional agency.

"The efforts to fix the segregation problems always seemed to me to create more discrimination": Institutional Discrimination/Institutional Agency

Corina, a working class White graduate teacher candidate, grew up in Lafayette, LA. Her family lived in an all-White neighborhood on the edge of an all-Black neighborhood. Her mother raised her as the youngest of five children; Corina's father died when she was very young. Corina's elementary education started during desegregation efforts. She went to a school, which had predominantly Black students. She was the only White child in her class. Corina said she never felt discriminated against as a child and focused on an incident with her White son going to a predominantly Black school.

I asked how discrimination was present in the incident. She responded:

> *Discrimination is about skin color. When I went to register my son to go to that school I was handed a packet to fill out. Boom, he was in. And they had several Black parents there that were trying to get their children into school but they had to be put on a waiting list...So [my son] was going to have an opportunity to go to this arts and technology academy which was going to be completely different curriculum than any other public school...and he could go because he was White. The Black kids that lived closer...were going to have to go to a different school further from their home because of trying to meet the racial quota.* (Corina, personal interview, February 28, 2008)

Corina explained that she and her son both benefitted as White children going to predominantly Black schools; her son was able to access the great resources the school offered. She further explained:

> *The first part of the story, discrimination in that time period [when I was a child] was against Blacks. But I think the part of my story I am trying to bring out is that efforts, the efforts to fix the segregation problems always seem to me in both experiences to create more problems, to create more discrimination.* (Corina, personal interview, February 28, 2008)

I categorized this description as institutional discrimination because Corina noted systems of discrimination based on racial/ethnic identity. Corina was aware of historical oppression towards Blacks in the early 1970s, yet also elaborated on the fact that through an effort to remediate discrimination at a surface level (quotas) in the early 2000s, the institution wound up creating more discriminatory practices that continually disadvantaged the Black children based on their ethnic identity.

In our second interview, Corina described that she would practice agency in the following way:

> *The secretary who was having to deal with all these people coming in and having to listen to the irate Black parents…it's kind of that house slave mentality…having to enforce rules that you don't necessarily think are right but that's your position. And the way I chose to interrupt it is through her and having her say she agrees with the Black parents who are irate and empower them to know how to act and demand equity through the school board members and the federal judge. The White parents would join as well, making demands for all Black children interested to gain education through this special program to have access to it. So it would be in collaboration with one another as concerned for the neighborhood. And this may not affect a change in that year, but if enough people spoke up it would affect a change in the way other schools would have been handled.* (Corina, personal interview, May 8, 2008)

I categorized this proposition as institutional agency because it involved all constituents (parents) concerned around a similar issue that dealt with systemic issues of righting inequitable programs being offered limitedly to those it claimed to serve, minority black students.

These first three examples demonstrated what I had hoped when creating the purpose of the assignment: to engage discussion and reflection around individual discrimination/agency and institutional discrimination/agency. A total of nine of the twenty teacher candidates fell into these categories. The next two categories represented the responses of eleven teacher candidates in the study who completed the assignment and demonstrated a shift from individual and institutional discrimination and agency (see Table 1 and Table 2). These responses were more aligned with the following categories: privilege maintained, privilege denied, and no agency. The next teacher candidate described individual discrimination and chose to exercise no agency.

"I argued that it wasn't interruptible": Individual Discrimination/No Agency

Chie, a middle-class Japanese American undergraduate teacher candidate explained that she had been homeschooled until high school. Both of her parents were college graduates; her American mother, a stay-at-home mom, attended an American university; her Japanese father, a businessman, attended a Japanese university. Her parents encouraged her to excel in academics

as well as have an understanding of her Japanese heritage. She attended Arizona Gakuen, a Japanese school for businessmen's children in the United States, kindergarten thru sixth grade, which met once a week on Saturdays. The Arizona Gakuen school exists to ensure Japanese children can effectively be educated coming from and returning to Japan. And, for third grade, she lived with her grandparents in Japan. For high school, she chose, against her mom's wishes, to go to public school.

During our first interview, she explained that in the public high school, she struggled to feel accepted. She joined a theater troupe and narrated the discrimination that was identified in an incident that involved one of her friends from this troupe:

> *It was the story about the theater troupe and we were doing the fundraiser and a couple of the kids that were doing the fundraiser went up to the cafeteria and got talked down to and poked at with sticks and spit at. So the discrimination was against these kids, but one kid in particular because he got hit again.* (Chie, personal interview, February 29, 2008)

This response about discrimination describes a discriminatory act inflicted on a person involved in a theatre group, yet not a policy enforced in school, so I labeled it as individual discrimination.

For our second interview, I asked Chie what agency she exercised to address this discrimination. She replied:

> *I argued that it couldn't be addressed, essentially. Kids are going to bully. There is really nothing we can do about it. Sure, we can have the principal talk to them. We can call their parents, have the parents informed of what happened, have the parents deal with the situation. We can suspend them. But what's that going to do in the long run? Nothing. More so than anything else, I think that that sort of verbal punishment, you know, I'm going to tell you off, usually angers the attacker and has them just take out more aggression on their victims in the future.* (Chie, personal interview, May 7, 2008)

Chie had several ideas how to address the situation, yet she chose not to engage any of these ideas for her written narrative because she felt the effort would be futile. She was the only teacher candidate who chose not to engage and perhaps produce a more equitable ending. I wonder if she understood how non-action could equate with acquiescence which might have inspired her to act. This fifth and final teacher candidate described discrimination as privilege denied and action as privilege maintained.

"All I wanted to do was dance": Privilege Denied/Privilege Maintained

Kate, a White, middle-class graduate teacher candidate, is the youngest of five children. She grew up on the east coast of the United States in a town of 7,000. She explained that her family was well respected in the community. She further explained how the community thought her family was rich because they lived in a big old house, yet she added how her parents saved and restored the entire house themselves. She described the community as not acknowledging the hard work in which her parents engaged to provide her family's simple amenities. Her father was a teacher, and education was highly regarded in her family. Success in school and participation in multiple extracurricular activities was expected.

During our first interview, Kate described her incident in the following passage:

My [incident] was about transferring to a different school, Catholic high school, from a public school 'cause my dad thought the education in my home school was not up to snuff…There were a lot of activities that the [Catholic school] didn't have…that they still had at my home school and part of the deal with my parents was that if I decided that I was going to go to this school that I got to do activities at my home school. (Kate, personal interview, March 7, 2008)

Kate's response indicated her focus on being able to switch schools. The change seemed natural to her, especially since the academics were more rigorous at the school to which she would transfer. Her father, a retired teacher and president of the school board, would continue to pay taxes for the public schools. Since the activities were at the public school, her parents agreed that she should be able to continue to access those activities. I asked her how discrimination was present in her story and she responded:

So I got discriminated against because instead of them taking it out on…the appropriate people, I was being…almost like blackballed just because…all I wanted to do was dance… They saw it was something much different…making a point about the district and what was going on. And how could you take your kid away from here? We don't get much money allocated by the state to us anyway and…once one goes another one will go… (Kate, personal interview, March 7, 2008)

Framed in individual terms, Kate felt victimized by other people who did not support her decision. With the statement, "We don't get much money allocated by the state to us anyway and…once one goes another one will go…" she believed they feared that her act may have influenced more students to consider making a similar move and negatively impact the school. This response described her lack of acknowledgement that any privilege existed in how losing enrollment could be detrimental for this school, so I labeled this as privilege denied.

During our second interview, I asked Kate how she exercised agency to address this discrimination and she replied:

[To address this], my dad was president of the school board [at the home school] and it was a big deal. Because he figured out a way through the laws of the district because he still paid school taxes to make it so I was able to play all sorts of extracurricular activities and still participate in my home school. (Kate, personal interview, May 6, 2008)

To Kate, her father's position on the school board enabled her to switch schools as well as maintain access to the public school services. Through this action, Kate maintained her privilege, so I identified this as privilege maintained. I provided illustrative examples of these five categories in order to provide interview excerpts and in depth responses. In the next section, I will return to the twenty teacher candidates' responses and summarize these findings (See Table 1 and Table 2).

Discussion: Discrimination, Agency, and Privilege

This study revealed that some teacher candidates entered the university with limited, if any, exposure to underrepresented populations and lived experiences of marginalization and its implications. With this limited exposure, and therefore limited opportunity to determine how to react and interact, teacher candidates may lack the necessary preparation to advocate for students from underrepresented populations that are increasingly present in the PK-12 classrooms (Banks, 2003; King, Hollins & Hayman, 1997). In describing the data, I noted three facets regarding differences between teacher candidate responses: a) one teacher candidate could not envision transforming pedagogical practices, b) some teacher candidates were more likely to narrate stories from positions of privilege being denied/maintained, and c) few teacher candidates were able to talk about agency in terms of institutional systems.

An anomaly was the one teacher candidate who explained that she had no agency to counter the discrimination she described. She identified the inequitable treatment of a student, yet she passively accepted this behavior and claimed it could not be rectified. Her resistance to take action leads me to wonder how some teacher candidates can learn to envision how they could intentionally disrupt the current social order of marginalization (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Moore, 2008).

On the one hand, four teacher candidates were able to articulate exercising agency in terms of institutional agency. Important to note, of these four, three had prior teaching experiences. Perhaps these teaching experiences afforded them opportunities to observe discrimination and identify resources in the school to counter the discrimination with transformative actions. One teacher candidate who articulated institutional agency had experienced the marginalization since her father lost his job and she moved from middle-class to lower-class status. Drawing on their lived experiences, all four teacher candidates believed they could rectify identified discrimination through institutional processes by involving another person to make the change. Some of them had unsuccessfully attempted to mediate the discrimination themselves and knew that collaborative professional knowledge as well as thoughtful practice were required to maximize potential for success (Fairbanks, Duffy, Faircloth, He, Levin, Rohr, & Stein, 2010). In order to most effectively resolve the discrimination, they decided to involve another person, one who often held a more authoritative role.

On the other hand, some teacher candidates were more likely to narrate stories in terms of privilege denied and privilege maintained. Perhaps these teacher candidates had no exposure to disenfranchisement prior to this assignment (Gay, 2010; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). This may demonstrate a lack of awareness (or denial) of diversity or oppression which led to an inability to advocate change.

Implications: Reflection and Action

Important for this university is the positioning of the Educational Foundations course in the teacher education programs; some teacher candidates enroll in Educational Foundations classes during the first semester of their teacher education programs. Perhaps making this course a standard first semester course in the teacher education program could allow all teacher candidates to start with this foundation. With faculty collaboration, the discussion of inequity and agency could be commenced in the Educational Foundations classes and then extended to other courses and phases of the teacher education programs (Ensign, 2009; Gay, 2010; Milner, 2010).

In this way, this curriculum could include all instructors. The teacher candidates could see this social justice pedagogy woven throughout the teacher education curriculum. Teacher candidates need to understand the magnitude and repercussions of discrimination and the impact on educational policy and practice for privileged and marginalized groups. In this way, they can better understand the dire and immediate need for change in the current social order.

As Goodman (2001) states, "People from privileged groups tend to have little awareness of their own dominant identity, of the privilege it affords them, of the oppression suffered by the corresponding disadvantaged group, and of how they perpetuate it" (p. 24). The teacher candidates in this study did not see privilege and discrimination in the stories that they wrote or in the way that they addressed their stories. Perhaps they did not see privilege and power because assignments so often ask them to focus on individual experiences. Perhaps they did not see privilege and power because this was the first time they were asked to identify power and privilege and how they and others benefitted (or did not) from them. Or perhaps they did not see privilege and power for another reason entirely. In the end, though, this study underscores how and why teacher educators could use diversity and social justice activities like the one mentioned in this paper to continue the important work of building from individual in order to obtain collective understandings necessary to support *all* students.

This paper assignment elicited important conversations, and yet the paper itself was a focus on the individual whereas the goal for the assignment was to create a broader context and space in which *real engagement* was possible and necessary. This real engagement focuses on a move from individual understandings to gain shared lived experiences and build collective understandings. Additional activities to reach collective understandings that I envision from observing the classroom practice include: (a) acting out scenarios in "theatre of the oppressed" style, (b) group reading/feedback and (c) whole class analysis of individual/institutional discrimination and agency present and absent in the writings.

Teacher educators need to forefront the following actions at the beginning of teacher education programs and then consistently engage teacher candidates in these actions in order to address diversity and social justice pedagogy and practice: (1) define privilege and power, (2) look inward and then outward, (3) research historical, global and social patterns of oppression, and (4) act. I further delineate these actions in the approaches below. These actions encourage teacher educators to first critically engage students in consciousness-raising in order to increase awareness of self and other to focus on individual and interpersonal dynamics and then go farther to address issues of equity, power relations, and institutionalized oppression.

The findings from this study suggest the following approaches for teacher education programs:

1. *Create assignments for teacher candidates to first reflect on their own experiences and how these events have hindered or helped them in school, and next have teacher candidates identify from these experiences the power and privilege dynamics that they possess that can interrupt current inequities*. The teacher candidates in this study did not always position their own privileges and disadvantages in their described incidents. Identifying their privileges and/or disadvantages could help them realize how much or little agency they possess and when they need to involve other resources to transform inequities.

2. *Discuss how exclusions have been made, remade, and legitimized in educational policy and practice*. As shown by this study, it is important to remember that teacher candidates are starting at different points regarding experienced and observed incidents of discrimination, marginalization, and agency. Provide sample incidents of individual and institutional examples of

discrimination to guide teacher candidates to better understand marginalization and its pernicious effects and envision change as a benefit.

3. *Encourage teacher candidates to identify PK-12 students' funds of knowledge*, as described by Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez (2001). Then they can draw on those knowledge bases to value and validate marginalized identities and begin to effectively address existing inequities in order to propose changes for more equitable outcomes. As discussed, most teacher candidates in the study engaged individual and institutional agency by involving another adult. Through a focus on funds of knowledge, teacher candidates could be encouraged to shift the force of change to their students and empower the students to become agents of change for themselves and others.

4. *Standardize a diversity curriculum which establishes concepts and a language of exclusion and inclusion so that all teacher candidates have a common base to discuss inequities.* "Standardize" is not an action I often advocate, but because the teacher candidates enrolled in these educational foundation courses have had different lived experiences (and coursework) prior to the Educational Foundations class, they had different ways of articulating discrimination and enacting transformation. The data from this study demonstrated that, although some teacher candidates can define terms accurately, they struggle to apply them to lived and observed incidents.

5. *Integrate discussions and implementation of transformation to foster professional development for all levels of inquiry.* The teacher candidates who were able to identify discriminatory institutional practices but could not envision challenging this status quo could focus more on discussing the benefits that result from interrupting this inequity. And the teacher candidates who identified institutional marginalization and advocated for action could focus on local struggles where they could continue to identify institutional oppression.

Conclusion: Transforming Discrimination

Further observational studies such as this one are needed to continually look at findings and demonstrate effects on how teacher preparation programs are preparing their teacher candidates to serve the academic, cultural and sociopolitical needs of *all* students. Adams, et. al. (2007) argued that "advantaged and targeted groups have a critical role to play in dismantling oppression and generating visions for a more socially just future" (p. 13). Nieto (2005) explained how teacher educators can encourage prospective and practicing teachers to identify inequities and confront them in order to promote change. This change is possible if teacher educators provide these prospective and practicing teachers with tools and resources to do "this kind of difficult but in the long run, empowering work" (p. 217).

I used the assignments to better understand how teacher candidates could identify and analyze incidents of discrimination. As a result, they could propose actions to produce emancipatory outcomes that counter individual and institutional social inequities. Simultaneously, the assignments promoted peer-to-peer discussion to underscore the varied and similar lived experiences and to develop professional judgment skills.

I expected most students would be able to identify and analyze individual discrimination and individual agency, and others would identify and analyze institutional discrimination and institutional agency. The study's findings had me rethink these original four categories and three categories were added (privilege denied, privilege maintained and no agency). These additional categories illuminated interesting evidence of how persistently the participants connected discrimination to personal incidents in which advantaged people (often themselves) had been treat-

ed unfairly.

This study was based on the premise that effective teaching practices are contingent upon identification and analysis of individual and institutional forms of discrimination and agency (Adams et al., 2007; Gay, 2010). I see discussions around individual and institutional oppression and liberation as a lens through which teacher educators can guide curriculum as well as policy and practice (Gillborn, 2008). The combination of social justice pedagogy and critical incident analysis are intended to provide teacher candidates and practicing teachers with a professional development tool to use in future practice. The teacher candidates successfully began to comprehend "discrimination" and "agency" and various transformative actions to promote more emancipatory outcomes through completing the assignment. However, I concluded that the assignments were more of a consciousness-raising activity that needed further discussion and application throughout their program coursework and practicum to maximize comprehension that could lead to emancipatory action. Preliminary conclusions are that the assignments need to be focused on accurately discerning theoretical definitions and practical applications in order to enhance the social justice pedagogy and critical incident analysis process. Many teacher candidates, for example, could have framed their stories in different ways and accomplished this goal; more support was needed to assist them in articulating these ideas. Maxine Greene (1997) wrote,

> To teach for social justice is to teach for enhanced perception and imaginative explorations, for the recognition of social wrongs, of sufferings, of pestilences wherever and whenever they arise. It is to find models in literature and in history of the indigent ones, the ones forever ill at ease, and the loving ones who have taken the sides of the victims of pestilences, whatever their names or places of origin. It is to teach so that the young may be awakened to the joy of working for transformation in the smallest places, so that they may become healers and change their worlds. (p .xiv)

I implore all teacher educators to encourage teacher candidates to purposively analyze and act on educational inequities in order to a) discern between equality/equity and discrimination/marginalization, b) identify marginalizing practices based on personal experiences and observations, and c) challenge current policies and practices to promote transformative actions that can institute change and create emancipator classroom, school and community environments. The disparities in American education continue to divide; we must act now.

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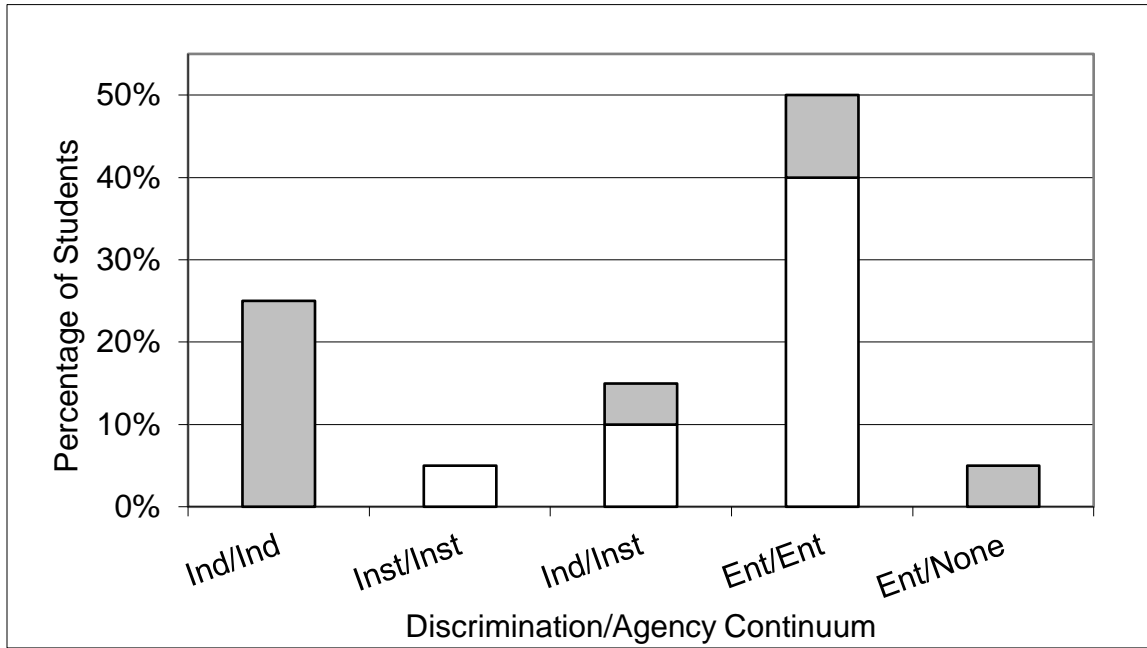Ladson-Billings, G. (1992). Culturally relevant teaching: The key to making multicultural educa-

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Table 1: Teacher Candidate Demographics and Placement on Discrimination/Agency Continuum

Name	Grad/Undergrad	Sex	Ethnicity	Discrimination	Agency
Amy	Graduate	F	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Anna	Undergraduate	F	Latina	Individual	Individual
Bobby	Graduate	M	Latino	Institutional	Institutional
Chie	Undergraduate	F	Japanese-American	Privilege Denied	None
Corina	Graduate	F	White	Institutional	Institutional
Eileen	Undergraduate	F	White	Institutional	Individual
Elizabeth	Undergraduate	F	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Jaren	Graduate	F	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Jasper	Graduate	M	White	Individual	Institutional
Kate	Graduate	F	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Katie	Undergraduate	F	White	Institutional	Individual
Laura	Graduate	F	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Lee	Graduate	F	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Libby	Undergraduate	F	White	Individual	Individual
Maureen	Graduate	F	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Megan	Undergraduate	F	White	Individual	Individual
Michael	Graduate	M	Filipino-American	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Narcissa	Graduate	M	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Ryan	Undergraduate	M	White	Privilege Denied	Privilege Maintained
Vu	Undergraduate	M	Vietnamese	Institutional	Individual

Table 2: Discrimination/Agency Categories for Student Interviews

Ind=Individual
Inst=Institutional
Ent=Entitlement
None=0

Appendix A:

First Interview Questions

1. How would you describe your experiences in education?
2. What was (or is) the general attitude toward education in your household while you were growing up? How involved were your parents/guardians in your education and schools?
3. How did you decide to take this education class? Is education a career you would consider for yourself?
4. What does the term "discrimination" mean to you?
5. Throughout your education, what incidents, if any, do you remember in which you experienced discrimination?
6. What makes a teacher "good"?
7. Which teachers have inspired you? Why?
8. What story did you decide to tell for the class assignment?
9. How do you define "discrimination" in your story? How was "discrimination" present in your story?
10. Tell me what you thought about the teaching story assignment (Writing the paper? Peer-reviewing the paper? Any feedback you received?).

Appendix B:

Second Interview Questions

1. Tell me your biggest hope and your biggest concern as you envision becoming a teacher.
2. Remind me of your teaching/marginalization story and the discrimination you identified within it.
3. How did you decide to interrupt/revisit your story?
4. How do you define agency? How was agency present in your interrupted/revisited story?
5. Which class readings (texts, articles, movies, etc.) stood out most for you this semester?
6. Which discussions stood out most for you this semester?
7. Which readings/discussions were you able to incorporate in your story?
8. If this same incident occurred to you or to someone you knew/cared about today, how would you react?
9. Tell me what you thought about the teaching/marginalization story interrupted/revisited assignment (Writing the paper? Peer-reviewing the paper? Any feedback you received?). Did our first interview influence the way you interrupted/revisited it?
10. Any additional comments about the assignment?
11. When will you be student teaching? Would it be okay for me to contact you during that semester?

Appendix C:

First Paper

Directions: For the first part of this assignment you will write a personal narrative of an incident from your teaching/learning experience that demonstrates the ways in which you observed or experienced discrimination in a school or society setting. This incident could involve issues such as (but not limited to) ethnicity, race, class, language, ability, gender, religion, sexual orientation, or age. As you are writing, provide as much contextual details (participants, setting, tone, behavior, dialogue) as possible. Refrain from any kind of interpretation or analysis. That is, do not discuss *why* you think individuals did particular things or *how* you think individuals were affected by particular actions. You will analyze this story later in the semester, in a second paper, after we've examined different perspectives together. You will be working in groups for this assignment, to learn from each other's experiences and provide feedback for clarity and coherence.

Appendix D:

Second Paper

Directions: Many of our readings and discussions have focused on ethnicity, race, class, language, gender, religion, sexual orientation and age, and their impacts in society, schools and classrooms. Revisit your first paper and alter it to "end" differently; how would you (or how would you ask someone else to assist you to) respond to this incident now? Remember that both the participants and you have agency and a responsibility to act in appropriate ways. Include a "guiding question" that illustrates how you made decisions to rewrite the story. Explain how readings/class discussions influenced your choices. As with the first paper, you will be working in groups to learn from each other's experiences and provide feedback for clarity and coherence.

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Re-conceptualizing Early Childhood Teacher Education: Enacting a Paradigm Shift to Bring Developmentally Appropriate Practice to Higher Education

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Introduction

Faculty in early childhood teacher preparation find themselves with two major challenges. First, there is a struggle to articulate a professional knowledge base for early childhood education that will best prepare educators to face the demands of teaching in an increasingly dynamic, technological, and diverse society. Simultaneously, there is the challenge to design instructional models that will effectively help teachers acquire the common core of knowledge and abilities that they will need to teach young children now and in the future. Many teacher education programs are exploring the promises and practices of developmentally appropriate pedagogy for preparing pre-service teachers.

Developmentally appropriate practice (DAP) consists of the dimensions of age-appropriateness and individual-appropriateness (Bredekamp & Copple, 1987; Copple & Bredekamp, 2009). An understanding that development occurs along a number of different dimensions—physical, social, emotional, cognitive, and linguistic, among others—and that development along these dimensions does not necessarily occur at the same age for each child, is the essence of DAP (Horowitz, Hammond, & Bransford, 2005). This understanding serves as a framework from which teachers prepare experiences and the learning environment. Although most early childhood professionals agree that DAP works for young children, does it make sense in the context of higher education and teacher preparation?

Reviewing the literature provides both historical and practical information and research-based support for programmatic efforts that facilitate teacher educators' understanding and practice of developmentally appropriate pedagogy. For example, Rogers and Sluss (1996) propose that early childhood teacher education use the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) document, *Developmentally Appropriate Practices for Early Childhood Program* (Bredekamp & Copple, 1987, 1997; Copple & Bredekamp, 2009), as a basis for discussion of practices that are developmentally appropriate across the life span. They go on to state that curriculum in higher education should be developmentally appropriate in the sense that it provides active, concrete and culturally competent learning experiences, as well as facilitates social interaction with cooperative learning groups. Bufkin and Bryde (1996) advocate for the use of a developmentally appropriate, constructivist approach in early childhood teacher education. They assert that the premises of a constructivist approach—choice making, student-driven curriculum/meeting individual needs, critical thinking, and active learning—should be infused into the coursework for early childhood pre-service teachers. More recently, Rainer, Dangel and Guyto (2004) identified an emerging conceptualization of constructivist higher education in their review of 40 different constructivist teacher education programs. They discovered ten common

elements among the programs that include: (1) reflection, (2) learner-centered instruction, (3) collaborative learning, (4) posing questions/problem solving, (5) cohort groups, (6) relevant field experiences, (7) authentic assessment/professional portfolios, (8) inquiry/action research, (9) content, and (10) personal engagement.

There appears to be strong support for DAP in higher education, both in and outside of teacher education. Of special note is the ground-breaking work of Barr and Tagg (1995) who advocate that higher education "create environments and experiences that bring students to discover and construct knowledge for themselves, to make students members of communities of learners that make discoveries and solve problems…and…to create a sense of ever more powerful learning environments" (p. 15). Kolb and Kolb (2005) stress the use of experiential learning and learner-centered methodologies in business management coursework. Psychological research for effective pedagogy in higher education reminds us that we must not overlook the well-established understandings of college students' development when considering curriculum transformation (Myers & Beringer, 2010). Finally, from the education field, Dart et. al., (2000) argue that learning is about developing meaning and understandings. They state that deep approaches to learning occur through the creation of learning environments that are safe and supportive for students and provide opportunities for exploration, inquiry, and experiential learning.

Although research supports the use of DAP, developmentally appropriate constructivist classrooms are not the norm in higher education (Fear, et. al., 2003). Many institutions of higher education cling to the paradigm of transmission of knowledge through teacher-directed instruction, including readings and lecture, and artificial authority (Chryst & Oneonta, 2007). In fact, it has been found that instruction is delivered with little emphasis on learning outcomes or mastery of content (Barr & Tagg, 1995). This is especially worrisome given Eddy's (1969) pivotal research that states our experience as a student is what defines our concepts of education. In addition, Zeichner and Tabachnick (1981) argue that the thousands of hours that pre-service teachers spend as students in classrooms shape their beliefs about teaching and education. Further, these conservative beliefs remain latent during formal training in pedagogy at the university and become a major force once the candidate is in his or her own classroom. Research also suggests that DAP must not only be stated, but must be viewed in daily classroom activities (Dart, et. al., 2000). Lack of congruency between theory and practice does not provide teacher candidates with the learning skills necessary to implement deep learning experiences on their own.

The Premise

This project emerged from informal discussions with early childhood pre-service teachers during their content area methods courses at a large, Midwestern four-year university. Students stated they needed personal experience with materials and practices that they will be expected to use in classrooms during field experiences, student teaching, and in their future classroom. Students stated they felt comfortable with the theory supporting DAP; however, they needed to *experience* DAP as well as put theory into practice.

These discussions spurred the classic ethnographic question, "What is going on here?" What the students described is a breach between theory and practice. This breach made it evident that the early childhood teacher preparation program needed to "practice what they teach" by implementing a more learner-centered, developmentally appropriate, constructivist pedagogy. Enacting this was an opportunity to reflect on current practices and make improvements through a meaningful inquiry project. A developmentally appropriate approach would provide students

with two-tiered scaffolding (i.e., students are given the opportunity to learn how to create and use DAP, and then learn from personally experiencing the process; Gafney & Anderson, 1991).

This study involved addressing candidate concerns and the implementation of a more developmentally appropriate, constructivist approach by the instructor of the methods courses. Three main objectives were established for the teacher candidates: (1) Students will examine and analyze materials used to implement developmentally appropriate curriculum, (2) Students will develop lessons/activities that will incorporate a variety of materials introduced in the early childhood methods courses, and (3) Students will implement a developmentally appropriate lesson/activity during their field experience. Additionally, the instructor will enact a more learner-centered approach through a developmentally appropriate, constructivist curriculum.

Method

This single-site study was conducted with students of junior and senior status enrolled in the content area methods block. These candidates had been accepted into the selective early childhood program. All students were Caucasian and female, which represents a typical student sample for the program. Traditional techniques of ethnography were used, such as field notes, collection of artifacts, as well as formal and informal discussions with participants (Reeves, Kuper, & Hodges, 2008). Both formal and informal observations were conducted during university class time and field experiences in public schools. Various sources of qualitative data (e.g., cooperating teacher evaluations, student end-of-semester reflections, course assignments, final examination responses) were considered. Quantitative data were analyzed from pre- and post-intervention surveys that also contributed to the holistic picture an ethnographic study attempts to portray.

Procedure

In this university program, the early childhood methods courses encompass a block of three courses taught in a 16-week semester. These courses are (1) Emergent Literacy/Communication Arts, (2) Social Studies/Sociomoral Development, and (3) Mathematics and Science for Young Children. Ten students completed a survey (see Appendix A) on the first and last day of class. A paired-sample t test was used to analyze the results of the surveys. Syllabi for the methods courses were revised to reflect a more developmentally appropriate approach. For example, since one of the principles of DAP is to use an integrated curriculum to optimize children's learning (Copple & Bredekamp, 2009), the syllabi for these courses force integration and have shared assignments, including a field experience or practicum. Classroom activities were designed to provoke disequilibrium, offer variety and balance, create ambiguity, and necessitate interaction. Experiences included many opportunities for small group activities, mini lessons, guest-speakers of current classroom teachers, role-playing, active engagement with learning materials, and experiences in learning centers for all content areas.

A university grant was written that funded the purchase of nearly \$2,500 in materials and supplies to enhance the early childhood methods courses. The materials included a variety of manipulatives for mathematics, games and learning center supplies for teaching science and social studies, as well as literacy materials including a teaching easel, pocket chart, magnetic letters and other manipulatives, and games. Many of these materials would be utilized across learning

domains. For example, a teaching easel could be used for literacy instruction as well as science, mathematics, and social studies.

To meet Objective 1 (The students will examine and analyze materials used in the primary grades to implement developmentally appropriate curriculum), students were provided numerous opportunities throughout the semester to interact with and examine the materials that were purchased through the grant. Students were also encouraged to use the materials with children during their field experience. In one class activity, students were exposed to a variety of materials, both developmentally appropriate and inappropriate. The activity provided an opportunity for students to practice certain second-grade skills for communication arts, mathematics, science, and social studies, first, by completing a worksheet, followed by participation in center-based learning that utilized developmentally appropriate materials and hands-on activities.

For Objective 2 (Students will develop lessons/activities that incorporate a variety of developmentally appropriate materials introduced in the early childhood education methods courses), the students' ability to plan developmentally appropriate activities was confirmed when they were assigned to create math centers that addressed specific mathematics concepts/skills identified by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) and the Grade Level Expectations defined by the state. Students incorporated many of the hands-on materials they had been introduced to throughout the semester.

For Objective 3 (Students will implement a lesson/activity, using developmentally appropriate materials introduced in class, during their practicum placement in a primary classroom with a group of children), students were required to plan and implement two lessons or activities while involved in their field experience. One lesson was to incorporate a science objective while the second was free to be chosen by the student and cooperating teacher.

Finally, to determine if a more developmentally appropriate, constructivist approach was enacted in the methods block, spring (pre-funding) and fall (post-funding) end-of-semester student course reflections were coded using the four constructivist principles identified by Buffkin and Bryde (1996) and the principle of socio-moral atmosphere identified by Rainer-Dangel and Guyto (2004).

Results

Analyzing Classroom Materials

Students were asked to rate their confidence level regarding their ability to analyze materials for appropriateness. The pre and post survey responses (Question 6; $M = 2.00$ & 5.00, $SD = .84$ & $.00$, respectively) reveal a significant difference between the students' responses [$t(10) = -9.00$, $p < .05$]. Qualitative data taken from question 2 of the survey (Identify a list of materials that you consider developmentally appropriate for teaching young children) support the quantitative finding. On the first survey, students listed very broad and general categories of items (e.g., art supplies, writing materials, blocks, books). When listing items for the second survey, students gave more specific examples (e.g., pattern blocks, unifix cubes, counters, calendar math). The second survey responses also indicated an understanding of the appropriateness of playing to learn (e.g., math games, board games, dramatic play materials) as well as using center-based learning (e.g., space for learning centers, materials for hands-on exploration of science materials).

These combined data indicate students' level of confidence in their ability to analyze materials for developmental appropriateness increased significantly over the semester. It appears that the students' interactions with various materials allowed them to hone their skills to analyze the appropriateness of such materials. Student responses tend to confirm this: "I didn't realize how disengaged I was while doing worksheets and how engaged I was doing learning centers even though the skills were ones I have already mastered." "I can see how being physically involved in an activity is much better for children (and for me)—it's more appropriate—than simply doing a worksheet." "Learning centers made school work fun. I wish I would have learned like this." Statements like these indicate that when given an opportunity to interact with appropriate materials students can identify developmentally appropriate materials/activities.

Planning Appropriate Lessons/Activities

A significant difference was found between students' pre and post survey responses ($M = 3.20$ & 5.00; $SD = .63$ & $.00$, respectively; $[t(10) = -9.00, p < .05]$ regarding their ability to plan developmentally appropriate lessons or activities. This analysis suggests that students became more confident in their ability over the semester. Qualitative data gathered from lesson plans created for class assignments and the students' thematic units support the ability to plan developmentally appropriate activities. Each student ($N = 10$) included the use of learning centers in their thematic unit, planned for active, hands-on learning in their lesson plans, and integrated over 75% of the lessons included in their thematic units with at least three content areas and the arts.

Implementing Appropriate Lessons

Although there was a numerical difference between students' pre and post survey responses ($M = 3.4$ & 4.4; $SD = 1.20$ & $.96$, respectively) regarding their ability to implement developmentally appropriate lessons, the difference was not statistically significant $[t(10) = -1.86, p < .05]$. The cooperating teacher evaluations stated that all students implemented developmentally appropriate lessons/activities while working in the practicum classrooms. In addition, all observed lessons met the criteria for developmentally appropriate practice.

Further Survey Results

Two additional questions were asked on the survey, one (Question #5) dealt with the students' confidence level regarding the utilization of developmentally appropriate materials in a primary classroom. The data analysis revealed no significant difference between the pre and post survey responses ($M = 4.00$ & 4.80; $SD = 1.05$ & $.65$, respectively; $t(10)$ -1.80, $p < .05$). Students had a relatively high confidence level for using developmentally appropriate materials when they entered the course (M = 4.00, SD = 1.05). Student confidence remained high throughout the semester and even increased slightly ($M = 4.80$, $SD = .65$). This confidence can be documented through student's appropriate responses to several questions on the final examination for *Mathematics and Science for Young Children* that indicated students' knowledge and understanding of the use of developmentally appropriate materials. Specifically, "Your principal tells you to use your science text instead of hands-on experiences with your second grade students. Write a memo to your principal defending your use of these experiences for teaching sci-

ence"; and "You are about to open a new kindergarten classroom in an elementary school. The principal has informed you that she has received a grant for math and science materials and you will be allowed to spend $500.00 for your classroom. Using school catalog pages, document how you would spend the money. You will need to list the materials, quantity, price, and a justification for why you would purchase the item." Ten appropriate responses to these two questions indicate students possess the knowledge and understanding of using developmentally appropriate materials/activities. The survey results may indicate a level of insecurity in their abilities at this particular point in their teacher preparation training.

A final survey question (Question #7) revealed positive results for this project. This question asked: What is your confidence level regarding your ability to "transform" an inappropriate curriculum into one that is developmentally appropriate while meeting state and district standards? There was a significant difference between student responses on the pre and post surveys ($M = 2.60$ & 4.60; $SD = ,84$ & $.84$, respectively; $t(10) = -4.74$, $p < .05$). This indicates students feel confident in their ability to, first, identify inappropriate curriculum when they see/experience it, and, secondly, they feel confident that they can plan and implement a curriculum that is more developmentally appropriate.

End-of-Semester Reflection

Two semesters of student reflections were considered for comparison. The first semester (spring pre-intervention) had 10 students enrolled with similar demographics as the 10 students enrolled the following semester (fall post-intervention). Coding of student's end-of-semester reflections about the methods courses block revealed statements that addressed the instructional approach implemented during both semesters. Table 1 presents the comments of students by the coded characteristics.

Table 1: Student comments by constructivist principle.

Constructivist Principle	Spring Semester (pre-intervention)	Fall Semester (post-intervention)
Choice Making	I appreciated being able to choose when I was going to present my lessons; we got to choose who we worked with in groups.	Many choices were made available; Choices were given even for little things like what color construction paper we wanted, to bigger things like when our assignments would be due; We were always being asked to make choices; I thought it was cool that I got to make so many choices instead of always being told when and how I would do something; This was the first time since I've been in college that I felt like I was an active member in my education be-

		cause I was allowed to make choices about my education; We were always being asked to make choices; I couldn't believe I was actually asked to make choices for myself; We were given a steady diet of choices throughout the semester.
Student-driven curriculum/meeting individual needs	(She) would have us write down what questions we still had for a topic and then would take the next few classes to answer those questions; I felt like class topics were geared to answer questions I still had about a topic.	We were asked what questions we still had that could be addressed in class; I felt like these courses were designed just for me; We not only learned about student-centered classrooms – we experienced it; I felt like I was a critical player in the design of these courses; We were asked what we wanted to learn about; I felt like I could ask questions that were only important to me and they'd be answered; You could tell that student interests were important
Critical thinking	No comments coded for this principle.	I liked having opportunities to think for myself instead of always being told the answers; Sometimes I would think "just tell me" but I always knew if I had to think through a problem then I'd know it; (She) made us think for ourselves and figure things out; Answers weren't "poured into our brains" – we were made to think; I have become a better thinker instead of a better memorizer; Sometimes I would think that my brain just couldn't "think" anymore; She gave me opportunities to think and reason; I think I'm a better student because I had to be a critical thinker in these courses.

Active learning	I liked that we were able to use many children's books; I thought it was awesome that we got to do activities that we might have our students do; we learned about teaching in a "hands-on" way – I wish we could have done more and listened less.	I loved using so many different materials; Hands-on learning isn't just for children anymore; I wish all my classes could be so engaging; It was great to get to be physically interactive with materials; What a wonderful feeling to experience activities like your students will; We were constantly given experiences to be hands-on and minds-on; We actually played in class just like kids; I'm a believer in center-based learning after getting to see it and do it; Playing in centers helped me understand why they're important for children; After having opportunities to play games and do centers I get why people say kids learn through playing.
Socio-moral atmosphere	We worked in cooperative groups a lot; I liked all the different ways we worked in groups.	What a wonderful community for learning we had; It's a great feeling to know there is mutual respect in a classroom; We had such a positive learning environment; We all cared about each other and knew (she) cared about us too; We were human beings with emotions and out-of-class lives and (she) acknowledged that; I felt as though we were expected to take risks but felt very comfortable doing so; I always felt nurtured – I hope I do the same for my students; It was "our" classroom; Such a trusting, respectful setting; I think socio-moral is (her) middle name; (She) called a class meeting to talk about a problem we were having in class – it was cool to experi-

		ence it so I know how it might work in my own classroom.

Discussion

The infusion of developmentally appropriate materials, activities, and instructional approach appears to have had a positive impact on student learning. Although the pre- and post-intervention surveys produced interesting and positive results, it is expected that pre-service teachers will become increasingly confident in their abilities to be more teacher-like as they move through their program coursework. It is the qualitative data that support the quantitative results that provide a richer, more detailed picture of the learning that occurred. Pre-service teachers demonstrated through multiple outlets that they had a deeper understanding of developmental appropriateness.

In reviewing the results of this inquiry, the most impressive quantitative data were that students felt confident about "transforming inappropriate curriculum" to be more developmentally appropriate. Unfortunately this reality may well face the majority of new teachers when they are hired into a school district. The ability to identify what is appropriate and what is not is important, but more critical is the ability to change it. New teachers may find that providing developmentally appropriate teaching and learning opportunities will meet resistance. Perhaps going into these types of situations with high confidence in their abilities to be developmentally appropriate will enable new teachers to overcome the barriers that might be constructed by colleagues and school administration.

Further, the qualitative data gathered from the two semester's student reflections provide insight into the instructional practices being used in the content area methods courses. Clearly, the pedagogy enacted in the fall semester was more developmentally appropriate and constructivist. Far more student comments aligned with the constructivist principles in the fall semester than in the spring. Perhaps the incorporation of the developmentally appropriate materials and practices helped to provide students with the high levels of confidence they indicated through their end-of-the-semester survey results. Application of the research-based concepts regarding first-hand experiences with DAP (Dart, et. al., 2000; Loucks-Horsley et al., 1998), as well as learner-centered and experiential learning opportunities (Kolb & Kolb, 2005; Myers & Beringer, 2010) may indeed influence the teacher candidates from this study. Perhaps these pre-service teachers will be more apt to enact DAP in their own classrooms because of their own DAP classroom experiences as advocated by Dart et. al, (2005) and Eddy (1969).

Limitations

It is acknowledged that the power of the statistical data for such a small group ($N = 10$), is not generalizable. However, the comments from the students' reflections provide more compelling impact. Even as a preliminary study, the quantitative data from the surveys suggest some important ideas. In addition, these ideas were supported by student comments about their experiences.

Conclusion

If early childhood teacher preparation is to improve practice, then it must be reconceptualized. Such a reconceptualization needs to be transformational rather than additive; that is, to look at core values, content, delivery structures, and the like, rather than simply adding more to the current system. A transformed way of providing teacher education must be developed if collectively the early childhood profession is going to be successful in promoting positive developmental outcomes for children. It seems evident that we must do this by translating theoretical and empirical knowledge into changed practice at the higher education level.

Transformation will require a paradigm shift from the current belief that college is an institution that exists to provide instruction. Barr and Tagg (1995) declared that subtly but profoundly we must shift to a new view—that college is an institution that exists to produce *learning*. To ensure this transformation occurs, there must be a reconceptualization of practice to instill a more developmentally appropriate pedagogy. To make learning meaningful to students, we must be aware that adults, like children, are at different developmental levels, and have different background experiences, levels of motivation, and learning styles. Although adults may have achieved formal operations, this does not mean that they no longer need experiential learning. When asked how they prefer to learn, college students stated hands-on or experiential activities were best. Students went on to declare that experiential learning helped them make connections from theory to practice (Dart, et. al., 2005; Slotnick et al., 1993).

The goal for this project was to involve pre-service teachers in the process of active experimentation so they might begin to see the endless possibilities of developmentally appropriate curriculum. When pre-service teachers have personally experienced an engaging, participatory preparation program, they begin to know their own abilities and value them. They are then more likely to be motivated to find interesting ways to provide an atmosphere in their classrooms where children will discover their own potential through developmentally appropriate curriculum. The more developmentally prepared teachers are, the higher the probability that each child will learn and grow successfully.

To transform the curriculum in our nation's early childhood classrooms first requires transforming the curriculum in our early childhood teacher preparation programs. Hence, if it is a goal to have developmentally appropriate early childhood classes, we must first take it upon ourselves to bring developmentally appropriate practices into the college classroom.

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Appendix A

Developmentally Appropriate Practice Survey

1. Define developmentally appropriate practice.

2. Identify a list of materials that you consider developmentally appropriate for teaching young children.

3. What is your confidence level regarding ***planning*** a developmentally appropriate integrated thematic unit?

minimal   average   high

4. What is your confidence level regarding the ***implementation*** of a developmentally appropriate integrated thematic unit?

minimal   average   high

5. What is your confidence level regarding the utilization of developmentally appropriate materials in a kindergarten- third grade classroom?

minimal   average   high

6. What is your confidence level regarding the process of analyzing classroom materials for their developmental appropriateness?

minimal   average   high

7. What is your confidence level regarding your ability to "transform" an inappropriate curriculum into one that is developmentally appropriate while meeting state and district standards?

minimal   average   high

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The Speech: The Story Behind Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Dream
By Gary Younge

Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books (2013). 180 pp., $19.95.

Reviewed by Becky L. Noël Smith, Independent Scholar

This summer marked the fiftieth anniversary of the landmark March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Tens of thousands of citizens commemorated the historic event of 1963 by assembling once more at the feet of the Lincoln Memorial and alongside the banks of its reflecting pool. And when either the sun's heat or the temptation to cool oneself in that long strip of water became too unbearable, marchers could find reprieve in joining the thousands who flowed continuously beneath the canopied paths which frame the historic site.

The atmosphere—from the subway, up into the procession, across the crowd, and throughout the lines for the porta-potties even—was almost festive. One might even say it was celebratory, but not at all for the reasons that some might suspect. While the air was rich with solidarity and human connectedness, the feelings of triumph and progress could not be found lingering readily on the humidity of the day. Instead, posters prominently displayed thoughts and demands about poverty, joblessness, incarceration, disenfranchisement, and school re-segregation. Thousands of t-shirts and placards hung heavy with photos of the young Trayvon Martin, and each one served as a poignant reminder that the tendrils of racism continue to strangle large portions of American society. Thus, the slogans and images gave one the distinct feeling that many who gathered in DC this past August were there to celebrate the fact that they were *not alone* in their frustrations about the state of things.

After the march that evening, author and columnist Gary Younge spoke to a packed house at DC's famed Busboys and Poets. As he shared the stage with Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor and Cornel West, he reminded the audience that we must take great care "not to mistake nostalgia with history or nostalgia with analysis" the way that the popular media and the dominant discourse have (WeAreManyMedia, minute 12:44). In Younge's newest book, *The Speech: The Story Behind Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Dream*, he strives to do just that. Fittingly, he draws on history as a way to respond to the questions of "change" that have emerged in light of President Obama's second term and the anniversary of Dr. King's *I Have a Dream* speech. Interwoven throughout his piece are reminders of the fact that while much has changed, racist practices have become more subtle, and thus more problematic.

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was the first event of its kind for America, and a particularly important aspect of Younge's work is the way in which he articulates the immense amount of upheaval that facilitated the birth of the march. Specifically, he discusses how international power shifts, violence, technological development, concerns about national image, and fears of the unpredictable nature of a mass of motivated people came to benefit the movement in rather ironic ways. One point that he touches on (and which is frequently excluded from the popular discourse on the American civil rights movement) is that the struggle in the

U.S. was part of a broader international struggle. As power dynamics shifted around the world in the early 1960's, they appeared to edge toward racial equality. According to Younge's count, eighteen African and island nations gained independence in the three years preceding the March on Washington. This meant that "Internationally, non-racial democracy and the Black enfranchisement that came along with it were the order of the day." This factor helps contextualize the American movement because it alludes to the problems these international changes posed for domestic power relations and national image. That is, "The longer America practiced legal segregation, the more it looked like a slum on the wrong side of history rather than a shining city on the hill" (p. 18). And while the international shift undoubtedly fed into and influenced the vision of possibility for many African Americans, it simultaneously agitated the Kennedy administration's ability to maintain a "good" public image.

The civil rights movement inside the U.S., meanwhile, gained some propulsion in 1960 with the student sit-in at Woolworth's lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. It continued to accelerate over the next couple of years but then, for several reasons, things absolutely ignited in 1963. First, the people were on the move at an astounding rate. In the two months that led up to the March on Washington, "…there were 758 demonstrations in 186 cities, [that resulted] in 14,733 arrests" (p. 17). Another influential factor was that the mainstream news media started reporting on civil rights stories with a previously unknown ferocity: "In May 1963," for instance, "the New York Times published more stories…in two weeks than it had in the previous two years" (p. 17). Of course, there was no shortage of action to report on, but the movement was further aided by a third aspect: the unprecedented presence of television. As Younge points out, in the nine year stretch between the banning of segregation and the airing of the March on Washington, the number of households with televisions had risen from 54 to 91percent (p. 29). So for the first time in history, imagery and video footage made aspects of the struggle unavoidable; the message of equality and the violent responses to it were thrust into the face of the public via broadcast news. Not surprisingly, though, "As segregationists' violence escalated, so did the militancy of Black activists" (p. 18). This reality worked to stoke public fears about the emergence of more violence, particularly as it became evident that Malcolm X was gaining the support of those who had become disenchanted about the ability of pacifism to bring about social change.

With the fears of violence hovering in the background, the conflict in Birmingham—with all its tragic imagery—became a major turning point. King had attempted an entirely new tactic by organizing the series of children's protests that took place in May 1963. The viewing public witnessed the arrest of 959 people, most of whom were kids, on the first day alone (p. 29). The next day's events then provided journalists with the opportunity to chronicle the pivotal moment and some of the most disturbing images of protest in America's history. "The sight of children being bludgeoned, hosed, and hounded shifted both national awareness and the political calculus of what was both possible and necessary for the civil rights movement" (p. 62). Thus, the demonstrations, the violence, the media, and the technological prevalence symbiotically worked to impact the growth of the cause. These forces culminated in Birmingham and inevitably forced open the final gate that allowed the movement to tread the path to Washington.

While *The Speech* certainly is not an in-depth historical analysis of the civil rights movement, it is an easily digestible survey of the period's precariousness and the struggle for power. Younge rightfully complicates the circumstances that surrounded the march, he dissects King's dream for its inherent meaning and timelessness, and then he drops this most famous speech into the current American context to unsettle any beliefs that tie notions of permanence or rest to systematic change. By doing so, Younge speaks to the power *and* the responsibility of the

people. Nowhere is this more beautifully stated than in his description of the people's energy on the day of the march: "The restless and excited crowd…proved irrepressible. While the leaders were chatting with the politicians, the masses started the march without them…Loud speakers called for them to stop, but no one listened" (p. 84). The people were on the move. Younge reminds readers that while charismatic leaders are important, power rests with the many thousands—both then and now—who go unrecognized but who are ultimately responsible for *being* the movement that perpetually forces change.

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