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** Cover design by Jessica A. Heybach

** Our thanks to the cadre of scholars who serve as reviewers without whose services the journal could not exist.

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The Academy for Educational Studies

January 15, 2020

Colleagues and Friends of the Academy:

We are pleased to publish this our first issue in the 11th year of *Critical Questions in Education*. We are also pleased to see our submissions this past year jump and to see that trend continue early into 2020.

The manuscripts in Volume 11, Issue 1 take up a variety educational matters but generally reflect concerns that radiate well beyond education proper. The first manuscript, penned by Nev Ertas and Andrew McKnight, takes up a narrative policy framework analysis of op/ed pieces published on charter schools. Carol Greene, Bryan S. Zugelder, Louis L. Warren & Mark L'Esperance follow that with a study reporting on their findings as to what *really* motivates graduate students to pursue their studies in light of graduate student struggles.

The final three "regular" manuscripts all focus on issues of colonization and its historical marginalization of…everyone not white and male. Rose Borunda, et. al ponder a humanist inclusive white identity as the means to eliminate white supremacy. Will McCorkle's ensuing piece presents the case for introducing critical border theory to teacher education students. Such theories, McCorkle argues, can help pre-service teachers understand and fight xenophobia. Our final regular article, by Fatima Pirbhai-Illich & Fran Martin, suggests that invitation and hospitality in educational practice can be sources of decolonizing educational contexts.

Volume 11, Issue two also has two book reviews both of which follow right in line with the manuscripts: the most recent book in the Academy Book Series, *A Case for Kindness* by Steve Broidy, is reviewed by Patricia O'Rourke and Robin DeAngelo's *White Fragility* is reviewed by independent scholar, L. Smith. Two very fitting books to end this issue.

Please check out the Academy web site for information concerning our upcoming conferences, journals, and book series. Until June, happy reading.

PAX,

Eric C. Sheffield, Managing Editor

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Contents

Manuscripts

Reviews

A Narrative Policy Framework Analysis of Charter School Editorials in Local Media

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Abstract

Policy debates about charter schools are often dominated by polarizing emotional narratives. However scholarly attention on narratives in education policy, and especially narratives about charter schools in local contexts, has been limited. The recently developed Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) approach offers guidelines to systematically study the narrative elements and strategies that policy actors use to influence policy debates. Relying on NPF, we conducted a content analysis of editorials and op-eds on charter schools from three local newspapers published in the 10 year period before the adoption of the legislation to answer the following questions: How did the editorials and op-eds in local newspapers cover charter schools prior to adoption of the legislation? Specifically, is it possible to identify core structural elements e.g. setting, characters, plot, and morals of policy stories in these narratives? Do these elements differ by endorsed policy solution? Narrative elements in the form of policy solutions, story types, causal mechanisms, and characters were identifiable, and their use differed by the endorsed policy solution. The concluding section discusses the role of local policy stories in public policy making, and proposes directions for future research.

Keywords: *Narrative policy framework, charter schools, policy narratives, education policy, policy stories, local media*

Introduction

Policy debates in the public arena are increasingly dominated by polarizing emotional narratives. Education policy is no exception. Some scholars even contended that the politics of educational policy can best be explained by a theory of political spectacle, "with directors, stages, cast of actors, narrative plots, and a curtain that separates the action on stage—what the audience has access to—from the backstage, where the real 'allocation of values' takes place" (Smith et al., 2004, p. 11). As the American public has increasingly been subjected to political hyperbole concerning the success, failure, and goals of public schools, numerous reform efforts have been introduced by national, state, and local policymakers. One such policy is introduction of charter schools, defined as "a publicly funded school that is typically governed by a group or organization under a legislative contract (or charter) with the state, district, or other entity" (NCES, 2019). Educators, policy makers, advocates, and skeptics disagree about almost every issue concerning charter schools from their purpose to their effects on achievement, equity or accountability. High levels of disagreement

is often associated with larger ideological conflicts, and selective use of evidence and divergent narratives (Carnoy et al., 2005, Fabricant & Fine, 2015; Henig, 2008).

While similar education reforms are spreading globally, the way in which they translate into local policy practices is based on constant and active reinterpretation and modification by local political actors (Verger, 2014, p. 15). Nevertheless scholarly attention on narratives in education policy, and especially narratives about charter schools in local contexts, has been limited. This study aims to fill this gap by relying on the recently developed Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) approach, which offers guidelines to systematically study the narrative elements and strategies that policy actors use to influence policy debates (Jones and McBeth, 2010). Focusing on editorials and op-eds in local newspapers, this study asks: How did the editorials and op-ed articles in local newspapers cover charter schools prior to adoption of the legislation? Specifically, is it possible to identify core structural elements, e.g., setting, characters, plot, and morals of policy stories in these narratives? Do these elements differ by endorsed policy solution? The paper starts with a brief introduction of the policy issue and the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF), followed by a discussion of the methodological approach and primary findings. The paper concludes with a discussion of policy implications, observations about convergence and divergence between local narratives and nationwide charter politics, and suggestions for future research.

The key role of language and narrative stories in problem definition are well demonstrated in research literature (Fischer, 2003). We argue that it is important to pay attention to the nature and quality of charter school policy stories in circulation not only nationwide, but also in the local context, because those narratives shape opinions about problems and therefore policy solutions in education. The state of Alabama provides the setting of our case study, since whether or not to adopt charter schools has been discussed in the state for a number of years, and it was one of the last eight states without charter school legislation until the charter bill was approved and signed by the governor in March 2015. This study aims to contribute to two lines of literature. First, the analyses would be of interest to NPF scholars, since education policy in general, and charter schools in particular, are an understudied policy area within the NPF scholarship. Second, the findings would be of interest to education policy scholars, especially those interested in charter schools, politics of education, and the intersection between press and political actors and processes.

The Policy Issue: Charter Schools

Currently close to 7000 charter schools operate across the United States and almost 3 million students attend them. While this is only 6% of public school students in the country, enrollment in charter schools has increased more than three fold in the last 10 years and expected to increase further in the near future (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). The policy proliferated rapidly across forty three states and the District of Columbia. The state of Alabama, the target of this case study, was one of the last eight without charter school legislation until 2015 when the charter bill was approved.

Unlike most education policy issues, debate on charter schools and charter school research has uncharacteristically been held in the public arena[1] (Henig, 2008, p. 66) and the public contro-

1. While many education policy issues are constant and heated points of public discourse, news reporting on schools and education research is scant. A Brookings Institute report estimated that less 2 percent of national news coverage dealt with education in 2009 and most of the coverage was not about education research (see West et.al. at https://www.brookings.edu/research/invisible-1-4-percent-coverage-for-education-is-not-enough/). However, charter

versy was fueled by the charter school movement's ties to "the high ideas of systemic privatization" (Henig, 2008, p. 35). However, charter schools were a much more palatable policy option than previous privatization based policy options like voucher policies. School voucher programs provide subsidies to parents for tuition at any school, effectively enabling students to attend at private schools at public expense. In publicly funded voucher programs, many of the private schools that are recipients are religious organizations and this has raised transparency and accountability questions and the idea of vouchers was not embraced by the public at large after the initial experiments in a handful of states.[2] Charter schools on the other hand "began to spread, unusually rapidly for a new policy idea with more or less built-in opposition from several powerful interests and no evidence to yet back it up" (Henig, 2008, p. 51). This was partially facilitated by the state level entrepreneurs, since state legislatures were able to shape the state charter laws to adapt to localized political conditions (Mintrom, 2000). While some states opted for minimal regulatory oversight, others adopted caps, teacher certification requirements, term limits, and extended oversight practices. Another redeeming feature of charter schools over vouchers was the fact that they were still referenced as public schools.[3]

Charter schools are considered to be public schools because they receive federal and state funding on a per student basis, they are prohibited by law from charging tuition, they are not allowed to use special admission criteria to keep the schools open to all eligible students, and they are approved and overseen by public entities (Henig, 2008). Mead (2003) summarized features that have traditionally marked a distinction between private and public education in state charter school laws as those related to establishment of charter schools. These have included "the sponsorship of charter schools, the conversion of private schools to charter schools, the provisions for home schools and cyber schools, the involvement of for-profit charter school management companies, and the finality of decision made by charter-granting authorities" (Mead, 2003, p. 357). Differences related to operations focused on "tuition, the application of health and safety standards, and the standards guide revocation, charter renewal and non-renewal decisions, and contract enforcement" (Mead, 2003, p.357). In some states, chartering authority is granted to nonprofit private entities governed by a private board, in addition to or in place of local education agencies (LEAs) governed by elected school boards. Many states also permit private boards of directors to operate charter schools, while traditional public schools are governed by the LEAs and the governing

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school research have become an exception in the summer of 2004, when a American Federation of Teachers(AFT) study critical of charter schools, were covered by the New York Times, and has garnered a swift backlash by elected and appointed officials, academics, and advocacy organizations. A full-page advertisement in *The New York Times* paid for by the pro-charter group Center on Education Reform and signed by a group of 31 academics, questioning the quality of analysis in the AFT report has spurred a heated and very public controversy. See *The Charter School Dust Up* by Martin Carnoy, Rebecca Jacobsen, Lawrence Mishel, and Richard Rothstein (2005), and *The Spin Cycle: How Research Gets Used in Policy Debates--The Case of Charter Schools* by Jeffrey R. Henig (2008)) for an in-depth discussion about the scope of controversy that erupted in the summer of 2004 and the reasons behind its uncharacteristically public nature.

2. A more recent attempt by Education Secretary Betsy DeVos of the Trump administration brought vouchers back onto the policy agenda. See Strauss, V., Douglas-Gabriel, D. & Balingit, M. (2018, February 13). DeVos seeks cuts from Education Department to support school choice. *The Washington Post*. Congress rejected DeVos' efforts to spend more than $1 billion on private school vouchers and other school choice plans in 2017 and 2018, however, plans for the federal expansion of school vouchers are likely to continue.

3. It should be noted that this assertion is contested. For example, in 2015, the Supreme Court of Washington ruled that public funding alone does not make charter schools truly public schools because they aren't governed by elected boards and therefore not accountable to voters. See Brown, E. (2015, September 9). What makes a public school public? Washington state court finds charter schools unconstitutional. *The Washington Post*.

boards may contract a private entity, or educational management organization (EMO), to manage and operate the school. A review of recent and pending litigations and state charter legislations has shown that state statutory requirements are often not clear on "whether charter schools and their officials are public entities under the law, and thus subject to the same rules governing the action of public officials" (Green, Baker, & Oluwole, 2015, p. 240). Charter school teachers and administrators are usually not considered public employees and the buildings in which they operate are not typically public property. Most charter schools employ non-unionized teachers at will, meaning that they may require teachers to work longer hours, are not required to provide tenure, or a cause for termination. Unionization efforts of charter school teachers have resulted in different outcomes in different states. In the case of a New Orleans school, the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), as well as the Federal appellate court concluded that charter school teachers are private employees; however the ruling also indicates that the designation does not apply to all charter schools, noting another NLRB decision designating a Texas charter as a political subdivision, citing that the Texas Education Agency has authority to reconstitute the charter school's board, which is not the case in the Louisiana legislation (Ogletree, Deakins, Nash, Smoak & Stewart, 2018). The ongoing litigation for collective bargaining cases, variation in state legislations, and existence of various charter affiliates such as operators, authorizers, and managers would undoubtedly complicate issues regarding their status as public entities.

There have been attempts to garner support for creation of charter schools in Alabama, but various charter legislation proposals died in the legislature over the course of 10 years, until March 2015. The main political actors in this policy area are legislators, public school administrators, public school systems, the teacher union Alabama Education Association (AEA), the pro free market and limited government think tank Alabama Policy Institute (API), the Alabama Federation for Children (AFC), an affiliate of the national advocacy group American Federation for Children, and the Alabama branch of Students First, a political lobbying organization formed by the well-known U.S. public school reform advocate Michelle Rhee. The arguments from these advocacy groups mirror concerns identified in the larger school-choice politics literature. A brief review of API documents shows an emphasis on choice, innovation, autonomy, flexibility, and deregulation (API, 2013). On the other hand, AEA documents emphasize critique of the financial model, privatization, deregulation, and the de-professionalization of teaching (AEA, 2013). Many public school administrators and public school systems have sided with AEA in opposition to previous legislation proposals. Over time, the pro-charter lobbying efforts have been expanded in the state as national advocacy groups established branches in the state. The level of public support is not clear. Two opinion polls conducted by groups affiliated with the two major advocacy coalitions showed stark differences in support. The pro-charter poll showed 45% of Alabamians support charter schools, while the anti-charter poll showed 35% of Alabamians supported charter schools (Leech, 2012). Furthermore, both argue the support increased or declined after they provide more information to their respondents. One study suggested that a sizable proportion of Alabamians have no knowledge of and opinion about charter schools (Anon, 2016). Although it has been three years since lawmakers passed the law, there have not been many applications. As of March 2018, there are few approved applications but no operational charter school in the state.

The Narrative Policy Framework

The main focus of NPF is to explain the role of policy narratives in the policy process, typically in reference to policy actors, their decisions and actions, and policy outcomes. Policy

scholars Michael D. Jones and Marc McBeth (2010) developed the framework in an effort to reconcile policy scholarship on narratives. A variety of disciplines including education and critical policy analysis scholars (e.g. Fischer, 2003; Roe, 1994; and Stone, 1997) study the politics of storytelling. Smith and Larimer (2017) use the term 'policy design' as a broader category of scholarship to refer to the systematic examination of substantive content of policy. For critical policy scholars, the examination of substantive content of policy requires putting the emphasis on the careful construction and deliberate and selective use of stories, symbols, and images around particular policies. According to Smith and Larimer (2017), the underlying similarity among these earlier critical policy design scholars "is their resolve to move away from strict, empirical analyses of public policy" (p. 72). The critical issue for scholars like Fischer (2003) or Stone (1997) was to identify whose values were supported by policy and who values were used to justify and evaluate policy success. The idea is that the policy narratives as social constructions are messy and their study should also reflect the complicated and subjective reality of the policy making process. Yet, positivist policy scholars were skeptical that such policy design scholarship was clear enough to provide clear research guidance, for example, renowned policy scholar Paul Sabatier excluded post-positivist policy scholarship in his influential 1999 book Theories of the Policy Process (Jones & McBeth, 2010). Jones and McBeth (2010) developed the NPF as a response in an attempt to develop individual and sub-system level hypotheses to study policy narratives in an empirical and quantifiable manner. According to NPF, narratives "both socially construct reality and can be measured empirically" (Shanahan, Jones, & McBeth, 2018, p. 174), and consequently that there is room for both interpretative and observational narrative scholarship.

The NPF attempts to offer a methodological approach based on a set of assumptions to guide scholars interested in studying policy narratives. Existence of generalizable structural elements in the form of setting, characters, plot, and morals common to policy narratives is one of the central assumption of the NPF theory. In addition to the core structural elements, NPF also postulates a storytelling model of individual, a socially constructed policy reality that is shaped by predictable factors such as political ideologies and belief systems, and three interacting levels of analysis: individual, group, and cultural/institutional (Shanahan et al., 2018). The individual/micro-level analysis focuses on the influence of narratives on the individual; the group/meso-level analysis focuses on policy narratives as they are developed, circulated, and shaped by interest groups or advocacy coalitions, and cultural/institutional/ macro-level analysis focuses the conditions and environments under which macro level narratives develop and persist, as well as their influence on policy stability and change (Shanahan et al., 2018, p. 3).

According to (Shanahan et al., 2018), "newspapers are often the best early source for policy narratives about local issues or issues with a particular geographic domain" (p. 10). A number of NPF studies have turned to newspapers as sources of policy narratives (e.g., Blair & McCormack, 2016; Shanahan et al., 2011; Shanahan et al., 2013).

Methodology

In order to provide an in-depth case study of narrative elements in stories on charter schools, the analyses focus on one state, where the proposed charter legislation has led to a charged debate in the last few years regarding whether or not to adopt charter school legislation, and content

analysis of editorials and op-eds on charter schools from three local[4] newspapers published in the 10 year period before the adoption of the legislation from 2006 to 2016. In order to allow for more diversity of perspectives, articles were collected from three sources; Montgomery Advertiser, Al.com, and Anniston Star. These represent high circulation news outlets in the state. Montgomery Advertiser is Central Alabama's leading news source and paper of the state capitol (32,847 in circulation). AL.com is the largest news site in the state of Alabama, owned by Alabama Media Group along with Alabama's three largest and most prominent newspapers: The Birmingham News (103,729 in circulation), The Huntsville Times (44,725 in circulation) and Mobile's Press-Register (82,088 in circulation). Finally, we also included the Anniston Star (19,563 in circulation) as a representative outlet for a smaller Alabama town, which is represented in the Alabama senate by the sponsor of the charter bill, Senator Del Marsh.

"Charter schools" and "school choice" were used as key search terms and the search dates spanned from January 1, 2006 to December 31, 2016. This initial search generated 28 articles from Montgomery Advertiser, 66 articles from AL.com, and 89 articles from Anniston Star. We read all articles and initially removed those that were not related to charter schools directly. This reduced the pool from 183 to 150 articles. We sorted the remaining articles into three categories as descriptive and neutral pieces (n=98), failed attempts at being neutral (n=6), and position pieces (n=46)[5]. This analyses focus on the position pieces. Two researchers read and coded each documents independently using a codebook. The codebook focused on identifying structural elements in policy narratives as defined by NPF theory. The unit of analysis was the document, as opposed to sentence or paragraph. After coding articles independently, the coders went over each document together and discussed the content with regard to policy solutions, context, characters, and themes. The inter-coder agreement levels are consistent with previous NPF research using media stories (Crow and Lawlor, 2016; Shanahan et al., 2013). Table 1 provides summary information about the documents.

Table 1. *Descriptive information on narratives*

	% (n)
Policy Solution (n=46)	
Approve charter schools or legislation	67% (31)
Oppose charter schools	33% (15)
Source	
AL.com	24% (11)
Anniston Star	70% (32)
Montgomery Advertiser	7% (3)
Year	
2009	13% (6)
2010	24% (11)

4. The focus on 'local' is primarily intended as state level. Sometimes the references example refer to municipal or metropolitan level anecdotes and this is reflective of the geographical locations of the periodicals and newspapers under examination. Since they are being produced for a sub-state market, the focus tend to shift to smaller locales.

5. The opinion pieces include editorials as well as op-eds that takes an explicit policy position. Descriptive and neutral pieces are reports of factual information on charter school related news. A few pieces that appeared as neutral news articles, but contained a personal attitude toward the facts or skewing of details to better align an issue with an agenda or a policy position are categorized as failed attempts at being neutral.

2011	7% (3)
2012	26% (12)
2013	2% (1)
2014	4% (2)
2015	24% (11)
Stance	
Winning (supports the policy environment and actions discussed in the narrative)	41% (19)
Losing (the group is under attack even if they are partially winning)	44% (20)
No stance	15% (7)
Number of story type	
0	2% (1)
1	61% (28)
2	33% (15)
3	4% (2)
Primary story type	
Appeal to innovation	58% (26)
Appeal to risk	36% (36)
Conspiracy	2% (1)
Helplessness and control	2% (1)
Story of decline	2% (1)
Primary Causal Mechanism	
No causal mechanism	41% (19)
Bureaucratic/systemic	30% (14)
Incompetence/apathy	9% (4)
Inequitable socioeconomic circumstances	13% (6)
societal/cultural factors	7% (3)

Participant quotes, identified in block quotes or quotation marks, are included as supportive illustrations of particular observations. The numbers in parentheses near each quote simply identify the narrative from which the quote comes from in our data set. When appropriate, statistical test (chi-square or t-test) results are presented as part of the tables. Despite reflecting a diversity of sources and relatively long time frame, this sample is clearly not representative of all charter school policy narratives in the state. Therefore, it is important to note explicitly that the goal of this project is not generalizability in the traditional sense, but rather to develop "moderatum generalizations" that can be tested with further work (Payne and Williams, 2005). We adopted Yin's (2002) case study logic, which differentiates between "statistical generalization" (generalization to some defined population that has been sampled) and "analytic generalization" (generalization to a theory of the phenomenon being studied). The goal was to provide insight into the phenomenon being studied (in this case, elements of charter school policy narratives in a state before policy adoption), and to help refine a theory (in this case, the NPF theory).

Research Findings

According to NPF, what makes a story a policy narrative are the four core structural elements, i.e., setting, characters, plot, and moral, which can be identified and used to understand how narratives influence policy change and outcomes across a variety of policy contexts (Shanahan et al., 2011). These articles contained clear narrative elements in the form of setting, policy solutions, plots, and characters. The policy *setting* for these articles is the charter school policy adoption in the state of Alabama. The policy narratives are typically populated by heroes, villains, and victims, as specific characters. Both local and national policy actors and the target groups for the policy have been portrayed as such characters in the narrative arc of these stories. The moral of the story is the policy solution offered. The main morals of narratives under investigation were "approve charter school legislation" and "oppose charter school legislation". A few pieces contained slight nuances within these larger morals. For example, some pro-charter pieces suggested certain reservations for approval demanding rigorous charter school legislation that ensure local control or accountability or undue financial burden. Some anti-charter pieces include suggestions about alternate actions in addition to opposing charter schools, for example, funneling federal dollars to low socioeconomic students in urban and rural areas. Inspired by the idea of story lines in Stone's book *Policy Paradox* (1997), the NPF also asserts that policy narratives must have a plot (Shanahan et al., 2011). The plot typically features a beginning, a middle, and an end, and causality, in other words, connections among the characters, and assigning of intent or blame. Here, the plot was examined by tracking two strategies—story type and causal mechanism.

The second question was whether these elements differ by endorsed policy solution and the answer is partially affirmative. Most policy narratives regardless of the policy solution or stance shared certain characteristics. However, the pro-charter and anti-charter articles used different story types, causal mechanisms, and characters. The next section details these differences in story type, causal mechanism, and characters by policy solutions proffered.

Story Type

Policy narratives provide explanations for policy problems and solutions. The articles examined portrayed charter schools as a policy problem, or at least a distraction from the real problems, or a policy solution based on the policy preference of the writer. The policy narratives primarily stressed either an appeal to innovation or an appeal to risk. Lesser stories included either a story of conspiracy, a story of helplessness and lack of control, or a story of decline. Table 2 summarizes primary story type by policy solution and shows that appeal to innovation was exclusively used by pro-charter narratives. The pro-charter narratives were also more likely than anti-charter narratives to use themes of helplessness and control and story of decline as primary story types. Anti-charter narratives typically used appeals to risk.

Table 2. *Primary story type, causal mechanism, and number of characters by policy solution*

	Approve charter schools (n=31)	Oppose charter schools (n=15)	χ^2 or *t*
Primary story type			31.6299***
Appeal to innovation	87%	-	

Appeal to risk	12%	100%	
Causal mechanism			7.1829***
No causal mechanism	56%	13%	
One or more causal mechanisms	45%	87%	
Characters			
Characters	3.581	4.333	-1.3771
Heroes	1.226	.667	2.2799*
Villains	1.387097	2.133333	-2.6569*
Victims	.9677419	1.533333	-2.9188***

Note: ***p<.01; **p<.05; *p<.1

The first and dominant story type among the articles were appeals to innovation, i.e., claims that charter schools would be successful via innovations in school infrastructure, school culture, and curriculum and instruction. These ranged from more nuanced descriptions of some of the innovations charters were capable of, and what kinds of students would likely most benefit from them, to full throated declarations of their superiority. Some of the articles began with a description of the former including a focus on the classics of Western civilization, entrepreneurship, foreign languages, or project-based learning, while others simply assume charter schools would be innovative, just because they would be free of bureaucratic regulations and the 'monopolistic' political control of public education. The prevalence of innovation stories is not surprising. It is hard to imagine any other education reform that has generated such a widespread political effort to associate charter schools with innovation (see Lubienski, 2003 for a review). A majority of charter legislation specifies innovation, mostly in teaching or learning, as an expected outcome. Although the existing research show that charter schools are not typically more innovative than traditional public schools when it comes to teaching methods, education practices, or materials (Fabricant & Fine, 2015; Preston, Goldring, Berends, & Cannata, 2012; Lubienski, 2003), and that most innovations have been in governance, teacher tenure, and school marketing, authors using an appeal to innovation were confident in their expectation. Here is an exemplary quote from one such article,

> Their [charter schools'] independence from the typical school-district formula allows them the opportunity to build a better mousetrap, to reach the goal of highly educated Alabamians through alternative means…The trick is creating a system of charter schools that are accountable to basic standards while unrestrained enough to think outside the box. [29]

The second most common story type was labeled appeal to risk. These stories tended to emphasize themes like charter schools' tendency to waste resources and/or take money from public schools, and the expectation that they would be autonomous to the point of being unaccountable. The former points were usually coupled with a discussion of how Alabama's schools are underresourced to begin with. Discussion of risks is also common in charter school politics. What distinguishes the discussion in this local context is the focus on a narrower set of risks. Initially a dominant theme in the pro-narratives was the loss of federal grant funds though President Obama's Race to the Top initiative. Adoption of charter schools were portrayed as a prerequisite for Ala-

bama to get federal grants, and in extreme cases, the anti-charter positions were portrayed as sabotage. In fact, in the 2010 round for Race to the Top federal education grant allocation, the state of Alabama ranked lowest among all states on a points system scoring. If the state had adopted charter schools at that time, the additional points gained would have not been enough to make any difference in the rankings. This focus has shifted as Alabama failed to receive funds. Anti-charter stories also primarily focused on loss of funding and accountability, often in the context of infringement of local control of schools. Pursuant, the then head of the state's teacher's union stated the following: "We know what works to improve Alabama education. We simply lack the funding. We know that charters are unproven, but are guaranteed to take needed resources away from already underfunded schools" [8]. Although less frequent than the first two story types discussed some of the articles included elements describing how the education situation was getting steadily worse in Alabama. This was primarily a position taken by those who supported charter school legislation.

A "story of decline" as conceived by political theorist Deborah Stone is a symbolic plot device to create emotional rather than rational response to policy issues and resemble the Biblical story of expulsion from Paradise—a deterioration of once-good conditions and ever-increasing suffering—typically ending with "a prediction of crisis" (Stone, 1997, p. 109). The other broad type of narrative was a "story of helplessness and control," which typically explains that how things were bad and seemed helpless, until we figured out a way out and promise control over fate (Stone, 1997, p. 142). The idea that educational reform was hindered by influences beyond the control of political actors and those who voted for them was particularly popular with those who supported charter schools early on in the legislative process. One twist on the control story is the *conspiracy* plot. This version argues that things have been controlled in nefarious ways all along and that we must take control back from these hidden powers (Stone, 1997, p. 142). Themes of conspiracy were exclusively expressed by those who opposed the establishment of charter schools. These commenters generally expressed two main concerns. The first maintained that charter schools were vehicles for enriching the companies that would be managing them and also generally bankrupting the public system. One author was particularly vivid: "Some educational salesmen will consume school funds like vultures eating at a decaying carcass. They will linger around until schools' coffers are bare-boned. The public has become alarmed and demands greater financial accountability" (p. 27). The second concern was that charter schools actually represented the advent for the privatization of public education, writ large—that charter schools served as a kind of Trojan horse for market driven solutions that would end in the disestablishment of public schools. In sum, charter schools were framed as either flexible innovators or instruments of destruction.

One intriguing aspect of these local policy stories has to do with the issues that have not been referenced, in addition to those that were. The highlights of charter schools in pro-charter narratives are pretty in sync with nationwide discourse. This is not the case for critical pieces. Several points of contention that has been subject of scholarly research and covered by national media outlets has not made their way into those local narratives. Perhaps this is reflective of a policy environment that is yet to have real experience with charter schools or this might be an inherent characteristic of critical versus favorable narratives, which might suggest an avenue for future narrative researchers. Academics critical of charter schools and a number of educational reporters in national outlets have brought up a number of other risks and potential problems, in addition to resource drain and accountability issues. Three major areas of concern are issues related to segregation and stratification, teacher certification and quality, and the expanding role of corporate and private interest groups in public policy making in education.

One point of contention is about equity and access, specifically, whether these schools are ameliorating or contributing to wider patterns of segregation. Evidence indicates that charter schools are as racially segregated as public schools in their same area and sometimes contribute to further racial isolation (Frankenberg et al., 2011; Lubienski and Weitzel, 2010). Another aspect of equity concerns relate to access and socio-economic stratification. Critics and scholars have argued that disadvantaged parents do not have the ability or resources to choose charter schools (Garcia, 2008) and that the choice is made often by charter schools, rather than parents, since they have a strong incentive to target and select students, both leading to stratification (West et al., 2006). These issues are also covered in media outlets (see for example (Greenblatt, 2018; McCoy, 2016; Sharp, 2010). Segregation or stratification were not discernible themes in these local charter school policy narratives from Alabama newspapers.

Another concern voiced often is about teacher quality, and specifically, certification (Iasevoli, 2017; Stein, 2018). State certification requirements for public charter school teachers vary. Many charter schools do not require teachers to meet the same certification requirements as public school teachers, some certify their teachers themselves, and some hire teachers without certification. This feature has been embraced and detested by different advocacy coalitions in the policy subsystem. Advocates emphasize that this enables schools to be innovative in their hiring practices, flexible to choose from a broader pool, and to remove unsuccessful teachers, and offer them freedom from bureaucratic requirements. Critics call attention to de-professionalization of teaching and potential commercialization of certification process. There were some references pin-pointing teacher quality as the source of Alabama's education woes in some narratives. A former public school teacher who went on to found a private school stated, "we just haven't moved forward like the rest of the world has moved. I could go back to the school I taught at in 1970 and teach the same way. Nothing has changed" (6). Another took this sentiment farther by linking teacher mediocrity to the state teacher's union being a hindrance to change. However, these were piecemeal arguments against status quo of public schools. Teacher certification and the broader issue of teacher quality in charter schools were not discussed in these local policy narratives.

Finally, one other issue gaining prominence in nationwide charter school discussion is the infusion of private foundation funding in charter schools and the expanding role of private interest groups in public policy making in education. Reckhow and Snyder (2014) showed that between 2000 and 2010, the foundation funding for traditional public schools dropped in half, while funding for charter schools rose from around 3% to 16%, corresponding to over 110 million dollars. Such shifts in priority have not gone unnoticed. Critical scholars point out the ways in which the corporate and private philanthropic influence on education policymaking undermines the democratic control of public education (Au and Lubienski, 2016; Lubienski et al., 2016; Ravitch, 2010). The nationwide media coverage of charter schools and foundation funding also increased during this time (Chandler, 2015; Medina & Goldstein, 2019). However, the influence of corporate and private foundations on charter school politics were mentioned superficially in only a few of these local charter school policy narratives.

Causal Mechanism

The second strategy to examine plot was tracking causal mechanisms. Identifying causes enables us to assign responsibility for problems (Stone, 1997). Policy narratives that identify a cause tell a story that portrays both oppressors and victims. Nevertheless, causal mechanisms were

not as clearly identifiable as story types in these narratives. Overall, about 40% of narratives offered no causal mechanism and the pro-charter narratives were more likely than anti-charter narratives to lack a causal mechanism. Many pro-charter narratives championed the policy and its benefits unequivocally without logically relating the course of events to desirable educational outcomes. 87% of anti-charter narratives, compared to 45% of pro-charter narratives suggested one or more causal mechanism for policy problems. The kind of causal mechanism was coded as bureaucratic/systemic, incompetence/apathy, inequitable socioeconomic circumstances, societal/cultural factors or a combination of any.

Bureaucratic/systemic causal category generally spoke to school aged students and their parents lacking agency concerning lack of access to what they would deem high quality educational offerings. There is a sense here that the system itself conspires to keep some students in substandard schools due to the state's vast collection of independent school districts and geographical demographics. This reasoning was employed mostly by pro-charter narratives. One author summed up this sentiment as follows: "I don't want to see our students in any part of Alabama get stuck in a failing school because they don't have another choice because of where they live"[14].

Narratives using the causal mechanism labeled as incompetence/apathy elicited a sense of institutional exacerbation that there are controlling actors who do not seem to care or know how to care sufficiently, to challenge the current way public schools operate. This reasoning was exclusively used by pro-charter narratives and almost always associated incompetence and apathy to characters. Early on in the legislative process the lawmakers were dealt a setback when a bill they advanced to start charter schools was defeated. In reference to this, political actors and legislatures were deemed incompetent and apathetic. Later in the process, teacher unions, teachers, ineffectual parents, and out-of-touch bureaucrats were also a labeled as such.

Others located the cause for charter school with the inequitable way Alabama supports its public school. This particular mechanism, which we labeled as inequitable socioeconomic circumstances, was mostly deployed by anti-charter factions. These narratives describe particular instances of socioeconomic arguments at times to contend that the charter schools does not address the issue at hand, e.g., the extent of the lack of resources in urban and rural Alabama schools, or Alabama's racist past and present as providing additional context for why an initial version of legislation would only allow for charter schools to be created in predominantly low socioeconomic areas of the state.

Finally, the mechanism of societal/cultural factors differs from the others that speak to the dynamic of the system itself, whether political or educational, and to the socioeconomic situation of the state. We reserved this category to catch statements that were more universal and theoretical in nature. For instance one author wrote felt compelled to separate the mechanics of education from the ethical arguments for doing so. He stated, "but, public education as a value — a philosophy — differs from the delivery system of public education. How we impart knowledge to children should not be confused with why we do so" [39]. Another spoke to the troubles a specific part of Alabama's population has in receiving an adequate public education in the state. Overall, when causal mechanisms were offered, they resembled policy narratives in nationwide charter school politics. Pro-charter narratives conceive the problem with the education system as stemming from a stolid bureaucratic structure and corrupt politics maintained by unresponsive and uncaring policy actors. Anti-charter narratives conceive the problem as resource inequities stemming from and preserved by racial and socioeconomic disparities.

Characters

Overall, anti-charter stories were less likely than pro-charter stories to use characters, but when they do, they were more likely to refer to multiple characters. Most popular characters for both pro and anti-charter stories are victims and the least common characters are heroes. Table 3 presents the average number of heroes, villains, and victims for each policy solution.

Table 3. *Number of narrative characters by policy solution*

	Approve charter schools		Oppose charter schools		*Total*	
	# of narratives	# of characters	# of narratives	# of characters	# of narratives	# of characters
Heroes	26	38	9	10	35	48
Villains	24	30	15	23	39	53
Victims	28	43	15	32	43	75
Total	78	111	39	65	117	176

Pro-charter narratives were significantly more likely to feature hero characters and anti-charter narratives were significantly more likely to feature villains and victims. In short, heroes are hard to find in most of these narrative, especially anti-charter ones, as the tendency was to explain why the other side had it wrong. While initially some may hold up a hero—themselves or other actors—the majority of their rhetoric was negative. Thus a majority of the positions discussed in the paper fall within the villain category. Republican policymakers positioned themselves as an early hero in the cause to create charter schools. In 2010 Republicans won a majority in the state senate and house for the first time since 1874; they were the party with the most amount of interest in charter schools. There was also a tendency of charter proponents to tout the broad bipartisan support for charter schools at the national level. One author proffered the following while also making sure to include a villain at the end.

> Charter schools have received bipartisan support from diverse political figures including Newt Gingrich, Al Sharpton, Jeb Bush and President Obama. Public charter schools also are supported by the group Democrats for Education Reform, which calls them 'an important alternative to traditional public schools.' Unfortunately, but entirely predictable, the Alabama Education Association [AEA] remains steadfast in its opposition. [16]

One of the primary villains in the pro-charter articles were teachers and more specifically their state union, the Alabama Education Association. Concerning the former, one author implied that charter schools are a direct response to poor teacher accountability in the state:

> Regardless if a student can read or add, the teachers' union is paid to fight for teachers — good or bad. That's what tenure is all about. How about teachers scrutinizing each other? That could reduce the need for charter schools…I'm not against unions, but with power comes arrogance. [28]

Another seemed to take the side of the AEA if only to tacitly recognize their power as an inevitable distraction toward providing a better education for Alabama's public school students: "an agenda concentrated on charter schools…is not much about improving education as it is about drawing a line in the sand for another battle with the Alabama Education Association…This will only waste resources and energy and will once again make schoolkids the rope in a political tug of war" [4]. Others were less unequivocal in their opinions about the unions in general and AEA in particular.

Legislatures and policymakers were also popular villains named by both pro and anti-charter narratives. One such example portended that some legislators may try to use charter school legislation as a way to reward themselves:

> Lest we forget, consider also the fact that there is great need to be concerned about judges who may tend to become overly active outside their arena. We must also be aware and not ignore these same overreaching activities by lawmakers who often present deceptively to gain personal control. (This act is commonplace.) [36]

While others questioned the motivations for supporting the legislation as being less than pure: "some legislators now want to take even more funds away from public schools. Does that sound like they have the best interests of Alabama children—all Alabama children—in their hearts?" [41]

Private Education Management Organization (EMOs), corporate entities, and lobbyists made up the remaining villains. Concerning the first two of these it was widely believed that, as stated before, charter schools represented a Trojan horse designed to funnel money from the public system to private providers. Lobbyists were also seen as having an undue influence on the legislative process and having unclear motives.

Most prevalent characters were victims. There were three main victims discussed in many of the narratives. In order of emphasis these were students, teachers, and tax payers. The victimhood of the children was common in both pro and anti-charter narratives. One author summarized the sentiment by stating "either way, the state and the children it must educate are the ultimate losers" [26]. Anti-charter narratives depict teachers as victims typically because they work in resource poor school systems. Teachers were positioned as existing in sometimes untenable situations caused by a lack of support. As example one commentator stated,

> Teachers have screamed for years for smaller class sizes, only to be told it wasn't necessary. Teachers have screamed for years for art and music classes, because these subjects develop higher-level thinking, but were told there was no money to provide them. All of a sudden we have the money for charter schools, which will take money away from the public schools. [38]

Pro-charter narratives depict teachers as victims typically because they work in unprofessional and authoritarian school systems. In another, more charter-sympathetic, passage an author indicated that extant schools can hinder teachers in reaching their full potential:

> In schools across Alabama (even those with strong reputations) there are still students with immense potential who are struggling to hit their stride academically. Likewise, there are

still teachers who yearn for an environment where they truly can be treated as professionals. [39]

Similar to teachers, taxpayers were victims, because their money was wasted on ineffectual political actors, unions, and incompetent teachers, or because it was wasted on corrupt political actors, private interest groups, and businesses. Table 4 provides a summary list of mostly commonly listed characters.

Table 4. *Most commonly listed character types*

Heroes	Villains	Victims
Political actors (Governor, senators, presidents, legislatures)	*Teachers*	*Students*
Public education sector	*Teacher's Union (AEA)*	*Public Schools*
Teacher's Union (AEA)	*Political actors (Governor, senators, presidents, legislatures)*	*State of Alabama*
Advocacy or lobbying groups	*Advocacy or lobbying groups*	*Teachers*
Educational Management Organizations (EMOs)	*Educational Management Organizations (EMOs)*	*Taxpayers*
	Public education sector	*Local Education Agencies (LEAs)*

Conclusion

There are various avenues for future NPF studies in the education policy domain. For example, the ongoing legal disputes regarding charter schools have important implications with regards to the application of governmental immunity, labor protection, and public accountability laws to the schools and their officials across states. First, in a series of ongoing litigation in Mississippi, Florida, and District of Colombia, the constitutionality of state's charter school law in reference to funding arrangements is being disputed (Reed, 2019). Second, especially since the NAACP called for a statewide moratorium on charter school expansion in 2017, an increasing number of school districts in California have been debating and voting on such moratoriums, tighter restrictions, and elimination of for-profit charters, while a similar provision was removed from a bill in Nevada (Strauss, 2019; Tarinelli, 2019). Third, an interesting manifestation of policy variation can be observed in a number of labor struggles taking place in charter schools in states with and without collective bargaining laws for public school teachers (Cohen, 2017). While the unionization efforts of charter school teachers in California, Louisiana, and Philadelphia have been met with heavy-handed opposition, deliberate charter unionization campaigns and teacher strikes such as those recently seen in Chicago and Los Angeles have captured media attention. These are just three of numerous examples of legislative battles in which policy actors would engage in strategic use of narratives or stories to influence the policy process and its outcomes.

Our analyses based on NPF framework showed that core structural elements of policy narratives were identifiable in the editorials and op-eds reviewed, the use of narrative elements and strategies differed by endorsed policy solution, and the coverage diverged from the discussion in the nationwide charter school politics in a number of ways. The findings have implications for two lines of literature. First, our research provides some contributions to NPF scholarship. Primarily, charter school politics provides an interesting policy avenue to examine narrative elements since nationwide advocacy coalitions feature a diverse group of actors and ideologies. Similar to NPF studies in other policy domains, we were able to identify clear narrative elements in these charter school policy narratives. Analyses here suggest that similar to the composition of the advocacy coalitions (Kirst, 2007; Vergari, 2007), their policy narratives also reflect the local context and are shaped by local alliances. The news media coverage of charter schools in the recent years prior to adoption of the legislation mostly referred to the state's teachers union and, mostly Republican, policymakers as policy actors. Early discussion focused primarily on loss of potential federal grants or potential loss of public school funding to charter schools, tying the expectations to general political climate and history of the state. Concerns about the local control of school systems was a noticeable theme, though whether the charter schools would lead to degradation or generation of local control was dependent on the preconceived policy stance. There are various avenues for future NPF studies in education policy domain. Studies focusing on local contexts in the same policy domain may clarify the nature of variation in local policy stories. For example, how would the narrative elements differ in policy stories in another state considering adoption or in a state that have a longer history with charter schools? Are victims more prevalent characters in policy narratives during the policy adoption stage or in specific local policy subsystems? It would also be interesting to see future research examine whether and how these real-world policy narratives influence public opinion at the micro-level, and policy change at the meso-level.

Second, the findings would be of interest to education policy scholars, especially those interested in charter schools, politics of education, and the intersection between press and political actors and processes. The policy narratives analyzed here provided different definitions of educational problems that compete for attention and resources. However, both the straight reporting and the opinion pieces were mostly superficial and generally lacking in depth. If evidence was cited to support arguments in the articles, it was usually flimsy and not discussed in sufficient detail. There was also a lack of policing truth claims made by non-journalistic editorial writers. Perhaps this is not surprising. Examining nationwide newspaper coverage of school choice between 1980 and 2004, Henig (2008) showed that national outlets also failed to present in-depth and objective analysis of charter and school choice research. Reporter's training in education journalism or lack thereof, editorial or reporter skepticism of education research, financial troubles in journalism in general, reluctance of scholars, and influence of foundations and advocacy organizations in funding and disseminating research supportive of their policy preferences, result in an imbalanced representation of education research in the media (Henig, 2008). It is likely that these problems are exacerbated in local media outlets. Regardless, at the local context and in a novel policy domain, these newspapers' editorials still plays a central role in disseminating information to the citizenry and generating attention. As such, the politics of charter schools is an area of inquiry for future studies focused on media representation education research and policy making. For example, do local editorials and op-eds reflect the same narrative elements as other narrative sources? Is there any evidence to suggest that some researchers are more prominently featured in op-ed formats? Charter policy is now a mature subsystem in nationwide politics, and charters have shaped several policies and rules including state employment, teacher certification requirements, and collective

bargaining rules. To what extent, the policy narratives in the local media discuss political factors and predict or affect state-level laws and rules?

Finally, the missing frames in the narratives also matter. Problem definitions play a critical role in the policy process. As Portz (1996) notes, "problem definitions that are more visible, adopted by powerful political sponsors, and attached to viable solutions stand a better chance of receiving recognition and action on the policy agenda" (p.382). In other words, problems that are not articulated are more likely to be ignored. How did this coverage converge or diverge from the discussion in the nationwide charter school politics? The coverage in these narratives was dominated by local politics, negative rhetoric, and lacked some of the most prominent discussion points in nationwide charter school politics. Inadequate funding, poor teaching, or faulty governance were articulated as visible problems, with implied or direct solutions. However issues related to segregation and stratification, teacher certification and quality, and the expanding role of corporate and private interest groups in public policy making in education were for the most part missing. Investigating why these more nationally recognized aspects of charter school politics are omitted at the state and local level, as was reflected in our findings, would prove fertile ground for future research.

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What Factors Influence Motivation for Graduate Education?

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Abstract

This mixed-methods study, as part of program quality enhancement, investigated motivating factors of teachers choosing enrollment in an online master's degree in education in a state where legislative funding does not provide advanced degree pay. Students were surveyed at the conclusion of their program using a quantitative evaluation of programmatic and advising-related issues with follow-up qualitative responses indicating motivation for pursuit of the degree. There were 31 program completers who received the MAED Graduate Program Survey during their last graduate course, with 27 (87%) responses. Qualitative responses confirmed that motivating factors for pursuing a master's degree were mostly due to extrinsic reasons pertaining to the time and length of the program. Overall programmatic satisfaction was indicated, especially pertaining to programmatic factors such as course expectations, workload, course organization, and accessible communication between faculty and students. Additional satisfaction related to advising-related communication and access to resources and tools. While the program's cumulative action research project was noted as a strength in student responses, it was also a theme in suggesting improvement, such as more information about the project and support for research methodology. Findings have implications for teacher motivation, teacher development, and enhancement of distance education formats.

Keywords**:** *Teacher motivation, teacher development, distance education, teacher leadership, teacher education.*

Introduction

While many states in the Northeast require teachers to earn a master's degree for licensure, southern states continue to devalue advanced degrees, eliminating increased pay for teachers earning a master's degree or higher. When the United States' economy declined in 2008, many boards of education faced decreased monetary resources, school closures, and a downward change in demand for teachers. Consequently, policy makers began looking at teacher pay as one solution to correct a financial crisis.

In 2011, Harris and Sass studied the effects of teachers with master's degrees and the achievement of their students. Across 11 different studies, mostly of elementary teachers, there

was limited evidence of statistical significance that teachers with master's degrees improved student achievement. Conversely, some studies demonstrated negative significance. These findings added to the research conducted by Campbell and Lopez (2008) who found no indication that teachers with advanced degrees improved student outcomes.

Former US Secretary of Education Arne Duncan declared in 2010 that districts across the country spent nearly $8 billion annually on compensating teachers with master's degrees with little evidence that having an advanced degree made a difference in student achievement (Kiley, 2013). This national attention posed a serious dilemma for graduate teacher education programs, who have long counted on teacher pay increases as a major incentive to recruit potential students.

Context of the Study

This study was conducted at a large public research university in North Carolina. With inadequate evidence that teachers with advanced degrees improved student achievement, many southern states quickly abolished pay increases for teachers with advanced degrees. In North Carolina especially, the General Assembly moved to eliminate master's level teacher pay, providing no monetary incentive for teachers to continue their advanced education. A guaranteed 10 % raise was no longer possible (Kiley, 2013). The state, however, still compensates teachers with a 12 % salary increase for earning National Board certification. North Carolina has more National Board Certified Teachers (NBCT) than any other state in the country, with nearly double more than Florida, the second ranked state with NBCTs (National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, 2018).

The financial incentive for teachers to become an NBCT led to graduate enrollment decline in colleges of education throughout the University of North Carolina (UNC) System's 17 public institutions by 30%, between the years of 2010 and 2016 (Bonner, 2016). Since this change in policy and budget priority, the pathways for North Carolina teachers to gain higher earnings significantly narrowed. Graduate programs across the UNC System were forced to examine creative means to attract students into a program of study that required years of coursework and thousands of dollars for no financial return. That still did not stop one college of education from seeing an increase in graduate enrollment.

This study was conducted at one higher education institution to inform program-level quality enhancement. College-wide enrollment is near 29,000 students, 20% of whom are in graduate programs. The university is classified as a Carnegie-designated higher research activity institution (Indiana University School of Education, 2017). While it resides in a metropolitan area of more than 150,000 people, the institution serves mostly rural areas of the state. The university is the largest producer of teachers in the UNC System (United States Department of Education, 2017).

The College of Education employs nearly 200 faculty and staff, serving more than 3,000 students annually. The Master of Arts in Education (MAED) is a program spanning five academic departments, offering specializations for nine teaching areas. The specialization in Elementary Education is housed in the Elementary Education and Middle Grades Education Department. At the time of this study, the MAED in Elementary Education program required a minimum of 36 semester hours, with nine hours of concentration in one of five areas: a) academically gifted; b) content pedagogy; c) teacher leadership; d) early childhood; and e) teaching English as a second language.

The MAED program is an online program, where students complete all coursework through distance education. Admission into the program requires completion of a teacher education program and evidence of a North Carolina teaching license. While most students enrolled were from the geographic region near the university, program enrollment represented all major regions of the state. Since students enrolled in the program were also licensed teachers, the terms students and teachers are used interchangeably when referring to the participants, or respondents, in this study. Students completed the program as a cohort and within just over one calendar year over five academic terms, including summer sessions.

While the MAED is offered completely as a distance education platform, students come together to present action research conducted within their own classrooms and school communities. As part of the program, students learned about action research, developed a problem, submitted a proposal to the Institutional Review Board along with a faculty mentor, and presented their findings to their peers and program faculty when completed. Faculty and peers provided feedback for the student and engaged with each other through round table discussions during poster presentations.

Since earning a master's degree in Elementary Education would not provide any financial reward for a North Carolina teacher, the department considered phasing out concentration areas that were not viable to sustain. While the Master of Arts in Teaching, a pathway to alternative licensure, saw steady enrollment, an MAED no longer had perceived value. Marketing and recruiting efforts were minimal as the faculty shifted much of the focus to its undergraduate programs. New college and departmental leadership, however, encouraged reigniting recruitment for the master's program, especially as the university sought to enhance graduate education across all disciplines.

With new recruitment efforts, coursework was enhanced across the entire MAED program to focus on building professional capacity for leadership within the classroom, school, community, and beyond. Courses were redesigned to appeal to students who desired teacher leadership opportunities, rather than school or district administrative roles. Teacher leadership concepts were addressed in all concentration areas. Each course aligned to the four major teacher leadership competencies, defined by the Center for Teacher Quality, National Board for Professional Teaching Standards, and the National Education Association (2014). These consisted of: a) advocacy leadership, b) policy leadership, c) association leadership, and, d) instructional leadership.

Study Demographics

At the time of this study, four students were enrolled in the original MAED program and nearing completion. After the program redesign and intentional efforts to recruit, 36 additional students gained admission, accounting for a 900% increase in enrollment. This study sought to gain understanding of the motivating factors related to the 36 new student enrollment. Of the new group of 36 students, two left the program because of personal illness, two did not complete state-mandated testing requirements, and one student did not enroll after gaining admission. Therefore, there were 31 total students eligible to participate in this study.

All students possessed a license in Elementary Education issued by the state department of education. Of the 31 students in the study, 22 had zero to three years of teaching experience at the time of admission into the program. There were 10 of the 22 who were not practicing teachers, as they enrolled in the master's program immediately upon completion of their undergraduate degree in Elementary Education, choosing to wait until completion of the degree to pursue a teaching

position. Conversely, 21 of the 31 students were practicing teachers. Three students had four to eight years, two students had nine to 13 years, and three students had 14 to 20 years of experience.

Purpose of the Study

The program studied displayed a significant increase in master's enrollment even though there was no monetary incentive for increased salary. With the demand for teacher leadership coursework in the MAED program, it was unknown what initially drew teachers to enroll. Expanding on the findings from Fokkens-Bruinsma and Canrinus (2013), where teachers with high levels of motivation are not satisfied with remaining professionally stagnant, this study sought to understand how teacher development and teacher motivation influenced pursuit of an online master's degree in education during a time when increased salary was seemingly obsolete. Understanding teacher motivation and teacher development in context may influence graduate education program strategy, design, marketing, recruiting, and retention in other settings.

Research Questions

To examine teacher motivation and teacher development, this study sought to answer two research questions:

1) What motivating factors influenced teachers to pursue the MAED in Elementary Education?
2) Which programmatic or student support factors contributed to overall student satisfaction?

Literature Review

The research questions for this study were drawn from a review of related literature on teacher motivation and teacher development, along with the benefits, challenges, and recommendations from findings of online distance education graduate programs. The authors' theoretical paradigm by which the review was conducted was grounded in self-efficacy theory (Bandura, 1997), sociocultural theory (Vygotsky, 1978), and professional capital (Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Teacher Motivation

Watt and Richardson (2008) established across five studies and four different countries that teacher motivation begins at the onset of entrance into teacher preparation and throughout a teacher's entire career. Too often, however, teachers' enthusiasm can change for the worse over time for reasons related to motivation. Teachers experience high levels of occupational stress and suffer career fatigue at much higher rates than other professions (Stoeber & Rennert, 2008).
If they are not motivated intrinsically, extrinsically, and altruistically, teachers are less likely to remain committed to the profession (Kyriacou & Coulthard, 2000; Moran, Kilpatrick, Abbott, Dallat, & McClune, 2001; Roness, 2011; Sinclair, Dowson, & McInerney, 2006).

Teachers are intrinsically motivated when they are driven by the love of teaching and desire to constantly improve (Bruinsma & Jansen, 2010). Extrinsic motivation is related to external benefits of the job, such as teacher salary, benefits, and praise or recognition from others (Roness,

2011). Altruistic motivation stems from the innate belief that teaching is a social responsibility that contributes to the growth and development of children (Roness, 2011). Teachers most often enter the profession for intrinsic and altruistic reasons (Manuel & Hughes, 2006).

When teachers experience success, however, they are more likely to have greater self-efficacy, or personal achievement and internal well-being (Bandura, 1997). Bruinsma and Jansen (2010) found that greater levels of self-efficacy had a positive relationship with pre-service teachers' intent for longevity in the education profession. Overall, pre-service and in-service teachers who have a strong sense of preparedness and success are more likely to remain in the teaching profession (Darling-Hammond, Chung, & Frelow, 2002). Importantly noted, however, is that pre-service teachers with unrealistic perceptions of the profession can have higher attrition rates (Hong, 2010).

Watt and Richardson (2007) developed a scale to measure factors that motivate teachers to choose the profession as a career, known as the FIT-Choice model. The FIT-Choice determines the extent to which teachers were motivated by social factors, difficulty of the career, perceptions of self, job satisfaction, and internal values and beliefs. Testing the FIT-Choice framework, Fokkens-Bruinsma and Canrinus (2013) studied motivating factors of 221 pre-service elementary and secondary teachers. They found that the desire to work with children and adolescents was the most important factor in choosing the profession, confirming findings by Manuel and Hughes (2006) related to altruistic and intrinsic motivation.

Teacher Development

Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) described six phases of a teacher's career that can be categorized into years of experience. The phases were built upon the concepts studied by Day, Stobart, Sammons, Kington, and Gu (2007). The first phase is when teachers need support and challenge, and this typically occurs during the first three years of teaching. In the second phase, usually in the fourth to seventh years, identity and teacher efficacy is developed. During years eight to 15, teachers begin to manage changes and deal with increasing tensions. In years 16-23, teachers experience work-life transitions and motivation is questioned. In the fifth phase, 24-30 years, teachers tend to struggle with staying motivated. In the final phase, 31 or more years, declining motivation is likely to occur (author, year, p. 64).

Expanding on Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development, Warford (2011) posed zone of proximal teacher development, whereas teaching and learning are viewed holistically and authentically. In the traditional sense, the zone of development decreases as a learner performs tasks independently rather than with assistance. Teaching teachers with Vygotsky's paradigm would combine internal beliefs about education with reflection upon prior experiences and learning and engagement with new experiences and learning. Most importantly in the zone of proximal teacher development is the integration of theory and practice. In turn, the creation or evolution of a new professional identity would reflect progression as the zone of proximal teacher development shrinks.

Brunetti and Marston (2018) uncovered themes in trajectories of teacher development when studying 53 educators during a 10-year period. Participating teachers were categorized into three phases of career status: a) phase one, zero to three years; b) phase two, four to seven years; and c) phase three, eight to 15 years. Themes emerged in the areas of professional development and leadership that had implications for different phases of educators along the teacher career continuum.

Teachers in phase one engaged in professional development that met immediate needs, whereas phase two teachers were more likely to enhance their professional skills. Phase three teachers preferred autonomy and self-direction. Teachers in phase one were more likely to take on few leadership roles beyond the classroom. Phase two teachers tended to desire more leadership roles. Phase three teachers took more deliberate leadership responsibilities (Brunetti & Marston, 2018, p. 5).

Distance Education

Distance education has become a global issue among institutions of higher learning as competition increases among providers. Access to education is no longer limited by proximity to brick and mortar buildings. Romiszowski (2015) declared that high quality online programs should include five major components: a) accessibility, with simple and practical learning platforms; b) applicability, where students can translate theory into practice immediately; c) affordability, removing the barriers typically associated with the cost of attending a physical campus, d) acceptability among students, faculty, community; and e) accredited, adhering to standards measured by peer institutions.

Intrinsic motivation has been found in multiple research studies to correlate with long-term teacher retention (Fokkens-Bruinsma & Canrinus, 2013; Manuel & Hughes, 2006; Watt & Richardson, 2007). Johnson, Stewart and Bachman (2013), however, found, that students who enrolled in online courses did so for extrinsic reasons. This may be related to the idea that millennials prefer flexibility and are more experienced with technology (Alton, 2017). These findings also align with Romiszowski's (2015) notion of accessibility and affordability, as well as perceived schedule flexibility.

Winner and Paxton (2016) found, in a survey of 350 distance education students at one university in Malawi, the benefits of online distance education were to increase access and affordability for students, as well as the decreased fee schedules that on-campus students traditionally pay. The authors also acknowledged some challenges, including poor communication between students and faculty, lack of clarity in course materials, and delay of feedback on class assessments. They also noted lack of speed in university-level student registration, potentially inhibiting desired increased access.

Findings from Winner and Paxton (2016) confirmed what Koh and Hill (2009) determined students from a large United States university expressed they desired: a) to interact with their peers, b) to receive speed feedback from faculty members, and, c) to manage time effectively. Similar challenges, noted in poor communication and lack of course understanding, were also evident. Furthermore, Koh and Hill (2009) recommended that universities who offer distance education programs provide opportunities for meaningful group work with peers, while also adapting teaching methods that support online collaboration.

Boyle, Kwon, Ross and Simpson (2010) concluded that students in distance education programs who have opportunities for peer mentoring and engagement are more likely to support student retention. Students who worked in pair or cohort groups were motivated to continue their studies. Particularly, this strategy worked for students from historically disadvantaged subgroups. Students with extrinsic motivation, and who also had greater autonomy, demonstrated greater performance (author, year, p. 538).

Methods

The overall methodology used for purposes of program quality enhancement was a mixed method explanatory sequential design, where quantitative data were collected first with follow-up qualitative data to provide explanation to responses (Creswell, 2015). Qualitative data from a questionnaire distributed to students enrolled in their last course of the program were analyzed using theoretical sampling and constant comparative methods (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). To employ theoretical sampling, data were coded as theories emerged. Additionally, similarities and differences were compared among the data to establish patterns and trends in responses.

The instrument, MAED Program Survey (See Appendix), was developed by the MAED program faculty and vetted by graduate students from within and outside of the MAED program prior to distributing to students. A Likert scale was used throughout the quantitative portion of the survey. Descriptive statistics were analyzed to calculate frequency, means, and percentages of responses. The qualitative responses were analyzed for consistency with the data collection. Coding schemes (Mertler, 2016) were used to group similar types of data to assimilate patterns and themes for each response. As each theme emerged, responses were quantified in frequency tables, as appropriate, to provide additional triangulation of the data.

Sample size included 27 of 31 possible participants. Convenience sampling (Mertler, 2016) was the most appropriate for this study to obtain targeted perceptions of all students who completed the MAED program. All 31 students were invited to participate. There was neither incentive nor penalty for student participation.

Limitations

With 27 respondents, the sample size is not large enough for generalization to the entire population (Mertler, 2016). Because the study accounts for perceptions of students' motivating factors at the time of program completion, rather than perceptions at the time of admission, responses may have varied if the study were conducted prior to completing the program. Qualitative responses added value to quantitative data; however, focus groups, with opportunities for further investigation and clarification of responses, may have provided additional understanding of student perceptions.

Results & Analyses

Of 31 program completers, 27 (87%) responded to the survey. Students completed the survey at the conclusion of their last course. The survey was voluntary, free of penalty if students chose not to complete. All 27 respondents finished the survey and all questions were answered.

Research Question 1

Which motivating factors influenced teachers to pursue the MAED in Elementary Education? To answer the first research question, Question 11 from the survey was analyzed for patterns and themes in the qualitative responses. Table 1 demonstrates six major themes that emerged, grouped by intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. The frequency of responses indicated 117 total mentions related to the established themes. Of the 117 total mentions, 49 mentions (41.9%) were categorized as extrinsic factors. There were 39 mentions (33.3%) related to intrinsic factors and 29 mentions (24.8%) that could be intrinsic or extrinsic.

Table 1. *Motivation factors to pursue MAED*

Theme	Frequency	Intrinsic (I)/Extrinsic (E)
Accredited University	15	E
Life-long Learning	28	I
Loyalty to University	11	I
More Professional Options	29	E/I
Recruiting Strategies	3	E
Time & Length of Program	31	E

Note. Frequencies are number of times mentioned across total responses.

The most common theme related to the time and length of the program as a motivating factor, with 31 mentions (26.5%). The second most common theme was 29 mentions (24.8%) related to pursuit of more professional options (which could be extrinsic or intrinsic), followed by the desire for life-long learning, with 28 mentions (23.9%). The least common themes included accredited university with 15 mentions (12.8%), loyalty to the university with 11 mentions (9.4%), and strategies related to recruiting (3 mentions, or 2.6%).

Time and length of the program included responses such as, "completely online" and "completed in one year." Responses from this theme related to extrinsic motivating factors (Boyle et. al, 2016; Johnson et. al, 2015) also aligned with Romiszowski's (2015) criteria for universities offering distance education programs. One particular respondent highlighted interest in the program since it was "for practicing teachers and is done in a year."

Mention of additional opportunities for professional roles outside of the classroom could be considered extrinsic (Roness, 2011) related to career advancement or intrinsic and altruistic (Manuel & Hughes, 2016) for the sake of broadening impact on other adults and students. These responses also related to extrinsic examples included, "[will] carry me well into any avenue of education," "eventually be a Curriculum Specialist," and "more options down the road." Intrinsic examples in this category were categorized by responses such as, "teach pre-service teachers...[to] provide the newest teaching strategies [that] promote student growth," and "the opportunity to better myself as an individual and as an educator." Improving oneself confirms the findings of Bruinsma and Jansen (2010). This overall notion of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997) was also present as an implicit analysis of responses.

One respondent could be categorized as a Phase 4 teacher (Brunetti & Marston, 2018; Day et. al, 2007; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012). The student, by nature of years of experience was ready for a change in career, specifically to "get out of the classroom," upon admission into the program, aligning with career fatigue (Stoeber & Rennert, 2008). The student further clarified that "after my first semester I remembered how much I just love learning and education." This aligns to the Warford (2011) model of zone of proximal teacher development, where new experiences and learning provide catalyst for reflection about internal beliefs and values.

Responses related to accreditation included national rankings of programs such as, "top 10 for online" and "reputable university." Loyalty to the university involved "loved [the university] as much as I did in undergrad," and "both my husband and I attended [the university] and have had successful careers." Key recruiting strategies mentioned were "[my] student teacher…shared with me about this new program," and "[program director] came into one of my classes to speak about this program."

Research Question 2

Which overall programmatic or student support factors contributed to overall student satisfaction? To answer this research question, the authors analyzed quantitative responses using descriptive statistics of frequency and aggregated mean percentages for questions one, two, three, five, and six from the MAED Program Survey. Questions two, three, and five related to overall programmatic factors, including overall course expectations contributing to value of education and course organization to make workload manageable. Questions one and six related to student support factors, such as advising-related communication and access to resources and tools. Tables 2-6 represent quantitative analyses for each associated question. Data were compared with qualitative responses to question nine, strengths of the program, and question 10, suggestions for improvement.

Table 2. *Satisfactory ratings of advising-related communication*

Scale	Frequency (n =27)	Mean %
Very satisfactory	19	70.4
Satisfactory	7	25.9
Neither satisfactory nor dissatisfactory	1	3.7
Dissatisfactory		
Very dissatisfactory		
Total	27	100

Note. Question 1 from MAED Program Survey: From the time you applied for the program to the day you started classes, the communication from the graduate program letting you know what to expect next was…

Table 3. *Extent of course expectations and value to education*

Scale	Frequency (n =27)	Mean %
All courses exceeded expectations	12	44.4
Most courses exceeded expectations	13	48.1
Some courses exceeded expectations	1	3.7
Few courses exceeded expectations	1	3.7
No courses exceeded expectations		
Total	27	100

Note. Question 2 from MAED Program Survey: Overall, how did the courses meet your expectations in terms of value to your education?

Table 4. *Ease of contact with instructors*

Scale	Frequency (n =27)	Mean %
Always	20	74.1
Usually	5	18.5
Sometimes	1	3.7
Rarely		
Never	1	3.7
Total	27	100

Note. Question 3 from MAED Program Survey: Were you able to easily contact your instructors when you had a question about the class?

Table 5. *Organization of classes for workload management*

Scale	Frequency (n =27)	Mean %
Always	7	25.9
Usually	15	55.6
Sometimes	5	18.5
Rarely		
Never		
Total	27	100.0

Note. Question 5 from MAED Program Survey: Were your classes organized in a way that made the work load manageable?

Table 6. *Access to available resources and tools*

Scale	Frequency (n =27)	Mean %
Always	24	88.9
Usually	3	11.1
Sometimes		
Rarely		
Never		
Total	27	100.0

Note. Question 6 from MAED Program Survey: Were you able to access available resources and tools to assist you during the duration of the graduate program?

Programmatic factors, such as expectations of courses adding value to education (question two, Table 3), communication with faculty about the courses (question three, Table 4), and organization of classes related to workload management (question five, Table 5) indicated overall satis-

faction. Of the 27 participants, 25 (92.5%) responded that all or most courses exceeded expectations in terms of value added to their education. Conversely, two participants (7.4%) indicated that only some or few courses exceeded expectations.

Responses to question nine, strengths of the program related to programmatic factors, included 56 total mentions of instructional quality and communication with the faculty. Example responses included, "[faculty] are very supportive and were always available," "knowledgeable and caring professors," and "valuable content." There were 13 mentions of action research related as a strength of the program. Responses included, "strength of learning about research" and "structure of the action research project was excellent." These findings triangulate with the acceptability among students and faculty and applicability of theory into practice (Romiszowski, 2015), as well as the value of communication and feedback from faculty (Koh & Hill, 2009; Winner & Paxton, 2016).

Additional responses to question nine related to strengths of student support factors were also mentioned, such as cohort design and advising-related services like admission and communication about registration. Examples of responses were "communication and ease of the online setup," "workload, for the most part, was balanced and manageable," and "collaboration and relevance." These findings relate to distance education students' desires for interaction with peers and collaboration (Boyle et. al, 2010; Koh & Hill, 2009; Winner & Paxton, 2016).

Question 10 provided students with opportunity to suggest program improvements. Contrary to action research as a strength noted by participants, it was also an area for challenge. Example responses included "more information on the action research project," "action research courses were…very intense," and "better preparation for research." Students also indicated the need for more interaction with faculty and peers through online format, such as Skype or SABA meetings. This again confirmed the need for interactions and collaboration (Boyle et. al, 2018; Koh & Hill, 2009; Winner & Paxton, 2016).

Discussion

The results from this mixed method study have provided programmatic insight for continuous improvement. Students possessed a variety of reasons why they chose to pursue an advanced degree. Most of the students were in the novice phase of teacher development, which confirms findings from the literature that novice teachers engage in professional learning to meet their immediate needs (Brunetti & Marston, 2018), possibly explaining the extrinsic motivating factors for pursuit of the master's degree.

Students in later stages of teacher development tended to experience a sense of rejuvenation. Hargreaves and Fullan (2012) contended that teachers seeking renewal should find "challenge and be challenged throughout their careers" (p. 67). The challenge for students in this study will be to maintain the spirit of renewal throughout their professional trajectory.

As teachers progress throughout the professional educator continuum, they yearn for a future of opportunities, either to help them inside their classrooms or prepare them for advanced educator roles, as found in this study. As the zone of proximal teacher development shrinks (Warford, 2011), teachers experience greater self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997). This was confirmed in the study by teacher desire to improve their skills as an educator and as a student.

While recruiting was mentioned the least, student supports were importantly noted, such as structure of courses, communication from the time of application to admission, and registration for courses. Students also mentioned the need for collaboration and peer interaction, providing

implications for program improvement, where faculty can expand opportunities for collaboration virtually. Student responses indicate potential for targeted marketing, catering to the different stages of teacher development (Brunetti & Marston, 2018; Day et. al, 2007; Hargreaves & Fullan, 2012).

Institutions of higher education may benefit from the findings of this study by using the data on intrinsic, extrinsic, and altruistic motivation to maximize the needs of master's level students, while also catering to their desires for pursuit of higher learning. For example, schools of education may include intentional structures for collaboration among graduate students, even those engaged in distance education. An opportunity to celebrate the work of action research, as highlighted in the findings of this study, may provide a unique project-based, but empirical, outcome for students who become change agents in their field based on findings they uncover during the process. Pragmatic implementation of advising-related supports, such as frequent communication from time of application through matriculation and beyond would help universities create and foster engagement of students from the beginning to the end of the graduate education process. Furthermore, encouraging ongoing and frequent communication between faculty and students would elicit and build the sense of community that graduate students in education desire from their university.

Implications for Future Research

With a convenience sample, there is a need for replication (Mertler, 2016), since the size of the sample is not deemed representative of the generalized population. Future studies may produce more robust findings if researchers employ a pre- and post-survey to compare student perceptions and expectations before enrolling in a program and after completion. Following up with student responses via focus groups and interviews may further triangulate data, adding to the overall findings. Additionally, since self-efficacy was an implicit finding, there is a need to further investigate self-efficacy related to teacher motivation and teacher development in the context of this particular study. This study, however, provides insights on where to strengthen the MAED program, while considering the motivating factors of students at different stages of development. A recruitment and retention plan may help identify targeted strategies supported by the findings of the study. Finally, employing the FIT-Choice test (Fokkens-Bruinsma & Canrinus, 2013) within the context of this study may further add to empirical findings for teachers earning master's degrees.

Conclusion

In an era where master's degrees are not valued by legislative support of advanced pay, teachers possess a need to pursue lifelong learning for either intrinsic or extrinsic reasons. While intrinsic reasons are necessary for longevity in the profession (Fokkens-Bruinsma & Canrinus, 2013; Manuel & Hughes, 2006; Watt & Richardson, 2007), extrinsic motivation should not be ignored, especially for online distance education programs (Johnson et. al, 2013). Teachers who come to the profession with a sense of preparedness are motivated to continue. Opportunities to learn provide a sense of renewal, with hope for professional expansion, whether inside or outside of the classroom.

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Appendix

MAED Program Survey

1. From the time you applied for the program to the day you started classes, the communication from the graduate program letting you know what to expect next was:
    i. Very Satisfactory
    ii. Satisfactory
    iii. Neither satisfactory or dissatisfactory
    iv. Dissatisfactory
    v. Very Dissatisfactory

   Explain your response:

2. Overall, how did the courses meet your expectations in terms of value to your education?
    i. All courses exceeded expectations
    ii. Most courses exceeded expectations
    iii. Some courses exceeded expectations
    iv. Few courses exceeded expectations
    v. No courses exceeded expectations

   Explain your response:

3. Were you able to easily contact your instructors when you had a question about the class?
    i. Always
    ii. Usually
    iii. Sometimes
    iv. Rarely
    v. Never

4. Did you feel prepared for the work load that the master's program required?
    i. Extremely prepared
    ii. Very prepared
    iii. Prepared
    iv. Slightly prepared
    v. Not at all prepared

   Explain your response:

5. Were your classes organized in a way that made the work load manageable?
    i. Always
    ii. Usually
    iii. Sometimes
    iv. Rarely
    v. Never

   Explain your response:

6. Were you able to access available resources and tools to assist you during the duration of the graduate program?
    i. Always
    ii. Usually
    iii. Sometimes
    iv. Rarely
    v. Never

7. How well did our MAEd with a concentration in Teacher Leadership prepare you to be a teacher leader?
    i. Well above average preparation
    ii. Above average preparation
    iii. Average preparation
    iv. Slightly below average preparation
    v. Far below average preparation

    Explain your response:

8. What did you learn about the variety of professional roles teacher leaders could pursue?

9. What do you feel were some of the strengths of this program?

10. What suggestions do you have for ways we could improve our program?

11. What was your motivation for choosing to pursue a master's degree and why did you choose this program?

12. How has your view of teacher leadership changed over the course of your work in our program?

13. What are the most important skills you believe are necessary to be an effective teacher leader?

14. What did you learn about how teacher leaders apply advocacy leadership in the classroom, school, community, and profession?

15. What did you learn about how teacher leaders apply policy leadership in the classroom, school, community, and profession?

Integrating "White" America through the Erosion of White Supremacy: Promoting an Inclusive Humanist White Identity in the United States

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Abstract

The rich mosaic of U.S. demographics contains multiple languages, cultures, and belief systems. Yet, the historical legacy of an old, white supremacist "master narrative" continues to dominate our political, social, and educational systems. The authors of this paper are educators who teach in either K-12 classrooms or at the university level in the graduate education of counselors, teachers, and school administrators. As educators, we recognize that the old master narrative generates discord by emphasizing history that promotes the position and status of one group over another, which is antithetical in a democracy that is supposed to value all. Therefore, the authors challenge the biased and obsolete racist narrative that perpetuates cultural, psychological, educational, and sociological impairment. In addressing the embedded tenets of white supremacy, this article serves several purposes. First, the authors emphasize the need to re-frame how students are educated in both elementary schools and in higher education, urging the adoption of a humanist narrative that includes stories of Euro-Americans from the historical record who resisted white supremacy. It also offers recommendations for eradicating white supremacy across multiple contexts, including implications for the workplace. Further, it provides examples of how this alternative approach promotes positive integration of white Euro-Americans into the greater populace, leading to a more inclusive society.

Keywords: *white identity, humanism, reframing education*

The United States has struggled to turn from old master narratives to new histories relevant to its present and future. In those old stories, Indians necessarily had to disappear. For the Puritans to found a City on the Hill–a story often framed as an American claim to religious freedom–Indians had to die, leaving their food and land behind; their disappearance was a sign from God. In the story of frontier settlement, Indians became part of nature, fleeing westward and then just vanishing, according to some conveniently imagined "law of nature" (Deloria, Lomawaima, Brayboy, Trahant, Ghiglione, Medin, Blackhawk, 2018, p. 14).

In our present era, those who call the United States home continue to bear witness to statements, practices, and policies grounded in imperialistic and nativist ideologies that promote dominance and control of not only the people who now live in the United States but also over the life forms and resources on this land. To this point, the 45th President of the United States delivered

the commencement address to Naval Academy graduates and proudly proclaimed that, "our ancestors tamed a continent," and added, "We are not going to apologize for America" (Newsweek, May 25, 2018). These disturbing statements perpetuate the separation and isolation of Euro-Americans from other members of this nation who do not ascribe to ideologies of conquest and domination. Additionally, the cited rhetoric escalates and aggravates the divide in our nation's political, social, and moral fiber while promoting the tenets of white supremacy.

This particular statement is one example of prevalent imperialistic and nativist ideologies that still dominate public discourse. The fact that such a statement can still be brazenly made in present era and by the elected official in this nation's highest office points to an overwhelming need to reframe our educational system in order to promote a positive and inclusive identity for people of European descent. The authors of this paper are educators who teach in either K-12 classrooms or in the graduate education of counselors, teachers, and administrators. As education scholars, we recognize the embedded nature of white supremacy in the United States and how practices, policies, and curriculum perpetuate its existence. The authors understand that by openly critiquing the tenets that sustain white supremacy, we increase our students' capacity to understand the significance of white supremacy's debilitating impact. By adopting constructive educational approaches that promote inclusion of Euro-Americans as equal, rather than superior, members of society, the authors recognize that relevant and inclusive histories and practices ultimately lead to healing this nation's unequally created origins.

The authors of this paper are passionate about the need to facilitate and implement micro and global level changes regarding white supremacy and social justice issues. That said, the intention of this paper is not to minimize or dismiss how history has demonstrated that "white" power in the past has been used to oppress and brutalize populations that fall outside of the social construction of "whiteness." Our goal is to recognize this inhuman behavior, accept that this injustice occurred, and strive to move towards creating a more equal and socially just world. With this understanding, we strive to call out the language, behaviors, and practices that perpetuate the tenets of white supremacy and begin this interrogation by challenging the language supporting supremacist ideologies.

Calling Out the Language of White Supremacy

Further examination of the statement made by the current president who will, heretofore, be referred to as "45" reveals that it is grounded in a master narrative that has not served this nation well. Borunda & Moreno (2014, p. viii) cite Takaki (2008) who refers to the master narrative as "the inaccurate story that the United States was founded by European Americans (excluding other groups) and that Americans are only white." In deconstructing 45's statement it is evident that it is derived from divisive imperialistic notions that heralds and celebrates the conquest of people already calling this continent "home." This assertion assumes that the conquest precipitated by the European diaspora is an event celebrated by *all* people. It also perpetuates a misconception that all European settlers participated in and condoned the eradication of people already living here. In making this declaration, 45 implies that only the history of those who participated in the "taming" of a continent is of value, which further implies that the perspective and experiences of people calling this continent home prior to the invasion is of no consequence.

Given the reference to the "tam(ing)" of a continent suggests that the land and the people already living in America were perhaps "wild" or "uncivilized," therefore, requiring and justifying subjugation. Conversely, this infers that the actions and behaviors of those doing the "taming" were not wild and, therefore, civilized. Subsequently, this promoted narrative implicitly sanctions

and condones the genocide, slavery, and other acts of violence upon humanity, land, and all life forms by claim of being the acts of a more "civilized" and more "superior" people. In this racist narrative we find the tenets that sustain the ideology of white supremacy.

Ultimately, the master narrative perpetuated by 45 does not serve the people of this nation well. It embraces the perspective that the actions taken to "tame" this land—including genocide, broken treaties, forced relocation, as well as cultural eradication and invasion committed upon Original Nations—does not warrant remorse. This infers that any actions committed under the guises that promote and sustain white supremacy do not require, as stated by 45, "apology." Subsequently, the cost for the creation of a nation in which a subset of humanity, those who have forcibly or deceitfully imposed their will, attempt to eradicate another is inherently granted impunity. This tenet conveys that the end justifies the means, no matter the depth of violations against humanity. By sanctioning a "no apologies" stance, 45 suggests that any means, however repugnant, are allowable and celebrated as long as it maintains and sustains the outcome of dominance. For those ascribing to the notions of white supremacy, this statement perpetuates a breach in human connectedness. The statement not only condones acts perpetrated against humanity, but it also dismisses the need for empathy and understanding for those on the receiving end of violent acts, attitudes and policies. This furthers human disconnection.

The reference to "our ancestors" by "45" perpetuates an exclusive positioning. It speaks only to the actions, policies, and ideologies of Euro-American exploitation-driven interlopers whose ultimate goal was to increase their personal wealth at the expense and exclusion of women, people of color, and people of lower socioeconomic status which included other Euro-American men (Zinn, 1999). The reference to "our" ancestors situates the aggressive colonizer as the bearer of power and civilization for this nation despite the fact that the United States is a nation of many with a range of histories and orientations that are in direct opposition to the colonizer's worldview.

Furthermore, the use of the pronoun "our" attempts to include and subsequently implicate *all* people of European ancestry for the behaviors committed by the aggressive interloper. With this divide and rule (Freire, 1998) tactic, the exploitation-driven Euro-American subsumes other Euro-Americans into a cultural doctrine that upholds the values of aggression and domination as the referent model of behavior for all Europeans. The tenets undergirding these statements have attempted to promote the separation of Euro-Americans from non-Europeans in an effort to perpetuate not only a nativist but a white supremacy agenda.

The tension generated from this ideology does not serve the long-term viability and social stability of a nation comprised of not only Original Nations but of people from every corner of the world. The rich mosaic of U.S. demographics contains multiple languages, cultures, and belief systems. Yet, the social and cultural discord generated from an emphasis on history that promotes the position and status of one group over another is antithetical to a democracy that is supposed to value all. United States demographic projections expect that by the year 2045 white Europeans will no longer be the majority (Frey, 2018). Given these population projections, there is a critical need to promote a rendering of history that espouses Euro-Americans as members of the human race, rather than the white race. This is critical to their viability in a nation of many.

In addressing the embedded tenets of white supremacy, this article serves several related purposes. First, it challenges the biased and obsolete racist narrative that has perpetuated cultural, psychological, educational, workplace and sociological impairment in the United States. Then, the authors discuss the benefits of adopting an alternate narrative which serves to promote the integration of Euro-Americans into the greater populace. Further, we provide examples of how this alternate narrative approach, one that includes stories of Euro-Americans from the historical record who resisted white supremacy, can lead to the creation of a more inclusive culture and positive

identity development for everyone. Finally, we offer recommendations for eradicating white supremacy across multiple contexts, discussing implications for the workplace and emphasizing the need to change how students are educated in both elementary schools and in higher education. The authors provide evidence of the positive outcomes that stem from promoting examples of white people whose identity, vision, and behaviors promoted not only equity but unity. In shifting away from old divisive master narratives, we not only embrace new understandings of history that are relevant to both our present and our future but provide models of behavior that work collectively to confront and eradicate white supremacy.

The Price for Maintaining the False Reality

In modern era, our public education promotes the master narrative to our children while the general population continues to be pommeled with policies and ideologies that serve a few, at the expense of the many. Historian James Loewen (1995) addressed the danger of retelling the old master narratives:

> How people think about the past is an important part of their consciousness. If members of the elite come to think that their privilege was historically justified and earned, it will be hard to persuade them to yield opportunity to others. If members of deprived groups come to think that their deprivation is their own fault, then there will be no need to use force or violence to keep them in their places. (p. 274)

Loewen (1995) expands on the cultural and sociological cost for the ongoing use of old master narratives, "…festering is the notion that 'it's natural' for one group to dominate another" (p. 44). This dangerous ethos perpetuates a social stratification created by a subset of Euro-Americans in the early making of this nation which is refueled in modern times. Given the trail of evidence from the historic to modern era that has created this notion of white supremacy, Loewen points out that "domination is not natural but cultural" (p. 44). Yet, these separatist ideologies continue to plague us as a nation due to the tensions that perpetuate the physical, ideological, and emotional isolation of Euro-Americans from the greater population.

While false notions of superiority continue to be touted in public discourse, this manuscript promotes the integration of Euro-Americans into the greater populace by fostering their capacity to socially and psychologically enculturate. It employs a mental health lens as a vital framework by which to understand how the false narrative promoted by white supremacist ideology has created a dysfunctional reality. The authors challenge the biased and obsolete narrative that has fractured a subset of people from the greater U.S. population by providing examples of Euro-Americans who have resisted white supremacy. The stories of historical figures such as Angelina Grimke and Benjamin Lay, both individuals who actively opposed the capitalistic exploitation of humanity, are told in the next section. The moral compasses of these individuals, which drove their identity, vision, and behaviors, can serve as alternative historical role models. Further, this manuscript also provides evidence of the positive outcomes that stem from promoting these alternative counter-narratives. With the intention of employing a non-separatist narrative with coherent and unifying principles, we facilitate a shift from old divisive master narratives and, instead, seek to facilitate non-separatist narratives.

Those who Defied White Supremacy

The doctrine promoted by "45" that cites "our ancestors" would have us believe that *all* Euro-Americans in history have been complicit with separatist ideologies. Yet, the truth is that there were prominent Euro-Americans who did more than silently defy white supremacy; they spoke out against it. These individuals, who drew from humanist rather than exploitive-capitalist views, spoke from a moral center that challenged the tenets of white supremacy. To this point, Angelina Grimké, a Euro-American born into a slave holding family and turned abolitionist, called out the hypocrisy of other Euro-Americans who moved from outward sympathizers for the plight of enslaved people to being downright oppositionists once Abolitionists called for their liberation:

> I know it is alleged that some individuals, who treated colored people with the greatest kindness a few years ago, have, since abolition movements, had their feelings so embittered towards them, that they have withdrawn that kindness. Now I would ask, could such people have acted from principle? Certainly not; or nothing that others could do or say would have driven them from the high ground they appeared to occupy. No, my friend, they acted precisely upon the false principle which thou hast recommended; their pity was excited, their sentiments of generosity were called into exercise, because they regarded the colored man as an unfortunate inferior, rather than as an outraged and insulted equal. (Grimke, 1837, Letter VII)

Angelina and her sister, Sarah, belonged to a prominent and wealthy family. Their standing in Southern culture privileged them with an education but also positioned them to bear witness to the atrocities committed under the legal system of slavery. Euro-American humanists such as the Grimkés challenged the voices, actions, and laws created by people in the United States who were intent in creating and benefiting from white supremacy. The historical efforts of these separatists fomented a divisive and racially stratified culture that exists still today. Yet, what we deliver as an alternative to separatist ideologies are the examples of people such as the Grimkés along with other historical individuals from United States who defied capitalist and exploitive actions. As indicated by Cajete (1994), "American prosperity has come at the expense of the environment's degradation and has resulted in an unprecedented exploitation of human and material resources worldwide" (p. 25). The cost for not promoting a more balanced rendering of Euro-Americans in our curriculum runs parallel to a dysfunctional family system in which the fixed attitudes and behaviors are passed down from one generation to the next. The magnification and glorification of Euro-Americans who brought genocide to Native Americans and enslavement to Africans stolen from their homeland perpetuates only serves the dysfunctionality. From a mental health perspective, we take the next step in diagnosing how the isolationism and separatism of white supremacy perpetuates a pathology yet to be attended to in our culture.

Psychological Price of Self-Imposed Segregation

There are many different factors mental health clinicians consider when diagnosing a patient or client. Factors can include symptoms, length and severity of distress, physical health, personality characteristics and protective factors. Some individuals may exhibit extreme, acute, or offensive behaviors and beliefs that do not meet criteria to receive a clinical diagnosis. Although individuals may not meet criteria to receive a formal diagnosis, their behaviors and beliefs still create tension within our society.

Family therapists view pathology, the study of mental illness as attributed to a system rather than one specific part. This is to say that an individual is viewed as developing as being a product of a certain environment rather than it coming from within the self. Family therapists view the individual in context whereby there is a bidirectional process of influencing and being influenced by being in relationship with others. As such, an individual does not develop prejudices in isolation. The family is a complex, multilayered microsystem from which roles, rules, boundaries, behaviors, values, beliefs and relational patterns originate (Goldenberg, Stanton & Goldenberg, 2017). The family system is the most significant factor that influences the development of and allegiance to certain beliefs and values that are embedded in racism and prejudice. If the family system is the most influential factor in determining beliefs and values, then the beliefs and values embedded in racism and prejudice may originate from and be perpetuated by the family.

Overt and covert communication patterns learned in the home inform individuals how to view, negotiate and experience the world. Overtly, if the spoken message at home is that people who are different from the family of origin are bad or are disparaged and defamed, the child then will not only adopt these values and beliefs, but also the rituals, language and emotions associated with this message. Conversely, if a family does not engage with diverse groups of people, either blatant avoidance or lack of exposure to people who are racially different from the family, this, too, can contribute to fear of the unknown or insecurity with the unfamiliar. Whether covertly or overtly, these messages whether deliberate or unintentional gives rise to the child developing an "us versus them mentality" and to fear of the unknown. What becomes pathological then, is the projection of fear, anxiety and insecurity onto others in order to dehumanize and discredit the other. This leads to ill-founded isolationism promoted by irrational beliefs. It is then safer for the child to negotiate his or her world with less fear, anxiety and insecurity. The beliefs and values of the family system are the most predictive factors in determining the beliefs and values of the individual. For certain historic humanists- persons who served as individual variants of their time by recognizing and speaking out about the humanity in African descent, such as Angelina and Sarah Grimke- this was not always the case. Not all Euro-Americans of our country's past aligned with the overt and covert messages that the unfamiliar other was less than human. The next section discusses yet another historical figure, named Benjamin Lay, who like the Grimke sisters was a white Euro-American humanist.

Euro-American Humanists in Historical Context

In 1619, 12 years after the establishment of the first permanent settlement in Jamestown, Virginia, 20 African slaves were sold into bondage. This was the beginning of people of African descent being identified as property instead of as people. While the Constitution proclaimed that "all men are created equal," the Dred Scott vs. Sandford decision of 1857 excluded enslaved people from the rights outlined in the Constitution (Loewen, 1995).

The abhorrent conditions and mistreatment of enslaved people did not go unnoticed by humanist Euro-Americans. One such historic humanist is Benjamin Lay, a British born Quaker whose activism began after he migrated in the early 1700's to the United States. Repulsed by the mistreatment of fellow human beings Lay openly confronted slave owners and slave traders. His tactics included spattering blood onto slave keepers during Quaker meetings and publishing a treatise entitled "All Slave-Keepers That Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates" (Lay, 1837, as cited in Rediker, 2017). His fellow congregants would often throw him out of Quaker meetings which only emboldened him to lay his body across the entrance of the meeting house door, in the mud, and force the departing congregants to step over his body.

When the congregants expressed concern for his health by exposing himself to the freezing cold he responded by calling out their hypocrisy and saying, "Ah, you pretend compassion for me but you do not feel for the poor slaves in your fields, who go all winter half clad" (Rediker, 2017, p. 37). The constant "agitation" by Lay and other humanistic minded Quakers eventually led to change. "The Philadelphia Yearly Meeting…had initiated a process to discipline and eventually disown Quakers who traded slaves….The first big step toward abolition had been taken." When told of this 1758 decision, Lay's response was, "I can now die in peace" (Rediker, 2017, p. 41).

The illogical and groundless belief that a different skin color makes one group more superior to another was challenged even by Euro-Americans who stood to financially benefit from the exploitive tenets of white supremacy. Such is the case of the previously mentioned Grimké sisters, Sara and Angelina, who were born into a South Carolina family who held people in bondage. The sisters often confronted their parents and members of their community about the cruelty they witnessed and when seeing that they had no effect on the practice, they moved to the northern states and actively participated in the abolition movement through publishing and speaking against slavery.

Noting the ingrained attitude of false superiority in her contemporaries, Angelina poignantly addressed the irrational nature of such beliefs and how this impaired worldview would ultimately be perceived in the not so distant future:

> And what is more ridiculous than American prejudice; to proscribe and persecute men and women, because their complexions are of a darker hue than our own? Why, it is an outrage upon common sense; and as my brother Thomas S. Grimke remarked only a few weeks before his death, "posterity will laugh at our prejudices." Where is the harm, then, if abolitionists should laugh now at the wicked absurdity? (Grimke, 1837, Letter VII)

Of similar disposition was Helen Hunt Jackson who, once made aware of the injustices being committed against people who have called the Americas home for thousands of years, began her own campaign to raise the conscience of fellow Americans. By means of publication, she chronicled mistreatment by the U.S. Government from colonial times to 1881. Her book speaks to atrocities, lying, and cheating committed against humanity and was printed, at her expense, then sent to every member of Congress. Jackson contended:

> …my object, which has been simply to show our causes for national shame in the matter of our treatment of the Indians. It is a shame which the American nation ought not to lie under, for the American people, as a people, are not at heart unjust.
>
> If there be one thing which they believe in more than any other, and mean that every man on this continent shall have, it is "fair play." And as soon as they fairly understand how cruelly it has been denied to the Indian, they will rise up and demand it for him. (Jackson 2003, p. 7)

Humanist orientations such as those of the Grimkés, Lay, and Jackson, have viable worth when taught in our curriculum. Given that the Euro-American perspective and most trumpeted voices have been those of extreme capitalists, as opposed to humanists, there has been an amplified misrepresentation in favor of those who most profited from human and resource exploitation, resulting in the accumulation of massive wealth for the few. With a complicit narrative that attempts to implicate all Euro-Americans, this limited perspective conveys a narrow and slanted narrative

that projects self-interest as the model of desired behavior while assuming to represent "Euro-American" culture and experiences that lie in direct opposition to the historical experience of People of Color. This deceptive rendering inserts the divisive cleaver that maintains social polarity and disunity while clouding our ability to envision one another past the innocuous "difference" of skin color. Yet, when we endeavor to change the narrative there is promise for positive outcomes in how we perceive one another.

The Power of Inclusive and Relevant Multicultural Education

Due to the fact that the authors of this manuscript are all education scholars, it is important to recognize their intention to address social justice education. The mission and core values of fostering social justice education resonates with the focus of this paper as well as the perspectives of each individual author. Therefore, we examined the question, "What is social justice education?" One common, but certainly not universal idea is that it explicitly recognizes the disparities in societal opportunities, resources, and long-term outcomes among marginalized groups (Shakman et al., 2007, p. 7). Other scholars in the field have used terms such as: anti-oppression education, diversity education, and multicultural education (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Sleeter and Grant, 2007). Social justice education needs to be included within the classroom with the objective to have these principles transferred outside of the classroom. Another way to perceive social justice education is that it means rejecting the interpretation of problems for people of color and/or from low-income communities as personal failures, and instead, conceptualizing their issues as effects of unfair policies and systems (Sleeter, 2014). The goal, then, becomes identifying and challenging obstacles both within and outside the school and classroom, recognizing the resilience and knowledge students bring, and becoming allies rather than enemies with the family members of these students (Sleeter 2014).

In order to move forward in higher education and create a positive multicultural awareness for students, it is essential to highlight the humanist approach for Euro-Americans. It is without a doubt that in the past, some Euro-Americans have contributed to separation, oppression, and acts against humanity, however, not all have done so. This perpetual cycle and worldview can be broken when we begin to focus on individuals and agents of change who foster equality, peace and social justice. Armed with the knowledge related to the worldview and actions of humanist Euro-Americans, the realization that the ideology of white supremacy is cultural rather than innate becomes a starting point for positive identity development. In this case, the option of adopting humanist dispositions and behaviors that carry beyond the classroom add to the capacity of the next generation to embrace cultural values that will ultimately undermine the ideology of white supremacy. Promoting such dispositions serves to develop agents of social change who can truly and unbiasedly address old as well as new challenges in our world.

Currently, the state of our society is characterized by increasing social mobility and the development of cultural contacts at local, state, national and global levels. However, as individuals are socially expanding on location, there is increasing ethnic aggression, cultural intolerance, as well as ethnic and religious extremism (Yusupova, Podgorecki, and Markova, 2015). One of the purposes of creating a multicultural educational environment within higher educational institutions is to help individuals of any nationality enter and examine their own culture and the cultures of other peoples. This can be accomplished by active reflection and exploration on their own cultural values, while familiarizing them with the cultures of others through active dialogue (Yusupova et al., 2015).

In contrast, the power of white supremacy and the black versus white (binary polarity) identity cripples the minds of students in the classroom which often leads to negative consequences outside the classroom as well. These repercussions are evident in the community as we have witnessed a number of violent clashes across the nation in current era between white nationalists and counter protestors who oppose racism and other forms of hatred. As social justice educators, it is our ethical responsibility to support, educate, model and foster critical thinking within a separate but equal platform that defies tribal affiliation. The goal is that we respect our unique identities but develop our capacity to enter a sphere of solidarity with others who are not like us.

According to Yusupova et al. (2015), in a multicultural educational safe space, an educational system is saturated with humanism, providing the integration of ethnic and cultural knowledge, cultural reflection, self-regulation, and self-development of students. Humanism places the transition to the diversity and pluralism of cultural and humanistic positions, which cause the development of cross-culturalism (Yusupova et al., 2015). The nature of cross-culturalism education fosters students to self-reflect as well as embrace the concept of cultural humility in the counseling as well as in other professions that require a high degree of empathy and cross cultural understanding.

Multicultural education environments in higher education institutions combines universal, international, and ethnic factors. It also creates the conditions for a flexible adaptation of students, for the formation of interethnic tolerance, significant individual qualities, and the willingness to live in a multicultural society (Yusopova et al., 2015). The term cultural humility, a significant concept in higher education, is defined by Tervalon and Murray-Garcia (1998) as a process of "committing to an ongoing relationship with patients, communities, and colleagues that requires humility as individuals continually engage in self-reflection and self-critique" (p. 118). Multicultural education that is grounded in cultural humility takes into consideration the flexibility and subjectivity of culture and challenges individuals, faculty, students and higher education institutions to address inequalities (Tervalon and Murray-Garcia, 1998). By facing the inequalities embedded in our society, it allows students to develop empathy towards marginalized populations. However, it can be counterproductive if educators do not also have valuable dialogues about Euro-Americans who have worked in collaboration with people of color to support, advocate and strive for the end of social injustices.

The educators and counselors of today will foster students to transfer their multicultural competency skills into the community, including the workforce setting. Through rich dialogues and interactive discussions, role playing in the classroom, and being consistent with clear and concise messages, educators can facilitate change outside of the classroom. The social justice strategies implemented in the classroom will organically result in students shaping their moral character and demeanor with a non-judgmental attitude in a variety of settings, including the workplace.

Outside of the Classroom and in the Workforce

In a 2007 meta-study on the psychological impacts of racism, researchers found racially based workplace harassment to include physical, interpersonal, and verbal assaults; assuming one is not to be trusted; treating people according to racial stereotypes (i.e., lazy, lacks ability); and assuming one is a criminal or is dangerous (Carter, 2007). These challenges and emotional reactions to hostile treatment would theoretically apply to all marginalized groups in any workplace. Against this backdrop of workplace harassment, a 2014 research report from the Center for Talent Innovation (CTI), indicates that people of color often feel that they have to hide their true selves at work. More than 35% of African-Americans and Hispanics, as well as 45% of Asians, say they

"need to compromise their authenticity" to conform to their company's standards of demeanor or style. Forty percent of African-Americans—and a third of people of color overall—feel like outsiders in their workplace culture, compared with 26% of Caucasians.

In a nation comprised of a rich mosaic of multiple ethnicities and cultures, people of color are 37% more likely than whites to feel that they need to compromise their authenticity at work in order to conform to conventional standards of executive presence (Hewlett and Jackson, 2014). In addition, Carbado and Gulati (2000) argue that while everyone needs to create an "appropriate" workplace identity, for members of minority groups—women of all races, racial-minority men, LGBTQ people—this becomes particularly taxing because their working identities must counter common cultural stereotypes. For example, black men may feel pressured to work longer hours to rebut stereotypes of a poor work ethic among blacks.

When people of color feel that they have to mask their cultural heritage or other aspects of difference, CTI research indicates they are likely to feel isolated at work, and mistrustful of and less loyal to employers. This, in turn, leads to disengagement and a greater likelihood of turnover. In order to value racial and ethnic identity of employees, employers can demonstrate value of those who both look and act diverse. When this is evident, then employees might feel empowered to be more rather than less authentic when expressing their identity in the workplace (Carbado & Gulati, 2000).

In the current political climate, there is generally support for solving race-related employment challenges by focusing on job training and education—in other words, increasing human capital to improve access. According to Egan (2011), 65% of 321 executives of large global companies surveyed claimed to have a plan in place to recruit a diverse workforce—but only 44% employ retention programs. This signifies a gap in collective progress when it comes to retaining diversity and inclusion in the workplace. Given the research, it is also important to consider how to create better workplaces for the employees from traditionally marginalized communities who are already in these jobs. Considering these findings, workplaces ought to encourage a rethinking of some of the existing efforts to create more diverse work environments such as whether diversity and inclusion initiatives take into consideration how members of minority communities placed in those environments feel or how policies can address the emotional toll of being a racial minority in a professional work setting.

Suggesting an alternative approach to deal with diversity and foster ethnic equality, beyond assimilation, in the workplace is a process involving multiple intertwining steps. First, organizational stakeholders need to become aware of particular normalized mindsets present in the workplace. The workplace is an institutional site where normalized images are created and reproduced. They need to acknowledge the presence, contours and implications of the prevailing taken-for granted norm worker and how this can be an obstacle to non-traditional employees. Becoming reflective about this and the fact that organizational dynamics and practices mirror societal norms may create, in the long term, the promising precondition to move beyond the norm (Meyerson & Fletcher, 2004).

In addition, inviting outsider researcher(s) and/or practitioners can be suitable to develop effective diversity policies and programs. The main advantage of employing an outside practitioner would be that the individual is not an integral member of the everyday social organizational practices or settings and does not have the same shared norms and values as the other organization members. As a result, the outside researcher is more capable of putting certain taken-for-granted and therefore invisible yet meaningful matters at the core of the discussion. The blind spots that

other members understandably have are not part of the outside researcher's/practitioner's experience. These blind spots are exactly the issues that need to be identified, untangled and changed in order to work towards a more inclusive workplace.

Lastly, considering the fact that marginalized employees are over-mentored, but under-sponsored (barra, Carter, & Silva, 2010) incorporating sponsorship would be beneficial to create more diverse workplace. When people begin to see the systems of bias and privilege, their first instinct typically is to mentor those who haven't benefited from the same privilege. While this is understandable, at its core, this instinct to mentor plays into the idea that those who are marginalized aren't already skilled enough, smart enough, or ready for more responsibility or leadership. This places the focus of burden on the individual and conveys the message that the need to work extremely hard and be extremely good at what they do to combat the systemic privilege and unconscious bias at play in work environments. This perceived mistreatment in the workplace can be found in various studies. For example, Williams (2015) noticed that "there is a prevalent unconscious bias that black males are expected to fail while white males are expected to succeed" (p. 556). They are consistently under-promoted and under-compensated for this work, even though their work may be qualitatively excellent.

In order to help employees' overwhelming press toward assimilation into mainstream cultural patterns (Pinel, 1999; Voyles, Finkelstein & King, 2014) along with above mentioned efforts to create socially just work environment, the role of schools as agents of the dominant society would be also crucial. As long as schools reflect the structure and social organization of the society, they can be expected to perpetuate its values, attitudes, and behavior patterns. Thus, educators have questioned how to teach effectively from a clear social justice perspective that empowers, encourages students to think critically, and models social change. The following section intends to shed light on this issue by demonstrating how educators can utilize a social justice pedagogical lens to treat their content in ways that meet their commitment to empowering education.

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

Due to a long history of dominant narrative ideology that functions to serve the few (namely, privileged whites) at the expense of the many, a legacy of racism and colonialism has had ripple effects that manifest in the public school system. Given that there is a long history of racism in America that arguably continues to be perpetuated by the President and other national leaders, public schools must be mindful to remember who they are supposed to serve. Namely, schools exist to serve the students, all students from all backgrounds and languages, in actualizing their potential. This includes many students of color along with white students.

Yet, there is a wide body of evidence that the achievement gap—sometimes more accurately referred to as the opportunity gap or "education debt" (Ladson-Billings 2006, p. 3)—is a pervasive and entrenched problem in the American educational system. Unfortunately, many of the lower-performing student groups include Latinos, African Americans, low-income students, and students whose parents do not have a college degree (Gao and Johnson, 2017). This gap is just one legacy and byproduct of social stratification, manifest in a school system that has for too long not served the needs of all students.

As educators, we must ask ourselves: "How do schools, and how do teachers and educators, take steps to heal the old, yet long-living, wounds of white supremacy?" "How can educators respond to entrenched cultural racism that is manifested in our schools?" "How can educators create balance and harmony in the schools in light of the inequities and deeply rooted prejudices that are

reflected, created, and perpetuated in the public education system?" "How do schools break the cycle of institutionalizing both advantage and disadvantage for groups of students based on color and class?" "How do schools promote a positive model for white identity development, eradicate white supremacy, and foster humanist principles so as to achieve not just life, liberty, and happiness but also life, love, and harmony?"

These issues are complex and there are no simple answers to these questions, but educators can take steps to move forward in a positive direction. First, educators must consider the students themselves. We must pay attention to demographics and keep them in mind when planning for the future. In California, for example, about 50% of the students in the state, or 1.4 million children, are designated as English Language Learners or ELLs (Taylor 2016). About 78% of the ELL students are Spanish speakers from Latino backgrounds, and while the Spanish-speaking population is growing, the white population is shrinking (Taylor 2016).

Next, teachers—who are predominantly white and middle class, and mostly female—need to consider what they can do differently in order to better serve the students. Consider Helms' (1995) White Identity Development Model and the implications for schools and teachers as agents in developing a positive and integrated Euro-American identity (as cited in Borunda, 2013). Helms suggests that white Americans experience six distinct stages along the path of White Racial Identity Development. Helms (year) describes this pathway as a continuum that begins with a phase of initial first contact, then voyages through cognitive dissonance and distress, before ultimately arriving at an enlightened, awakened stage he calls "Autonomy" (p. 319). In the final autonomous stage of white identity development, there is a willingness to recognize the complexities of race relations, a strong sense of knowledge and understanding of racial realities, and a readiness to abandon white entitlement. Helms suggests that a strong nonracist white identity only develops after experiencing the stages of discomfort and confronting feelings of guilt and fear.

Yet, other scholars of white racial identity development question Helms' assumptions that these stages happen as part of a continuum along a predictable path (Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson, 1994). More recent scholarship concerning white racial identity development asserts that the Helms (1990) model, although heralded for bringing attention to issues of white attitudes, is somewhat inadequate in its explanation of racial consciousness as a sequential developmental pathway. Some scholars argue that white racial identity development happens in fits and starts (Rowe, Bennett, and Atkinson, 1994). At any rate, various models of white identity development have evolved since Helms (1990) first conceptualized this model, and scholars continue to research white attitudes and racial consciousness.

In terms of implications for schools, the bottom line is that since most public school teachers are white women, their attitudes matter and ought to continue to be studied and given academic attention. This perhaps suggests that many teachers need to critically examine their own uncomfortable feelings about race. As a starting point, teachers might question themselves by asking: What are my unconscious assumptions about race? How am I perpetuating or dismantling racism in my classroom? In asking these questions, the journey to developing a non-racist white identity begins.

Finally, schools are supposed to support democracy while promoting the values of social responsibility. In order to do this, schools must be a place where all students feel included, so that there is not an "in group" or "out group" of children. It is within these polarities of inclusion and exclusion that the seeds of hostilities between groups take root. The recent attention on bullying prevention ought to be commended (although there is still much work to be done). Educators need to pay attention not just to bullying in the schoolyard, but also to bullying in the larger social and political arena where it may be upheld as a model of behavior for children. Unfortunately, unless

we understand the need for change in ourselves and in the school system, we will continue to see the same outcomes that we are seeing now. That is why it is critically important for educators to question the roots of the achievement gap, acknowledge changing demographics, and ask ourselves the hard questions about racial realities, in order to advocate for change.

Implications for Children in K-12 Settings

Many students, especially white students, may experience difficulty in discussing matters of race (Flynn 2012). For example, some students may be resistant to talking about race or they may feel uncomfortable doing so in a classroom setting. Educators who cultivate safe and welcoming classrooms may help to mitigate such feelings of discomfort and resistance. A study of safe classroom spaces among college-level students by Holley and Steiner (2005) confirms what previous literature has suggested as steps that instructors may take to promote healthy and nurturing school classroom environments. These steps include that teachers should aim to develop guidelines for class discussion, present a nonjudgmental attitude, and exude an approachable, supportive demeanor (Holley & Steiner, 2005). Participants in this study used words like "nonjudgmental" and "unbiased" to describe desirable conditions of instructors. Students in this study responded that instructors who are critical towards students contribute towards making the classroom space feel unsafe. Specific strategies outlined by this study and aligning with existing literature include how instructors cultivate safe spaces by modeling that they are comfortable with conflict, showing respect for different opinions, encouraging student participation during class, remaining personable and accepting of students, self-disclosing about themselves, presenting as calm in the classroom, and also demonstrating competencies in the course matter (Holley & Steiner, 2005).

One of the most important strategies is to also create ground rules around class discussions. This helps students to know what the expectations are of themselves and their peers.
Safe classroom spaces facilitate student capacity to civilly address and discuss difficult topics but necessitate that educators empower students to partake in critical conversations about sensitive topics. It is imperative that educators understand the value in creating change, and that they foster an environment in which students feel that they may express their individuality and perspectives without fear of adverse reactions (Delano-Oriaran and Parks, 2015).

Within empowerment, there is an emphasis on taking action. In an example shared by Flynn (2012), two middle school teachers had students reflect on what they could do as antiracist leaders. A number of students proclaimed their understanding of the need for social justice endeavors. Flynn (2012), also notes that teachers should recognize the power of having students share their own narratives, in order to help catalyze students' understanding of institutional systems, including schools. Another empowerment strategy that we suggest is for teachers to promote dialogue and learning about Euro-Americans who were humanists and have made a difference in the history (e.g. Grimke Sisters). This may also inspire students to take actions that lead to meaningful change.

Children's understanding of themselves and the world around them is largely informed by the adults in their lives, through various socialization processes (Priest, 2016). Multicultural personality development is critical to this understanding and educators have the opportunity to honor the many diverse perspectives and identities that make up our past, present, and future. Fostering safe spaces in schools and communities will help individuals develop their multicultural dispositions, by emphasizing the strengths that exist within school systems and highlighting the value in representing diverse cultures (Ponterotto, Mendelowitz, and Collabolletta, 2008).

Actively Teaching and Including Humanist Perspectives

The impact of drawing from humanist models of behavior provides opportunity for building cross cultural bridges. In interactions where development of knowledge of self and of others is promoted, the capacity to appreciate and emulate individuals from other cultures different from our own dislodges rooted prejudices. Additionally, drawing from humanist models provides the means by which to identify shared values and bind people from different and disparate histories with a unifying vision. To this end, the following excerpts are from final papers submitted for a university course taught by adjunct faculty, Tom Higgins. The text and curriculum for this course is grounded in humanist-oriented history and focuses on development of self as a positive agent of social change. These excerpts provide evidence as to the positive and powerful impact of studying the acts and dispositions of humanist-centered models.

The following excerpt was written by a Hmong American undergraduate student studying to become a social worker:

> I would like to acknowledge some the very courageous humanists who made a difference in the History, the Grimke Sisters, Angelina and Sarah. Although both sisters were raised in a household and a social structure that enforced slavery, it was very brave that both Euro-American girls, were courageous to go against slavery and advocate for women's rights. During that era, the girls refused to be part of the culture of Silence and took actions upon it and went against their family. Angelina and Sarah have moved me to be courageous and continue their path and advocate for myself and others. In the helping profession it is important that we acknowledge the oppression culture and take action upon it. (Higgins, 2017)

The fact that the actions of Euro-American humanists have been largely absent from our public education is evident in the following excerpt from a Mexican American Junior who is preparing to apply to graduate school to become a counselor:

> I learned about the Grimke Sister's and Colonel Shaw and how their humanist role played a major part of history. As I was reading about them I would reflect on whether I learned or heard of them in my high school history classes, but there was never an "aha" moment. I recalled me hating my history classes because they were so boring and in other words I learned the banking method of education. However, in this textbook I learned about the different humanists in history and I found it to be quite interesting. As I think about going into the counseling field, I aim to be like the Grimke sister's and fight for what is right. Although, I may have more privilege than others due to my education, I won't let that be a reason why I should take advantage of others. This is an example of what the Grimke Sisters did. They knew their wealth and color allowed them to have a good life, but if it meant at the cost of mistreating and hurting innocent people they were not up for it. Since they didn't agree with what they were being taught, they decided to do something about it even if it meant going against their own family. (Higgins, 2017)[1]

The realization by students that they have received a biased rendition of history, consisting of a master narrative, often leads to frustration in discovering that their formal education has not provided a full picture reflecting behaviors and attitudes of a wide range of historical participants.

1. Tom Higgins is an adjunct for a California State University, Sacramento, Course.

Yet, once students are exposed to a wider spectrum of participants whose moral compass is more relevant to who they are, they find people to not just be intrigued by but to emulate. This discovery is further discussed by the student whose quote was previously cited:

> An event that was inspiring in many ways was when Colonel Shaw accepted the position of colonelcy of the first black regiment. Reading about his challenges and seeing how his heart began to change over time was eye opening. At first, he thought he was a good person and had a good heart but was never actually submerged where he could ask more questions and why's? When he first got to meet the black men, he experienced racism against the black men. I recall reading the letters he wrote and saying that he saw the black soldiers different from him. However, in his last letters I saw a change of heart and he considered the African American soldiers the same as him. Along with that he fought with them until his last breath. A valuable lesson I took from this event was that as I go into my future profession as a counselor, I may now feel that I am a great person and have a good heart. However, there will be a time where my heart will be tested and then I will ask myself which side will I choose to do? What is right or wrong? (Higgins, 2017)

The following excerpt from an undergraduate Euro-American male who strives to become a Rehabilitation Counselor, gives us pause. As evident in this student's conclusion after studying from a humanist perspective, the hue of the skin color becomes irrelevant. In this student's understanding after learning about the actions of humanists is how one's power and privilege can be used, constructively, to unite, rather than divide, and to uplift, rather than maintain white dominance.

> Initially, I failed to understand why you (Dr. Borunda) chose to incorporate many European-Americans as your humanists; I did not understand why you did not select individuals of color, who saved themselves. Throughout the course of the semester, I realized you wanted to show the importance of allies, specifically that the color of one's skin remains arbitrary. What matters instead remains what is inside our hearts. Also, you wanted to show that anyone can become a humanist, as well as the fact that European-Americans can use their privilege to avert the issue of racism. (Higgins, 2017)

Clearly, there is promise in bridging the divides in our nation. Despite the fact that the United States was built upon sanctioned exploitation and dominance of humanity, the future can look different if we provide a rendering of Euro-Americans' participation in undermining white supremacy. As allies in the effort to mitigate the tenets of separatist and isolationist policies, rhetoric, and education, the development of positive and inclusive identity has promise not only for Euro-Americans but for all others living in the United States who envision a harmonious existence for all. In this way, the promotion of relevant history may yet heal us from our contentious and divisive past.

Conclusion

The stories we tell our children about our past, as a nation, conveys elements of what we want them to know. When the stories obscure, omit, or misappropriate the truth, there is a disservice committed by conveying to our children that the truth does not matter. Instead, they learn that the victor, regardless of how the "win" was achieved, is not held responsible for acts of aggression

or deception against humanity. Imbedded in such rendering of our history the false narrative currently employed does not only excuse such behavior but does not hold the violators accountable. This current model only fuels division and resentment within this nation.

Reforming our curriculum so that it includes multiple perspectives promotes possibilities for viewing our world, our communities, and our neighbors in a more hopeful manner. Children who are guided by educators who not only value them but who also recognize their potential will generally respond to narratives in which the full range of human character and actions are represented. To this end, there is value in exploring not only the fallibility of human beings who have committed atrocities upon other humans for reasons of greed and power but also in learning about the best of humanity who sacrificed their well-being so that others may enjoy equality. Shifting from emphasis on a master narrative to an inclusive counter narrative shows promise as our children can consider their own character development as they learn about a range of historical figures from this nation's past.

This nation is at a moral crossroad where we must acknowledge and openly recognize the entrenched roots of white supremacy. Its presence is apparent at multiple levels and yet, with the evidence provided from employing a counter narrative, it is clear that the blocks this pathology was built upon can be dismantled. Multiple recommendations discussed in this manuscript promote strategies to decrease racial polarization and create inclusive policies in which all people, including Euro-Americans, are invested in and living democratic as well as humanistic lives. As a nation, we no longer have to be held hostage to irrelevant old master narratives; a promising future is possible and best informed by the practices of inclusivity and teaching about painful truths but also ensuring that we are providing balanced perspectives.

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Introducing Students to Critical Border and Migration Theories in an Era of Xenophobia

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Abstract

With the current rise of xenophobia, particularly in the United States, critical border and migration theories need to be introduced in the classroom. Critical border and migration theories refer to a range of theories, that often go by differing names, which seek to problematize the modern nationalistic perspectives on borders and migration that center largely on the desire of the nation-state instead of the rights of migrants (Carens, 1987; Juss, 2004; Author 1, 2018a). It is also strongly correlated with the concept of open borders. This article provides a broad understanding of these critical theories from a philosophical, ethical, and economic perspective and the rationale for why these more abstract and universal ideas of migration and borders should be introduced in the classroom despite the controversy they can generate. This focus is of particular importance in an era where the rights of migrants are often limited or disregarded completely.

Keywords: *critical borders and migration, open borders, teaching immigration*

Introduction

The topic of immigration is one of the most controversial in American society. There are those who want to completely seal up borders and those who want to be more generous to those seeking asylum and a better life. However, often the actual ideas about the sovereign rights of nation-states to stop migration is never questioned neither is the idea even considered that human migration should be an unalienable right (Bregman, 2014; Carens, 1987). The focus of this article is the need to introduce these ideas of critical borders and migration, especially during a time in the nation where the antagonism towards immigration is growing not only in the United States but throughout the world (Hagopian, 2015). Special consideration is given to the importance of these critical concepts in the United States educational system.

Modern Immigration Context

The United States

The United States society has reached a tragic point in our understanding and relationship with borders and migration. An over attachment to "sovereign" borders and a hostility towards foreign migrants has helped lead to the rise of dangerous demagogues in our political process that puts not only immigrants, but the whole democratic system, in jeopardy. In the past, some of these anti-immigrant attitudes were disguised in the language of national defense or security. It was not

appropriate to publicly and directly go after certain immigrant groups. However, with the rise of President Donald Trump, the anti-immigrant rhetoric has become more direct and vicious. Policies that were once seen as extreme have become normalized. An example of this antagonism towards the immigrant community occurred on September 5, 2017, when President Donald Trump announced that the Justice Department would be rescinding DACA (Shear & Davis, 2017). This was a move that was part of a larger pattern of anti-immigrant policies from the Trump administration in its first year in power.

The administration also announced that they would be increasing deportations and targeting a broader swath of the undocumented population, not just those who are criminals, which was the group primarily targeted under the Obama administration (Medina, 2017). The Justice Department under Attorney General, Jeff Sessions, also took a more hardline approach to immigration issues including seeking to rush immigration cases through the judicial system, thus potentially limiting any true due process ("Sessions' Plan for Immigration Courts," 2017).

In early 2018, the Trump administration announced that it would be the official policy of the United States to separate children from their parents at the border (Horwitz & Saccehetti, 2018). This policy was even extended to some of those who are seeking asylum (Pearle, 2018). In May of 2018, Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, stated that school boards had the choice if they wanted to set policies where schools could hypothetically call ICE on students (Balingit, 2018). It was also seen in the fall of 2018 when it was revealed that the Department of Health and Human Services had been moving money from programs such as Head Start and cancer research to support the arrest and deportation of immigrants (Moritz-Rabson, 2018). These anti-immigrant policies that were once considered quite extreme have become mainstream and, due to the constantly changing news cycle, may not garner as much press attention as they would otherwise.

In some ways in American society, it has become completely appropriate to stereotype and discriminate against individuals because of their immigration status. As Basik (2012) highlights, there is an ethical disconnect between the idea of equality within the nation-state, which "most citizens of wealthy countries naively claim they want," (p.411) and the acceptance of international inequality. This is why country of birth or immigration status are considered valid forms of discrimination in a way that race, gender, or sexual orientation would not be (Basik, 2012).

Some politicians have intensified this 'legitimized' discrimination by garnering support through kindling antagonism and fear towards immigrants. For example, in the 2018 primary election in Georgia, one of the gubernatorial candidates drove around in a deportation bus promising to stomp out the crimes of illegal immigrants (Swenson, 2018). South Carolina's governor, Henry McMaster, wanted to make sure that local jurisdictions could prove that they were not sanctuary cities (Lovegrove, 2018).

There has also been a greater hostility towards legal immigration. Though political conservatives used to make an argument against illegal immigration but for legal immigration, this stance changed in the first part of the 21st century. (Beinart, 2018). The number of refugees the U.S. is accepting is at record lows. The refugee cap is 50,000 for 2018 compared to 231,000 in 1980 (Ingraham, 2017). In 2017, the Trump administration began attempts to reduce the number of green cards issued annually, especially to family members of immigrants, which has been derogatorily labeled chain migration (Haile, 2018). Many American politicians are actively fighting not just illegal immigration but in many cases legal immigration as well. Though this strategy may have always been part of the motives for a portion of the far right in America, it recently has become more evident and unapologetic.

This antagonism against immigrants has not only been seen at the governmental level. It has also been able to flourish at a societal and educational level. Many teachers have reported a

direct effect of the election of Trump in their classrooms (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2016). Directly after the 2016 election, there were reports of students using Trump's victory as an excuse to bully other students. One California student purportedly printed out fake deportation notices to give to minority students the day after Trump's election (Mortimer, 2016). Xenophobia, which has always existed, has been able to be more openly and unabashedly expressed in American society.

Europe

There also been a similar rise of xenophobia in Europe. This has been especially the case as the number of refugees and migrants from the Middle East and Africa rose dramatically in 2015 and 2016. For example, the number of first-time asylum of claims to Europe countries rose from 259,00 in 2010 to 1,322,000 in 2015 (Guild & Carrera, 2016). This increase in refugees caused more reactive attitudes in Europe. In a survey from 2015, immigration was seen as the 2nd largest threat to Europeans up from 33% in 2013 (Hunyandi & Molnar, 2016). The highly controversial vote in Great Britain to exit the European Union in 2016 was at least partially due to these demographic changes and the desire to restrict immigration into Great Britain. A poll taken right before the election, found that 75% of those supporting the position to leave the European Union said immigration was the primary motivation (Cohen & Lapinski, 2016). As Richard Hall (2016) points out, "The 'leave' campaign's focus on migration played a significant role" (para. 12). They did this "by using the plight of civilians fleeing conflict and instability to further its case" (Hall, 2016, para. 14). The former U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, cautioned Europe from accepting more migrants in 2018 out of the fear that this would lead to more right-wing populism (Wintour, 2018). Hamid (2019) posits that this populism is specifically bolstered due to the fact that many of the refugees are from Muslim backgrounds and thus it can help to fuel Islamophobic sentiment.

Another example of this antagonism towards immigrants has been in Hungary. As Hume (2018) highlights, the re-election of the current prime minister, Victor Orban, was largely due to his xenophobic stances. Hume states that the xenophobic policies of leaders like Orban have led to a type of standoff with the European Union who is still calling for countries to fulfill certain refugee quotas. Hunyandi and Molnar (2016) show how xenophobia is at alarmingly high levels throughout other countries in Central Europe as well such as Poland, Czech Republic, and Italy. They cite the European barometer, which shows that over 60% of Hungarians, Czechs, and Bulgarians strongly disagree that their nations should be helping refugees. Huyandi and Molnar argue that there has been a "securitization" of the debate, which has allowed for governments to call for more stringent measures against increased immigration.

Even in Western European nations, there has been a rise of xenophobic and right-wing parties. In the French election in 2017, the staunch nationalist, Marine Le Pen, came in second place. Hasan (2017) argues that her rise was due to the normalization of xenophobia in the French political context, so that her comments no longer seemed so far out of the mainstream of acceptable public thought. Le Pen tried to distance herself somewhat from her more controversial father by removing him from the party for his more blatant xenophobia and anti-Semitism, but Serhan (2018) argues that the attempt to soften the image of the more hardline xenophobic position became difficult as this was still the core base that Le Pen drew from. Germany also is experiencing strong xenophobic responses to growing diversity and the refugee crisis. Nielson (2018) reports on a recent study out of Germany that showed that 44% of Germans want a ban on Muslim immigration. He reports that a database from Der Spiegel Magazine shows that there has also been a dramatic increase in right wing demonstrations and rallies in Germany.

Relation to the Classroom

The question is how society, and particularly educators, can confront these attitudes. Some may call for a re-examining of people's hatred and fear towards immigrants. This approach is certainly valid and has to be part of the larger conversation. There is a need to understand what drives people to this hate and fear and how false narratives regarding immigration could play a role in exacerbating these feelings. There are many prominent false narratives such as immigrants being more prone to criminality, immigrants being a drain on the economy, and immigrants posing a risk to national security (Author 1, 2018b). All these faulty and incomplete narratives have to be critiqued in the education system. However, while focusing on these two areas may be beneficial, it may be necessary to take it a step further and understanding how to deconstruct the current nationalist view towards borders and migrations where the rights of the nation-state are supreme and the rights of migrants are almost non-existent. It is difficult to truly combat nativism and xenophobia while continuing to uphold the traditional nationalist constructs. At best, our current framework can produce a level of paternalistic compassion where immigrants may "receive mercy" if the dominant group in their "goodness" decides to bestow it, but it leaves those without proper documentation no inherent rights. The current framework does not lead to actual justice or equality (McCorkle, 2018a).

This theoretical critique of borders and migration is relevant to the field of education because a deconstruction of popular assumptions about borders and migration can help lead to a greater sense of belonging among immigrant populations, particularly immigrant students as they no longer accept the limiting and degrading narratives related to their immigration status. It also can lead to a sense of empowerment (Frank, 2006) as students being to see themselves as agents of change rather than helpless entities at the mercy of the system. Ultimately, this also can transform the perspective of the non-immigration population as well as one's immigration status become less tied to one's worth or social value. It can help break down some of the xenophobic structures that have been created over time. This hopefully can lead to a greater unity and sense of belonging (Phinney, Horencyzk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) for the immigrant population. The frameworks of critical border studies (Lakko, 2016; Parker & Vaughan-Williams, 2009), critical migration (Bauder, 2013), and open borders (Bregman, 2016; Carens, 1987) will be essential in re-examining the way immigration and borders are discussed in the classroom and the underlying structure that is forming popular opinions about immigration.

Critical Border and Migration Studies

Critical border and migration studies is not a field that has been as clearly defined as other critical theories like Critical Race Theory (Delgado and Stefancic, 2012; Ladson-Billings and Tate, 1995; Yosso, 2005;). It is certainly not an area that has been highly explored in the field of education. There are scholars, particularly in the fields of geography, political science, and international relations, who look specifically at the issue of borders and present a critical perspective on the modern assumptions of nation-states and borders (Laako, 2016; Salter and Mutlu, 2012), The issue of critical migration encompasses migration studies, arguments for more open borders, and Critical Latino studies (Olden, 2015; Osorio, 2018). The critique of borders and migration policy overlap in many aspects. Many authors do not use the actual term critical border or critical migration studies in their work as this field has not been codified or formalized extensively.

Philosophical and Historical Roots

The philosophical foundations of critical border and migration studies were present long before these terms were actually used. One of the great enlightenment philosophers, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1754) sets the groundwork for a deconstructed understanding of borders through his work which critiqued the idea of property. As he states,

> The first man who, having fenced in a piece of land, said "This is mine," and found people naïve enough to believe him, that man was the true founder of civil society. From how many crimes, wars, and murders, from how many horrors and misfortunes might not any one have saved mankind, by pulling up the stakes, or filling up the ditch, and crying to his fellows: Beware of listening to this impostor; you are undone if you once forget that the fruits of the earth belong to us all, and the earth itself to nobody. (p.5)

Though this was particularly related to the issue of property, the idea that the earth at its most intrinsic level could actually truly belong to any individual or nation is shown to be not only unethical but illogical and absurd. If the earth belongs to all of humanity than the claims of any individual or nation-state have little moral binding to them. Beyond this, these "claims" are the source of many of the problems and violence in world history.

Other past leaders and philosophers such as John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington also laid a foundation for a more open immigration system. Locke (1690) stated that every man should have a right to decide "what government he will put himself under" (cited by Basik, 2012, p. 407). George Washington (1778) spoke of his "hope" that "this land might become a safe and agreeable asylum to the virtuous and persecuted part of mankind, to whatever nation they might belong." Likewise, Thomas Jefferson (1774) spoke of, "a right, which nature has given to all men, of departing from the country in which chance, not choice has placed them, of going in quest of new habitations."

This idea of a more open immigration system was seen in the early years of the United States where immigration was almost completely open. For example, between 1880 and World War I, less than 1% of the immigrants who came to Ellis Island, which totaled over 25 million, were denied entrance into the country (Ngai, 2014). Even the now highly guarded Mexican-American border was almost completely open. Migrants from Latin America were allowed to freely enter, often without even having to face any type of security (Ettinger, 2009). In fact, immigrants from the Americas, particularly Mexico, were exempt from many of the later immigration restrictions because of their strong presence in the agricultural industry of the American Southwest (Ngai, 2014).

In the 20th Century, the idea of restrictive immigration became more prominent in both the United States and around the world due to modern realities as well as racial fears. In the United States, the first racial restrictions began as a profoundly racial issue with the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act (Railton, 2013). Later, other restrictions were placed on individuals from countries such as Syria and Greece. In the 1920s, the U.S. government passed more formal immigration restrictions, which implemented quotas based on country of origin. This system gave more opportunities to those coming from Western Europe (Daniels, 2004). Much of the modern immigration system is based on the changes made in the 1960s under President Lyndon B. Johnson who tried to remedy some of the racial and ethnic bias in the immigration system while also keeping a restriction on the number of immigrants coming from each country (Waters & Reed, 2007). This more restrictive trend has not just happened in the United States, but around the world as wealthier

nations have sought to stop the influx of individuals coming from more developed nations (Block, 2015). Many people have assumed that developed countries have had restrictive immigration policies and that there are no alternative perspectives. This restrictive view toward immigration is present both in some scholarship, but even more in popular political, economic, and social rhetoric. Since restrictive immigration is the primary contemporary policy in developed nations, there is a need to deconstruct the prominent narratives to make room for fresh perspectives to emerge.

Critical Border Scholarship

Critical border scholars seek to break down some of the assumptions inherent in a more restrictive immigration approach. Noel Parker and Nick Vaughan-Williams (2012) question the notions that populations have towards borders, specifically in the modern globalized society. Though borders are often portrayed in positive terms of protection and security, they also point out "the work that borders do as foundations linked to violence, force, and the deployment of a logic of exceptionalism" (Parker & Vaughn-Williams, p.585). At the minimum, they seek to problematize the oversimplified assumption that the border is a "territorially fixed, static, line" (Parker & Vaughn-Williams, 2012, p. 586). Other scholars such as Alexander Diener and Joshua Hagen (2010) look at how borders are "social constructions" (p. 3). This does not mean that they are not important, but rather they are negotiable and unstable. They are not ultimately natural or sovereign. Though on one level individuals may realize this reality, on another level borders and national boundaries are often given an almost sacred, yet undeserved, respect.

Hannah Laako (2016) expands on these ideas by seeking to "decolonize" our views of borders by changing the perspective from the desires and prerogatives of the nation-state to the "people that inhabit them" (p. 177). She places special attention on the area of the borderlands where the lines of national distinction are often blurred. Anderson, Sharma, and Wright (2009) further critique the idea of borders and describe them as "a particular kind of relationship, one based on deep divisions and inequalities between people who are given varying national statuses" (p. 6). They also note the oppressive nature of borders which "follow people and surround them as they try to access paid labour, welfare benefits, health, labour protections, education, civil associations, and justice" (Anderson, Sharma, & Wright, p. 6). Borders are not just lines in the sand; rather they are social constructions that can be a prison to keep people in or an impenetrable barrier to basic human rights. Individuals "illegal" immigration status can follow them around and be impossible to escape regardless of the time that passes or the astounding personal accomplishments. The authors argue firmly that a focus on human rights when it comes to immigration is not enough. For these human rights to be realized, there has to be a questioning of the sovereignty of borders and even the whole modern idea of citizenship.

Some scholars look at the practical implications of this over attachment to borders. Chazal (2013) argues that even when organizations like the International Criminal Court seek to move toward a more "cosmopolitan and borderless world" (p. 707) in order to establish human rights, they often "proliferate" border and state control by having to bow to the interests of the more powerful nation-state (p. 725). Little (2015) also points to the reality that any changes in belief to the normative functions of nation-states and borders is "unlikely to be direct or sequential" (p. 445). It will take a much higher level of complexity and imagination. The attachment that individuals have created towards borders has been established over decades and centuries. Therefore, the work to break down these attachments will not be simple. Other authors question the actual tools used in the implementation of border security. Salter and Mutlu (2012), argue that the measures

meant to create greater security (drones, smart borders, and biometric passports) actually cause greater anxiety among the populous and are often very inefficient for creating a truly safe society.

Critical Migration Scholarship

A deconstruction of views toward borders can naturally lead to a critique of the way we view immigration and the rights of migrants. The two areas also naturally overlap, and many of the theorists could be relevant in both areas. Critical migration theory begins to question whether nation-states have the right to restrict migration, outside of general, reasonable security measures. Do restrictions on borders defy fundamental human rights and dignity? Harald Bauder (2013) problematizes the nationalist "framing" of immigration which "normalizes the territorial nation-state as legitimate agent of inclusion and exclusion" (p. 56). His goal instead is to "produce collective identities that transcend the nation." He quotes Anderson, et. al (2011) who state, "Migrants are not naturally vulnerable; rather the state is deeply implicated in constructing vulnerability through immigration controls and practices…['Migrants'] are constructed as objects of control, rescue, and redemption rather than full human beings" (p. 57). In this way, militarized borders and strict migration policies act as a type of dehumanizing force that cripples otherwise capable and self-sufficient human beings. It can also turn them into objects that deserve our paternalistic compassion rather than individuals who deserve equal justice. Schulze-Wessel (2015) argues that modern borders almost exclusively exist to control more disadvantaged and undocumented groups while they are often quickly "opened" to more affluent populations. As she states, borders are not only "reinforced and expanded in response to undocumented migrants; it also means that they (undocumented migrants) represent the defensive, blocking, and controlling function of the border." (Schulze-Wessel, 2015, p. 57). She also argues that modern undocumented immigrants are much like the stateless refugees that the international community sought to embrace in the wake of World War II. However, unlike that time, there is less international consideration given to the plight of modern undocumented immigrants. Modern individuals may look back with horror when nations refused to accept Jewish refugees who were escaping Hitler's Germany, but that same moral outrage is not often seen when developed nations turn away those fleeing from modern violence and persecution in places like Syria and Central America.

Fortier (2006) also highlights this disparity between wealthier and more impoverished migrants. For more affluent migrants, their "hyper-mobility" is seen as a sign of progress and encouraged. For them, they are part of the globalized, increasingly shrinking world. However, for poor migrants "immobility" is seen as a "necessity" (Fortier, 2006, p. 318). Villalon (2015) pairs the ideas of critical migration with critical feminism and points out how females are often the greatest victims of restrictive migration policies and xenophobic attitudes as this stress can lead to greater intimate partner violence where female immigrants are often in a particular place of vulnerability. They usually do not have the same access to resources and may also be fearful of reporting abuse to the authorities because of their immigration status.

The ultimate goal of a critical approach on the issue of borders and migration "involves rejecting the nation-state as a necessary frame through which to examine human mobility" (Bauder, 2013, p. 61). McNevin (2014), in her study on migration security on the Indonesian island of Bintan, has similar thoughts. She seeks to move the discussion of human mobility beyond "territoriality" and "imagining the political subject—mobile or otherwise—without the state or territory as its foremost container concept" (McNevin, 2014, p. 306). She also questions why the "transgression" of border policy is often treated as either a threat (in the case of human migration) or as a measure of "sovereign defense" such as "offshoring technologies" (McNevin, 2014, p.307). The

categories and discussions about borders and migration are often too limiting. There is an inconsistent view of the rights of crossing and transgressing borders, which tends to benefit the powerful and disadvantage the most desperate and impoverished.

Joseph Carens (1987) continues with this critique by questioning whether it is within the "legitimate mandate" of the state to "prohibit people from entering a territory because they did not happen to be born there" (p. 254). He also sees a moral imperative in having a more open immigration system than what currently exists. He gives an interesting analogy to the modern restrictive immigration system. He compares citizenship in wealthy Western democracies to feudalism where one's future prospects are almost completely based on one's place of birth. As he states, "like feudal birthright privileges, restrictive citizenship is hard to justify when one thinks about it closely" (Carens, 1987, p. 252). Many may shudder at the inhumanity and lack of dignity involved in the treatment of serfs in the Middle Ages but may not be conscious of how developed nations set up their own modern systems of injustice. Aygül (2013) gives an example of this injustice with the European visas restrictions in comparison to more liberal policies in Turkey. He argues the more restrictive system of Europe tends to promote capitalism more than human rights. On the other hand, Tsianos and Karakayali (2010) argue that despite the best efforts of the nation-state, immigration is exceedingly difficult to control, and it is not a good use of funding to continue to invest in structures like camps for undocumented immigrants. Modern restrictions are not only inhumane, but they are also often impossible to enforce and a futile activity for nation-states.

Open Border Theorists

A critical look at borders and migration relates strongly to the broader ideas of open borders, and it could be argued that the critique of border and migration policies lead to a more open border approach. Those in the field of economics have explored this concept most thoroughly. Perhaps in contrast to some of the other scholars, some of the open border economic theorists are more conservative politically and see open borders as a logical extension of a more open market system (Tabarrok, 2015). These scholars have argued for the idea of open borders from a perspective of economic viability (Basik, 2012), but also from a moral and ethical standpoint. One of the leaders in this field, Dutch scholar, Rutger Bregman (2016) argues that borders are already fairly open to everything except humans, which creates a true level of injustice. His gives an illustration of the ethical problems with closed borders that keep individuals from certain markets. He states,

> Say John from Texas is dying of hunger. He asks me for food, but I refuse. If John dies, is it my fault? Arguably, I merely allowed him to die, which while not exactly benevolent, isn't exactly murder either. Now imagine that John doesn't ask for food, but goes off to the market, where he'll find plenty of people willing to exchange their goods for work that he can do in return. This time though, I hire a couple of heavily armed baddies to block his way. John dies of starvation. Can I still claim innocence? (Loc. 2381)

This may be a perspective that is rarely considered. Are those in the developed world to blame for the death of so many around the world by creating restrictive border regimes, which leaves many with few options and without access to markets which could help them provide a living for their families?

Bregman goes on to state that our current immigration system is "apartheid on a global scale" (Loc. 2439). He believes borders themselves are the "greatest form of discrimination" (Loc. 2434). Other such as Basik (2012) ask similar questions. "Why, unlike race, sexual orientation,

physical handicaps, and IQ, is national origin still deemed a permissible basis for political discrimination?" (p.411). It is an intriguing approach to looking at the morality of borders. If citizens treated people inside their borders the way they treat those outside looking to come in, they would be seen as highly intolerant, discriminatory, or even inhumane. However, there seems to be a strong dissonance to the values of tolerance and compassion when it comes to migrants (Basik, 2012). Perhaps, if people could begin using the same language of equal rights that they apply to other minority and disadvantaged groups to migrants, they could start to change the whole conversation on immigration.

Basik (2012) goes on to argue that there is a moral necessity to having more relaxed border policies due to the fact that those who want to migrate are often the ones who are the "losers" of trade liberalization. This points to an argument that many have made that if capital has the right to move, it should also be a right of labor. Juss (2004) argues for open borders based on the notion that the right to migration is the most important of human rights and is foundational to human community. He also deconstructs the notion of "sovereignty" of the state in their prerogative to make restrictions towards immigrants. As he states, "national sovereignty" is "not a state of affairs. It is not a fact. It is simply a doctrine" (Juss, 2004, p. 321). Many have assumed for so long that nations have the absolute right to decide who comes into their borders that they may have failed to see the faulty foundations of these assumptions. Juss (2004) also argues that the current restrictive policies of borders are in opposition to many of the ideals at the source of modern international human rights policies.

There are also many economic arguments for the position of open borders. Bregman (2016) explains how open borders would make the world more prosperous as the free movement of labor would increase economic expansion. He argues that it is a much more effective way to deal with third world poverty than economic aid which often goes through too many third parties to actually improve the lives of citizens. Opening the borders would help more of the wealth of the developed world go directly to those in the developing world. He goes as far as saying it is the necessary next step in the evolution of our society.

Kennan (2012), in his work, relieves the fear that a more open system would suppress the wages of those in the receiving country. He states that as long as restrictions are lifted gradually "there is no implied reduction in real wages" (p. 17). Others such as Storesletten (2000) argue that a more open immigration system in developed nations like the U.S. could be a way to offset the possible economic and fiscal challenges of the aging baby boomer generation. In some aspects, this is already occurring in the U.S. as undocumented immigrants often unjustly pay into systems such as Social Security and Medicare without being eligible for the benefits. With much discussion in developed nations about cutting benefits for aging populations, more open borders could help resolve some of the funding issues. Confronting the idea that more immigration is a source for the destruction of organized labor, Munk (2012) sees the increase in immigrant labor as an opportunity for a new form of unionism that could protect the rights of all workers. Though immigration has often divided the working class historically, much of the strong unionism and workers' right movements in U.S. history involved immigrant communities and immigrant leaders (Bengston, 1999; Michels, 2014).

Relation to Other Critical Theories

As stated above, the ideas behind critical border and migration studies have largely been absent from the critical work being done in education. That is not to say that these ideas are not at times implicit in certain critical frameworks. However, there should be greater effort to draw links

between areas such as critical race theory, critical Latino studies, and critical migration and border studies.

For example, in critical race theory, Ladson Billings and Tate (1995) lay out the argument that race is a substantive construct when determining equity and that true change can only occur when challenging the actual unjust paradigm, not merely by adding in aspects of multicultural education. Critical border and migration studies could very much speak to the critical race theories both in the fact of the inherently racial aspects of how immigrants are seen and accepted and the substantive large role that national origin plays in the issue of equity. As Bregman (2016) argues, national origin is the greatest area of inequity. Also related to Ladson-Billings, a truly just change in immigration is not going to come about by mere language that stresses diversity and inclusion, but an actual reimagination of the whole idea of how we view immigration.

Critical border and migration studies also related to the larger field of Latinx Critical Studies (Fernandez, 2002; Poblete, 2003). These critical theories very focus much on a re-examination of the history between the United States and Latin America, a focus on the role of colonialism, and intentionality in focusing on injustices that have accompanied the Latino experience, particularly in the United States (Stefancic, 1998). This Latino Critical Perspective "highlights and deconstructs influential structures of oppression that harm clients" (Kiehene, 2016, p. 120). Kiehene argues that push for more ethnic studies and the resistance of English-only policies could be tangible struggles that the ideas of a Latinx Critical Perspective could address.

There are of course some major differences between critical border and migration studies and Latinx Critical Studies (or perspective). For one, Latinx Critical Studies is very much a phenomenon based in the United States with the issue of the oppression of the Latinx population in North America. It also is specifically about one ethnic group as opposed to a more global concept. However, the ideas of Latinx Critical Studies could be strengthened with more emphasis on an actual critique of the border and migratory constructs and likewise the study of critical border and migration studies can be informed by a greater cultural and socio-political understanding of the long term effects of restrictive ideas towards migration and borders on certain ethnic groups in the destination country.

Relation to Education

K-12 Environment

If educators can introduce these theories to students, both immigrant and U.S. born students, it could be helpful in not only reducing xenophobia and nativism but also creating a greater sense of belonging and empowerment for all immigrants, regardless of legal status (Abu El-Haj; 2009; Ramirez, Ross, & Jimenez-Silva, 2016). There is a need for educators to be exposed to these ideas to help them develop a more inclusive approach toward their students, particularly those who are undocumented or have DACA status. The goal of these critical theories or "border pedagogies" is to create an environment which "repositions people on the margins as creators, thinkers, and knowers. This constitutes the very condition of possibility as youth are given the opportunity to reclaim their agency" (Cervantes-Soon & Carrillo, 2016, p. 284). This moves the position from one of "deficit-based practices" to one that "celebrates the rich cultural identities of the students" (Ramirez, Ross, & Jimenez-Silva, 2016, p. 320). Similarly, immigrant students will become deterred in "their desire to become part of the larger society" if they are discriminated against or blocked in their attempts towards integration (Phinney, Horencyzk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001, p.

506). It is therefore essential, for a greater sense of belonging, that both immigrant and non-immigrant student populations, as well as educators, are introduced to the ideas embedded in critical border and migration studies.

The ideas of critical border and migration theories have particular relevance in the classroom. Lilia Fernandez (2002) applies a critical perspective to the Latino and immigrant experience in the school setting. She cites Daria Roithmayer (1999) who states that, "the classroom…is a central site for the construction of social and racial power" (p. 48). If we are to change the views about immigrant students and the rights of immigrants, it must begin in the education system. Authors such as Abu El-Haj (2009) argue for a whole new framework for how we describe citizenship and democratic participation in its relation to young immigrant populations. As he states, "participation and critical engagement, rather than a sense of national identification…prove a stronger base for developing engaged and active young citizens" who are seeking to create a "more just and peaceful" world (El-Haj, 2009, p. 281). The goal is to move students away from the idea of citizenship being primarily about the legal status in a nation-state and more about their responsibilities and rights as members of American society, and more importantly the world community.

Though there could be a strong level of relevance in all the subject areas, the area of social studies may be particularly relevant to this discussion. In a recent study McCorkle (2018a) undertook with undergraduate students about their experiences in the social studies classroom, many stated that their high school teachers rarely discussed issues of immigration. McCorkle (2018b) lays out how history can be used to inform modern immigration issues and truly break down restrictive ideas about borders and migration. Through helping students both see the natural aspect of immigration and understanding the growing restrictions over time, it may be possible to break down some of the more restrictive and nativist thinking in the present. The Organization Teaching Tolerance (2019) has strong tools for helping to highlight the stories of young immigrants, which could be especially relevant in a social studies or language arts classroom.

In some aspects, these ideas have been implemented by organizations like the Tucson School District, which offered Mexican-American History (La Raza) classes at their schools (Phippen, 2015). Though the central focus may not have been framed in terms of critical border theory, it provided a historical understanding that did not marginalize the works of immigrants but rather placed them and their rights in the center of the historical discussion. When the schools did this, they saw academic improvement among the student population. In fact, students who took these courses, 87% who were from Latino backgrounds, were 51% more likely to graduate from college than their peers who did not take the courses. (Cabrera, Milem, & Marx, 2012). However, due to political pressure, the state of Arizona later banned the classes despite their educational benefit to students. Some saw the teaching as subversive and undermining national ideals (Phippen, 2015). For this reason, especially at the K-12 level, similar critical teachings may have to be implemented in a more subtle way. The general population may be averse to these critical theories. Some may seem them as radical, and others may see them as too dangerous for society. For many, the modern narratives of migration are so ingrained in the American story that imagining a different system seems foolish.

With that stated, Depenbrock (2017) highlights that in reaction to the ban in Tucson (in addition to the election of Trump), other districts have started offering more ethnic studies programs. Some of these programs will likely take a less confrontational, inclusive lens while others may take on a more critical lens based on ideas such as Critical Race Theory and Critical Latino Studies. However, there needs to be an emphasis on understanding the underlying concepts of borders and migration in the context of the modern realities of oppression and injustice within the United States or developed nations. Without these critical border and migration theories informing

these ethnic studies program, the instruction could be filled with logical inconsistencies. You cannot critique the treatment of immigrants and undocumented immigrants without using a critical lens to examine the whole notions we have about restrictive migration. This second part has often been avoided by politicians and those in power who call for equality among those who are already in the nation, but simultaneously uphold the ideals of restrictive migration. The disconnect creates an unsustainable paradigm (McCorkle, 2019).

Teacher Education

There is also a special emphasis that needs to be placed on these critical theories in teacher education programs. Though there may be a rightful emphasis placed on issues like critical race theory, multiculturalism, an even equity for immigrant students, there appears to be less emphasis on understanding the realities of the immigration system (Rodriguez & McCorkle, in Press) and then truly deconstructing the modern notions about borders and migration. There may be a hesitancy of some teacher educators to pursue this path given the controversy that surrounds this issue.

In a similar way to the K-12 setting, teacher educators do not need to pontificate to the students to hopefully cause them to accept this theoretical position. Rather, they just need to first offer it as an option. The idea of migration as a human right and borders as largely unjust constructs is so far from the mainstream of current political thought that it may be the first time these ideas are even considered. It can also be helpful to personalize the issue and really look at it through the lens of morality and basic human rights as Carens (1987) and Bregman (2016) do.

Conclusion

Educators and teacher educators should find ways to introduce these critical theories into their class discussions. The current framework for discussing immigration produces at its best a sense of compassion, but cannot lead to a liberating framework based in justice and human rights (McCorkle, 2018a). Though these critical theories have been needed throughout our national history, they are of particular importance now as we once again see nationalism and xenophobia rise both in the United States and through much of the industrialized world. Until students begin to see immigration as a human right or at least consider that possibility, we will never have a just immigration system.

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De/colonizing the Education Relationship: Working with Invitation and Hospitality

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Abstract

Our previous studies have shown that culturally responsive pedagogies (CRP) are not successful across all contexts: they have not been developed for culturally plural classrooms; white pre-service teachers have developed a teacher onto-epistemology that makes CRP unintelligible to them. In this article we report the findings of a Culturally Responsive Language and Literacy Education (CRLE) course that we revised to locate CRP within a broader, de/colonizing framework that aimed to disrupt pre-service teachers' colonial habits of mind and being. At the heart of this process was an eight-week tutoring element during which pre-service teachers worked one-on-one with a marginalized student who had been failed by the education system. We investigated how pre-service teachers opened up inviting and hospitable spaces for learning, how they maintained students' engagement over time, and whether this led to changes in their praxis. We invited pre-service teachers to withdraw allegiance to the hegemony of modernist/colonial models of education and to begin to let go of the socialized teacher onto-epistemology that they were invested in. Our findings show that the concepts of invitation and hospitality helped the pre-service teachers to begin to operationalize new teacher ontologies and to divest themselves of colonial ways of being, but that such fundamental changes to the self would be a lifelong process.

Keywords: *hospitality, invitation, de/colonization, culturally responsive pedagogy, critical interculturality, teacher education*

Introduction

We begin by recognizing and acknowledging the land and peoples of Treaty 4, the territory of the Cree, Saulteaux, Dakota, Lakota, Nakota, and the Métis homeland on which the research project took place. We include this context to locate ourselves and the research that took place between pre-service teachers and Indigenous adolescent youth. Our study investigated how pre-service teachers 'took up' different ways of being and doing in a Culturally Responsive Literacy Education (CRLE) course at a Canadian mid-western university. The course has run since 2009 and has a one-on-one tutoring element where pre-service teachers work with adolescents from marginalized communities who have disengaged from mainstream education. We gathered data from each annual iteration to (i) advance our understanding of how pre-service teachers develop their ability to

work with an increasingly plural student population, and (ii) to develop our own practice in culturally responsive and de/colonizing pedagogies.

We come to this work as two scholars with different life experiences. Fatima is a minoritized woman of colour, naturalized Canadian citizen, who was born in Tanganyika/Tanzania to African parents of South Asian descent. Fran is a white scholar who has lived all her life in southern England, born into a middle-class farming family. Through her birth and socialization in white British society she benefits from the privileges systemically afforded to people of her race. As teacher educators, we have witnessed (and participated in) practices which continue to re-inscribe white dominance. In our efforts to disrupt hegemonic practices that are the subject of the study reported here, we draw on critical race theory (CRT), postcolonial and de/colonial theories, and our differing onto-epistemologies.

In 2009, the course was based on Culturally Responsive Pedagogies (CRP) (Ladson-Billings, 1995, Pirbhai-Illich, 2013), Multiliteracies (New London Group, 1996), Funds of Knowledge (FoK) (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992), and relationality. Findings from each year demonstrated that pre-service teachers, predominantly from white, Euro-Western backgrounds, had difficulty putting the tenets of Ladson-Billing's (1995) CRP, and Moll et al.'s (1992) FoK into practice. Our conclusions centered around three interconnected working theories: (i) The education system in Canada (similar to other Westernized countries) is based on a historic system that has kept schools and the curriculum somehow free of influence of the world beyond it (Luke, 2018); (ii) CRP and FoK were developed for specific cultural contexts and students and may not apply to contexts where classrooms are culturally plural; (iii) since birth, white pre-service teachers have developed a socio-cultural onto-epistemology[1] and then a teacher onto-epistemology that makes CRP unintelligible to them (Pirbhai-Illich, Pete & Martin, 2017). We expand on these and theorize relationality using the concepts of invitation and hospitality, before presenting and discussing our findings.

Background

Neoliberalism and Education

Luke (2018) describes how his experiences of Australian schools over the years indicate a 'durability of practice' and that schools and their students 'remain, for better and worse, somewhat oblivious to the contexts of crisis, violence and displacement' (p. xi) that characterize the world today. Our experiences of schools in Canada and the United Kingdom (UK) attest to this. There have been many education initiatives on 'diversity' and 'inclusion', aimed at closing the attainment gap between mainstream and minoritized/marginalized students, that have had little effect.

We argue that although some teaching practices may have changed, the underlying system remains the same - a Euro-Western model of education (Martin & Pirbhai-Illich, 2016) that is part of a colonial world system (Grosfoguel, 2011). Exacerbated by neoliberalization, education has become a commodity the value of which is measured through standardized tests, attainment targets and league tables. We define neoliberalism as a political ideology (Harvey, 2005) founded on the economic model that emerged from the USA and the UK in the 1980's. In the belief that a free market economy enables greater efficiency, economic growth, and more equitable income distribution, the role of the state becomes minimal, and maximum emphasis is placed on individual

1. We use the term "onto-epistemology" throughout the article. This is, in part, to reject the Cartesian separation of mind and body, and to convey the entanglement of knowing-being that is central to relational thinking.

responsibility. Giroux (2004) writes how, 'central to the hegemony of neo-liberal ideology is a particular view of education in which market-driven identities and values are both produced and legitimated' (p. 494). Students who embody differences that adversely affect benchmark standards are pathologized and become the target of policies where inclusion means assimilation into the mainstream and an erasure of 'problematic' differences. Rather than a deficit in ability, our research shows that low attainment can often be accounted for by students of colour resisting schooling (Pirbhai-Illich, 2013), because while 'white students experience an education that is harmonious with their self-knowledge, … students of colour are alienated from theirs' (Leonardo, 2009, p. 94).

The Apparent Failure of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Two approaches designed separately to close attainment gaps from minoritized backgrounds have been particularly influential: Culturally Responsive Pedagogy and Funds of Knowledge. These work together in that a key tenet of CRP (Ladson-Billings, 1995) is the use of cultural referents of students of colour (that is, the ideas and ways of being that only someone who is part of that specific culture could understand), while FoK are the knowledges students of colour acquire through engaging in their household/community economic and social relationships that Moll et al. (1992) argue teachers should access and integrate into the curriculum. We see three problems with these. First, these approaches/theories were developed in specific contexts and cultural groups (CRP in the USA for African American students; FoK in the USA for Mexican working-class students) and were not originally intended for use in culturally plural classrooms. Second, if teachers are from white, Euro-Western backgrounds, they are socialized into their own culture and FoK and find it difficult to recognize the cultural nuances of those whose onto-epistemologies are different from their own (Martin & Pirbhai-Illich, 2016). Third, CRP has frequently been taken up as a blueprint to follow, whereas Ladson-Billings argues that, the problem is not 'what to do', but rather 'how we think' (Ladson-Billings, 1995). The result is 'often a distortion and corruption of the central ideas' (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 82) of CRP.

Teacher Onto-Epistemologies

Building on the second issue, the context of our study is a mid-Western Canadian University where the Faculty of Education has integrated anti-oppressive, anti-racist approaches into its teacher education programs. When pre-service teachers come to the CRLE course in their final year, they have had four years of anti-oppressive education and yet their teacher onto-epistemologies are still very white, Euro-Western. Most pre-service teachers have had little experience beyond their Euro-Western, cultural settings and their internships in schools have mostly reinforced these onto-epistemologies rather than disrupted them.

It is for these reasons that we shifted our approach in the CRLE course to one that is de/colonizing. In this move, we explicitly focus on the use of critical literacies (i) to unpack dominant classroom discourses, pedagogies and the relationships that flow from them, and (ii) to reveal the Euro-Western, colonial onto-epistemological terrain in which they are grounded. We then explore how alternative onto-epistemologies might lead to teacher-student relationships that do not continue to colonize. In doing so we do not reject the contribution of CRP and FoK, but relocate them within a broader framework of de/colonizing literacy education.

De/colonizing Literacy Education

Our understanding of what it means to de/colonize literacy education is founded on both our own experiences within the colonizer-colonized relation, and the work of southern scholars including Quijano (2007), Mignolo (2007) and Maldonado-Torres (2007) who distinguish between colonialism and coloniality. Colonialism is the expansion of a nation's power over territories beyond its borders through settler occupancy (e.g. Australia, Canada, USA) or administrative rule (e.g. India). Coloniality is not only the result of a historic series of events, but an ongoing onto-epistemological system of power embedded in modernity that is global in its reach (Grosfoguel, 2011).

Coloniality is a way of thinking based on a Cartesian onto-epistemology that creates binarized, hierarchical relationships that placed Europe and European knowledge as the (superior) gold standard against which all other cultures and knowledge systems were judged as inferior; and on the assumption that this way of thinking is universal. The colonial project was particularly effective in using systems of power, such as education, to impose Euro-Western onto-epistemology on the Other, known as the colonization of the mind (Thiong'O, 1986). Residential schooling in Canada removed children of First Nations descent from their families and communities to colonize minds and bodies through a process of cognitive imperialism (Battiste, 2000).

For us, de/colonizing literacy education is therefore a process of disruption of Cartesianism and universalism and a deconstruction of modernity/coloniality, which implies dismantling not only colonial habits of mind, but also colonial habits of being (Mignolo, 2007). We acknowledge that this is a long-term goal and, in the context of the CRLE course, we started this process by using relational and plural onto-epistemologies in the 13 weeks of face-to-face taught sessions, and by incorporating an eight-week tutoring element where pre-service teachers worked one-on-one with a marginalized student who had been failed by the education system.

Relational Theory

That effective teaching is partly affected by teacher-student relationships is not new. However, from a de/colonial perspective, these relationships are based on coercion (Clarke, 2012) and the eradication of aspects of difference that mark marginalized students as "Other." The result is the alienated "Other," "the disengaged student, [and] the disaffected teacher" (Clarke 2012, p. 54). Clarke asks, "How can we put…the other into the speaking position, the position of agency, rather than the repression or colonization it suffers in the discourses of the master?" (p. 55) and argues that there is a need to rethink education through discourses of thinking otherwise. To help us imagine what a discourse of thinking educational relationships otherwise might entail, we turned to Martin Buber's (1958) relational ethics. Buber's central thesis is that humans are relational beings who have a two-fold attitude of relation towards the world: the "I" is always spoken in relation to either "It" or "Thou," I-It is a monologic relationship, subject to object, "doing to"; it is a partial relation and has an active "seeking to know" attitude; in this regard, it aims to use the other (e.g. as a source of knowledge). I-Thou is a dialogic relationship, "feeling with"; it is direct, present, mutual, open and authentic; it does not use, because it holds an attitude that is without agenda or objective. Buber (1958) argues that at a societal level the I-It dominates. In education, this is evident in the neo-liberal discourse of teaching to the students, accountability and standardization.

We were uneasy about building on Buber's theory alone for two reasons: (i) to draw solely on theory that is firmly located with the Western academy would be contradictory to our aim of thinking otherwise, which requires us to engage with literature from "other" locations; and (ii) Buber does not consider plural understandings of care and ethical relations (Matias, 2016). In a

critical race analysis of care, Matias argues that care as expressed by white, pre-service teachers in the US, disguises feelings of disgust for the Other. This form of care is a colonial objectification of the Other as someone to be pitied for not possessing those aspects of being human that characterize the hegemonic identity that is white, middle-class, male, heterosexual, able, etc. Our argument is not against Buber's scholarship, nor is it based on an assumption that Southern, Black and Indigenous theories are somehow "pure," 'authentic," or unaffected by the western academy. Instead it is a "post-oppositional"[2] (Bhattacharya, 2016)/de/colonial (Mignolo, 2007) argument for the inclusion of theories from Southern, Black and Indigenous scholars and their plural, hybrid, diasporic identities and the de/colonial insights these offer to our scholarship.

Bhattacharya chooses post-oppositional[3] thinking as a way to move "beyond politicized academic camps to spaces of imagination and possibility without the need to place this work in opposition to that which came before," and aligns herself "with Minh-ha's (1989) notion of blurring the boundaries between self and other, while still holding space for the unique ways in which self and other could function" (Bhattacharya 2016, p. 198). Bhattacharya's work explicitly addresses how power is operationalized within the relation, and how a post-oppositional approach serves to work with differences in ways that are non-binary, non-hierarchical and not seeking consensus. Pedagogically, educators are called on to work in the borders between onto-epistemologies and ideologies, and to "support learners in the development of their abilities to hold paradoxes, and not be overwhelmed by complexity, ambiguity, conflict, uncertainty and difference" (Andreotti, 2014, p. 88). Buber, Bhattacharya and Andreotti provided a way of responding to Clarke's call to rethink education through discourses of thinking that are non-binary, non-hierarchical, and non-oppositional.

De/colonizing the Educational Relationship: Working with Invitation and Hospitality

For the one-on-one tutoring element of the CRLE course, we started to theorize how a non-coercive relationship might be established between the pre-service teacher and student in the first meetings, and how this might be maintained and developed as the weeks progressed. Reflecting on a specific incident related to a birthday party in Fran's family to which Fatima was invited brought us to the concepts of invitation and hospitality, and issues around acceptance to invitations (agency/power), investment, and trust. Seen through our different lenses we wondered whether it might be useful to think about the teacher-student relationship in this way.

The concepts of invitation and hospitality have been applied to education independently of each other but not, as far as we are aware, together. As theories, they have very different lineages. Invitational theory in psychology was developed within a counselling context, the core ideas of which have subsequently been applied to education from policies to classroom relationships (Schmidt, 2004). Hospitality is a philosophical concept developed by Jacques Derrida (2000) in the context of individual relations in France and the reception of immigrants and refugees by the state, the core ideas of which have most commonly been applied to educational relationships in

2. Post-oppositional theorizing is driven by the need to move where we justify our ideas as better than what was presented, as if to create some sort of intellectual victory. (Bhattacharya 2016, p. 198).

3. We use the term de/colonizing with a slash in the same sense as Kakali Bhattacharya, 'to denote the lack of a pure utopian decolonizing space by being in an always already relationship with colonizing discourses and materiality. Therefore, de/colonizing denotes a movement within, in between, and outside colonizing discourses and decolonizing desires' (Bhattacharya 2018, p. 15).

culturally plural settings (Langmann, 2014). In both theories, consideration is also given to the apparent binaries of guest/host, inclusion/exclusion, unconditional/conditional, active/passive, inside/outside, familiar/unfamiliar, and unknown/known - apparent because each is dependent on the other to be understood, and will therefore be embodied by host *and* guest, albeit in different ways.

Invitational Theory

Invitational education theory was developed specifically for application to settings where students are disempowered, alienated and disengaged to create learning environments where they felt welcomed (Haigh, 2011). It emphasizes the affective side of learning and has a goal of positive intentionality on the part of the teacher, through verbal and non-verbal messages and signs conveyed to the student, to 'expunge the negatives that inhibit learners' (Haigh, 2011, p. 299). It emerged as a set of principles for teachers to systematically consider how they invite students to work with them; how they establish a non-coercive relationship and includes respect (for people and their differences), trust (that is mutual and shown through development of a sense of common purpose), optimism (about the untapped potential contained within each learner), and intentionality (creating a learning environment that intentionally invites engagement with each learner) (Purkey & Novak, 2008). Although popular in education, it has been criticized for being apolitical, saccharine and romanticized and for not attending to 'discourses of ideology and power' (Haigh, 2011, p. 305). Findings from previous renditions of the CRLE course (Pirbhai-Illich, 2013) support this criticism.

Invitational education theory emphasizes the role of the teacher and does not address the student's agency and their power to accept or refuse the invitation. Additionally, what we have seen in many schools are western, liberal interpretations of what it means to be inviting, e.g. using superficial approaches such as displaying posters from/of various ethnic and racial groups. Such approaches are considered to be universally relevant as if they are culturally neutral and enable teachers to evade the more challenging work of learning to relate with difference in the educational relationship. These liberal approaches construct a relation that is monologic (how teachers are inviting) rather than dialogic (how might teachers invite in such a way that encourages a reciprocal response that invites teachers into the *students'* cultural space or domain). Derrida's (2000) concept of hospitality, that explicitly theorizes power in relations, provided us with a way forward.

Hospitality

Derrida (2000) constructs hospitality as an ethical orientation between self-other, as aporetic (paradoxical) and as emergent. He identifies two types of hospitality: conditional hospitality, that is regulated by the rights, duties and obligations of a citizen, governed by laws in the judicial system with its origins in western Judeo-Christian traditions; and unconditional hospitality, that goes beyond duty and rights where there is no debt or exchange involved—the guest is free of any subordination. It is in the unconditional form that Derrida discusses the aporia of the host having an orientation towards the guest that is both open to the unexpected and the differences that might be encountered *and* recognizes that in order to be hospitable there is an assumption of ownership of the space into which the guest enters, over which the host has the power to extend or not extend hospitality.

We see parallels between this and the classroom space which is, from the perspective of the student, 'owned' by the teacher. Due to the legal contract that governs the teacher, s/he does

not have a choice over whether students enter the classroom, but s/he does have a choice over whether to create a relationship that "is not primarily whether or how to include or exclude those who are not the same as 'us,' but embraces the possibility of keeping open the question of *who the other is*" (Langmann, 2011, p. 401 italics in original). The teacher cannot abandon all claims to property (the classroom) but s/he can approach the educational relationship with the intention to be unconditionally hospitable, with "an orientation that attends to otherness, listening and learning, valuing and honoring" (Burwell & Huyser, 2013, p. 14) the unexpected as well as the expected gifts that the students bring with them. Langmann (2011) explains how, for Derrida, hospitality is not therefore about hosting the other, but about an ethical response to the demand of heterogeneity—to ask how teachers might respond to students' differences in ways that resist categorization, that blur the limits of the boundaries between inside and outside, and that challenge us to rethink mainstream ideas of inclusion and exclusion.

Encountering the unexpected can cause "moments of interruption" (Hall, 1996/2005); not an unfolding and refolding of the already known, but a complete break/a rupture by something outside the current system that is completely new and therefore unexpected. Moments of interruption decenter "the accumulating practice" (Hall, 1996/2005, p. 267) of the profession, shifting "the boundaries…of what we thought we knew and understood" (Langmann, 2011, p. 406); a process in which "the self is never left unchanged" (ibid). Such a view of ethical relation provides an alternative to the colonizing teacher onto-epistemology discussed earlier. We therefore propose thinking of the teacher-learner relationship as a form of hospitality, in which the teacher "host identifies with the [student] guest and chooses not to live out of any privilege those resources offer, but rather to understand himself or herself as a recipient, too" (Burwell & Huyser, 2013, p. 21). In such a relationship the teacher and student would both be host *and* guest, on a joint process of exploration, finding answers to shared questions that are authentic, the answers to which emerge from the relation and thus cannot be known in advance.

Methodology

A study that focuses on de/colonizing CRLE requires a de/colonizing methodology—from the articulation of the research questions through to the analysis and presentation of findings (Chilisa, 2012). This does not mean a rejection of Euro-Western methods, but a decentering of the overall approach within which we use those methods; doing research "otherwise" requires a break with dominant Euro-Western methodologies. We thus ensured that, at every step, our enacting of these was "informed by relational ontologies, relational epistemologies and relational accountability" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 20). Our roles as researchers are therefore those of provocateurs "guided by the four Rs: accountable responsibility, respect, reciprocity, and rights and regulations of the researched" (Chilisa, 2012, p. 20). Accordingly, the study reported here utilizes a post-critical approach (Noblit, Flores, & Murillo, 2004), to understanding how CRLE might be re-envisioned as a de/colonizing educational practice. As participants, we are materially and socially entangled in the course that we are also researching. We are consciously working with theory in our everyday practice; "getting lost in the aporias of research, 'in paradoxes that trouble' beyond the hubris of perpetual mastery" (Hart et. al. 2018, p. 78).

Participants

The participants in this study included 15 teacher candidates registered in the CRLE course, 15 young adolescent students of First Nations backgrounds from Prairie Grange School (pseudonym), Fatima (principal researcher) and Fran (co-researcher) as participant researchers who engaged in gathering and analyzing data to inform the annual cycles of action, reflection, and evaluation that were designed to improve their decolonial practices. Of the 15 teacher candidates, seven were undergraduate pre-service teachers who had elected to take the course in their final semester prior to graduation and 7 were post-graduate pre-service teachers including one who was an in-service teacher completing a Certificate in Special & Inclusive Education (CESIE); for this student the course was mandatory. All but one identified him/herself as being from white European descent. They are from varying socio-economic backgrounds and aged between 20-45 years. The 15 young adolescent students were from various Indigenous backgrounds and of Métis heritage. They were selected to participate in the tutoring program at the university by their home room teachers on the basis of their struggles with academic literacy.

Fatima and the director of Prairie Grange have worked in partnership since 2009 to ensure that the tutoring component of the course was mutually beneficial: the students benefit from personalized literacy tutoring while the pre-service teachers learn how to utilize culturally responsive and decolonial approaches in their teaching. Each year they reflected on its successes and challenges from which the following research question was identified:

> What might it mean for pre-service teachers to de/colonize their literacy education practices when working one-on-one with a student who has disengaged from formal education? Supplementary questions included:
>
> - What approaches do pre-service teachers use to open up an inviting and hospitable space for interaction and learning?
> - Once open, how do teacher candidates work with their students to maintain that engagement over a period of time?
> - How do teacher candidates' understandings of their praxis change as a result?

Methods

The course consisted of three key steps that are outlined below with the methods of data collection for each step:

> 1. De/colonizing habits of mind (epistemological step): weeks 1-4 focused on theoretical perspectives and preparation for tutoring—face-to-face lectures and workshops[4] on CRP, FoK, relationality and the concepts of invitation and hospitality; weeks 5 – 12

4. One workshop was devoted to a visualisation exercise of a special place from childhood recorded in an annotated drawing (as individuals) which was then used to create a special place in a shoebox (as a group) in which there was a sense of communal place and identity as well as each person being able to recognise their individual contribution. This activity aimed to show pre-service teachers how they could access students' funds of knowledge and home literacies without "interviewing" them.

focused on literacy tools and strategies for teaching using multiliteracies, using FoK, inquiry learning and authentic assessment. Digital discussion (DB) board reflection data (DB1, DB3, DB5) were gathered and selected for data analysis.

2. De/colonizing habits of being (ontological step, week 5-12): this consisted of an eight-week, one hour a week tutoring session with a young adolescent. Pre-service teachers wrote about how invitation and hospitality were used in their first session (assignment 1, A1) and had to audio-record, transcribe and critically reflect on their third session (assignment 2, A2)

3. Reflection on praxis (Self-reflexive step throughout the course): A final reflection on learning from the whole course was provided in assignment 3 (A3).

With the exception of the audio-recordings of tutoring sessions, all data were generated through the tasks that were integral to the course. We did not comment on their digital discussion board entries so that pre-service tutors could reflect without fear of judgement. During the tutoring sessions we made observation notes, read the pre-service teachers' informal lesson plans to guide instruction and learning. We kept weekly reflections which informed the adaptations we made to the course content in light of how pre-service teachers were responding. We used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) principles and procedures (van Dijk, 2009, Wodak, 2001) to interrogate the data at the micro level of social action and the macro level of social structures.

As post-critical researchers, we were attentive to our own onto-epistemological positions and how these interacted with the data during the analytical process. Data were therefore analyzed separately, and we then put our different interpretations into "conversation" not to provide triangulation in the Euro-Western tradition, but to notice the differences between interpretations and to relate them to the socio-cultural, political and historical factors that influence the lenses used—in other words, to be attentive to the "who" that is speaking (participants) and the "who" that is listening (researchers).

Findings and Discussion

The findings are presented and discussed in three parts: preparing for the relationship; developing the relationship; changes in praxis. These map roughly to supplementary questions 1, 2 and 3 respectively. In this section we refer to pre-service teachers throughout, unless a point relates specifically to the in-service teacher. Where extracts from participants' reflections are quoted in the findings section pseudonyms are used, and the data source code is provided.

Preparing for the Relationship

During the first two weeks of the course the pre-service teachers are prepared for the tutoring component through a series of lectures, workshops and independent tasks that are designed to deconstruct how power and privilege work and to raise awareness of settler colonial mindsets. They are also introduced to the key ideas of relationality, invitation and hospitality.

The DB entries in weeks 1 and 2 which focused on their engagement with these theories and praxis demonstrate a good awareness of power and it operates with respect to the racialization and oppression of peoples of First Nations descent, Métis, and other minoritized groups. Two pre-service teachers refer to whiteness (Leonardo, 2009) as a racial category, but in a way that distanced themselves from it. For example, Melissa, makes a connection between course content and

the Oscars: *"*The Oscars are such a sign that so many people in our society ignore different stories. I've been loving #OscarsSoWhite on twitter this morning*"* (DB2).

In a faculty of education that has developed its teacher education programs to be anti-racist and anti-oppressive, one would expect that many more of the pre-service teachers would have referred to their own whiteness and privileges as white settler Canadians. However, the discourse was overwhelmingly liberal—stereotypes are discussed, but not framed within a race discourse. Susan acknowledged that she easily falls into the trap of stereotyping, "When we did our activity we automatically thought of the stereotypical otherness of each country" (DB1) but does not explicitly connect this to racism. However later, using a critical lens she writes about "residual effects left by the colonial influence…in Canada with our First Nations groups" (DB1). Kevin, of Métis descent (Canadian with mixed European and Cherokee heritage), acknowledged that "Saskatchewan is a racist province," and that this finds its way into the curriculum. He states, "the dominance of 'white' North American history is still the norm in many schools" (DB2). Kevin's world experience and his mixed First Nations heritage enabled him to recount many personal and institutional occurrences of racism and inequity in the educational system however, for both these pre-service teachers, acknowledgement of their own complicity in these power structures was missing. Similar findings were found in the data from the other pre-service teachers. The separation of self from those aspects of their white identity that are both inherently racist and give them unearned privileges are an issue often discussed in anti-racist education (Matias, 2016; Jupp, Berry & Lensmire, 2016). This is not necessarily a deliberate evasion, but one that is the product of socialization processes. Whilst this might be expected in the early stages of the course, for us it presented a problem in terms of their preparation for working with students from First Nations or Métis heritage.

The lack of awareness of their own complicity was also evident in responses to the visualization and shoebox activity workshop in week 3. "I visualized the farmhouse where my great grandparents homesteaded. There was nothing there, absolutely nothing when they [homesteaded] and called the road "Little Poland" because so many people came from overseas to homestead" (Sally, DB3). Her family continue to live there, and Sally has a sense of "all the stories that have been passed onto me" and how family and friends "helped everyone to succeed on the farm" (DB3). It was a place where she "felt carefree." In the reflection there was no acknowledgement of how her family had acquired the land. Sally's comments are reflective of the settler colonial "terra nullius" position that contributed to justifications for taking possession of Indigenous lands (Moreton-Robinson, 2015).

Pre-service teachers were introduced to the concepts of relationality, invitation and hospitality. Practical applications of relationality in our own work on object-based and relational logics (Martin & Pirbhai-Illich, 2016) were shared to aid their understanding of Buber's I-It and I-Thou relations. Half the pre-service teachers made direct reference to the alternative logics. Susan thought "the [object and relational] ways of thinking about similarity and difference will be present within us at any given time. I don't believe we have the capacity to view the world around us in only one lens" (DB1) demonstrating a nuanced, non-essentialist view, while Melissa thought that they were interesting ways to think about how "we approach diversity…we haven't found a system that is problem-free. As a result, we need to be open to testing alternative systems" (DB1). The dangers of only thinking and being in object-based ways were highlighted by several pre-service teachers and they were able to connect these to practices they had witnessed or even taken part in during their school internships:

> I found the explanation of the second model [a critique of "celebrating diversity" [practices] particularly sobering and felt that the authors criticism resonates well with ideas of Treaty education…teachers are commonly asked to make bannock or teach a traditional dance. (Evie, DB1)

Despite our intentions, the pre-service teachers did not explicitly connect the different logics to de/colonialism. They owned that they thought in object-based ways, but did not appear to connect this to the possibility that their thoughts and actions could be construed as colonial and racist. It is possibly evidence of the ways in which white people are protected from their own privilege and racism by the liberal discourses that enable them to construct their "race-evasive white identities" (Jupp et. al. 2016, p. 1154) as caring which enables them to evade their complicities in racist and oppressive systems (Tuck & McKenzie, 2015). It is perhaps the aporia Jupp et. al. (2016) refer to in their review of second-wave whiteness studies, where race is both acknowledged (at a systemic, institutional level) and denied (at a personal level).

In preparation for the first meeting with the student they would be tutoring, pre-service teachers demonstrated a broad theoretical understanding of invitation and hospitality but did not show much differentiation between the concepts. Key themes in their constructions of invitation were reciprocity, modes of communication, intentionality, and power. Evie described invitation as a reciprocal relationship, one that is "genuine, not a superficial means to an end," indicating that authenticity (Buber, 1958) was something to strive for. She also recognized the importance of body language and aimed to exude "a warm and approachable state with my body language, diction, tone" (A1). Alexis, in her mid-40s with 15 years of teaching experience, and Kelsey, a 34 year old postgraduate student, referred to trust in the relationship: "It is key to have a relationship with our students in order for him or her to trust and to take risks about his or her learning" (Alexis, A1), and "How can you have a student trust you and open up to you if you do not do the same?" (Kelsey, A1). Alexis and Kelsey perhaps because of their more extensive teaching and life experiences, demonstrate an understanding that trust is crucial when working with historically marginalized students who have experienced mainstream education as violence, and that it cannot be taken for granted.

The evidence of the first three weeks as preparation for entering into the relationship shows a mixture of critical and paternalistic positioning of the who (other) pre-service teachers would meet, little awareness of the subjectivities they would take into that meeting (self), the beginnings of a plural understanding of the educational relation (I-It and I-Thou), and a nascent, theoretical understanding of how they might establish a non-coercive, ethical relations (invitation and hospitality).

Developing the Relationship

This section is in two parts: the first two tutoring sessions in which the focus was establishing an I-Thou oriented relationship, and the remaining six tutoring sessions when the focus was achieving a balance between this and the I-It orientation while teaching language and literacy skills.

Establishing the Relationship

In week 5, to develop a relationship in their first meeting with the student that was inviting and hospitable, the pre-service teachers were encouraged to use the visualization and co-creation

of a special place in a shoebox activity (see methods section), or to devise another activity that would work in a similar way. Of the fifteen participants, 10 did the shoebox activity and 5 chose not to use either the visualization or the shoebox.

Where the visualization and/or shoebox activity were used, evidence shows that this supported the beginning of an educational relationship in which the pre-service teacher and the student were able to participate equally. Seven of the twelve pre-service teachers commented on how working together on the shoebox, sharing their funds of knowledge and co-creating a single outcome helped to develop a positive relationship in a low-stakes environment. April, who had lived in Cameroon for most of her childhood, viewed this task as being intentionally inviting by "not jumping straight into teaching her [the student] a lesson" (A1). Low-stakes comes through not having a formal educational objective and approaching the relationship with an I-Thou orientation which is sincere rather than strategic. For example, "the shoebox helped to have something for us to do when we first met that was low-stakes" (Melissa, DB5), "it didn't seem to be one-sided, we shared about ourselves in a neutral setting" (Beth, A1), it helped the relationship "to be genuine – not a superficial means to an end" (Evie, A1) "…it facilitated a collaborative rather than hierarchical relationship" (Evie, DB5) and it "helped us to communicate authentically" (Susan, A1). Of the five who chose not to do the shoebox, there was a gender divide in that Adrian and Kevin did not engage with it at all or devise an alternative; Alexis devised a different activity; Eleanor and Janette, planned to do the shoebox but abandoned it in the face of resistance from their student.

Adrian, a male post-graduate teacher candidate whose concentration was in Science education had been resistant to the course content from the beginning of the course. At every opportunity, when presenting de/colonizing approaches to literacy education, Adrian provided science-based counter theories/explanations for why educators need not engage in different ways of thinking and doing. It was not surprising that he did not use the shoe-box activity when meeting his student. His justification was: "We didn't use the shoebox, mainly because I didn't want to carry it along with one of those huge boards [a carrel to provide some privacy and to display the student's work] things" (DB5). In his reflection later on, he stated that

> I found the shoebox rather constraining in a way. I usually don't make objects…or "craft-like" things so it was pretty uncomfortable for me. Our own culture and histories matter too [and] I don't think it helps if we completely neutralize ourselves. (DB5)

The field of science and its strong evidence-based approach to understanding nature and humanity had strongly taken hold of Adrian's ways of doing and being. He had strong expectations that society had to change its ways with regard to the Othering of difference, and yet his own resistance to thinking and doing 'otherwise' could be an indication that he is unable to de-centre from his own emotional needs and rationalizes this using a binary logic – evident in the either-or assumption that if he attends to the student's culture and history he would need to 'neutralize' his own.

Maintaining the Relationship

Whether able to establish a non-coercive relationship to access the students' funds of knowledge or not, all found the transition from the first sessions to the subsequent sessions (when the focus was developing students' literacy skills) challenging, as if when thinking about teaching to specific objectives their ontological ground shifted from relational to object-based. As their teacher identities have been socialized in a neo-liberal educational context it is not surprising that they were challenged by *both* engaging the student in relational ways *and* being responsible for

improving the students' literacy skills. These apparent paradoxes, or aporia (Derrida, 2000) were evident in their assignments (A2). Nadine, a postgraduate pre-service teacher had initially connected with her student, but in the third session encountered resistance to what was planned. She noted that, "my agenda seems to be totally focused on what I needed to get done to complete my assignment. [Student] said it feels like a test—I was not creating a very hospitable environment" (A2). Susan began the session in a hospitable manner but after about ten minutes she moved onto her planned activities and her student ceased to participate beyond giving one-word answers. Susan reflects that the transcript

> shows the unbalanced exchange that [we] were having. At one point she asked what time it was and displayed fatigue…It did shock me when she disengaged. I felt like I was fumbling through the middle section of this lesson but I realized I needed to me more hospitable and let her show me what she knows (A2).

It is possible to argue that Susan is demonstrating that she is keeping open "the question of who the other is" (Langmann, 2011, p. 112) in these reflections.

Negotiating between needing to have an agenda (I-It, conditional hospitality) and being without agenda (I-Thou, unconditional hospitality) was a constant struggle. Rather than holding paradoxes and accepting that one can be "both-and," the pre-service teachers seemed to unconsciously adopt the conditional position when in the formal teacher mode. The evidence suggests that conscious awareness was necessary for the I-Thou/"being with" orientation and that slipping back into the I-It/"doing to" orientation was unconscious. It was only through careful attention to the students' body language and verbal responses that they became consciously aware of this.

Critical reflection on the audio-recordings and transcripts gave pre-service teachers a constant feedback loop as they progressed through the weeks, enabling them to continuously adjust their plans. Some pre-service teachers' language began to change from "I" to "we" showing a real sense of joint ownership of the project they were engaged in. "We can work together on a comparative written response" (Evie, DB8), "It was a neat project to work on because [student] adapted our design [for an ice-rink] as we went so it would work" (Melissa, DB10), "We were making videos…we discussed having a script" (Kelsey, DB10). For others, the discourse remained one in which teacher and student are separate entities who struggle to relate, "We changed directions three times in order to try and do what he wants" (Janette, DB10), "I have let him take the lead…but I insisted we have an outline written down" (Eleanor, DB10).

Although liberal discourses continued to dominate the pre-service teachers' descriptions and reflections, there is evidence of nascent understandings of how to reduce the power imbalance that is inherent in the educational relationship. However, the forms of critical reflection that are attentive to the "who" that is teaching and the biases and subjectivities that are brought to each tutoring session were largely missing and thus compromised what it was possible for the pre-service teachers to learn from their reflections.

Changes in Praxis

During the tutoring weeks, pre-service teachers were necessarily engaged in mostly instrumental thinking (Muraca, 2011), while the final assignment (A3) gave the pre-service teachers the

space to critically reflect on the tutoring component and to relate back to the overarching theoretical framework of the course. In these, we see evidence of areas in their thinking and practice where there was some change and areas where there seemed to be little or no change.

The most significant change was that most pre-service teachers, whether their tutoring had been successful or not, seemed to have moved from a position where they saw theory and practice as a binary, to a position where theory and practice were entwined as praxis (Muraca, 2011). We argue this is indicative of nascent understandings of what it might be like to teach "Otherwise" and to step outside of socialized teacher ontologies. For example, many had taken this course thinking they would be given "recipes" for teaching in classrooms with diverse students. By the end of the course they were concerned with understanding how to build spaces for learning that were invitational and hospitable to students' diverse ways of being and knowing. Their orientation towards students as knowledgeable rather than deficient had also changed. Sharon reflected on how she would need to be consciously aware of being invitational and not using "pressing" language in her interactions with students; Eleanor and Susan shifted from previously thinking of classrooms as neutral, to now being aware of how they were "Othering" of difference, and that to *not* be othering required a different approach to teaching. Rather than thinking she had to invite the student into "her" space, Susan had

> begun to realise that by entering the students' space you give up some of your dominance and control…I found this is in fact a form of hospitality, by shifting the circumstances and placing yourself in a position that alters the dynamics. (A3)

Susan seems to be envisioning a different reality in which she understands herself as a recipient of the student's hospitality, so both are host *and* guest which, we argue, opens up a space for more non-coercive, de/colonizing educational relationships.

However, the data also present a complex picture of individuals who were convinced by the need to teach "otherwise," but who were struggling with how to operationalize this in their practice. Some of their end of course reflections indicated that some pre-service teachers were well-meaning but unconscious of the persistence of binary, liberal and racist discourses they used in their writing about their learning. Beth indicated that she had developed more knowledge about how white European settler students generally perform better and are more likely to finish school than students of First Nations descent. She questioned herself about knowing very little about peoples of First Nations descent before this course saying that it was "quite a new thing for me to ask these questions" (A3). In this we see Beth moving from a race-evasive to a race-visible position. In her practice though, she was unable to access her student's FoK and although she wrote that she had a "better understanding of how to teach these students" her ideas were largely expressed using a liberal, caring discourse, "I can ensure all students feel valued and that I care about them for who they are" (A3).

Adrian and Jessica, on the other hand, did not appear to have changed in their perspectives as a result of the tutoring sessions. Adrian, whose resistance to the core concepts of the course were noted earlier, was unable to access the student's FoK at all. Our own observations were that he let the student take control of the situation. Adrian's view was that the student "was inadvertently teaching himself, he got to maintain the expert role" (A3). At the same time Adrian stated that "the course didn't challenge me much," and that working in intensive ways with marginalized students might be amazing but that it was "a larger drain on resources than students that 'go with it,'" which we take to mean "toe the line." Jessica similarly had difficulty accessing the student's funds of knowledge, but unlike Adrian, she continued to use a deficit discourse in her discussion

that showed race-evasiveness, "if I had had a longer period of time each day," "if he was in school rather than at the university" and "if he had his friends around for support" (A3) then she would have had more success. However, her final thoughts indicate a move towards being race-visible, saying that if she had had the student in a class of thirty she "may just have viewed him as defiant rather than realizing his past has affected his view of education and teachers."

Kelsey and Evie wrote passionately about the need to show they care while Nadine was convinced that a relational approach "can be used to show these students that they are valued, respected and appreciated" and that "we can validate their sense of who they are" (A3). We argue these forms of care are colonial in nature. They continue to use saviour discourses that are both othering and patronising. From a white, Euro-Western perspective the saviour discourse is a positive ethical stance, relying on notions of whiteness as caring, innocent and moral (Matias, 2016). This liberal discourse has been passed down through the generations and has become an unquestioned norm in white societies. From a colonial perspective, saviourism is the palatable rhetoric (Narayan, 1995) that maintains the status quo, while Pete (2017) argues that pre-service teachers "care in ways that are laden with colour blindness, and laden with not taking on difficult topics." Melissa still believes, at the end of the course, that "students from diverse communities are not that different from any other student" and that "teachers need to give students space to assert their identities but [they] cannot force students to do this and should not make students uncomfortable by paying too much attention to their background." She seems unaware of her colour-blindness possibly demonstrating her own discomfort and fear of engaging with the Other.

To sum up, the CRLE and the combination of course components that focused on de/colonizing ways of knowing, being, and doing had some successes in leading to changes in their orientation to practice. However, we found little evidence of a more fundamental onto-epistemological awareness and the need to change the "self." This is hardly surprising in a course of thirteen weeks, when the literature shows that in one school it took four years of an anti-racist program to successfully change the persistence of white supremacy among the staff (Blaidsdell, 2018). In our study we found instances of pre-service teachers showing awareness of the need to change the self, and a recognition that this is the start of a lifelong process (e.g. Evie). It would require a follow-up study once they are in the profession to understand whether the seeds sown in the course led to further growth and change, or whether the reality of the school system was not sufficiently fertile ground to support such growth.

Conclusion

The research question that underpinned this study was: What might it mean for pre-service teachers to de/colonize their literacy education practices when working one-on-one with a student who has disengaged from formal education? This was investigated during a language and literacy course (ERDG 425) in winter 2017 when we adjusted our own practices to provide an explicitly de/colonial framework for the course in which we explored the concepts of relationality, invitation and hospitality as ideas that might be applicable to the goal of developing non-coercive ethical educational relationships. Our aim was to "create conceptual openings for possibilities of 'thinking differently' and for 'becoming spaces' where thinking and doing may be less conflicted" (Hart et. al. 2018, p. 77). This involved working with pre-service teachers to develop different imaginaries of education, schooling and curriculum; it involved "thinking from the spaces that modernity could not and still cannot imagine, thinking from epistemologies that were sub-alternized in the process of colonization" (Fregoso 2014, p. 587). In this study we invited pre-service teachers to withdraw allegiance to the hegemony of modernist/colonial models of education and to begin to let go of the

socialized teacher onto-epistemology that they were invested in. We further invited them to take risks in trying plural ways of thinking and being in the teacher-student relationship and to utilize the concepts of invitation and hospitality seemed to be productive in supporting them to take up this invitation.

At the beginning of the study we had the belief that understanding the self, the "who" that teaches is a precursor to changing "how" one teaches at an ontological level. Given the demographics of the pre-service teachers who participated in our study, our focus was on developing their consciousness of their "whiteness" and its influence on their personal and teacher selves. Because their whiteness is normalized, they have usually not had to think about it or its contribution to the permanence of race and racism (Leonardo, 2009; Matias, 2016). As we worked with the pre-service teachers to reveal how their ways of being and knowing are located in whiteness we discussed among others, readings on race, whiteness, CRT, and CRP (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2014), sharing our own experiences of race as a scholar of colour and a white scholar and how that affected the dynamics between us in our own work. Our hope was that bringing our own vulnerabilities into the classroom would act as an invitation for the pre-service teachers to do the same. We experienced many emotional responses to the work which ranged from confusion, tears, frustration to anger and denial. These emotions were variously engaged with from those who were open to being unsettled, such as Evie and Susan, to those who were completely resistant, such as Adrian. However, even those who acknowledged their whiteness continued to present themselves as caring and helpful when talking about their relationship with their students and resisted acknowledging their coloniality which presented possible alternative narratives of being patronizing, exploitative and othering. This could be seen as the product of the object-based, binary logic that is inherent in coloniality because from such a logic to own their colonial self would mean to cease to own their liberal self, rather than considering that it might be possible to be both. Britzman (2000), in her analysis of the difficulties inherent in ontological change, makes a distinction between "lovely knowledge" and "dangerous knowledge." In asking pre-service teachers to question the "lovely knowledge" they hold about themselves we are positioning them in a vulnerable situtation; the knowledge we present is dangerous to their white identities, as it demands a shattering of self—"one's lovely knowledge of the world—to make way for the construction of something not yet defined" (Britzman, 2000, p. 37). During the tutoring, dangerous knowledge acted both ways (Pirbhai-Illich, 2008). One could look at pre-service teacher's identity and present knowledge of how and what education is enacted as being dangerous to the students because of what it represents to the students regarding their collective trauma around their histories of residential schooling. Some of the students' identities and knowledges can also be seen as dangerous to the teacher (e.g. experience of and knowledge of historic and current onto-epistemological violence, other ways of knowing and being) because it places the knower (student) outside dominant norms of acceptability. If pre-service teachers privilege their own knowledge and value system and are not open to the potentially dangerous knowledges of the Other, then the cycle of violence that First Nation peoples have experienced through education will continue. The CRLE course was our attempt to interrupt this cycle.

The pre-service teachers were in a self-self-other dialogue of I-It and I-Thou orientations. They engaged in an *inner* (self-self) dialogue between different ways of being and doing as they examined their habits of mind, and in an outer dialogue (self-other) in the moment of teaching as they examined their ways of being. In this relationally accountable venture, the pre-service teachers had a responsibility to themselves as well as to the students that they were in relation with, and from a critical perspective, this necessarily included a responsibility to the "hidden others" (Benuik, 2016), or dangerous knowledges (Britzman, 2000) that self and other are also related to. This

is why for us conceptualizing the space where educational relations take place as dialogic is insufficient. Dialogic focuses on the two groups in conversation and does not necessarily include the socio-historical, political and cultural relations behind them; a plural understanding of the relation brings in *all* the relations—a perspective that can be informed by Indigenous, southern and diasporic knowledges. For example, "*All My Relations* is a Métis teaching that speaks to the interdependence of human and non-human beings and the responsibilities we have to those relations" (Benuik, 2016, p. 165) and invites us to consider the material as well as the social in our ethical relations.

Our study is a contribution to how a pluralist understanding of educational relationships, which we see as necessarily de/colonizing, might be put into practice. A pluralist understanding is not about inter-relations between multiple *perspectives* within the same universe (e.g. modernity/coloniality), but about inter-relations between multiple onto-epistemologies, which requires a pluriversal view of the world and an understanding that the outcomes of such relations cannot be pre-determined, neither can the approaches in the study reported here be put forward as a blueprint for others to follow. We offer the study as *one* example of what it might mean to begin to de/colonize a language and literacy education course. The findings that emerged have undoubtedly shifted the boundaries of what we thought we knew and understood, and in our continuing work we focus on the spaces, places and boundaries within which de/colonial educational practices might more successfully engender non-coercive, post-oppositional educative relationships.

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A Case for Kindness: A New Look at the Teaching Ethic
By Steve Broidy

Gorham, ME: Myers Education Press, LLC (2019). 94 pp., $42.95

Reviewed by Patricia O'Rourke, University of Connecticut, Storrs

Abstract

Steve Broidy's A Case for Kindness: A New Look at the Teaching Ethic guides the reader through the building blocks of an argument for the interrelatedness of a kindness-based teaching ethic and the ultimate aims of education in a democratic society. Beginning with the teacher-student relationship, Broidy addresses the impact of a kindness-oriented teaching ethic (KOTE) on classroom environment, educational policy, and nothing less than the future of our life together in a democratic society. In this slim volume, the reader is rewarded with a depth and clarity of thought on a topic of critical importance to the present and future of our education system and society: our human sensibilities and relationships with each other.

Keywords: *kindness, teaching ethic, KOTE, sensibilities, relationships, citizenship, democracy*

In the latest addition to the *Academy Book Series in Education*, Steve Broidy weaves a beautiful tapestry of the interrelatedness of a kindness-based teaching ethic and the ultimate aims of education in a democratic society. Broidy opens in the preface by sharing with the reader his surprise at the brevity of *A Case for Kindness: A New Look at the Teaching Ethic*, as it is the result of a quarter century of his work on the topic. In this slim volume, the reader is rewarded with the depth that is clearly a result of Broidy's passion and persistence to make the content meaningful and accessible. He brings a welcome clarity of thought to a topic of critical importance to the present and future of our education system and society: our human sensibilities and relationships with each other.

Beginning with what appears to be a simple premise of attending to the nature of the teacher-student relationship, Broidy builds a case for the far-reaching impact of a teaching ethic based in kindness on classroom environment, educational policy, and nothing less than the future of our life together in a democratic society. In order to build a strong case and dialogue with the reader, Broidy takes great care in defining the terms he is using. He describes a teaching ethic as, "the playing out of a certain sensibility with regard to teachers' relationships with students and the decisions affecting students in the instructional environment" (p. 3). Further distinguishing what he means by a "sensibility," Broidy offers, "a recurrent and coherent set of emotions and feelings, sensitivities/perceptions, dispositions, and conscious priorities that tend to both directly influence choice and provide a privileged set of premises in reflective decision-making" (p.3).

The first two chapters of the book are devoted to clarifying the concept of kindness Broidy is offering, and he begins in the first by distinguishing it from a general notion of "benevolence."

Broidy cautions against the view that kindness is nothing more than intentions and emotions or confusing it with other notions, such as mercy or accommodation. Broidy then turns to a concise and thorough exposition of how kindness has been presented in American educational history, including the influence of unclarity in Judeo-Christian teachings on the topic and the general concern for developing goodness in moral citizens through schooling. Goodness was ill-defined and often arbitrarily equated with kindness, with a focus on the intentions and emotions involved. To support the reader's understanding, Broidy provides selected passages from school textbooks, including *McGuffey Readers.* He posits that it would seem impossible for children "to have learned from the texts how to *be* good or kind" (p. 19), and at the same time that educators believed "that a vaguely articulated focus on benevolence-motivated acts would help to develop an ideal society" (p. 19).

In the second chapter, Broidy leads the reader through a rigorous analysis of the concept of kindness at the root of his teaching ethic, and the stage is set for the larger claims to come related to the ultimate purpose of education. He asserts that it is essential that we "discover that recognizing kindness requires that we see certain relational, intentional/emotional, knowledge/belief, and success features at work in a given situation" (p. 26). Each dimension is important to illustrating the complex and distinct nature of kindness acts and the potential of using kindness as a construct to build a teaching ethic. The "success condition" is the final aspect of kindness acts addressed here, and Broidy makes it clear that it is more complex than attempting to ascertain if a specific, short-term need is met, again pointing to the interrelationship with the ideal aims of education.

Broidy's third chapter serves as a transition to the final two, expanding on the notion of sensibility and its connection to ethical judgement. Broidy again sets out to both clarify and complicate an important building block for his case. Drawing from diverse fields, he puts forth a notion of sensitivities, "[that] includes the 'facts' of a situation that we notice and assign importance to, and the construction we give to those things to which we attend" (p. 52). Broidy then relates this to the evolution of character education and the areas of unclarity that remain in those endeavors today. He argues that addressing students' moral sensibilities is essential and requires a recognition of the complex nature of the task. This leads us to the development of the kindness-oriented teaching ethic (KOTE) in the fourth chapter.

In the fourth chapter, Broidy uses classroom examples to illustrate a teaching ethic continuum, with a focus on caring at one end and justice at the other. He argues that a KOTE occupies the middle ground on this continuum, a place of mediating concern for individual and broader group needs. Broidy takes issue with the advice often given to new teachers and advocated for educators in general to maintain distance in relationships with students as a matter of professionalism. He furthers his argument here by bringing in research on parenting styles, describing the ways in which a KOTE resonates with the authoritative parenting style that has been found to support the best outcomes for children. Both a KOTE and an authoritative style of parenting are characterized by warm, responsive, communicative relationships. Broidy notes the sizeable amount of time that students spend in school and the importance of providing this kind of environment, which might either serve as reinforcement of what is working at home or as a needed change when a child is not well supported outside of school. In addition, Broidy offers two additional factors to be considered in supporting a KOTE: the positive effect on social and emotional learning and the resonance with what students have said they want and need from their teachers. He closes the fourth chapter with a section rich in practical advice for supporting teachers in developing a kindness-oriented teaching ethic.

Broidy closes his case for kindness with a final chapter on the connection between a kindness-oriented teaching ethic and a concern for the long-term aims of education. This is founded on

his conviction that both students and teachers need educational ideals, aims that are integral to a greater meaningful narrative. He argues against the use of standards that are implemented without first identifying the ideals around which they are organized, which leaves teachers and students without guidance for a journey to arbitrary goals. Broidy posits that while there is an unfortunate absence of conscious thought and dialogue regarding educational ideals in America, there are particular ideals that operate on a more unexamined level. He briefly and cogently outlines each of these for the reader: a "materialist" argument, a "perennialist" view, an "existentialist" ideal, a "reconstructionist" ideal, and the "progressive" ideal. Adding that there is perhaps another budding ideal of aligning education with stewardship of the earth, Broidy stresses that while most Americans likely agree with the premise of each of these aims we do not for the most part engage meaningfully with them in thought and dialogue. It is here that he most specifically addresses his concerns with the teaching ethics that emphasize care of an individual to the exclusion of others, and goes on to connect KOTE with John Dewey's progressive ideal of education that encompasses a range of diverse hopes and aims integral to a democratic society.

The final section of chapter five is all too relevant to the societal context for education in the United States today, where Broidy points out that the tendency toward tribalism and "the contingency and fragility of democratic living that Dewey observed" (p. 89) are obvious. Broidy makes a rich case for KOTE as a key to achieving Dewey's vision "for the continuing maintenance and renewal of a democratic society" (p. 89). At the heart of the ethic is a triad of interests, of the teacher, students, and others who may be affected, with an emphasis on the student relationship. Operating in this way in the classroom, teachers are simultaneously supporting students in cultivating the skills, sensitivities, and dispositions needed to be active and thoughtful citizens in a democratic society. Likewise, true to the skill and commitment of an experienced educator, Broidy demonstrates a KOTE in speaking to the needs of diverse readers and leaving us better able to do the same.

Patricia O'Rourke is a doctoral candidate in the School of Education at the University of Connecticut, Storrs. Her scholarship focuses on the role of radical love in critical public pedagogy and praxis for transforming social relationships and education systems marked by broken trust and systemic racism.

White Fragility
By Robin DiAngelo

Boston, MA: Beacon Press (2018). 192 pp., $12.99

Reviewed by L. Smith, Independent Scholar

Abstract

A reflection on my (the author's) reactions to DiAngelo's White Fragility. In this piece, I select themes and discuss their function in their work to achieve DiAngelo's goal of uncovering her own White Fragility. The themes I speak about are DiAngelo's use of the tool of story and how it functions to uncover a White lens valuing objectivity; uncovering the White Lens as a critique of self; and barriers to understanding White complicity, namely the White lens itself, and valuing the myth of objectivity and individualization obscuring Whiteness. In honouring my own story and journey, I aim to be more upfront about my Whiteness and my lenses that have brought me to where I am, so that I may share my viewpoint with others who may be considering embarking on their own journey.

Keywords: *whiteness, white supremacy, white fragility, white racial journey*

Myself as Mirror: An Invitation to Reflect on Select Themes from Robin DiAngelo's White Fragility

I am White person who grew up in a city of about a million people in the prairies in Western Canada. This piece proved challenging for me to write. When a former professor and lifelong mentor of mine asked if I would be interested in writing a critical reflection of Robin DiAngelo's White Fragility in June of 2019, as a White person (and as I would later find out, unsurprisingly, given my socialization of Whiteness), I did not realize how much my own Whiteness, the very thing I am attempting to learn about and which has and still is largely invisible to me, is entwined in my writing process.

It seems fitting that I should talk about my own journey and what I have learned, and some of how I have come to write this piece you are about to read. I will be forever learning about the tension between learning about my Whiteness and invoking aspects of Whiteness through my writing of which I am not yet aware; I am on my own journey to deconstruct how Whiteness and White Supremacy has shaped my worldview. Each day, I attempt to learn more about this tension between being enmeshed with Whiteness while at the same time, attempting to deconstruct and analyze it through writing. It is not possible for me to stand outside of my own experience, and I filter every single experience I have through my previous experiences in this world. My experiences shape my positionality. My positionality, and how others perceive and interpret my positionality,

reciprocally impact each other, and impact the way in which I filter and interpret my experiences. The filtering and interpretation of my experience constitutes building a "lens" through which I interpret and then explain phenomena, including myself (and my whiteness) as phenomenon. This creates a tension between the lens of whiteness that I have, and any attempt of me studying it.As I explore this tension and as I practice intellectual humility (that there is always more to learn), I become a little more aware of aspects of Whiteness that previously I was unaware. This is how I aim to begin the process of unearthing and unsettling Whiteness within my own mind.

I have recently begun reading Paulette Regan's (2010) *Unsettling the Settler Within*, which has shed light on this tension that I was unaware of that exists within my writing as a White person coming from a White perspective. My aim for this piece, as a piece of antiracist and anti-colonial practice, is that I can share my own journey of antiracism and decolonialism in my life, while referencing the select ideas and themes DiAngelo raises in *White Fragility*. Lastly, it is my hope that, you, the reader, will continue to reflect in your own mind and life about your experiences, and how this piece fits or does not fit in your understanding. Thank you for being here, and for continuing to lovingly interrogate your own journey.

A Question of How – An Examination of the Use of Story

I am a White person. Since beginning my journey of learning about Whiteness, I have continually come back to the question of How? How do I begin to talk about a concept as complex as White Supremacy and how it functions, largely to folks who are particularly unlikely to have noticed it or be able to see it, namely, White people? DiAngelo offers suggestions to this question by beginning the introductory chapter with a vignette—a story to illustrate the concept we have decided to delve into: White Fragility, and the title of the book. The vignette functions in a couple of ways, firstly, it anchors us, the audience, in a shared experience, or shared reality of something. In her TedTalk, *How to Disagree Productively and Find Common Ground* (2018), Julia Dahr speaks about the necessity of creating a shared reality in order to begin productive discussions surrounding an uncomfortable, contentious, and/or difficult issue. Dahr (2018) asserts that the most skilled persuaders are those who are able to invite those that disagree with them into a shared reality to establish common ground, "no matter how narrow it is. They identify the thing we can all agree on and go from there." DiAngelo use of the vignette invites us into a shared reality, as she shares the experience of a White man's display of anger while pounding his fist on the table and yelling, "A White person can't get a job anymore!" after articulating a definition of racism that acknowledges the social and institutional power White people hold over People of Colour.

The irony of this scene is that as the White man displays his anger, DiAngelo looks around the room, observing "forty employees, thirty-eight of whom are white [sic]." DiAngelo creates this shared reality so as to create a starting point from which we, the audience, are able to begin to engage in conversation about what has unfolded in the scene, as well as what continues to unfold in our communities and spaces. The use of the story DiAngelo also has another function: to subvert the notion of objectivity. DiAngelo explicates the myth of the White experience as objective, and through her use of stories, she is also demonstrating that from each and every human who relates any story or experience, they are speaking of their perception of events "from the perspective of a particular type of human [emphasis added]" (p. 11), even if the particular type of human is not stated. The use of story at the beginning of the chapters to convey experience anchors the audience in a common experience, while at the same time adding strength to the argument of story as a legitimate source of knowledge. Particularly in research circles, though you can find this concept in many spaces that have been coded as White where objectivity is equated to quantitative data,

data that lends itself to generalizability. Oftentimes, quantitative, generalizability, and objectivity are concepts that are entwined, and are elevated as most desirable and therefore, have the power to sway (White) individuals to make decisions. Consider for a moment the phrase: "Well, that is just anecdotal evidence." Stating an experience as "just anecdotal" serves to dismiss an experience as a legitimate source of knowledge. Dismissing experiences as "just anecdotal" implies that not only is there some experience out there that is objective, but that something objective and somehow free from bias is an ideal, something to which we should all aspire. What DiAngelo is arguing, not only in the words she has written, and also in the way she employs the use of story, is the idea that all stories, even the ones where a lens is not named or acknowledged, are still told from the perspective of a particular kind of human. Therefore, White people, myself included, would be wise to consider the ways in which the perspectives we have influence the way in which we see and understand our own experiences. We would also be wise to consider that perhaps our experiences, no matter what they are, may not be generalizable to all humans everywhere. It is to elevate the use of my own story, the journey that I am on, that I have included the opening vignette of some of the ways in which I arrived to this present moment of writing.

The White Lens

Upon first reading this vignette, the scene feels familiar. I can remember instances where I have witnessed White responses to the suggestion of complicity with racism. However, if I spend some time with that idea, I have arrived at the idea that it is much easier to see racism in others without spending any time interrogating the racism I perpetuate. That is to say, it is easier for me to see the anger of the White man (the White fragility) in others, than it is to look in the mirror and see the anger of the White man (the White fragility) looking back at me. I am committed to the lifelong practice of holding up the mirror to myself so that I may lovingly interrogate my own positionality, while at the same time coming to realize that there are truths I may never know.
As a White person, DiAngelo names that this may be deeply uncomfortable. The way in which White people are socialized to understand concepts like *rationality* and *objectivity* creates an illusion that there is no "White lens" or "White perspective", when really, White socialization functions so as to obscure the existence of such a lens, giving the illusion that the White perspective is "standard" and "normal". The assertion that the White lens is just *the lens* functions to alienate all other perspectives and frameworks that are not White, creating the concept of "the racial Other." The White fragility DiAngelo explicates exists precisely because White people are socialized to view themselves without a racial lens. To add to DiAngelo, I offer that because White people are socialized not to see their White racial lens, any suggestion that White people have a racial lens does not get interpreted by White people as a *critique of lens*, but rather, gets interpreted as a *critique of self*, which is why White fragility appears, and in all of the various ways DiAngelo illustrates.

It has been interesting for me to analyze what DiAngelo refers to as "the pillars of whiteness [sic]—the unexamined beliefs that prop up our racial responses" within my own life: beliefs about how the world and people in it ought to function and behave that are largely invisible to me because they never caused me conflict. An explanation for my lack of my own White unawareness is offered by DiAngelo in Chapter 1 about Whiteness being unknown to me as a White person. DiAngelo discusses in Chapter 1 the challenge of talking to White people about racism.

Barriers to Understanding White Complicity in Racism

Naming the White Racial Lens

DiAngelo offers barriers to why it is so difficult to talk to White people about racism, the first of which I mentioned, which is that White people, myself included have a tendency not to see ourselves in racial terms. Because White people are not socialized to see themselves as racial beings, White people, even folks who are trying to engage in anti-racist practice, tend to view *others* as possessing race and themselves as possessing no race. DiAngelo suggests that the first challenge for White people is to acknowledge, to "[*name*] our race" [italics added for emphasis] (p. 7). As she encourages the White reader to grapple with the uncomfortability of naming our White race, DiAngelo herself engages in this practice throughout *White Fragility* when she explicitly states, frequently at the opening of a chapter when she writes: "*I am a white [sic] woman*" (p. 1), and "I am a white American raised in the United States. I have a white frame of reference a white worldview, and I move through the world with a white experience [sic]" (p. 17). In naming her own race in this way, DiAngelo achieves two things: 1. she makes a conscious effort to break with an example of what she names as "white solidarity—the tacit agreement that we will protect white privilege and not hold each other accountable for our racism [sic]" (p. 125); and 2., in naming her race as a White person, she *models* an example of how we, the readers, may also break with White solidarity and *do* what she suggests: name our race if we are White. DiAngelo does not go as far so as to explicitly state that she knows she is modelling the behaviour, though she does not need to. The impact of watching someone model behaviour, any behaviour, allows us to (re)imagine the way we ourselves may choose to be in the world, even if we are not consciously aware the impact the modelled behaviour may have upon us.

In the writing of this piece, I too, have attempted to name my Whiteness in multiple places, and at the same time, this practice does not come naturally or easily to me and I am by no means finished; it is a practice I am learning how to better, *always*. For example, as I write, I find myself needing to add the qualifier of *White* to phrases like *White people* when I mean *White people* instead of just writing *people*. I largely attribute this to the ways in which I have been socialized that DiAngelo describes: as a White person, I am not immune to the socialization forces that have led me to believe that some experiences of "all people" are, in fact, a function of the White lens I was socialized not to see. In naming my White lens, I attempt to model, in much the way DiAngelo does, the practice of beginning to see the White self in racial terms. Once we see the self in racial terms, we can begin to turn the mirror to the White man's anger (the White fragility) inside ourselves, which is where all the work begins in the first place.

Valuing Objectivity and Individualization Hides Whiteness

In addition to the inability of a White person to name the White racial lens and how it shows up in spaces, DiAngelo argues that there are social factors and ideals that impede our ability to engage with an examination of Whiteness. DiAngelo explains that we all make sense of our experience through our particular cultural and social lens, and because the White, western, colonial perspective is the one that is legitimized by many western institutions, individuals with a White, western, colonial lens operate under the assumption that their worldview is the standard, is the norm, and everything outside of that is thereby *ipso facto* an anomaly, a *deviation* from the norm. Part of the White lens, DiAngelo states, is the view that it is objective, unbiased, and rational. In valuing *objectivity* and the idea that a view can be *unbiased*, the White frame functions in a couple

of ways: 1) creating a (White) standard by which all things that differ are thereby measured against, and 2) it perpetuates the notion that objectivity or lack of bias is even possible. Because the White lens places such value on objectivity, it is difficult to see how one's own lens may not be objective, particularly if that the only lens you have. That is to say, the more deeply an individual subscribes to the notions of "objectivity" and that it is even possible to be objective, the less likely the person is to recognize their own lens as being anything but objective. The belief in objectivity only serves to "[ensure] that we won't examine or change [our racial biases]" (p. 11).

DiAngelo also talks about the value placed on individualization as a part of the White lens. Individualization is the "story line that creates, communicates, reproduces, and reinforces the concept that each of us is a unique individual and that our group memberships, such as race, class, or gender are irrelevant to our opportunities" (p. 10). At the same time the White lens supports individuality, DiAngelo also goes on to remind us that we also have received messages regarding what group membership means, "why being in one group is a different experience from being in another…[why] it is 'better' to be in one of these groups than to be in its opposite—for example, to be young rather than old, able-bodied rather than have a disability, rich rather than poor" (p. 10). In juxtaposing these two sentiments, DiAngelo illuminates how contradictory our values are: on the one hand, the belief that group membership has no bearing on life outcome ("we are all the same!"), while at the same time, holding ideas about which group membership is preferable. In this way, White people are called to action to grapple with the belief that we may not be able to choose which group memberships matter e.g., it matters to my life outcome if I am poor (or rich), but race is an irrelevant category. White people, myself included, need to continue to grapple with what all aspects of identity may mean for the ways in which we navigate our environments, invisible to me and not.

Throughout White Fragility DiAngelo invites the reader in to get uncomfortable with aspects of Whiteness that may have previously been invisible to the reader if they are socialized White, and she does this by sharing pieces of her own experience. DiAngelo calls each of us in to lovingly interrogate the very frameworks we, as White people use, to make sense of our experiences, and by which we set the standard for how things "ought" to be done. An interrogation of Whiteness, White supremacy, and colonization first starts with understanding the self and the frames we all use, including me, to make sense of our experience. Once we begin to see this, we may begin to understand how systemic racism functions when groups of individuals holding a White racial frame and standard congregate, making laws, institutions, and governance structures using those same frameworks, and has real negative implications for those who do not have the privilege of passing through such a framework. If we are to continue to understand the system of which we participate in and reify, DiAngelo we first must understand how Whiteness has shaped our worldview as White people. At the beginning of Chapter 4, DiAngelo quotes Ijeoma Olou, an American speaker, internet yeller, and author of *So You Want to Talk about Race?*: "White People: I don't want you to understand me better; I want you to understand yourselves. Your survival has never depended on your knowledge of white culture. In fact, it's required your ignorance" (p. 51). Let us listen to Olou, and continue to listen, and do the long hard work of looking inwardly and to increase our awareness of our socialized Whiteness. DiAngelo's *White Fragility* offers White folks a place to begin that process.

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