TEACHING IN THE AGE OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC DIVERSITY: THE IMPLICATIONS OF PERSPECTIVES, PREPARATION, & PEDAGOGY

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Teaching in the Age of Racial and Ethnic Diversity: The Implications of Perspectives, Preparation, and Pedagogy

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Teaching in the Age of Racial and Ethnic Diversity:
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Introductory Reflection

Denise P. Reid & Gary Homana

Abstract

> *Although American's Pre-K-12 classrooms are becoming increasingly racially and ethnically diverse, the teaching force remains primarily White. We acknowledge that conversations surrounding race can be difficult, but are necessary to facilitate, establish, and maintain civil discourse surrounding race and other related topics that have implications to the field of education. Therefore, this special edition provides a space for such conversations to take place through critically engaged qualitative and quantitative research, as well as research based on philosophical perspectives that explored historical and contemporary policies or issues of diversity in education, practices, and pedagogies.*

Keywords: *racial diversity, culturally relevant teaching, pedagogical excellence, racial literacy, anti-racist pedagogy, multilingual education, Voices of Baltimore*

The inspiration for this special themed edition of Thresholds in Education originated when the two guest editors presented at the 2018 Critical Questions in Education (CQIE) Conference in Kansas City, Missouri. It was there that we discussed proposing this themed edition with the intention of inviting conference speakers and attendees. As it turned out, we had an open invitation to others beyond the conference.

The premise of this special edition is rooted in the fact that the field of education is comprised of various areas of interest and examination that brings together an international and interdisciplinary group of scholars. Our field is located at the intersection of critical theory, curriculum and instruction, classroom management, special education, disability studies in education, and multicultural education research. Because we recognize the tremendous impact of historical legislation and current policies related to diversity in constructing a broader understanding of teaching, teachers, and diversity in the 21st century classroom, we found it essential to situate our definition of diversity; as one that is multifaceted and includes concepts related to race, gender, religion, social class, and ability/(dis)ability. However, for the purpose of this themed edition, we were intentional in our decision to focus solely on issues related to race and ethnicity.

The landscape of America's schools and classrooms continue to be permeated with issues related to race and culture (Howard, 2020). As our Pre-K-12 classrooms become increasingly diverse, the teaching force remains primarily White (Quinn & Stewart, 2019). Using nationally represented data from 1975-2016, Quinn and Stewart concluded, "that compared with racially minoritized respondents, White educators are less supportive of government equalizing efforts, hold more negative racial stereotypes of African Americans, and express more social distance from

minoritized groups" (p. 272). Therefore, we agree with Howard (2020) who asserts that in order for teachers to function in ethnically and racially diverse classrooms, they will need the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to talk, teach, and think across racial and cultural differences. Conversations surrounding race can be difficult, but are necessary to facilitate, establish, and maintain civil discourse surrounding race and other related topics. According to Kay (2018), in order for such conversations to take place in the classroom, the classroom environment must be conducive to dialogue that is rich, engaging, and meaningful.

In this regard, we consider the implications of perspectives (Murdock & Hamel, 2016), preparation (Casto, 2020; Padua & Smith, 2020), and pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b) and teaching in an age of racial and ethnic diversity. As such, we seek to provide clarity of the opportunities and challenges facing not only teacher preparation programs, but schools and the teachers in them, regarding practices and policies for more inclusive and equitable teaching and learning.

This special issue sought critically engaged qualitative and quantitative research, as well as research based on philosophical perspectives that explored historical and contemporary policies or issues of diversity in education, practices, and pedagogies. Our goal was to present research that invites audiences to engage in the following key concerns/questions: Why is a racial literacy framework productive for teacher educators working with teacher candidates due to its developmental, ongoing, non-linear nature?; How does diversity placement influence elementary teacher candidates personal and professional beliefs about working with diverse students?; In which ways can professional development help teachers and administrators come to understand and engage with students from diverse backgrounds.

The five contributions to this themed issue are highly relevant to those individuals interested in exploring how historical and current contextual forces influence the ways the education of diverse students is constructed, rationalized, problematized and/or experienced in society. Specifically, each explores not only the challenges of addressing race and ethnicity in education but ways to move our work forward for constructive and positive change.

In the first study, Denise Reid, Ayris Temidara, Sergio Merida, and Xavier Buck provide an investigation of the educational experiences of 44 individuals who attended, taught, or served as an administrator at a Black segregated school during the Jim Crow Era. Culturally relevant pedagogy was used to interpret the meaning the participants assigned to their lived experience.

Next, Rosalie Rolón-Dow, Jill Ewing Flynn, and Lynn J. Worden use racial literacy scholarship, empirical teacher education studies and the English/Language Arts as a framework for literacy. Their research project examines student response to racial literacy in teacher preparation curriculum in developing and teaching antiracist pedagogy.

Chloé S. Bolyard and A. Minor Baker explore the cultural mismatch among increasingly diverse K-12 schools and teacher preparation programs that graduate mostly middle-class, White teacher candidates. Utilizing mixed-methods they examine the influence of a diversity placement on elementary teacher candidates' personal and professional beliefs about diversity.

In the fourth study, Jenna L. Canillas reviews orientations toward educating multilingual students with a focus on recent policies and initiatives in California, investigating the linguistic and cultural resources that English learners bring to school as funds of identity. Teachers' perspectives are examined in light of student survey results.

In the final essay, Gary Homana shares insights on *Voices of Baltimore: Life under Segregation*, a documentary film that preserves the rich oral histories of seven African Americans who

attended segregated schools in the Mason-Dixon border area of Maryland. It asks the question "Where have we been, and where are we going"—which is so timely today.

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Lessons Learned: Educational Experiences as Described by Individuals who Attended Black Segregated Schools during Jim Crow

Denise P. Reid, Ayris T. Temidara, Sergio O. Merida, & Xavier Buck

Abstract

> *This study provides preliminary findings of a larger phenomenological study that investigates the educational experiences of 24 individuals who attended, taught, or served as an administrator at a Black segregated school during the Jim Crow Era. Research supports that much can be learned from Jim Crow teachers and their pedagogical practices that predates what we currently know as culturally relevant pedagogy. This article presents preliminary findings from five randomly selected participants from the larger study. Semi-structured interviews were utilized to obtain the participants' description of their K-12 educational experiences. The three propositions (i.e., student learning/academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness) of Ladson-Billings (1995a) concept of culturally relevant pedagogy was used to organize and interpret the meaning the participants assigned to their lived experience. A discussion facilitates a dialogue on practices and future research.*

Keywords: *Jim Crow; school segregation; culturally relevant pedagogy*

This study seeks to examine the educational experiences of individuals who attended segregated Black schools during the Jim Crow era (1877-1964), as described by individuals who attended these schools. Hence, the salient question we examine is, how do people who attended Black segregated schools describe their K-12 experience of being taught by Black teachers? During Jim Crow, the teaching profession awarded Black, college-educated professionals employment opportunities (Foster, 1997). In fact, according to Foster (1997), "between 1890 and 1910 the number of blacks who were employed as teachers rose from 15,100 to 66,236" (p. xvii). The presence of Black teachers in the public schools continued. According to Foster (1996), 50% of Black professionals in the 1950s were teachers.

The composition of these teachers was broad and included those who taught in the various locations and types of segregated settings. Locations included and were not limited to, one-room cabins, public school buildings, church buildings, or in university classrooms (Fairclough, 2001). As these teachers taught in legally segregated and under-resourced schools (Kelly, 2010), they utilized situated pedagogies (hooks, 2003; James-Callaway & Harris, 2021; Kelly, 2010; Lather & Ellsworth, 1996) which helped to strengthen racial pride and mutual progress. The professional realities of Black teachers during Jim Crow changed as a result of the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) Supreme Court decision.

The *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision was instrumental in the national integration of public schools by race. Although *Brown* is considered an educational milestone (Patterson, 2001), sufficient literature argues the promises of *Brown* have gone unfulfilled (Anderson, 1994; Butler, 1979; Farrell, 1984; Gantz, 2004). In fact, after the *Brown* decision, the over-representation of Black children in special education (Dunn, 1968; Harry & Klinger, 2014), achievement, and discipline gaps (Townsend-Walker, 2014) became a persistent reality for Black students in the public school system.

Even though *Brown* (1954) decision addressed the integration of schools by race, the integration and placement of Black teachers in desegregated schools failed (Cecelski, 1994; Lash & Ratcliffe, 2014). The decline of Black teachers in public school classrooms continued as the student population became more racially and ethnically diverse. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2018), the current racial/ethnic distribution of full time public school teachers are 79% White; 9% Hispanic; 7% Black; 2%Asian; 1% Native American, and 1% Pacific Islander. From 1972 to the 2003-2004 school year, the percentage of students classified as racial or ethnic minorities increased from 22% to 41% (Hoffman & Sable, 2006; Kewal Ramani et al., 2007). As a result, countless students are matriculating through the public-school system without the opportunity of having exposure to racially diverse teachers. A diverse teaching force provides a diverse representation of abilities, ideas, and expectations from which students could benefit (Childs, 2019; Ladson-Billings, 1995a; Miller, 2006; Rasheed, Brown, Doyle, & Jennings; 2020). Therefore, we assert the need for a more racially and ethnically diverse teaching force of individuals who self-identify as belonging to one of the myriad of ethnicities represented in the United States and demonstrate competence in working with ethnically and racially diverse students.

The evolution of racial terms was instrumental in our decision to use the term *Black* in reference to teachers and students referred to as *Negro, Colored, Afro-American, or African American* in the literature.

Generational Interpretations of K-12 Experiences

According to Morrison (2004), "remembering is the mind's first step toward understanding" (p. 3). My (first author) first step toward understanding the varying educational experiences across three generations and the racial disparity in the current teaching profession (Lachlan-Hache, et al. 2020) originated from a single question. I distinctly recall the day my oldest daughter asked, "Momma, why are all of my teachers White?" My immediate response, "Because we live in a predominantly White community", satisfied the inquisitive fifth grader, but troubled me. My daughter's question resonated within me for several hours after we arrived home and completed our daily routines. At that moment, I could not describe the emotional seesaw on which I had perched. On one hand, I was proud of my intentionality and persistence in supplementing her education with the use of the *Eyes on the Prize* (Hampton, 1987-1990) documentary series. However, on the other hand, I was not so proud of the quick response I gave my daughter earlier that day. It was at that moment that I acknowledged the reasons for my daughter never having a Black teacher were worthy of investigation.

At this time, I was unaware of the vast research regarding the lack of diversity in the teacher pool (Bryan & Milton-Williams, 2017; Farinde et al., 2016; Lee, 2020; McClung et al., 2008; Rasheed et al., 2020; Ukpokodu, 2007). In addition, I was also unaware of the displacement and dismissals of Black educators because of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (Fultz, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Karpinski, 2006; Miller & Howard, 2004).

A few days after I answered my daughter's question, I took time to reflect on the racial and ethnic backgrounds of my K-12 teachers. Even though the racial and ethnic background of the majority of my K-12 teachers were White, I did have the opportunity to have ethnically diverse teachers.

My investigative momentum decreased for approximately eleven years. Similar to other *baby boomers*, I became part of the *Sandwich Generation*. According to Shallcross (2015), the sandwich generation consists of caregivers who care for aging parents while supporting children of their own. Long-term stressors associated with being in the sandwich generation attributed to a hiatus in my investigation of the reasons why my daughter never had a Black teacher. Even though at the time of my last parent's passing, my children were out of high school and becoming independent adults, I still wanted to investigate why my daughter never had a Black teacher from kindergarten to fifth grade.

Prior to the hiatus, I spent time reflecting on the racial and ethnic backgrounds of my K-12 teachers. However, I became aware that I had no information regarding the education of my parents. Although my mother emphasized the importance of education and had a desire for her children to obtain a formal education (Reid, 2016), she did not share the details of her K-12 educational experience. The impact of my daughter's question stayed with me until we took a family trip to South Carolina (USA) in the fall of 2014. This trip awarded me the opportunity to learn of my mother's K-12 educational history. This trip was the necessary fuel to reignite my investigative momentum to answer my daughter's question.

The Family Trip

The image of the one-room schoolhouse where my mother and her siblings attended school during the 1940s was a life-changing image. Cecelski's (1994) depiction of old schoolhouses in southern towns and rural communities, as "chimneys standing in the cold ashes of a tragic fire" (p. 7) accurately described the life-changing image I saw during a family trip in November of 2014. As part of visiting family residing in Georgia, we traveled by car to South Carolina. The two-hour ride was filled with joyful conversations. While my uncle drove around Calhoun Falls and shared memories of his younger years, I had a sense of a familial bond with ancestors whom I had never met. As we pulled onto the grounds of a church, my uncle explained that cemeteries were part of the segregated South and the cemetery on that land was the final resting place for several of my ancestors.

After parking and departing the car, my uncle continued to explain how, during Jim Crow, Black churches were vital to southern Black communities. He shared how it was common for segregated cemeteries and schools to be on the churches' land. As I stood in silence with eyes beginning to swell with tears, paying homage to my ancestors, my uncle quietly stated (while pointing), "That building over there was the schoolhouse where we all went to school, including your mother." He further explained that only Black children attended the school because, at that time, "the White people did not want their children to go to school with us" (A. Morris, personal communication, November 25, 2014). As I turned, I saw a structure that I would have thought was an abandoned shack. As I slowly walked down the dirt path leading to the former schoolhouse, tears began to flow. I thought about all of the Black children who once walked the same dirt path to attend school in a building that appeared abandoned. In my imagination, I heard children reading aloud, saw Black teachers standing before a room full of Black children and passionately teaching and praising students for their efforts. As I walked closer to the old schoolhouse, I envisioned my

mother as a young child exiting the structure for a well-deserved recess after a learning session. Once in front of the structure, I stopped and slowly turned to my right to behold the full magnitude of this former segregated schoolhouse. I realized that I was observing a snapshot of our educational history that many have forgotten.

Gone were all the traits and identifying markers of the children who once attended this school, nor were there any indications of the teachers who taught at this school. In fact, Gross (2008) utilized oral history methodology to document the legacy of an all-Black school in Kansas, which was demolished with no regard for saving photos, trophies, records, evidence of achievements, and related data on teachers and administrators who served Black students for nearly five decades.

On the ride back to Georgia, the image of the one-room schoolhouse was my constant companion. I quietly contemplated and wondered how many of the abandoned buildings we passed by while in Georgia and South Carolina were former segregated schools. By the time we arrived at our final destination in Georgia, I had a myriad of thoughts and questions regarding the students, teachers and administrators who served in the Black segregated schools during Jim Crow. Before going to sleep, I grappled with the questions; What happened to the Black teachers and administrators who were part of the public education system? What were the instructional methods and level of teacher expectations? And equally important, what happened to the students who were educated in these schools? Therefore, the sociopolitical context of Jim Crow is the backdrop of this study. Former students of segregated Black schools were asked to describe their K-12 educational experience. Specifically, we use the three propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995a) to organize and interpret the meaning assigned to their lived experiences.

The Use of Situated and Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Sufficient literature indicates that Jim Crow teachers utilized pedagogical practices that proved to be culturally relevant (Baker, 2011; Dingus, 2006; Givens, 2021; Hale, 2018; James-Gallaway & Harris, 2021; Kelly, 2010; Preston-Grimes, 2010; Ramsey, 2008). Prior to the coinage of *culturally relevant pedagogy* (Ladson-Billings, 1995a), anthropologist established a variety of terms to describe their efforts to develop a better connection between students' home culture and the school. These terms included "culturally compatible" (Jordan, 1985; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987), "culturally responsive" (Erickson & Mohatt, 1982), "culturally appropriate" (Au & Jordan, 1981), and "culturally congruent" (Mohatt & Erickson, 1981). However, according to Ladson-Billings (1992), these concepts have "not been widely applied to instruction for African-American learners" (p. 313). Yet these concepts identified and dealt with smaller communities in which the cultural practices of these communities were easily recognized and not entangled with other cultures. Pewewardy (1993) described the traditional practices of educators who insert culture into education, rather than inserting education into the culture as one reason for Indian children having difficulty in school.

It was within the context of the Jim Crow era, that Black teachers demonstrated pedagogical practices that were similar to what would later be coined "culturally relevant pedagogy" (James-Gallaway & Harris, 2021). James-Gallaway and Harris suggest that prior to Ladson-Billings' (1995a), coinage of culturally relevant pedagogy, Black teachers served in segregated schools "engaged a critical, politically and culturally informed pedagogy; their praxis built on and affirmed their students' cultural, racial, and political knowledge, worldviews, and assets" (p. 124).

Additionally, Feminist scholar, bell hooks (2003) asserted that we can learned from such gifted educators who specialized in "the legacy of self-esteem building that originated in segregated schools" (p. 79).

According to Fairclough (2007), Black teachers in segregated schools played a major role in the achievement and social mobility of Black students. Similarly, Kelly (2010), asserted these teachers, "fashioned situated pedagogies for the acquisition of educational capital that could be used in exchange for jobs, rights, and social power" (p. 329). Likewise, Lather and Ellsworth (1996), asserted "all classroom practices are situated…they take place in institutions, historical moments, cultural and social fields...in response to individual and social constraints that are often unrepeatable" (p. 70). According to Lather & Ellsworth (1996):

> the concept of situated pedagogies is about educators creating responses and initiatives out of a space between both the histories and legacies of oppression and privilege that they draw on, consciously and unconsciously, and the often contradictory complexities of the local situation in their attempts to make sense of and act within such moments (p. 71).

Although none of the participants in the current study utilized the term "situated pedagogy" or "culturally relevant pedagogy" in their description, most of their descriptions included specific examples of care, support to ensure academic success, encouragement to have racial pride, and high expectations to become productive, active, and engaged citizens.

Clark (2021) provided the following quote from Ladson-Billings as her explanation of the three pillars of culturally relevant pedagogy:

> Student learning reflects the difference between what students know and are able to do when they arrive in a classroom in the fall and what they know and are able to do when they leave in the spring…Cultural competence reflects students' grounding in their culture of origin…while developing fluency in another culture…sociopolitical or critical consciousness is the ability to solve real-life problems using the skills and knowledge school affords (p. 26).

Methodology

The applied approach for this study was phenomenological. This approach was suitable to explore the meaning people assign to their experience of attending a Black segregated school during the Jim Crow era. The following sections will consist of: (a) phenomenology as the guiding research approach (b) recruitment of participants, (c) the data collection process, (d) the data analysis process, (e) findings, and (f) discussions and implications for future research.

Phenomenology

Phenomenology refers to the "philosophical, epistemological and methodological perspectives that attempt to explore and interpret the essence of the phenomena that structure our conscious experience" (Smith & Fowler, 2009, p.163). Hence, phenomenology begins and ends with lived experiences (Van Manen, 1990). In its most basic form, lived experiences involve a person's immediate pre-reflective consciousness of life (Dilthey, 1985), and is experienced before one categorizes, conceptualizes, or reflects on it (Husserl, 1970). All we can "ever know must present

itself to consciousness" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 9). With this approach, there is no separation between subject and object. The "reality of an object is only perceived within the meaning of the experiences of an individual" (Creswell, 1998, p. 59). It is not the goal of phenomenology to reduce the experience of a phenomenon to an abstract law; rather it is concerned with the meaning one assigns to their lived experiences.

Data Collection

Participants

For the larger study, a total of 24 participants were recruited and consented to complete one semi-structured interview. Recruitment and data collection for the study was between March 2019 and March 2020. Recruitment was at a predominately African American church located in the western region of the United States. Data presented in this article are from five randomly selected participants from the twenty-four. The randomly selected participants consisted of three females and two males, with an age range of 67-79 years, with an average age of 75.

Getting to Know the Participants

Participant **"**Teresa", a 77-year-old Black female was born in 1942 and attended Black segregated schools in Louisiana during her K-12 education and undergraduate program. The first time Teresa attended school with White classmates was when she pursued her Master's degree. Teresa was the sixth of nine children in a home in which her parents established high expectations for all of their children. Because, according to Teresa, professional options for educated Blacks were limited to either teaching or nursing, she studied elementary education and special education. Teresa served a total of 35 years in the field of education as a teacher and a reading specialist.

Participant "Linda" is a 79-year-old Black female who was born in 1940. Similar to Teresa, Linda attended Black segregated schools in Louisiana. After high school, Linda moved to California and planned to attend college to study English. Instead, she married and raised a family. In very brief responses, Linda fondly recalled seeing teachers outside of the school. According to Linda, "teachers were also a part of our communities and we saw them around the neighborhood".

Participant "Henry" is a 75-year-old Black male who was born in 1944 and attended Black segregated schools in the state of Virginia. Henry was the second of nine children who, because he was very responsible, was given the responsibility to care for his younger siblings while their mother worked. This responsibility created continued interruptions in Henry's education. Henry described his greatest challenge as being from an impoverished background. Henry openly shared that classmates would often tease him because of his appearance due to lack of proper grooming. According to Henry, "I got a lot of nurturing and embracing from Black teachers saying, "You're a smart student, don't get caught up with what you don't have." Henry also expressed gratitude for the teachers who encouraged him. According to Henry, "our teachers taught us honor, respect and above all that education was the most important thing for us to better ourselves. They put the time in for us to really excel." After high school graduation, Henry served in the military and then attended and graduated from an HBCU (Historically Black College and University).

Participant "Robert", a 76-year-old Black male was born in 1946 and attended Black segregated schools in the state of Texas. When Robert began school in 1952, he contracted the Measles and was required to stay home for six weeks. He subsequently contracted the Mumps and then the Measles again. Although Robert did not receive his full first-grade education in the school

setting, he knew all of the first-grade content and was able to begin the second grade with his class. Robert attributes his early academic success to the efforts of his mother who was a teacher and worked with him during his illnesses. She ensured that he learned everything that would be required of him to begin the second grade. Robert shared the following thoughts about the education he received, "You know, I tell you what, I would say we probably received a better education than the education Blacks are getting now". Robert served in the military before earning a degree in Accounting. Robert worked for the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and Housing of Urban Development (HUD) for over 30 years.

Data Collection

Data were obtained through semi-structured interviews. Each interview was downloaded to a password -protected computer. A list of the assigned pseudonyms was also saved onto a password-protected computer. Field notes were taken immediately after each interview.

Qualitative research does not require the researcher to complete data collection before data analysis begins. In qualitative research, concurrent analysis and data collection is possible and a good practice (Gibbs, 2007). In addition to the interview, unobtrusive data was collected. According to Hatch (2002), unobtrusive data are, "nonreactive" and "can tell their own story independent of the interpretations of participants, and they can be gathered without disturbing the natural flow of human activity" (p. 119). This data included aspects of the participant's demeanor, such as display of emotion, appearance or sound of being fatigued, or falling asleep. According to Hatch, unobtrusive data are useful in the triangulation processes, "because their nonreactive nature makes them one step removed from participants' interviewing interpretations, they provide an alternative perspective on the phenomenon being studied" (p. 119).

Early conceptualization of triangulation (Denzin, 1978; Lincoln & Guba, 1985), demonstrated how multiple methods reveal shared perspectives and realities. Triangulation allows researchers to have greater confidence in their findings and conclusions. For this study, triangulation was achieved during data collection and data analysis. During data collection, interviews were conducted and field notes maintained. Additionally, multiple data sources consisted of twenty-four people with different perspectives regarding the same phenomenon. (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Data Analysis

In qualitative research, data analysis begins and continues during each stage of the research (Bailey, 2007). For our analysis, we started with a collection of audio recording of semi-structured interviews. All transcripts were manually coded. Although the selected coding method is a time consuming and tedious process, we agree with Gibbs (2007) who argues, "Computers cannot do the interpreting for you. In the end, it is your responsibility, the human researcher, to come up with interpretations, to develop analytic explanations and to underpin your overall analysis by appropriate theory" (p. 146).

Triangulation in data analysis was achieved as the first three authors individually coded transcripts and continually met to discuss our individual interpretations. With the use of codes, all original data are preserved (Gibbs, 2007). During the first round of coding, we worked independently and assigned descriptive codes. The creation of a codebook was the most effective way for us to manage the volume of the data.

Due to circumstances and stressors surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic and the subsequent civil unrest after the murder of George Floyd, the entire research team was faced with a "new normal" that included the closure of our university, switching to remote instruction, and prioritizing student care. As a result, we halted the analysis process. Once we re-engaged with the data, the second and third authors identified segments of the transcripts that were potentially thematic. (Gibbs, 2007).

Elements of *oral coding* (Bernauer, 2015) were later implemented into the analysis. The first author continued to reflect on the richness of listening to the recorded interviews while paying particular attention to pauses, laughter, sighs, and crying as the participants described their lived experiences. Although, we now consider oral coding to be the most efficient data analysis for the current study, the identified themes from the data reduction process are discussed with the research findings.

According to Bernauer (2015), "oral coding is an alternative method of "transforming (analyzing and interpreting) oral data collected from interview" (p. 406). Whereas traditional coding involves recording the interview and immediately transcribing the data, the oral coding approach allows the researcher to have an extended amount of time with the data, which ultimately delays the reduction of the audio recording to text. This delay also allows the researcher to, "capture participant nuances conveyed through tone, inflection, volume, pause, and emphases" (p. 406). The oral coding process relies on a Three-Phase Approach.

Although the oral coding process allows extended time for the researcher to continually, connect to the raw oral data, this method provided grater insight into the participants descriptions of their educational experiences of attending an all-Black segregated school du ring Jim Crow. Hatch (2002) asserted that:

> the findings of qualitative studies report the outcomes of analyses, they are seldom straightforward; the object is to bring understanding to complex social phenomena that cannot be reduced to precise, statistical relationships; and they are written in a style that uses literary sensibilities to take readers inside the issues and settings under investigation (p. 224).

Findings

Our initial data analysis of the randomly selected participants, prior to oral coding, consisted of descriptive coding of the transcribed interviews for the five randomly selected participants. Through the continuous review and interpretation of the data, the use of analytic codes were applied to segments of the transcripts that suggest the ways in which the participant may have thought about or conceptualized their educational experiences.

The data reduction resulted in the identification of four themes (i.e., the value of school, self-image, forms of capital, and adulthood). *The value of school* theme related to participant's description of high expectations related to the completion of high school and going to college. All five participants for this study graduated from high school. However, four of the five participants attended and graduated from college. The second theme of *self-image* referred to how the participants viewed themselves and/or how their self-image was impacted by how others perceived them. Henry described incidents of being teased because of his economically poor home life. In spite of his low self-image, Henry received encouragement from teachers who emphasized that he could finish high school and "make it".

The third theme, *forms of capital*, referred to non-monetary sources to promote educational and social mobility. Teresa was just one of the participants who had access to educational capital (Kelly, 2010). Teresa was educated in an all-Black school that provided enrichment programs and access to the writings of William Shakespeare, and issues of local, national, and global economics. The last theme of *adulthood* described the participant's accounts of their adult life, college experience, and chosen careers.

Excerpts from Cynthia

According to James-Gallaway and Harris (2021), teachers in segregated schools exemplified aspects of Ladson-Billings' (1995a) theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. The following results and interpretations pertain to Participant Cynthia and demonstrate aspects of culturally relevant pedagogy (Clark, 2021; Ladson-Billings, 1995a). The guiding research question for this study is, *How do people who attended Black segregated schools describe their K-12 experience of being taught by Black teachers?*

Cynthia is a Black female born in 1952 and received her entire K-12 and undergraduate education in the state of North Carolina. Of the five randomly selected participants, Cynthia was the youngest and the only one from North Carolina. During the interview, Cynthia provided a detailed description of her home and school experiences. Cynthia was the youngest of two. Her mother and father held high educational expectations. Her biological mother died when she was in the fifth grade. Although her father remarried the following year, the educational expectations of her father and step-mother did not wane. The clear articulation of not only graduating from high school, but also graduating from college aligns with the identified theme of *value of school*. Cynthia shared:

> Both of my parents could read and write. . . So that's why they stressed that education was the key to success, to opportunity, and that's what they wanted for both of us –that's the doctrine that was ingrained in us since we were little…I was told, you will finish high school and go to college.

Although Cynthia described herself as a naive child, who most of the time was "just being a kid and doing what kids do", she was well aware of her culture and the sociopolitical context of Jim Crow and her place in society. She described aspects of her experiences that aligned with what the proposition Ladson-Billings defines as *Cultural Competence*. According to Ladson-Billings (1995a), this component reflects when students are able to maintain aspects of their culture while learning aspects of another culture. Cynthia shared accounts of learning of prominent Black leaders and learning passages from the Bible; both of which were important to her culture, while learning English, Math, and other subjects deemed required by the local school board. Cynthia recalled:

> I had a sense of cultural pride when I was at the Black school. We did learn things about Black history. We learned things in class about George Washington Carver and other Blacks who contributed to our society. The value of the church in the Black community was also evident in schools. I also learned, I Corinthians 13 from the Bible.

Even though Cynthia observed differences in the resources between the Black and White schools, Cynthia discussed some of the benefits of all-Black segregated schools:

I always had a Black principal. It was just good to see someone who looked like you in certain positions. Parents had a sense that their kids could get an education and get good jobs. It was great to see Black teachers and principals…Because most of our teachers were part of our community, there was a sense of belonging. We would see our teachers in our community and in church.

The sense of cultural pride that Cynthia described relates to the identified theme of *self-image*. Supportive home, school, and community environments facilitated the process of establishing a positive self-image. Black children and parents could aspire to become a professional because they were able to see it lived out by those in their community who achieved such status. The presence of Black teachers and principals provided Black children the opportunity to see first-hand the rewards of obtaining a college education.

The sociopolitical climate of Jim Crow did not hinder Cynthia's academic progress. She was determined to graduate high school, attend and graduate from college. Even through what Cynthia described a "a very lonely senior year", she was looking forward to graduating and attending college.

After leaving the all-Black school, Cynthia did not experience a school environment n which she had a sense of belonging. However, she did have a strong sense of belonging in her neighborhood community. That sense of belonging was an essential part of Cynthia's self-image.

As one who lived during the Jim Crow era, Cynthia described a sense of contentment. She stated, "We did not challenge the status quo". Cynthia acknowledge that symbols and the reality of Jim Crow were around her. She recalled:

I remember seeing the "White Only" signs…but there was like a sense of contentment because we knew where we could and could not go. We didn't make a big deal about it, we just said that we did not have to be treated that way, so we just did not go there. We could only eat at the Black restaurants. If we didn't want to go there, we just cooked at home. That was just the way we did things.

The *Student Learning/Academic Success* component of culturally relevant pedagogy reflects the difference between what students know and are able to do in the fall and when they leave in the spring (Clark, 2021; Ladson-Billings, 1995a). Cynthia shared multiple accounts of achieving academic success and acquiring knowledge after receiving instruction at both the Black and White school. Beginning in the first grade, Cynthia compared her knowledge of numbers and letters to that of a peer who was able to write letters and numbers before entering the first grade. Cynthia attended Peach Tree School (pseudonym), an all-Black school, from the first to ninth grade. Cynthia was perplexed when attempting to understand why her parents, who emphasized the value of education, did not teach her the alphabet and numbers before she began the first grade. Cynthia stated:

I just don't know why my parents did not teach me my letters and numbers before I started school. My mother was a stay-at-home mom…Maybe they just didn't know that was something that parents should do.

Cynthia also described a God-given natural academic ability as a contributing factor for her academic success. Reflecting back, Cynthia stated:

> As it turned out, this [not knowing her letters and numbers in first grade] wasn't an issue because I learned my letters and numbers and eventually caught up and even excelled in school…I was on the honor roll and one of the top students in my classes…Even having a speech impediment and not knowing I had a severe hearing loss, I did well in all of my classes. When I was in 8th grade at Peach Tree, I was first in my class, the 8th grade class. I was number two of the junior class at Willow Creek High. I wanted to do well so I could graduate and attend college. I was determined to attend and graduate from college.

Cynthia remained at the all-Black school until her sophomore year of high school. At that time, she transferred to Willow Creek (pseudonym) High School, an integrated school. Cynthia described the account of transferring from a segregated to a desegregated/integrated school:

> The transfer was not easy. I left my friends, I left my circle of support to attend Willow Creek High School. After being at Willow Creek for only two years, they throw us all together at Blue Shadow (pseudonym) for my senior year. All of a sudden, I don't belong to any group. Because I left those kids at Peach Tree, I never really…I never had close friends at Willow Creek…I didn't belong to any group. I had a very lonely senior year. I was so happy to get out of there.

Because Cynthia was enrolled in an all-Black school and had only Black classmates from first to eight grade, Cynthia's transition described the transfer to Willow Creek as shocking. Cynthia described the shock of only having a few other Black students in her classes:

> When I went to Willow Creek High School, the former all-White school, I was shocked at the numbers of Black students. Out of 76 students in my junior class, five were Black. Each class had one or two Blacks. That still was not a lot of Blacks.

Cynthia shared a vivid memory of her English class at Willow Creek. Cynthia recalled:

> I remember sitting in my English class when I first got to Willow Creek High School. I remember the teacher doing a review of the things we should have   learned in the ninth grade, and I remember sitting in my seat going, "I don't know that. I never heard of that." . . .We didn't learn that and realized I'm behind.

Once Cynthia had a thorough comprehension of the English curriculum and expectations, she excelled once again. She described the written word as her "saving grace". The ability to read content that was discussed in class was a tremendous help to Cynthia. At that time, Cynthia was unaware that she was profoundly deaf.

Cynthia had to demonstrate her level of academic excellence before the White teachers acknowledged her academic strengths. Cynthia recalled:

> When Rachel [her friend] and I got to Willow Creek, the White teachers had only had dealt with a few Black students. . .But when I was in class, the teachers and some of the students

were shocked that I wasn't a dummy. The teachers and some of the students were surprised that I was smart.

Cynthia also felt as though she was behind in math. However, as with English, Cynthia soon caught up and excelled. According to Cynthia:

> At Peach Tree, we were all put into General Math. I think that was a problem because the curriculum at the segregated school did not allow for varying abilities. They did not have a college track. It was the same track for everybody. I wasted a whole year in my freshman year by taking General Math when I could have taken Algebra 1. I did not take Algebra 1 until I was at Willow Creek, the White school.

Although Cynthia indicated that she had to "catch up" when she enrolled into Willow Creek, she arrived there with knowledge of academic strategies to identify and resolve a real-life problem. This is a credit to Cynthia's teachers at the all-Black school. One could argue this relates to the identified theme of *forms of capital* (Bourdieu, 1986). Although capital can present itself in three ways (i.e., economic, cultural, and social), the described experience is an example of cultural capital in that she utilized the strategies learned to address educational deficits in order to master the required knowledge and eventually exceeding the expectations of White educators.

Even though Cynthia noticed a difference in the rigor of the education at Willow Creek, she acknowledged there was no one at the school to provide encouragement and guidance as she navigated the college application process. Cynthia recalled:

> My parents had never been to college. They didn't know anything about what you need to do to get to college. I knew I needed to take the SAT, and I did. I scored in the 900s in my junior year. Nobody told me that I should take it again in my senior year.

After attending Willow Creek for two years, Cynthia was then transferred to Blue Shadow High School, a consolidated school that integrated several White and Black schools. The unexpected transfer resulted in an unexpected financial blessing in her pursuit of higher education. It was at Blue Shadow that Cynthia's hearing loss was identified. There was a Black counselor at Blue Shadow who previously worked for Vocational Rehabilitation. This counselor's husband was a graduate from North Carolina A&T, the school at which Cynthia had been accepted. Through a slight smile, Cynthia shared the following:

> I told her my life story, my dreams, and determination to go to college. I shared with her what I had done about taking the SAT and being accepted in North Carolina A&T and looking for financial aid…The counselor asked if a doctor had ever associated my speech impediment to a hearing loss. She went on to say that if I had a hearing loss, my college tuition could be paid for through Vocational Rehabilitation.

Similar to what I (first author) experienced as a high school and college student (Reid, 2016), Cynthia was hesitant to accept a label that would identify her as having an impairment. Cynthia eventually agreed to have her hearing assessed. As a senior in high school, Cynthia, for the first time was informed that she had a profound hearing loss. Cynthia acknowledged that her family's

financial resources were limited and the funds received from Vocational Rehabilitation was a true blessing. Cynthia shared:

> So that was the blessing in disguise. The transfer to Blue Shadow in my senior year helped me financially. Meeting up with Mrs. Dawson (pseudonym) who followed me through high school and all of my college years and even I would visit her when I would go home for a visit. She just became a friend. I ended up with a Bachelor's degree in Mathematics & Engineering and a Master's degree in Computer Science.

When asked about the Black teachers and their ability to teach and prepare the students, Cynthia replied:

> I guess they were working to the best of their ability. I think there were those teachers who were a little more conscientious in terms of making sure that we learned what we needed to learn. Certainly, they didn't have all of the resources that they needed—textbooks, labs, all of that—and then providing enriching experiences and things outside of the classroom.

Cynthia's final reflections of her experiences:

> Even though I had a lonely senior year, when I look back through my yearbook, I am amazed at all the comments about how smart I was. I think about the older people who knew me and would say, "Keep up the good grades." Because the newspaper published the names of the students on the honor roll, people who were at my church and in my community knew of me, my parents, and my accomplishments. There is something to be said about people who look like you teaching you, People who knew you from the community knowing you and your family. There were even some teachers at Peach Tree who graduated and then came back to teach there. There was a sense of family bonding. That was lacking at the integrated school.

When Cynthia was asked what two words she would use to describe her experience of attending an all-Black segregated school, she replied:

> Acceptance and compassion because I knew there were people there who cared for and loved me. I was accepted as a girl who talked funny, I was accepted for being smart and I was accepted for being myself.

The use of Ladson-Billings (1995a) propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy proved to be an effective tool to organize, interpret, and present the preliminary findings of this study. However, because of the COVID-19 related interruption to our data analysis, and the addition of oral coding (Bernauer, 2015), we plan to conceptualize a framework to more thoroughly examine the four identified themes from the data reduction process within each propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy. For example, within the *Sociopolitical Consciousness* proposition, we will consider how the themes of *value of school, self-image, forms of capital,* and / or *adulthood* are evident throughout the participants' experiences directly related to maintaining or establishing a sociopolitical consciousness.

Limitation

The limited amount of time to establish rapport and to member check with participants is considered a limitation. I (first author) experienced opportunities to establish rapport. For three of the five (60%) randomly selected participants, the initial contact and subsequent follow-up seemed welcomed. It was during these opportunities that clarifying questions from the transcripts were answered. For the current study, only initial rapport was established and I was unable to member check with two of the five (40%) of the randomly selected participants. If the percentage of the randomly selected participants is representative of the larger study of 24 participants, it is expected that member checking may not be accomplished with approximately 10 participants. This is a realistic probability because of the age of the participants. At the time of this preliminary study, I had been informed, that since the interview, four of the participants had passed away. Additionally, the longer it takes to analyze the transcripts, there is a higher probability that participant's memory capacity may decrease and affect their recall of specific experiences.

A second identified limitation of this study is directly related to the total number of participants. The original anticipated number of participants was approximately 20 individuals. However, due to the number of individuals expressing interest in sharing their experiences of attending an all-Black school during Jim Crow, all persons who consented to participate in the study were interviewed. Because of the thick and rich nature of qualitative data, analyzing transcripts for 44 individuals is tedious and time consuming. The completion of data analysis process will take twice as long as it would have if only 20 participants were interviewed.

Discussion and Implications for Future Research

Researchers and practitioners have much to learn from Jim Crow teachers who valued education and profoundly influenced millions of Black Americans, and individuals who attended Black segregated schools. Historically, the education of Blacks has been an important political battlefield in the South, with Black teachers being in the center. Despite the historic battlefield, the teaching profession was one of the most chosen of the few professional options for Black college graduates. As these teachers taught in legally segregated and under-resourced schools, they helped to strengthen racial pride and mutual progress. In fact, attending and graduating from Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) was a chosen path by a large percentage of individuals who attended all-Black schools during their K-12 experience.

As shared by participants, the educational journey of Black students in Black segregated schools was, in the majority of cases, characterized by a sense of belonging, the development of cultural pride, a demonstration of care, and preparation to become active and engaged citizens. The persistent evidence of such characteristics were key factors in the academic success of Black students in both K-12 and higher education settings. The role of Black teachers in the academic success of Black students has been well documented and should be used as a reference to ensure the future and continued academic success of Black students.

Efforts related to the integration and placement of Black teachers in desegregated schools, after the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision, failed. Because of the persistent reality of the overrepresentation of Blacks in special education, disparities in achievement and discipline of Black students and the underrepresentation of Blacks in GATE and AP courses, an examination

of past and present pedagogical practices of effective teachers, from varying ethnic backgrounds, provides researchers and practitioners with a multitude of perspectives and insights. As the years pass, opportunities to interview individuals who taught at Black segregated schools continue to diminish. Hence, there is equal value on the perspectives of individuals who were students at all-Black segregated schools. Far too often, we dismiss the insights, perspectives, and experiences of individuals who lived during the early and mid-twentieth century.

When thinking about a more ethnically diverse teaching force, there is a potential reality to consider. A truly ethnically diverse teaching force can essentially take another fifteen to twenty years. Because college-educated Black professionals now have a myriad of competitive career options from which to choose, teaching may not be frequently chosen. If the current teaching force remains ethnically the same, steps to equip current novice and veteran teachers is required. It is recommended that current novice and veteran teachers conduct a self-assessment and comparison of their pedagogical practices and the propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy.

In order to adequately prepare students to be change agents and participate in a diverse and democratic society, all three propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy (i.e., student learning/academic achievement, cultural competence, and sociopolitical consciousness) are equally valued and needed. If the continued existence of a predominately White teaching force, is in fact the reality, then equipping preservice, novice, and veteran teachers to effectively implement all propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy is essential. This approach to teaching can show up in any discipline. Additionally, this approach implies that there is a change in pedagogy. It is not enough to simply include content that connects to the students' lives, albeit this is a good, yet cursory starting point. The current rhetoric surrounding the teaching of a complete history of the United States, including facts regarding the colonization of Native Americans, slavery, the Jim Crow era, and internment camps, may affect the full implementation of culturally relevant pedagogy. To ensure students in the 21st century classrooms experience academic success, maintain cultural competence, and develop a sociopolitical consciousness, teachers should evaluate the current achievement disparities and make a conscious decision to become a part of transforming an educational system in which ethnically diverse students can experience academic success.

The following recommendations are based on the preliminary findings of the five randomly selected participants. Findings from the remaining participants may yield different recommendations. The first recommendations for future research is directly related to teacher preparation programs (TPPs). It is recommended that TPPs assess their effectiveness in equipping preservice teachers to be culturally relevant teachers. Assessments should include, but are not limited to; an assessment of program curriculum to evaluate the inclusion of culturally relevant pedagogy propositions, follow-up surveys of graduates to determine their perceived preparedness to serve racial and ethnically diverse students. Also provide continued professional development to ensure current and newly hired TPP faculty are aware of the propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy and their implementation within the program. This recommendation implies that professors in TPPs will embrace the value and need for preservice teachers to be equipped with the three propositions of culturally relevant pedagogy.

The second recommendation for future research is related to a greater understanding of how segregated schools educated students with special needs. The fact that Cynthia completed first through eleventh grade without a diagnosis of a profound hearing loss is hard for current educators to comprehend. Future research to investigate the experiences of Black students with physical and learning limitations in all-Black segregated schools would provide additional insight into the instructional practices of Jim Crow teachers.

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Racial Literacy: A Productive Framework
for Engaging Race and Racism in Teacher Education

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Abstract

This study explores the framework of racial literacy. The term "racial literacy" has been used with increasing frequency in recent years; however, there are varied ways that the term is conceptualized and utilized. In some educational research studies, the term is only briefly defined and/or conceived of as something to achieve once and for all. Our study fleshes out the theory, drawing on foundational scholarship of racial literacy, empirical studies using racial literacy in teacher education, and the field of English/Language Arts to explore the nuances of 'literacy' as they relate to the framework and insights from our research project on teacher candidates' racial literacy. We define racial literacy in our context and illustrate it with data from a two-part research project that examined (1) student response to racial literacy teacher preparation curriculum and (2) self-reflection and peer feedback in developing and teaching antiracist pedagogy. It is vital for teacher educators to remind themselves that race work is a process, one that can be messy and uncertain. We argue that the racial literacy framework is productive for teacher educators working with teacher candidates due to its developmental, ongoing, non-linear nature.

Keywords: *racial literacy, teacher education, antiracist teaching, teacher candidates*

Sparked by the murder of George Floyd in the summer of 2020, protestors took to the streets throughout the United States (U.S.) to speak out against racism and violence in the police force (Hill, 2020). This wave of Black Lives Matter protests and activism amplified awareness of the presence and harms of racism to a broader range of the population across the United States (Hill, 2020; Taylor, 2020). Protests brought attention to the pernicious impact of racism across multiple systems, including education. Young people organized in public and on social media with calls to remove police officers from schools, reform curriculum to teach all students our racialized history, and enact policies that address inequity in educational opportunity for racially minoritized groups. Yet, awareness of racism in education is not new, and many scholars (Banks, 2001; Chapman, 2011; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Milner & Laughter, 2015; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001) have identified critical understanding of race, racism and anti-racism as key to enabling teachers to work for justice.

The current context highlights the urgency of adopting frameworks across teacher education that prepare teachers to understand and address the impact of race and racism in education. There is a clear need for antiracist teaching, which involves both an "orientation towards teaching aimed at deepening understandings of how racial subjugation functions in schooling" (Ohito, 2019, p. 2), and action towards addressing racism in ways that create a more democratic society (Blakeney, 2005). One such framework is racial literacy. Racial literacy was first conceptualized by legal scholar Guinier (2003) as a diagnostic and analytic tool that involves "the ability to read

race in conjunction with institutional and democratic structures" (p. 120) and that defines racism as a "structural problem rather than a purely individual one" (p. 202). In this article, we describe our experiences as we integrated a racial literacy approach into our work with teacher candidates. We form a research team of teacher educators that includes two white women (Jill and Lynn) and one Puerto Rican woman (Rosalie) concerned with issues related to race, racism and educational equity. We seek to develop teacher candidates who are proficient in our content areas, but also understand race and are agents of change regarding systemic racism in the education system—in other words, we seek to prepare teacher candidates to become racially literate.

For four years, we explored our engagement with racial literacy through a two-part research project examining (1) student response to racial literacy teacher preparation curriculum and (2) self-reflection and peer feedback in developing and teaching pedagogy focused on racial justice. Both phases of our project helped us better articulate how we conceptualize a racial literacy framework for teacher education. The purpose of this article is first to describe how existing scholarship informed our conceptualization of a racial literacy framework for teacher education, then to further illustrate key features of that framework with insights from our research project. Ultimately, we seek to show that the racial literacy framework is productive for teacher educators working with teacher candidates due to its developmental, ongoing, non-linear nature.

Foundational Scholarship on Racial Literacy

Recently, the term "racial literacy" has been used with increasing frequency; a search of 10 general and social science-focused databases for the keywords "racial literacy" in the last 10 years yielded 311 results: 61 books, 174 articles, and 64 chapters. Cited scholars usually emphasized different, but complimentary dimensions of racial literacy. For example, Guinier (2003, 2004) links the concept to Critical Race Theory (CRT) and advocates for understanding structural elements of race when developing racial literacy. Thus, at the core of racial literacy are CRT conceptualizations of race, not as a biologically determined fact but as a social construct invented and manipulated by society to classify and rank individuals according to changing criteria of what constitutes a racial group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Racism involves the white supremacist ideological system that sustains this racial hierarchy and justifies the structural organization of societal institutions in ways that confer the most power and benefits to white people at the expense, exclusion, and harm of racially minoritized groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015). CRT describes racism as deeply ingrained in institutions and daily life, to the point of invisibility for the dominant white group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Guinier (2004) notes that developing racial literacy involves engaging in a continual learning process about the ways race, "in conjunction with class and geography[,] invariably shapes educational, economic and political opportunities for all of us" (p. 117). Guinier (2004) acknowledges the negative psychological effects that racism produces, but also highlights the ways racism impacts institutional power dynamics and access to resources. Further, Guinier (2004) explores how structural racism reinforces the divergence of interests among and between groups. According to Guinier (2004), racial literacy is context-specific, requiring understandings and solutions responsive to the unique racial dynamics of particular situations and institutions. Guinier's (2004) work provides essential foundations of the racial literacy framework, describing it as a non-linear learning process: dilemmas related to race require us to continually re-read, re-learn, and re-teach in ways attentive to context.

In their conceptions, Twine (2004) and Stevenson (2014) focus on the psychological and emotional components of racial literacy. Twine (2004), a frequently cited scholar, uses whiteness studies as a foundation to demonstrate how parents in transracial families socialize their children to understand race and racism. Twine (2004) defines racial literacy as an antiracist teaching and socialization project in which parents utilize resources, conceptual tools, and discursive practices to promote healthy racial identity development in their children and to teach them how to resist racism. Stevenson's (2014) definition of racial literacy as "the ability to read, recast and resolve racial stress in social encounters" (p. 16) provides a needed emphasis on the emotionality of racial work. Stevenson (2014) argues that individuals must understand how they were socialized to understand race. Stevenson (2014) also advocates for attention to emotional responses to racially stressful situations. Like Twine (2004), Stevenson (2014) focuses attention on developing healthy racial identities and on teaching individuals the skills to identify and competently resolve racial encounters. The three aforementioned researchers provided the foundational pillars for our conception of racial literacy. These pillars include (a) recognizing racial literacy as an ongoing, context-specific learning process that includes gaining conceptual understandings of the social, hierarchical nature of race, (b) understanding racism as a normalized process with deep impact on our societal structure, (c) being aware of how race and racism shape institutions such as education, (d) learning about how race impacts individuals' socialization, (e) developing skills to resolve racially stressful encounters, and (f) integrating antiracist practices into our roles as educators.

Racial Literacy in Education

Conceptualizations of racial literacy outlined by scholars in education also informed the framework for our project. Some literature using the concept of racial literacy focused on competencies that students can develop, including scholars who make specific connections to literacy practices with elementary students. For example, in their study of a second-grade classroom, Rogers and Mosley (2006) point out, "within social struggles for freedom and justice, literacy has always been deeply enmeshed in race" (p. 462). Their study highlighted the importance of contextualizing and recognizing racial "subtexts" in the public discourse. For these authors, racial literacy provides a means for "guid[ing] participatory problem solving" (p. 465). Their study ties understanding of these issues to literacy instruction as it is traditionally seen, in terms of reading and writing. Similarly, Kaczmarczyk et al. (2018) advocate for combating "racial illiteracy" in elementary students through literacy teaching, such as reading picture books, conducting literature circles, and writing dialogue journals, noting that "[c]oupling literacy instruction with books that evoke thoughts and feelings about race and social justice can aid teachers in facilitating…much-needed conversations" about "race and social justice" (p. 524).

These researchers provide examples of pedagogical practices that can help teachers guide young students to read and respond to texts in order to develop racial literacy, leading to connections to the field of English Language Arts. The National Council of Teachers of English's (NCTE) Commission on Reading defined literacy, specifically reading, in a way that supports this emphasis on "texts" in racial literacy: "a complex, purposeful, social, and cognitive process in which readers simultaneously use their knowledge of spoken and written language, their knowledge of the topic of the text, and their knowledge of their culture to construct meaning" (Commission on Reading, n.d., p. 1). These concepts apply to our framework of racial literacy because this work requires bringing together multiple texts and contexts in order to develop understandings. Literacy shows how teacher candidates read, write, listen, and speak in response to various 'texts': in the case of racial literacy, to develop their understanding and willingness to engage in race work.

Applying racial literacy to the teacher education context, Epstein and Gist (2015) center three aspects of Guinier's (2004) framework. One aspect is the ability to understand the racial grammar of our society's racial hierarchies. The second is the effect of race on psychological states and interpersonal relations, and the third is the need to address race and racism directly in education (Epstein & Gist, 2015). Both Epstein and Gist (2015) and Horsford (2014) show how teacher candidates need to develop skills and vocabulary to understand race and discuss race as a social construction. Epstein and Gist (2015) also note the frequent necessity of helping teacher candidates clarify misunderstandings about race and its social impact. Horsford (2014) further suggests that candidates must be able to read the structural dimensions of race present in our country's history and in contemporary social conditions. Epstein and Gist (2015) and Horsford (2014) influenced our work in their application of racial literacy competencies to teacher education, particularly in terms of providing opportunities for teacher candidates to develop skills and vocabulary to engage in race work and to clarify misunderstandings about what race and racism are and how they impact education.

Studies by other noted scholars (Skerrett, 2011; Sealey-Ruiz, 2011; Sealey-Ruiz & Greene, 2015) also impacted our conceptualization and use of racial literacy. Skerrett's (2011) research examined the "extent and quality of teachers' racial literacy knowledge and practice" (p. 313). Skerrett (2011) categorized teachers into three categories including (a) apprehensive and authorized, (b) incidental and ill-informed, and (c) sustained and strategic. Skerrett (2011) found that all participants expressed the desire to know more, and to continue to build their racial literacy, therefore concluding with a call to engage school leaders and teachers with racial literacy work to help them develop nuanced and comprehensive understandings about race and education. Though their work centered on practicing teachers, its focus on the ongoing nature of racial literacy was relevant to our research.

Sealey-Ruiz (2011) studied teacher candidates, noting that students who build racial literacy recognize "race as a major factor in inequitable systems present in schools" (p. 118). Sealey-Ruiz and Greene (2015) define racial literacy as "a skill and practice in which individuals are able to discuss the social construction of race, probe the existence of racism and examine the harmful effects of racial stereotypes" (p. 60). Sealey-Ruiz and Greene (2015) also highlight the importance of "opening and sustaining dialog about race and the racist acts we witness in our home and school communities, and society writ-large," with the goal of developing antiracist teachers (p. 60). Sealey-Ruiz (2011) focuses on developing teachers who are advocates for social change through pedagogical practices as well as taking "action against injustice in their school settings once they recognize it" (p. 118). We drew on Sealey-Ruiz's (2011) and Sealey-Ruiz and Greene's (2015) work in considering what racially literate teacher candidates would look like in our context and what engaging in anti-racism work involves.

Researchers like Epstein and Schieble (2019), Colomer (2019), Blaisdell (2018), Solic and Riley (2019), and Pabon and Basile (2019) have used the work cited above as a basis for developing definitions and measuring the extent of enactment of racial literacy practices by teachers or teacher candidates—both racially minoritized and white, depending on the study. These studies all identify valuable targets and understandings. Yet at times, defining racial literacy as competencies to be measured may lead to the assumption that once participants achieve these goals, they never move; the objective has been completely accomplished. We seek to extend this research to account for the unique nature of "literacy" as it is more generally defined.

As we considered the features of literacy more broadly, two English/Language Arts sources were helpful. In a paper commissioned by what is now the Literacy Research Association (formerly the National Reading Conference), Alexander (2005) presents a "developmental" orientation toward literacy, a "lifespan model" (p. 416). While focused specifically on reading, Alexander's (2005) model applies to literacy more generally in several ways, including racial literacy. Two aspects especially important to racial literacy are the focus on "personal interest" as a "driving force" and development as "a lifelong journey" (p. 413). In a blog post sponsored by NCTE, Condon (2017) also highlights the need for "lifelong learning," emphasizing the "habits, skill set, and inclination needed" (para. 2). There is an important distinction between teaching *reading and writing* and teaching *to read and to write* with the latter meaning "to fully embrace all of the possibilities of literacy and actually and actively DO personally fulfilling reading and writing" (Condon, 2017, para. 4). Condon (2017) goes on to explain that reading and writing involves asking questions, pursuing answers and then sharing emerging ideas, perspectives and discoveries. This broad conception of literacy as lifelong habits and practices that lead to action strongly connects to our notion of racial literacy, including Guinier's (2004) notion of race work as a process. Literacy is ongoing; there is not an end point. It encompasses a set of skills that we can attain, but also indicates a stance: a willingness to learn, ask questions, and think critically. All of these are dispositions that can be applied to learning about race. Our framework thus highlights different features of literacy in order to emphasize the ongoing, inquiry nature of racial literacy, building further on Sealey-Ruiz's (2011) commitment to taking action, which we see as essential to antiracist pedagogy.

Racial Literacy in Our Context

Objectives

In this section, we provide additional details on our racial literacy project: we describe our context, participants, and methods; and we illustrate how key features of the racial literacy framework were evidenced in our work with teacher candidates. The aforementioned racial literacy scholarship, which we engaged with throughout our project, as well as our knowledge of the demographics of our teacher candidates and our years of prior experiences working in our context, helped us identify the following objectives as essential to the development of racial literacy:

1) Understanding that racism is a contemporary problem, not just something in the past;
2) Understanding that race is socially constructed but has a profound effect on educational experiences and outcomes;
3) Recognizing ways that racism is institutionalized in systems such as education;
4) Gaining practice in reading, reflecting on, addressing, and working to resolve racially stressful encounters;
5) Applying our racial literacy stance and skills to our understanding of our role as educators who must actively address racism.

We invite other researchers and teacher educators to use these skills and dispositions as a potential starting point, recognizing that they may need to address other racial literacy competencies that are responsive to their context, their teacher candidates' needs, and their teacher candidates' prior experiences and knowledge of race and racism.

Our Research Process

Context and Goals

Our racial literacy project came about as a result of a 2015 university-wide institute that invited participants to develop ways to "engage difference" in their teaching. The purpose of our project was to study the use of racial literacy in our courses and to study our process. A focus on racial literacy was particularly important to us in the context of our work in our state's flagship, predominantly white university where the three distinct teacher education programs (elementary teacher education, secondary English education and early childhood education) in which we each work addressed complex understandings of race to varying degrees. In phase one of our project, we developed assignments, materials, and lessons with the goal of fostering racial literacy in teacher candidates in three undergraduate courses and then studied teacher candidates' responses. The research goals for this phase[1] were to: a) investigate the range of responses from undergraduate teacher candidates to curriculum activities that seek to develop racial literacy and b) describe the ways that our pedagogical interventions shaped undergraduate teacher candidates' racial literacy. In this article, selected findings from phase one illustrate the conceptual or applied facets of racial literacy that we identified as important for a teacher education racial literacy framework.

In phase two, we turned the research to ourselves, conducting a self-study of our experiences as we taught and learned with each other and our teacher candidates. The research goals[2] for this phase were a) to investigate the affective components and management of racial stress that must be considered as professors employ pedagogy to promote students' racial literacy, and b) to explore how collaboration, specifically critical self-study, can support the work and growth of racial justice-oriented professors. Phase two helped us better articulate the pedagogical components of our racial literacy framework particularly as we explored our teaching strategies for addressing race concepts and themes, nurturing antiracist teacher identities, and exploring strategies for managing racialized emotions and racial stress in our work with students.

Methods

Our study design was primarily qualitative in nature but also included a quantitative survey. In phase one of our project, 64 teacher candidates agreed to participate in the study. Mirroring national trends of the emerging teaching force (McDonald, 2007), our programs still struggle to recruit and retain diverse candidates. Therefore, the demographics of our 64 study participants mirror those of our classes as a whole. The majority of study participants were white (93%), middle- to upper-class young women. Just under 7% of the 64 participants identified as racially minoritized; the same percentage (though not necessarily the same students) identified as low income; and approximately 13% indicated that they were first generation college students.

In phase one, we administered a pre- and post-course survey to measure differences in candidates' beliefs about race and education and readiness to teach about race. The survey was administered online at the beginning (N=60) and end (N=58) of the course and asked candidates to state their opinions or understandings about key concepts on a six-point scale (1 = Disagree

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1. Full discussion of phase one is beyond the scope of this paper. We outline details about our pedagogy in Flynn et al., 2018, and we describe research findings related to student responses in Rolón-Dow et al., 2020.
2. Full discussion of phase two is beyond the scope of this paper. For detailed discussion of our self-study, please see Flynn et al., 2020.

Strongly, 6 = Strong Agree)[3]. Phase one qualitative data included course artifacts, specifically three racial literacy assignments. These assignments included: a racial analysis of participants' own educational experiences; a racial analysis of curriculum materials; and a final project in which candidates applied these ideas to a product, such as developing a unit or a series of lessons, creating a family communication plan, or exploring a racially literate teaching resource. To triangulate our data (Shenton, 2004), we also completed semi-structured interviews with a smaller group of focal participants (see Table 1). To select focal participants, we made a list that included students from all three courses who represented diverse racial backgrounds and who had varied responses to the curriculum. We sent invitations to this list of students and stopped recruiting once we had obtained 20 participants. To minimize socially desirable answers, a graduate student conducted the interviews.

Table 1

Participants

Pseudonym	Program	Race (self-identified)
Alanah	English	White
Briana	Elementary	White
Ciara	English	Biracial (African American & White)
Courtney	Elementary	White
Emily	Early childhood	White
Isabella	Elementary	White
Jackie	Early childhood	White
Jennifer	Early childhood	White

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3. In this article, we only report on results on the items relevant to our conceptualization of the racial literacy framework.

Rolón-Dow, Flynn, & Worden—Racial Literacy

Jeremy	English	White and Korean
Jessica	Early childhood	Asian American (adopted into White family)
Julia	Elementary	White
Kira	English	White
Kurt	English	White
Marisa	Early childhood	Hispanic
Moira	English	White
Ruby	English	White
Savannah	Elementary	White
Samuel	English	White
Shannon	Early childhood	Korean (adopted into White family)
Ted	English	White

For phase two, we video recorded each racial literacy lesson (three per instructor). Along with the graduate student who was part of our research team, we met three times, one per professor, to provide feedback after watching video clips that we individually selected. For this portion, we drew on the tuning protocol developed by the National School Reform Faculty (2020). The protocol is a professional development tool used for receiving critical feedback from colleagues leading to fine tuning of pedagogical practices. We wrote reflective memos after teaching and after the video analysis process. Finally, the graduate student interviewed each of us separately, providing our last source of data for phase two.

We engaged in an inductive data analysis process (Hatch, 2002) which included establishment and refinement of codes, coding of all data by two research members, writing of analytic memos in response to reports of coded data, and ongoing team meetings in which we developed assertions about how our emerging data findings related (or not) to our research questions (Saldaña, 2013). One of the challenges that we faced as we engaged a racial analysis—both through the teaching components of this project and in collecting, coding, and interpreting data—was how to treat the development of racial understanding as a fluid, non-linear, dynamic process. There are many studies that document how participants, particularly white teacher candidates, are lacking in their racial literacy and/or commitments to social justice; indeed, in their review of research, Jupp and Lensmire (2016) show how work in the "first wave" of white teacher identity research focuses almost exclusively on documenting white teachers' and candidates' shortcomings and resistance to race work (p. 985).

While understanding opposition has its place, we wanted to focus on how to address and overcome teacher candidates' limited racial understanding and resistance. Particularly from our stance as teacher/researchers, we did not find it helpful to place the study participants in a hierarchy with teacher candidates ranked from high to low on their level of racial understandings. In teaching and in data collection/analysis, therefore, we attempted to identify the understandings about race each teacher candidate brought to the course, to elicit their candid perspectives, and to develop their racial literacy from this starting point.

In the following section, we illustrate how participants demonstrated racial literacy in different ways. Our intent in this piece is not to gauge the degree of effectiveness or examine the overall impact of the pedagogy; rather, it is to illuminate the facets of racial literacy that we identified as productive.

Research Findings: Demonstrating Racial Literacy

Knowing Racism is a Contemporary Issue

Sometimes students, particularly white teacher candidates who do not have to directly confront racism in their daily lives, believe that racial prejudice happened primarily in the past or has minimal impact today. Looking back, several participants recognized this trend in their own schooling. Shannon wrote in one of her assignments that "race wasn't really a thought when I was a kid in school growing up." In her racial identity paper, Briana noted that in her elementary school education, "I found the majority of topics of conversation to be based around white people and their impact … The only time that we really spoke about African Americans and their impact was during Black History Month." Jackie explained in her interview that she had studied the Civil Rights Movement in school, but in a way that "made it seem like it was something that was more of an issue going on in the past." Now, however, she has learned that "there's … a large group of people that are still struggling to have equality" and noted that "it wasn't until I got here [the university]" that "[I] saw…this is still something that is very prevalent."

Our teacher candidates grew up with Barack Obama as president, and were likely exposed to public discourse that we were entering a post-racial era. However, by the time of the study (2015), the Black Lives Matter movement was coming to prominence; during class discussions, several participants explained the importance of the events of Ferguson, the verdict in the Trayvon Martin case, and the protests in Baltimore following Freddie Gray's death. Closer to home, a racially charged incident highlighted tensions at our university. Our national and local context provided multiple examples to illustrate the ways racism is a present-day issue. Samuel observed

in his interview, "these issues have kind of always been around, but they're considered modern issues almost in a way, because they're talked about so much more now."

Understanding Race is Socially Constructed, but Has Profound Impact

For some teacher candidates, the idea that race is socially constructed was new. We surveyed them about statements on the social construction of race, including (1) Race is a category that has been constructed by people but has no biological basis; and (2) Racial categories used to classify people in the United States change over time. Their responses showed a statistically significant increase in understanding that race is socially constructed between pre- and post-test results (see Table 2). The initial survey administered before the teacher candidates completed the racial literacy assignments yielded a mean of 3.76 out of 6 (1 = Disagree Strongly, 2 = Agree, 3 = Somewhat Disagree, 4 = Somewhat Agree, 5 = Agree, 6 = Strongly Agree) for the statement "Race is a category that has been constructed by people but has no biological basis", while the post-survey yielded a mean of 4.83, a highly significant difference of 1.082. These findings indicate that nearly half of the candidates did not view race as socially constructed prior to the racial literacy discussion and assignments, whereas the majority agreed that race has no biological basis after they completed the course. A related finding of the survey was the increase in means for the statement, "Racial categories used to classify people in the United States change over time." The mean response increased from 3.95 to 4.54, a similar finding to the statement about race not having a biological basis. These significant findings provide evidence that many of our candidates were not aware of key concepts related to race (i.e. that race is socially constructed and that it changes over time) until they completed the course work.

Table 2

Pre- and Post-Survey Means

Survey Question	Pre- or Posttest	N	Mean	Mean Difference	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
I am aware of resources available to me to address issues related to race in education.	Pretest	59	3.75	-1.082	-5.132	115	.000
	Posttest	58	4.83				
Race is a category that has been constructed by people but has no biological basis.	Pretest	58	3.76	-.785	-2.849	113	.005
	Posttest	57	4.54				
Racial categories used to classify people in the United States change over time	Pretest	59	3.95	-.595	-3.275	114	.001
	Posttest	57	4.54				

While it was important for candidates to know that race is not biological, it was also necessary for them to understand that it still shapes structural systems and life experiences in powerful ways. We heard these concepts directly echoed in some of the interviews, such as Alanah's:

> It was really...big for me to realize that race is a social construct…if you were to have two blood samples, you wouldn't be able to distinguish one race from another…Then at the same time race is also who we are. It is part of our identity.

Courtney also brought up in her interview that she had a better understanding of the impact of race in education. She reported, "I feel like…a block has been removed, clearly not all the way, because I don't know everything that there is to know, but…I have a better understanding of just how race really does play a role."

Recognizing that Racism is Institutionalized in Education

Other scholars (Crowley & Smith, 2015; Pederson, Walker, & Wise, 2005) have shown that it can be difficult for teacher candidates, especially white participants, to see the structural elements of racism. We contend that a vital component of gaining racial literacy is understanding how racism is embedded in institutions such as schools, the justice system, health care, and government. Several candidates revealed in their interviews how they saw institutionalized racism in their field placements. Emily explained that she gained this understanding initially through our webquest activity that showed stories and statistics about racial disparities in education: "it was just really surprising to see the…connection, especially…students of color are much more likely to be disciplined much stricter or frequently with harsher consequences." She went on to recount a class discussion during which some fellow teacher candidates saw this trend in their field placements. Jeremy pointed out in his interview how he noticed the racial disparity between his student teaching site's International Baccalaureate (advanced) classes, which were primarily white, and his College Prep (regular track) classes, which were primarily racially minoritized students. Ruby did as well, even though she knew the College Prep "kids are smart," with "equal intelligence" to the honors students.

Some participants explained how the racial literacy assignments helped them understand how racism is institutionalized in education. Jackie discussed the second racial literacy paper in her interview, explaining that if she had not been directed to consider the representations of race in the curriculum in her student teaching placement, "it's something I probably wouldn't have noticed before." When asked in the interview about key ideas that she took away from the course, Courtney said,

> Definitely that history is written by white people…the history that you read in books and that kids really get a lot of is the white version of history…You don't really hear about the Native American point of view. You don't really hear about the Black point of view…I didn't learn about the Japanese internment of World War II until I was in high school.

While we don't contend that all participants gained a thorough or nuanced understanding of systemic racism, the data suggested that many of them were able to become increasingly attuned to these issues, particularly in educational settings. This is a necessary first step, one that certainly must be extended and deepened in participants' future racial literacy development.

Gaining Practice Addressing Racially Stressful Situations

Racially stressful encounters manifest differently for different teacher candidates. In our classroom context, some of our white teacher candidates feared saying the wrong thing, felt guilty about their privilege, or believed it was not their place or responsibility to address issues of race. Emily discussed her realization that

> there's a lot of things that I don't know and there's experiences that I don't have, that I probably never will have, that I have to just read about and learn about from my students and from their experiences. It was...a little humbling.

When asked if the racial literacy lessons were challenging, she also said, "it *was* difficult … I was not part of this Civil Rights Movement. I'm a 21-year-old. … I don't want to overstep my boundaries." Emily's age as well as her whiteness and her lack of experience noticing and addressing the ways racism impacts everyone caused her to feel some racial stress.

Other white teacher candidates said they have found difficulty in the past dealing with the emotionality of race work or understanding their privilege. Kira said, "I don't really like thinking about the politics [of race]…I've never been good at discussing those kinds of things." Moira declared, "I just see myself as a working class white chick that came from an okay family and is in college, so it's hard for me to think about my race impacting the things I do." However, Moira went on to note,

> But...this class taught me it does impact, especially when I'm choosing the way I teach, because that's going to be a very important aspect of it. Because my race is reflected in my thoughts, my opinions; and my stance on race is reflected in my teaching.

Many of the white teacher candidates observed that talking about race and education in a structured and scaffolded environment helped them gain the ability to discuss race in a more productive way, helping address racial stress. As Samuel explained in his interview, "I just got to practice a lot talking about my own race and talking about other people's race and how that affects lives."

For other candidates, racial stress manifested in different ways. As we have found in another study that focused on the recruitment and retention of underrepresented groups in our teacher education programs (Flynn et al., 2014), racially minoritized participants in our programs were the target of microaggresssions, faced outright racism, and felt weary from bearing the burden of being underrepresented and thus hypervisible in their university and/or teacher education program. Racially minoritized students in the present study spoke of similar experiences. These experiences happened throughout their educational careers. Jeremy, who identifies as half white and half Korean, explained in a course assignment that "anyone who's ever met me has tried to win at 'Where are you from?'" In her interview, Jessica discussed being called "Mulan" by elementary school classmates and said that teachers made assumptions about her math proficiency due to her Asian background. Jessica noted that her teacher education program, though, and particularly the class that specifically addressed racial literacy was welcoming and inclusive.

Marisa experienced racism throughout her school experiences. She reported in her interview that she remained in ESL classes in elementary school even after she gained fluency in English and was ready to be "challenged" rather than stuck in a classroom that was "too simple." In her teacher education courses, Marisa sometimes felt hypervisible, noting "I'm the only Hispanic

in my entire class." She also explained that issues of race can be "kind of just brush[ed] over" or "sped through" in her program because "we don't want to talk about the negative things and we don't want anyone leaving the major." Marisa felt that productive discussions of race had been lacking in her previous teacher education courses. She also sometimes feared the responses of her classmates when discussing placement of students in a nearby urban area:

> Even though we have an African American president, not a lot of people are okay with that still. We've come a long way to get here, but I still feel like a lot of people aren't on the same page about that. It's always in the back of my mind because I'm a minority.

She experienced racial stress during the racial literacy lessons due to "not knowing what people were going to say."

Similarly, Ciara noted in her interview that "in my classes I feel comfortable, but maybe on the campus I don't feel as comfortable." Though she said that her program generally was welcoming to racially minoritized students, she also explained that, as one of two students of color in her class, she experienced racial stress: "It definitely impacted our class in which we can incorporate race and without offending people." She articulated the need for the university and for teacher education programs to be more diverse, explaining some of the work she had already done on this issue in a campus student group. Helping address the racial stress of racially minoritized teacher candidates, particularly in our overwhelmingly white teacher education programs, is something we continue to work on. Along with Ciara's recommendation of working to diversify the teacher candidate pool, we persist in our efforts to confront and combat white supremacy, directly address white teacher candidates' expressions of white fragility and microaggressions, and attend to the emotional needs and racial stress of racially minoritized teacher candidates. We also aim to avoid false parallels, emphasizing to our students that the ways white individuals experience racial stress are not equivalent in nature or impact to the racial stress experienced by racially minoritized individuals.

Developing Racial Literacy as a Professional Responsibility

A final important facet of racial literacy is our assertion that developing these skills and approaches is our professional obligation as educators. If teacher candidates see teacher education programs valuing and prioritize racial literacy, they are more likely to deem it as part of their professional obligation. Teacher candidates need to be prepared with expertise for engaging contested topics such as race in responsible ways that promote the well-being of their increasingly diverse classrooms (Arbaugh et al., 2015). Survey results showed a change in teacher candidates' self-reported readiness to address race and education. The statement "I am aware of resources that are available to me to address issues related to race in education" showed a statistically significant increase between the pre- and post-survey (see Table 2; (pre-test x = 3.75, post-test x= 4.83). On the survey, teacher candidates also demonstrated increased awareness about the responsibility of white teachers to improve their racial literacy to effectively teach their students and about the need for more racially minoritized teachers. These survey questions helped us measure candidates' view of the importance of racial literacy as a professional obligation.

Qualitative data also help illustrate this facet of racial literacy. When thinking about what role developing racial literacy would play in her future teaching, Emily noted in her interview,

it would help me to look at each of my students' identity, their racial identity and then who they are in...their family. What role do they play in their household? What role do they play in their community?...trying to look at the whole picture of one child and one family to really understand and assess their needs, instead of just..."Oh, they need to work on spelling." To look at all of their needs instead of just their educational needs...one of [those] is definitely looking at their racial identity, and how that fits into our classroom, and how that may affect their interactions with other students or their own self-image.

Kurt also thought about his future students, explaining that as a white teacher,

I don't get to experience their life experiences so I kind of feel a little bit of a disconnect because, their experiences as...minority students and their worldviews, their perspectives...I don't get to see.

He articulated, "I have to take that step"—to continue growing and learning about race and education as he entered the profession.

Several candidates noted that our classes opened their eyes to the professional obligation to grow one's own racial literacy. Emily discussed how her class integrated issues of race throughout the semester:

It was a lot of self-reflection about, 'This is what we're doing, do you notice anything in yourself? Do you notice the biases in yourself? Why do you think they're there?' It was just brought up more consistently so that it was more natural to think about it when you're doing something, which is important because you shouldn't only think about it once it's become a problem. You should think about [racial equity] the whole time and when planning lessons.

On a related note, Moira explained that being conscious about issues of race in her content area of English Language Arts is now

kind of just in my head...in the background all the time. Is this unit diverse? Are these texts showing multiple voices? How are these voices being represented?...Are these kids actually thinking about the important issues at hand? It's there, and I think this course really made it be there. I don't think it probably would have even crossed my mind if I wasn't forced to think about it.

These candidates show how they gained greater awareness of their professional obligation to address race and racism as future teachers.

We also asked teacher candidates how they will continue to develop their racial literacy moving forward. Ruby noted that "the best thing to do to keep reading and keep connecting with other professional learning communities, and keep my ears open for other techniques, other strategies that maybe other teachers with more experience have." Having a more concrete set of skills and resources was important to her, since she also said, "before...I knew I had to be conscious of everyone, but I wasn't sure how to go about it." Samuel noted in his interview,

> I think one thing that I'll continue to work with is just continuing to think about that idea of being the white man teaching students who are different from me, and especially using literature…from people of color…How do I present myself in a way…that doesn't maintain that same 'white man knows all and is teaching you about your culture' type of thing?

Samuel felt it was important to continue questioning his own stance and whiteness and how they impacted his teaching. Kurt viewed his future school/community members as potential resources for developing racial literacy. As he noted in his interview, he wants

> to continue the conversations with my students, with their parents, with the communities, with other teachers…and then also staying up to date with the news…just never saying,… "I know how to perfectly cover the topic of race."…I just plan to continue investigating…to not give up on it and just think, 'I'm done,' because you know, we'll never be done.

Kurt also explained that addressing race and equity was vital as an educator, "because all of our kids need it." He went on,

> All of them need to cover the topic of race. Race is hard to talk about until you've had practice talking about it, especially in English. English is all about social justice, and becoming literate…And so obviously, race is a huge part of that.

Many of the candidates, therefore, showed how they left the course with an understanding of the imperative to continue developing racial literacy as a professional educator.

Implications for Teacher Education

In the previous sections, we have shown how some of our teacher candidates demonstrated the aspects of racial literacy that we determined were important in our context. We emphasize with our candidates the ongoing, developmental nature of the racial literacy framework, sharing that it embodies a stance as well as skills. While this particular approach worked for our three groups of teacher candidates, other teacher educators can develop their own locally-specific variations to best meet the needs of their students.

We continue to face challenges in this work. To begin, we do not contend that all candidates demonstrated all of our objectives with consistency. For example, Shannon continued to exhibit deficit thinking when discussing parents in urban contexts who "don't care" about education, and Savannah contended that achievement gaps were based on the individual school and not present everywhere. It is our experience that focusing on the "literacy" aspect of racial literacy helps us deal with these shortcomings in a more productive way. When our participants appeared to resist, it was frustrating, but reading their racial analysis papers helped us understand how their experiences have shaped their worldview and gave us ideas to strategize how to proceed. The emphasis on continuing development, a lifelong commitment that spurs us to action, reminds us that just as our candidates need to continue to foster their racial literacy learning, so do we. At times, teachers and teacher educators can treat learning as undeviating, linear, and straightforward. However, it is rarely so direct, particularly with challenging subjects like race and racism. The framework of literacy can be helpful in theorizing the understandings and non-linear development of racial literacy. It is also true that without some means of measuring progress, we come only to the conclusion

'everyone is different,' which is not helpful. We continue to consider how the racial literacy framework must contend with the consequences on actual students' lives and how we can prepare teacher

candidates who are 'safe to practice' given their varying racial literacy commitments, stances, and skills.

In a 2017 issue of *English Education*, Baker-Bell et al. (2017) point out that Critical Race English Education (CREE) works to "nam[e] and dismantle[e] white supremacy and anti-Black and anti-Brown racism" (p. 123). They further "raise the following question: *What should be the responsibility of* all *English Educators in the wake of terror, death, and racial violence?*" [emphasis original] (Baker-Bell et al. 2017, p. 123) and call for teachers to consider the following steps:

1) Engage in critical self-reflection, specifically working through the ways in which their own positionalities influence their pedagogical practices and the ways they perceive Black and Brown youth.
2) (Re)imagine…classrooms as sites for healing and racial justice.
3) Engage *all* youth in concentrated and serious dialogues about how white supremacy, anti-Blackness, anti-Brownness, homophobia, and other forms of xenophobia lead to race-based violence (p. 125).

These words continue to resonate as we write this article in the wake of a new wave of violence against racially minoritized people, with the killings of Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, and George Floyd, and public acts of violence against the Asian American Pacific Islander (AAPI) community. As teacher educators concerned with equity and justice, we take this call to action seriously. We prepare teachers who will themselves teach future police officers, politicians, judges, doctors, community activists, and more. We want those future teachers and students to be agents of change, especially as related to systemic racism, following the CREE guidelines articulated above.

In addition to focusing attention on persistent anti-Black racism in the U.S., worldwide protests have amplified the importance of initiating reform efforts in education. We must ensure that students have opportunities across their K-16 schooling to learn about the ways race and racism are inscribed in the history and current circumstances of our country, our institutions, and our individual lives. In short, we need to become racially literate, and as teacher educators, we must prioritize this goal. We believe there is a need to collaborate with colleagues to integrate racial literacy throughout the curriculum, in order to foster deep learning that prepares antiracist teachers. Engaging in this project has provided a productive and generative learning experience for us both as teachers and researchers. We persist in striving for understanding of and facilitating our own and our teacher candidates' racial literacy growth. The collaboration we have experienced in both phases of this project has sustained us and allowed us to vent our frustrations, brainstorm solutions to classroom dilemmas, and renew our energy to continue. We argue that the racial literacy framework supports an ongoing process that can lead to important racial understanding and impetus to act. We maintain that it is vital for teacher educators to remind themselves that race work is a process, and to share this idea with their teacher candidates as well. We argue for a more productive, literacy-based conception of teacher candidates' engagement with race work. We further advocate for deliberate, spiraling curricula that returns to this work multiple times in order to foster deeper learning and engagement. As Baker-Bell et al. (2017) remind us, we have a solemn responsibility as teachers to counteract racial violence and foster racial understanding and justice.

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Diversity Placements: Supporting the Development of Socially Just Teachers or Reinforcing Negative Stereotypes?[1]

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Abstract

>*While K-12 schools become increasingly more diverse, teacher preparation programs continue graduating mostly White teacher candidates from a middle-class background. If not mitigated, this cultural mismatch can have a detrimental impact on students, as teachers' beliefs about diverse students go unchecked and impact their practice with students. One way teacher preparation programs have sought to prepare teacher candidates to meet the diverse needs of students is through requiring a diverse field experience. This paper shares findings from a mixed-methods study that examined the influence of a diversity placement on elementary teacher candidates' personal and professional beliefs about diversity at a university in the Midwest United States. As a large, public university, Midwest University draws students from a wide variety of settings, from rural locations to dense urban communities. The majority of teacher candidates at Midwest University are from suburban and rural communities. Using a pre-/post- survey design, the researchers note two significant increases in participants' scores after the diversity placement. Additionally, qualitative data analysis from interviews provides a nuanced understanding of survey score changes. Three recommendations for teacher preparation programs are provided.*

Keywords: elementary teacher education; teacher candidates; multicultural education; field experiences; teacher beliefs

Given the increasing student diversity within schools (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2019) and the predominantly White, middle-class, female teaching force (Hochschild, 2003; Loewus, 2017), teachers must gain competencies related to serving diverse students through inclusive, equitable, and just practices. By diverse students, we mean students belonging to "historically marginalized sociocultural groups" (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001, p. 161). Teacher beliefs and practices, specifically related to students who are different from them, have a profound impact on the teaching and learning environment (Kahn et al., 2014; Nelson & Guerra, 2014; Sleeter, 2001). The demographic mismatch of teachers and students creates significant cultural and social gaps that contribute to the likelihood of marginalized students' poor performance in public education (Sandell & Tupy, 2015). Responsive teacher preparation programs (TPPs), therefore, must prepare

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teacher candidates (TCs) for the social and cultural contexts found in public schools. These contexts are defined in the diversity standards required by the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP) (CAEP, 2013).

Some scholars have argued that teacher education tends to perpetuate the status quo by failing to adequately prepare TCs to work with diverse students (Allen et al., 2017; Ladson-Billings, 2010; Nelson & Guerra, 2014). Current inadequate teacher education practices include a cultural homogeneity of faculty (Ladson-Billings, 2010; Warren, 2018); an additive, piecemeal approach to multicultural education (Ladson-Billings, 2010; Mills & Ballantyne, 2010); a "diverse" field experience as a hoop to jump through (Ladson-Billings, 2010) or that reinforces problematic stereotypes (Haberman & Post, 1992; Hayes & Juárez, 2012; Warren, 2018); and simplistic notions of culturally relevant pedagogy (Sleeter, 2012).

One way TPPs can disrupt the status quo is by working to enhance TCs' equity literacy (Gorski, 2016) through meaningful and structured field experiences in schools with diverse student populations, sometimes referred to as "diversity placements" (Acquah & Commins, 2016; Siwatu et al., 2011). Community-based experiences can be more important than coursework for developing TCs' equity literacy (Sleeter, 2001) and self-efficacy as culturally responsive teachers (Siwatu et al., 2011). The intent of this study was to explore the influence of a diversity placement (i.e., a Title I school in a Midwestern state) on elementary TCs' personal and professional beliefs about working with diverse students. After reviewing the theoretical influences and research literature on teacher candidate beliefs about diverse students and teacher education's approach to improving those beliefs, we describe the context and research design of the current inquiry. We share both quantitative and qualitative findings and discussion related to the study's research question and conclude with recommendations for teacher preparation.

Theoretical Influence: Teacher Candidate Beliefs about Diverse Students

Our research on TCs' beliefs about diverse students is influenced by a number of understandings related to beliefs. In this section, we detail our conception of beliefs, how beliefs are formed and altered, TCs' beliefs about diverse students, and a two-dimensional view of beliefs.

Because TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diversity are the object of examination in the present study, it is necessary to clarify how we conceptualize beliefs broadly and personal and professional beliefs about diversity more specifically. Pajaras (1992), in a detailed synthesis of research on beliefs, provided several characteristics of beliefs. They are formed early and are part of a belief system acquired through cultural transmission. This belief system is made up of beliefs, attitudes, and values (Guerra & Wubbena, 2017). One's belief system influences how one makes sense of the world, linking knowledge and beliefs. Beliefs have varying levels of centrality to an individual based on the number of connections to other beliefs. More central beliefs and those formed earlier in one's life are resistant to change, making belief change in adulthood rare (Guerra & Wubbena, 2017). Guerra and Nelson (2009) echoed Pajaras' (1992) contention that beliefs act as filters, influencing one's perceptions.

Beliefs about teaching are well established by the time an individual begins a TPP (Kyles & Olafson, 2008; Pajares, 1992), largely influenced by one's apprenticeship of observation (Lortie, 1975; Smagorinsky & Barnes, 2014) and prior experiences (Garmon, 2005; Peebles & Mendaglio, 2014). Teacher candidates, as insiders to the profession from their experience as students, have deeply ingrained beliefs about the teaching profession that may be resistant to change during their coursework (Garmon, 2005; Kumar & Hamer, 2013; Pajaras, 1992). Researching such beliefs is

of critical importance to teacher educators since beliefs have been linked to action (Bandura, 1982; Nelson & Guerra, 2014; Pajaras, 1992). More specifically, researchers have found predictive power in TCs' beliefs about diverse students and TCs' expectations and treatment of diverse students based on gender, social class, and race/ethnicity (Nelson & Guerra, 2014; Pohan & Aguilar, 2001). For example, teachers' deficit views that place blame on the individual rather than on systemic structures limit students' academic success (Guerra & Wubbena, 2017).

In the present study, we adopt Pohan and Aguilar's (2001) two-dimensional view of beliefs (i.e., personal and professional beliefs) when examining TCs' beliefs about diverse students. We examine personal and professional beliefs about diversity separately because of the idea that "one's beliefs about a given issue could be in direct conflict with [their] beliefs in a professional context" (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001, p. 160). Personal beliefs are related to one's "opinions, expectations or judgements that a person considers in their daily life" (Chiner et al., 2015, p. 19). Whereas professional beliefs "refer to issues related to school (e.g., instructional practices)" (Chiner et al., 2015, p. 19).

Review of the Literature

Given the deeply held nature of TCs' beliefs by the time they begin a TPP and the influence of various factors outside of teacher preparation on TCs' beliefs toward diverse students, what, then, is the role of teacher education in actually altering TCs' beliefs about diverse students? This literature review provides a synthesis of the research that has examined this question related to diversity placements and TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diversity.

Diversity Placements

Scholars have agreed that experience is critical to fostering "the multicultural awareness and sensitivity" needed to support diverse students (Garmon, 2005, p. 277). Garmon (2005) contended that intercultural experiences have the potential for enhancing TCs' cultural competence. Field experiences provide TCs with an opportunity to observe and/or participate in the connection of theory to practice, providing TCs with an opportunity to apply what they have learned in their coursework to their work with students (Acquah & Commins, 2016). Diversity placements serve the same purpose, with the goal of increasing TCs' beliefs about diversity and efficacy as culturally responsive teachers. Such diversity placements have been shown to be effective at achieving this and similar goals: increases in cultural awareness, awareness of different contexts, and awareness of biases (Fry & McKinney, 1997; Gomez et al., 2009; Lastrapes & Negishi, 2012; Sleeter, 2001); perspective-taking (Lastrapes & Negishi, 2012); and the necessity of relationship building (Fry & McKinney, 1997; Martin et al., 2013; Miller & Mikulec, 2014).

Several scholars have agreed that the value of diversity placements depends upon appropriate guidance and support provided to TCs (Brown, 2004; Grant, 1994; Miller & Mikulec, 2014). Diversity placements should be well planned and closely supervised (Mason, 1999; Miller & Mikulec, 2014). Having a cooperating teacher (CT) who models culturally responsive teaching (CRT) is more beneficial for enhancing TCs' self-efficacy for teaching diverse students compared to field experiences with CTs who do not model CRT (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Siwatu et al., 2011). Additionally, a course coupled with a diversity placement enables TCs an avenue to interpret their experiences (Siwatu et al., 2011; Sleeter, 2001) and examine their existing dispositions and beliefs

through meaningful dialogue (Cochran-Smith, 1995; He & Cooper, 2009; Kirkland, 2014). TCs should have regular opportunities for reflection throughout their diversity placement (Bondy et al., 1993; Brown, 2004; Johnson, 2002; Kyles & Olafson, 2008).

As mentioned previously, not all experiences have the same impact on TCs. As far as the impact of diversity placements on TCs' confidence working with diverse students, research findings are mixed. While some scholars have noted an increased confidence among TCs after a diversity placement (Haberman & Post, 1992; Lastrapes & Negishi, 2012) and an increased willingness to teach in urban schools (Groulx, 2001; Sleeter, 2001), others have noted the adverse effect of a diversity placement on TCs' confidence to teach and interest in teaching in diverse settings (Gomez et al., 2009).

While diversity placements have the potential to make valuable contributions to TCs' cultural competence, scholars have also noted ways that such experiences have been counterproductive at developing TCs' cultural competence. Diversity placements have been linked with reinforcing TCs' biases and negative perspectives of marginalized populations and communities (Cross, 2005; Gallego, 2001; Gay, 2000; Haberman & Post, 1992; Hayes & Juárez, 2012; Jacobs, 2015; Nelson & Guerra, 2014). For example, Haberman and Post (1992) noted that TCs use "their direct experiences to selectively perceive and reinforce their initial preconceptions" (p. 30). Diversity placements have also resulted in TCs developing new problematic perspectives of marginalized students and communities (Burant & Kirby, 2002; Gallego, 2001). Kirkland (2014) reiterated that diversity placements alone do not ensure transformative outcomes.

Deficit beliefs become even more problematic when considered in light of the asymmetrical power imbalance between teachers, students, and students' caregivers. Teachers hold positional power over students through the decisions they make: which grades students earn, what groups or tracks students are placed in, which topics are covered and how, when students can go to the bathroom, which students can speak and when, and how much homework they assign (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017; Shim, 2016). Teachers' relationships with caregivers are also grounded in unequal power relations, evident through their expectations for parental involvement, facilitation of parent-teacher conferences, and invitations to participate in field trips (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017). White, middle-class teachers make up the majority of teachers in the U.S. and hold privileged positions in society, contributing to asymmetrical power relations with students and caregivers (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017; Shim, 2016). When teacher educators ignore the way power operates through teacher candidates' positional status, authority, and Whiteness, diversity placements can reify racism, classism, linguicism, and other forms of oppression (Cross, 2005).

Personal and Professional Beliefs about Diversity

Research findings on educators' personal and professional beliefs about diversity have been mixed. Chiner et al. (2015), when conducting a quantitative study with 233 teacher candidates and in-service teachers in Spain, found that survey respondents showed greater sensitivity toward diverse students in the personal beliefs domain when compared to the professional beliefs domain. This contrasts with Wassell et al.'s (2018) findings when examining 142 teacher educators' conceptions of and beliefs about diversity. They found greater tolerance for diversity in the professional domain (Wassell et al., 2018).

In terms of a diversity placement's potential influence on TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diversity, Pohan et al.'s (2009) comparative study of secondary TCs' beliefs after

completing a field experience at either an urban school or a suburban school revealed that significantly altering TCs' beliefs over one semester is unlikely. As a result, Pohan et al. (2009) contended that TPPs might be content with slight shifts in a psychometric score toward more openness. Further, they found that TCs in diversity placements became more culturally responsive over the semester, specifically noting positive impacts on both personal and professional beliefs (Pohan et al., 2009, p. 48).

These mixed findings necessitate additional research into the influence of a diversity placement on TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diverse students. Further, Pohan et al.'s (2009) mixed-methods study revealed the importance of going beyond quantitative findings related to TCs' personal and professional beliefs to better understand how even one semester of a diversity placement might alter TCs' beliefs, even when statistical significance may not be achieved.

Research Question

This case study, therefore, was framed by the following guiding question: How does a diversity placement influence elementary teacher candidates' personal and professional beliefs about working with diverse students?

Methodology

The current mixed-methods exploratory case study (Yin, 2014) was designed to examine the influence a diversity placement (the bounded case [Creswell, 2013]) has on TCs' personal and professional beliefs about working with diverse students. The *Personal and Professional Beliefs about Diversity Scale* (*PBADS*, Pohan & Aguilar, 2001) was administered before and after the diversity placement. Qualitative data in the form of open-ended survey questions and interviews (both one-on-one and focus group) provided additional insight as to the influence of the diversity placement on teacher candidates' beliefs.

Context and Participants

Twenty-nine elementary teacher candidates from a public, comprehensive university in the Midwest United States participated in this study. Located in a midsize American city, Midwest University (pseudonym) has a total enrollment of approximately 26,000 students, including 22,000 undergraduate students. Typically, the semester before student teaching, TCs in the elementary TPP at Midwest University complete a five-week course focused on integrated unit lesson plan development followed by a 10-week diversity placement at an elementary school (1st - 6th grades) in Midwest Public Schools (see Table 1 for district demographic data). During the diversity placement, TCs spend two full days per week in the classroom working alongside a CT. As part of the diversity placement, TCs are required to teach two lessons, one short (20-30 minutes, "T1") and one long (50-60 minutes, "T2") during which they are observed by a university supervisor. State teacher certification requirements dictate that TCs complete one practicum experience in a ***diverse setting***. Midwest University, as directed by the state Department of Education, uses the following criteria to determine if a school is considered a diverse setting: Title I status, percentage of free/reduced-price lunch, percentage of students with Individualized Education Plans (IEPs), ethnic and/or racial diversity, percentage of English Language Learners (ELLs), and a variety of grade

levels. This 10-week field experience serves as the diversity placement for Midwest University TCs who will complete traditional, semester-long student teaching the following semester. TCs who complete year-long student teaching meet the diversity placement requirement in a different route, dependent on their practicum experiences.

Table 1: Diversity Placement Elementary Student Demographics

Variables	Percent
Race / Ethnicity	
Two or More Races	6.5%
Black	7.7%
Hispanic	7.0%
White	74.3%
Asian	3.3%
Native American / Pacific Islander	1.2%
Free & Reduced Lunch Eligible	58.1%
Special Education	13.1%

To answer our research question, data were collected at the beginning and end of the fall 2018 semester. The *PBADS* (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001) was sent to 42 elementary TCs enrolled in the diversity placement. Of the participants who completed the diversity placement, 76% (n = 29) completed both the pre- and post-survey in their entirety (see Table 2). The demographic makeup of those participants who completed both surveys was majority White (n = 21, 73%) and female (n = 27, 93%).

Table 2: Survey Respondents' Demographic Statistics

Variables	Frequency	Percent
Race / Ethnicity		
Two or More Races	1	3.4%
Black	2	6.9%
Hispanic	5	17.2%
White	21	72.4%
Gender		

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Male	2	6.9%
Female	27	93.1%
Grade placement		
1st	4	13.8%
2nd	5	17.2%
3rd	9	31.0%
4th	7	24.1%
5th	4	13.8%
Pre-Diversity Placement Instructional Setting		
Seated	24	82.8%
Online	5	17.2%

Note: Pre-Diversity Placement Instructional Setting represents the type of university classroom setting the TCs experienced before starting their diversity placement. All diversity placements were completed in a face-to-face elementary school setting.

Five TCs participated in one of two one-time focus groups. One TC participated in a one-on-one interview in December of 2018 (see Table 3). The demographic makeup of the interviewees was majority White (n = 4, 67%) and female (n = 7, 83%). The population surveyed and interviewed for this study is largely representative of the elementary teacher population in the U.S. (Loewus, 2017).

Table 3: Interview Demographic Details

Interview Setting/Participants	Race	Gender
One-on-one		
Natasha	Black	Female
Focus Group A		
Jessica	White	Female
Samantha	White	Female
David	Black	Male

Focus Group B

Rebecca	White	Female
Elise	White	Female

Note: All names have been replaced with pseudonyms. Each interview setting occurred once.

Instrumentation

The 40-item *PBADS* consists of two subscales, the first is designed to show individuals' personal beliefs, those that are impacted by an individual's lived experience and worldview (n = 15), and the second measures individuals' professional beliefs, those which are influenced by individuals' workplace or professional life experiences (n = 25) (Dedeoglu & Lamme, 2011). The two subscales are identical in design, consisting of 5-point Likert-formatted items, ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). This instrument has been regularly used and validated since its development and testing, with only minor changes made to questions throughout that time (Brown, 2004). The reported Cronbach's Alpha reliability for the *Personal Beliefs About Diversity* subscale ranged from .71 to .81 and between .78 and .90 for the *Professional Beliefs About Diversity* subscale (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001).

We added demographic questions (i.e., age, ethnicity, gender, and grade level of diversity placement), an open-ended question (i.e., "Describe what you learned about working with students in your current placement"), and an invitation to participate in an interview to the *PBADS*. The pre-survey was administered via Qualtrics at the end of the 5-week course, prior to the beginning of TCs' 10-week diversity placement. The post-survey was administered following TCs' completion of the placement.

Focus Group and Individual Interviews

In order to provide a more thorough understanding of TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diversity, both authors conducted one-hour, audio-recorded interviews. Of those TCs expressing interest in an interview when completing the *PBADS* (n = 10), six participated in interviews (see Table 3). The researchers opted to conduct focus group interviews based on the understanding that interviewees' interactions may yield more insightful information when compared to individual interviews (Creswell, 2013). Due to a scheduling conflict, "Natasha" was unable to attend either of the two focus group interviews but instead participated in an individual interview. Interviews followed a semi-structured format (Glesne, 2011), allowing researchers to modify/add to pre-established questions during the course of the interview. Interview responses to the following questions were transcribed and analyzed:

● What does diversity mean to you?
● How did people talk about diversity at your field experience site?
● How does the field experience compare to your schooling experience at a similar grade level?
● How does this field experience compare to other field experiences during your time at [Midwest University] (in regard to a "diversity" placement)?

- Describe what you learned about working with students in your current placement.
- Prior to beginning the field experience, what did you expect the placement in a diverse setting to be like?

Findings

Quantitative Findings

Data were prepared (e.g., reverse coded) for analysis using SPSS statistical software. Paired-samples t-tests were used to compare the TCs' personal and professional beliefs before and after their 10-week diversity placement. The purpose was to determine the mean score difference in question responses before and after the diversity placement (see Table 4). Statistical significance was set at 0.05. Statistical significance was set at 0.05, which is the same as other studies that have used the *PBADS* (e.g., Cardona, 2005; Kahn et al., 2014; Pohan & Aguilar, 2001).

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics: Personal and Professional Beliefs Pre-/Post-Treatment Change

Test	Pre-Treatment	Post-Treatment	Difference
Personal Beliefs about Diversity	4.26	4.30	0.04
Professional Beliefs about Diversity	4.06	4.22	0.16

Note: The Pre-/Post- scores account for the mean score of all questions per subscale (i.e., *Personal Beliefs about Diversity* and *Professional Beliefs about Diversity*).

For both personal and professional beliefs, the overall trend in mean score change indicated that TCs moved toward greater openness following the diversity placement. Mean scores can best be understood to indicate the relative level of acceptance, awareness, or openness to diversity-related issues (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001). A low score (1.00) indicates a low level of openness, awareness, or acceptance while a high score (5.00) indicates the opposite. In regard to the *Personal Beliefs about Diversity* subscale, the result of the paired-samples t-test did not indicate that statistical significance was achieved for any question (see Figure 1). Nine of the 15 questions indicated a small shift toward greater acceptance of diversity, and the other six questions point to a small regression away from acceptance. In regard to the *Professional Beliefs about Diversity* subscale, two survey questions (Q:16, Fig. 2; Q:21, Fig. 2) yielded statistically significant ($p < 0.05$) increases in mean scores. We present the findings in this section for the questions that reached statistical significance.

One question focused on language of instruction (Q:16, Fig. 2): *Whenever possible, second language learners should receive instruction in their first language until they are proficient enough to learn via English instruction.* Respondents showed a statistically significant increase (p
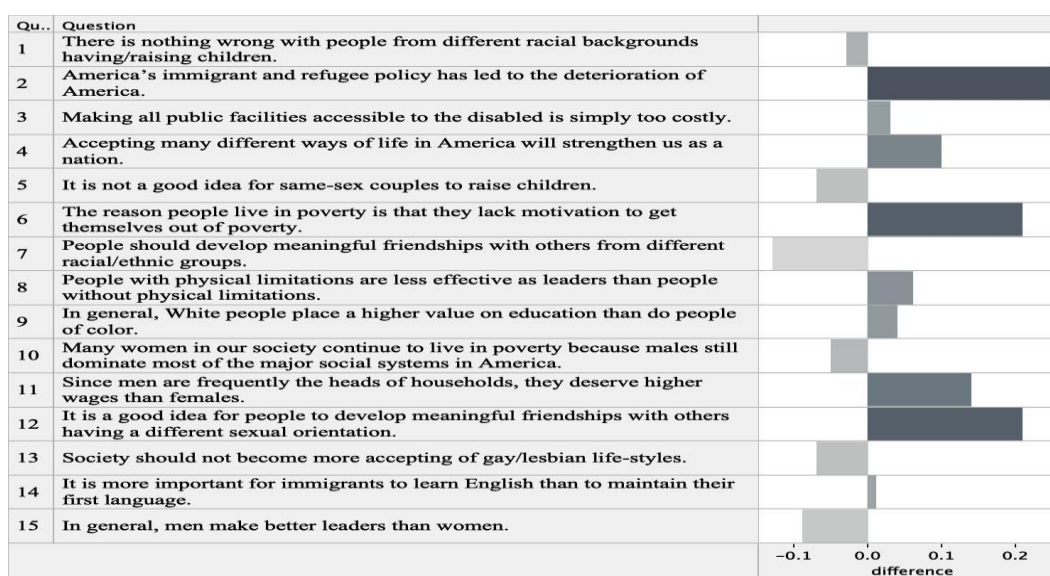
= 0.013) in their response to this question at the completion of the diversity placement (M = 4.414) compared to their pre-placement response (M = 3.862). The results indicate that following the diversity placement, TCs were more likely to agree that ELLs should receive instruction in their native language until they become proficient in English (see Figure 2).

The second question that yielded statistically significant responses on the post-placement survey dealt with teachers' experiences working with students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds (Q:21, Fig. 2): *In order to be effective with all students, teachers should have experience working with students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds.* Respondents showed a statistically significant increase (p = 0.032) in their response to this question at the completion of the placement (M = 4.966) compared to their pre-placement response (M = 3.862). While pre-placement results indicated that TCs agreed with this statement, the post-placement results indicate this notion was reinforced (see Figure 2).

The shift in TC perceptions—both personal and professional—was small, ranging from -0.13 to 0.25 for personal beliefs, and -0.18 to 0.65 for professional beliefs. Although small, shifts indicate a move toward change. The length of the bars in Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the amount of change from pre-test to post-test but should not be confused with statistical significance. Overall, results suggest a move toward more openness in both personal and professional beliefs, with professional beliefs showing a more consistent shift toward openness, reiterating previous research (Wassell et al., 2018). Although larger mean score change can be seen on two statistically significant questions (Q:16; 21, Fig. 2), it is important to understand that the mean score change alone does not indicate statistical significance.

Finally, the use of paired-samples t-tests indicates there was a specific *treatment* (i.e., the diversity placement) that may have resulted in a change in post-diversity placement survey results. However, because the TCs in the study were also engaged in additional activities and classes at Midwest University, it is possible that those activities and classes had a mediating effect on the post-diversity placement scores. A paired-samples t-test is unable to account for the effect of these other mediating variables.

Figure 1: Personal Beliefs Post-Diversity Placement Differences

Note. Difference values reflect the direction of change in mean scores between pre- and post-test. Bar length does not indicate statistical significance.

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Figure 2: Professional Beliefs Post-Diversity Placement Differences

Que..	Question	
1	Teachers should not be expected to adjust their preferred mode of instruction to accommodate the needs of all students.	
2	The traditional classroom has been set up to support the middle class lifestyle.	
3	Gays and lesbians should not be allowed to teach in public schools.	
4	Students and teachers would benefit from having a basic understanding of different (diverse) religions.	
5	Money spent to educate the severely disabled would be better spent on programs for gifted students.	
6	All students should be encouraged to become fluent in a second language.	
7	Only schools serving students of color need a racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse staff and faculty.	
8	The attention girls receive in school is comparable to the attention boys receive.	
9	Tests, particularly standardized tests, have frequently been used as a basis for segregating students.	
10	People of color are adequately represented in most textbooks today.	
11	Students with physical limitations should be placed in the regular classroom whenever possible.	
12	Males are given more opportunities in math and science than females.	
13	Generally, teachers should group students by ability levels.	
14	Students living in racially isolated neighborhoods can benefit socially from participating in racially integrated classrooms.	
15	Education has been monocultural, reflecting only one reality and has been biased toward the European experience.	
16	ELL should receive instruction in their first language until they are proficient enough to learn via English instruction.	
17	Teachers often expect less from students from the lower socioeconomic class.	
18	Multicultural education is most beneficial for students of color.	
19	More women are needed in administrative positions in schools.	
20	Large numbers of students of color are improperly placed in special education classes by school personnel.	
21	To be effective with all students, teachers should have experience working with students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds.	
22	Students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds typically have fewer educational opportunities than their middle-class peers.	
23	Students should not be allowed to speak a language other than English while in school.	
24	It is important to consider religious diversity in setting public school policy.	
25	Multicultural education is less important than reading, writing, arithmetic, and computer literacy.	

(Horizontal axis: difference, ranging from −0.2, −0.1, −0.0, 0.1, 0.2, 0.3, 0.4, 0.5, 0.6)

Note. Difference values reflect the direction of change in mean scores between pre- and post-test. Bar length does not indicate statistical significance.

Qualitative Findings

The open-ended survey question responses, focus group transcripts, and interview transcript were imported into NVivo 11, computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software. While the first author assumed the primary responsibility of coding the data, both authors engaged in frequent dialogue during analysis about analytic memos, codes (i.e., their definitions and examples), categories, and emerging themes (Saldaña, 2016).

The first author utilized three rounds of coding, following Saldaña's (2016) processes for Attribute Coding, Values Coding, and Focus Coding. During first-cycle coding, Attribute Coding (i.e., participant characteristics) was applied to facilitate easy location within the data set (Saldaña, 2016). Next, we utilized Values Coding to better understand participants' values, attitudes, and beliefs expressed through either their open-ended responses on the survey or their responses during the interviews (Saldaña, 2016). Finally, Focus Coding (Saldaña, 2016) was utilized to look for participant words and/or phrases related to our research question (i.e., How does a diversity placement influence elementary teacher candidates' personal and professional beliefs about working with diverse students?). When identifying codes for professional beliefs or personal beliefs, we relied on Pohan and Aguilar's (2001) conception of personal and professional beliefs about diversity. In terms of personal beliefs about diversity, Focus Coding generated 12 categories including but not limited to *home life/parents* and *class/socioeconomic status*. In terms of professional beliefs about diversity, Focus Coding yielded 14 categories including but not limited to *differentiated instruction*, *student-teacher relationships*, *classroom management*, *support*, and *assumptions*. Finally, 32 codes made up the articulated changes in beliefs category.

Through peer debriefing, we identified and consolidated the major categories from the list provided above (Saldaña, 2016). Within the personal beliefs theme, the two major categories we identified were deficit beliefs about families and deficit beliefs related to socioeconomic status. Within the professional beliefs theme, the two major categories we identified were differentiated instruction and student-teacher relationships. In this section, we detail our findings related to personal and professional beliefs about diversity and articulated changes in participants' beliefs.

Personal Beliefs

After concluding the diversity placement, the interviewed elementary TCs articulated a number of beliefs related to the personal sphere (i.e., "opinions, expectations, or judgments, that a person considers true in [one's] daily life") (Chiner et al., 2015, p. 19). Highlighted in this section are the personal beliefs expressed related to elementary students' families and socioeconomic status.

Deficit Beliefs about Families

TCs' comments about elementary students' home lives, living conditions, parents, and/or caregivers often revealed deficit beliefs based on stereotypes. For example, Natasha reflected on the differences between her upbringing and home life (two-parent household until her parents' divorce when she was in high school) compared to her students' home lives: "I know a lot of families, especially single-parent homes and things, the mom is working like crazy. There's multiple kids, and there's so much to do." Similarly, "Jessica's" comments revealed her beliefs about students' parents' lack of care:

I worked at a daycare last year, and one of the parents left their kid. And it's like after 30 minutes, you call them. After another 15 minutes, you have to call the police. So, they had to call the police to come get this kid because their mom didn't pick them up. And their excuse was that she was napping. I'm like, "You have children that you have to take care of!" And I don't know. It's just crazy to think that parents do forget about their kids.

A potential result of these expressed deficit beliefs that surfaced during the interviews dealt with TCs viewing themselves as filling a parental void/need for students. "Samantha" shared that she felt like some of her students needed her because they did not have an active parent at home:

Especially just like one of my students, I feel like he doesn't see his mom as often. And so, I think as a person he just, he clings on to me more 'cause I think I'm like the mother figure that he kind of doesn't have right now.

While the above quotes highlight latent deficit views teacher candidates held about students' families over the course of the diversity placement, some comments, however, showed a more nuanced understanding of elementary students' home environments. "David," for example, in response to his peers' discussion of parents' lack of involvement in school-related matters, was the only TC of the six interviewed who articulated an awareness of parents' work schedules that may conflict with that of the school rather than assuming that parents/caregivers do not care about their child's education:

So, viewing the whole scope, like everybody works on different times in life, you know? Some families, like adults in the family, like they'll work at night. Some work early in the morning. And so, they aren't able to make it to certain meetings, or certain events and all that stuff because of the time that they're working with. And so, I definitely think it's so important as a teacher to be able to work with families however you need to.

Deficit beliefs that go unexamined, like those held by David's peers of their students' families, have been documented as a negative outcome of diversity placements (e.g., Kirkland, 2014). Without a means for continually interrogating biases before, during, and after a diversity placement, the placement actually works against the TPP's goals of promoting TCs' equity literacy. Further, the diversity placement can perpetuate a system of power and domination through the TCs' unidirectional gaze on students' families, granting "them the power to describe others as different or aberrant" (Cross, 2005, p. 270).

Deficit Beliefs Related to Socioeconomic Status

Due to state requirements that TCs have at least one diversity placement, Midwest University determined that its TCs diversity placement would occur the semester prior to student teaching, although TCs' may be placed in a qualifying practicum earlier in their experience as well. Depending on previous field experiences, the diversity placement may be the first time a TC is placed in an elementary school with the majority of students living in poverty. The diversity placement contrasts the TPP's first required field experience that placed TCs at the university's private, tuition-

based, laboratory school. Although the university laboratory school does not have an economically diverse student body, it does have a student body that is more racially and/or ethnically diverse than surrounding school districts. It may be unsurprising, then, that during the interviews, the difference in field experiences related to poverty came up numerous times. Yet, often during these discussions, TCs' personal beliefs showed the deficit lens through which they viewed children living in poverty, reiterating previous findings (e.g., Jacobs, 2015). See Table 5 for representative statements related to students living in poverty.

Table 5: Representative Statements Related to Students Living in Poverty

Natasha	"Obviously if you could choose, you would be on the wealthier side where you have possibilities."
Samantha	"I had a student [ask] me if I liked Universal or Disney better, and I feel like at my school right now, none of the kids would ask me that. Just because I feel like they haven't gotten to experience that; where[as] the students where I'm going to [student teach] next semester are able to experience a lot more than my students are now."
David	"Because a lot of the time, like diverse students, it is seeing that they don't have as many supportive relationships as a student that may come from a wealthier situation."
Elise	"A lot of 'em have no idea what some of the foods even are because they've never seen fruits and vegetables before."

These comments reveal the assumptions TCs hold about students living in poverty and the types of experiences they deem as valuable. While Natasha comments that students in poverty have fewer possibilities, we are left wondering what she meant by "possibilities." Samantha's comparison of students' experiences across her field experiences hints at the value she associates with certain types of experiences. Moreover, David assumes students in poverty lack supportive relationships, and Elise assumes students in poverty have not seen healthy food, echoing similar findings in other studies where teachers have associated students in urban schools with a lack of family and community resources (Watson, 2011).

While TCs expressed numerous deficit beliefs about students in poverty, comments about students attending the university's lab school showed a different perspective. Samantha, for example, expressed feeling as though the elementary students from her first field experience at the university's private lab school were smarter than she was:

They're just really advanced. I remember going in there, and they already knew our whole entire lesson. And we were just like, "Okay, like there goes all of our hard work." ...Like I'm sitting there thinking, "Wow, this student is probably a lot smarter than me at that age." I just felt out of my element.

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The university's lab school is almost entirely composed of students from homes with parents who are university faculty or who possess significant monetary resources that make paying private school tuition possible. Lab school students who are not able to keep up with the aggressively rigorous curriculum timelines often leave the lab school for other local options. This leaves a student population that is more academically homogeneous and able to move through the curriculum faster than is often considered developmentally appropriate.

One of the open-ended survey responses also showed a connection between socioeconomic status and the TCs' perception of student intelligence: "I got to see a wide range of socioeconomic classes and how that compared to their learning abilities." Again, both of these comments—Samantha's and the survey response—reveal the way TCs assign value to certain types of knowledge, experiences, and skills linked to students' socioeconomic status (Jacobs, 2015).

Professional Beliefs

In addition to our findings related to TCs' personal beliefs, our analysis suggests that TCs' professional beliefs about diversity centered on differentiated instruction and student-teacher relationships. Professional beliefs "refer to issues related to schooling (e.g., instructional practices, educational resources, and inclusive education)" (Chiner et al., 2015, p. 19). A discussion of each major category is detailed below.

Differentiated Instruction

The most frequently recurring code related to TCs' professional beliefs about working with diverse students concerned ways that TCs and/or their cooperating teacher could and should differentiate instruction based on various student factors (e.g., readiness and/or first language). Differentiated instruction is when a teacher modifies curriculum, instruction, and assessments based on students' readiness, interest, and learning profile (Tomlinson, 2014).[2] Knowing how to effectively differentiate instruction is a critical component in supporting diverse learners. TCs expressed an increased awareness of academic diversity within a single classroom and the difficulty of responding to this type of diversity as indicated by Natasha:

> When we do our lesson plans, we comment how we're going to reach the lower level learners and the higher level, but never in my lesson planning has my lower levels been so low. That was the most challenging, or my higher-level kids being so high. Again, it was just... they were just all over the place, and to try to find something to hit every kid or most of them was the most challenging because it was again nothing I ever expected.

Similarly, Jessica mentioned feeling ill-equipped to respond to students' diversity in a way that supported them, specifically when teaching ELLs in her upcoming student teaching placement:

> I would say more like anxious just because I don't...it's something unknown for me. And it's like I don't like to not know things. So, it just makes me anxious because I want to

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2. Tomlinson (2014) defined readiness as the "entry point relative to particular knowledge, understanding, or skills" (p. 18). Further, one's learning profile is shaped by "intelligence preferences, gender, culture, or learning style" (Tomlinson, 2014, p. 19).

accommodate for those students, but I'm scared that I'm not gonna know how. So, I feel like that's something me and my cooperating teacher are gonna have to figure out when I first go there.

Perhaps one of the reasons TCs expressed feeling anxious about differentiating instruction to meet the needs of diverse learners can be partially attributed to the support or models [not] provided by their CT. Both "Elise" and "Rebecca" reflected on instances when their CTs provided little insight on supporting diverse students academically:

Whenever I taught my first lesson, we read a book, and I translated the entire book that I read in Spanish and gave [the Spanish-speaking student] a copy. My teacher was like, "Why did you spend so much time doing that? Like, that's insane." But what's the purpose in her sitting here if she doesn't understand what I'm talking about? She's wasting her time. I'm wasting her time. It's just a waste of time. I wish my [cooperating] teacher would've been more helpful.

I would say that my [cooperating] teacher, she never brought up diversity herself. The only time it was brought up is when I was planning my lesson, and I said, "How can I differentiate?" And the only tip she was able to give me was to say to read the questions out loud so that all the students can hear [them], especially the ones that aren't as good at reading as other students are.

Although the diversity placement increased TCs' cultural awareness and provided them with an opportunity to apply previous learning on differentiating instruction, TCs struggled to confidently respond to student readiness, interest, and/or learning profile. Transitioning from writing lesson plans for courses to writing lessons for actual students proved difficult, exacerbated by TCs' limited experience working with diverse students and their CTs' lack of modeling. A diversity placement, then, is greatly limited in its ability to promote TCs' equity literacy when TCs are partnered with CTs who, themselves, neither model equity literacy nor provide guidance to TCs on supporting diverse students. We take up this issue in greater detail in the latter portion of the discussion section below.

Student-Teacher Relationships

All six interviewed TCs discussed the importance of student-teacher relationships between a classroom teacher and their students, some identifying that relationship as the most important thing they learned about when working with diverse students. Their comments revealed specific instances when they formed connections with students, how the relationships affected their interactions and work with students, and perceived gaps in their CTs' approaches to fostering student-teacher relationships. Natasha, for example, mentioned attending specials classes (e.g., art) with her students and using music to connect with a particular student:

I went to art with them a couple of times, and I was like, "Oh, what kind of music do you listen to?" I asked [a student] if she knew who Selena was, and she's like, "Selena Gomez?" I'm like, "No, the real Selena." She's like, "No." I was like, "Oh, I forgot you're like seven." Well, she's nine, but whatever. Just trying to connect with her that way…

Similarly, Rebecca commented on the impact of talking with students each morning while they ate breakfast:

> My biggest takeaway from this [diversity placement] was the importance of building relationships with students. I feel like just even talking to them every morning, I would stand out in the hall, and students were allowed to eat breakfast out in the hall. I would just talk to all the students who were out there eating breakfast, even in that 15 minutes of just getting to talk to them, I built really close relationships with the students.

Some of the TCs' comments revealed ways that they were vulnerable with students, allowing TCs to form relational bonds based on shared experiences. Jessica, for instance, reflected on connecting with a student whose grandfather had died before the school year by sharing her experience having recently lost her father:

> He expressed to the class that his grandpa's death was holding him back in class...he's one of the students that never wants to do his work, just wants to sit at his desk and sleep or like cry. And so, when we were done with the lesson, he was still crying and I was just observing that day. And I was just standing there like, "I could do so much for this kid and like help him." And my teacher was like we need to move on. And she was like trying to get him ready for the next thing. And I went up to my teacher, and I was like, "If you want me to take him out in the hall, like I know what to say to him. I've gone through this. Like I recently just went through this." So, I took him out in the hallway. And now he just responds so well to me in class whenever I get him to do things because he'll sit there and not do his work. And I'll look at him, and I'm like, "Get on your work." And he'll look at me and smile. And then he'll start working.

David reiterated the sentiment that building relationships with students can increase student compliance:

> I really feel that is so important to build those key relationships with students. And being able to be like a supportive relationship for students. Because whenever you are building those supportive relationships with the student, it makes it easier for them to be able to listen to you whenever you need them to be able to do something. Like just lining up, casual things. But whenever they have the trust in you with that supportive relationship, it's just, I don't know. It just really makes things go a lot easier.

Although TCs identified the importance of student-teacher relationships when reflecting on their time in the diversity placement, David and Jessica's comments point to the more utilitarian purposes of those relationships. In other words, rather than building relationships with students from a place of genuine, unconditional care to better understand them as people (and hopefully disrupt TCs' deficit beliefs about them), some TCs' comments hinted at using the relationship to elicit desirable student behaviors. Genuine caring should not be dependent upon a child's behavior.

Articulated Change in Beliefs

As TCs reflected on the diversity placement, they mentioned several ways their beliefs shifted, particularly related to expanding notions of diversity. Their comments highlighted an increased awareness of diversity and the assumptions they held about diverse students. Some of their comments even point to a reality shock as they detailed feeling surprised by their elementary students' experiences, especially when compared to their personal experiences as an elementary student. Natasha mentioned being surprised to learn that she had immigrant students whose parents were in Mexico; children whose parents were in jail; and children raised by single fathers, uncles, or grandparents:

> The sentences they would write, I was just like, "Where are you ...?" I would laugh because it shocked me, but I'm like, "Why are you writing this?" One girl wrote, "My parents were scared ... " or afraid or whatever the word was, " ... when child services showed up at our door." I was like, "What? What's happening?" Things like that. Again, me growing up, in fourth grade if I was writing sentences it was like, "Oh, I love my mommy and daddy. My life is great. Cool. This summer we went to Texas," you know, a happy thing.

Similarly, Rebecca compared her childhood to that of the students in her diversity placement:

> I would say that when I started, I didn't really see how certain situations the students are in at home would affect their school life. Meeting these students and them coming up to me and telling me the problems they're having at home, and then seeing them fall asleep in class, you kind of understand why they're feeling that way. I didn't really have that empathy before. I just didn't grow up around situations like that, so I didn't really understand.

Other comments showed that an increasing awareness of elementary students' diverse realities caused TCs to interrogate the assumptions they sometimes made about students:

Table 6: Statements Showing an Increased Awareness of Elementary Students' Diverse Realities

Samantha	"You never would have thought in a million years that that would have happened, but her mom had to go to a women's shelter in [another city]. Took her daughter with her. We're all just like, we'd just never known"
Elise	"I learned to not make judgments and not pass judgments so quickly...Seeing kids and just assuming, yeah, they're asleep in class, that they don't care, they're not paying attention, you know being able to not pass that judgment and be like, why? Ask that why question before I pass any judgment on anything."
Natasha	"It taught me, one, to ask questions and not to just assume and also to be more understanding that I know not every family's the same, but not every family's the same. It was my first real interaction with something so extreme"

This increasing awareness shows both the possibilities and limitations for diversity placements. As will be discussed in greater detail in the following section, one diversity placement is not enough to significantly alter TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diverse students. We wonder how differently they might have experienced this final semester before student teaching if they had multiple diversity placements throughout their TPP that included critical reflection and ongoing dialogue about biases and opportunities to learn alongside and collaborate with elementary teachers who model equity literacy.

Discussion

Although the sample size in this study was small (n = 29), a number of findings are worth noting related to TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diversity at the conclusion of a 10-week diversity placement. In this section, we summarize the significant findings from the quantitative data and extend the discussion by drawing on the qualitative findings. Together, these data enable us to answer the question guiding this study: How does a diversity placement influence elementary teacher candidates' personal and professional beliefs about working with diverse students?

Personal Beliefs About Diversity

Pajares (1992) contended that deeply ingrained personal beliefs or those based on early experiences are resistant to change when compared to professional beliefs. The initial findings of this study reiterate Pajares' (1992) findings. Nine of the 15 questions on the *Personal Beliefs About Diversity* subscale revealed only a small increase in awareness, acceptance, or openness in regard to the question asked. This finding aligns with existing research that has shown that drastically altering TCs' beliefs about diverse students over one semester is unlikely (Pohan et al., 2009). However, Pohan et al. (2009) argued that even a small increase toward more openness reflects movement in the desired direction. We discuss the small moves toward increased openness to diversity in greater detail in the implications section below.

Additionally, our qualitative findings shed light on *how* TCs' personal beliefs were altered post-diversity placement. Corroborating previous findings on the potential of diversity placements to reinforce negative perspectives about marginalized populations (Cross, 2005; Gallego, 2001; Gay, 2000; Haberman & Post, 1992; Jacobs, 2015), our findings (see, for example, Table 5) suggest that placing TCs in a diverse school setting may reinforce deficit beliefs about students' families and students' socioeconomic status. While it is impossible to know how the participating TCs in this study viewed students prior to the diversity placement aside from their responses on the *PBADS* pre-diversity placement, it is possible that the diversity placement may have resulted in the development of new problematic perspectives toward marginalized communities (Anderson & Stillman, 2013; Burant & Kirby, 2002). Deficit beliefs coupled with teacher candidates' positions of power (Cross, 2005; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017; Shim, 2016) point to the continued need for TPPs to disrupt TCs' deficit views before such views end up limiting TCs' students' academic success (Guerra & Wubbena, 2017), as will be addressed in the implications section.

Professional Beliefs About Diversity

In terms of TCs' professional beliefs related to diversity, of the 25 questions on the *Professional Beliefs About Diversity* subscale, all but two questions—ELL language instruction (Q:16, Fig. 2) and the necessity of teachers' experience working with racially and ethnically diverse students (Q:21, Fig. 2)—saw an increased score on the post-diversity placement survey. These general findings are not altogether surprising as they have been observed in other studies using the *PBADS* (e.g., Cardona, 2005; Kahn et al., 2014). Professional beliefs, especially for TCs, are still evolving during one's time in a TPP and thus may be less resistant to change when compared to personal beliefs (Pajares, 1992). While it is perilous to draw conclusions from anything that is not statistically significant, it is worth recognizing broad trends present in the data. For both personal and, to a slightly greater degree, professional beliefs, the overall trend indicated that TCs moved toward greater openness following the diversity placement. Finally, the two questions that were statistically significant highlight the importance of diversity placements (i.e., *PBADS* scores showed more openness, awareness, and acceptance as a result of the placement). Each of these findings is discussed in detail in the following sections.

Working with English Language Learners

First, the question (Q: 16, Fig. 2) regarding second language development (i.e., *Whenever possible, second language learners should receive instruction in their first language until they are proficient enough to learn via English instruction*) points to one of the important aspects of diversity placements. Nearly all of the diversity placement sites (i.e., Title I elementary schools) were attended by ELL students. For many of the TCs, this would have been their first opportunity to apply theory to practice by working with ELLs in an elementary school setting. The increase in mean scores on this question from pre- to post-diversity placement survey could be a result of this placement being the teacher candidates' first direct contact with ELLs in a school setting.

Interviews showed an increased awareness of the diversity present in elementary classrooms as a result of the diversity placement, particularly related to ELLs. While TCs acknowledged the need to differentiate and provide individualized support for ELLs, some commented on feeling ill-equipped to do so. Rather than making them feel more confident in their ability to support ELLs, the diversity placement actually had an adverse effect on TCs' confidence to teach diverse students, echoing previous research by Gomez et al. (2009). This low self-efficacy may be a result of cooperating teachers who provided little guidance to TCs in terms of specific ways to accommodate for ELLs, reiterating the necessity of partnering TCs with CTs who model culturally responsive teaching, specifically as it relates to supporting ELLs (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Siwatu et al., 2011).

Necessity of Diversity Placement

Additionally, prior to the diversity placement, the majority of TCs agreed or strongly agreed (n = 25) that teachers need to have experiences working with diverse students (i.e., *In order to be effective with all students, teachers should have experience working with students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds* [Q: 21, Fig. 2]). After the diversity placement, TCs felt even stronger about this statement. Moreover, interviews revealed specific ways the placement enhanced TCs' effectiveness with diverse students. For example, the diversity placement provided

TCs with relationship-building strategies, which TCs noted are particularly important when working with diverse students, aligning with previous research (e.g., Fry & McKinney, 1997; Martin et al., 2013; Miller & Mikulec, 2014). Additionally, interviewed TCs' articulated changes in beliefs highlighted the reality shock TCs experienced during the diversity placement. Such experiences, according to TCs, allowed them to notice ways that their personal experiences as former elementary students are not representative of all students' lived experiences. TCs' cultural consciousness increased during the diversity placement which may have enabled them to interrogate various assumptions they held about diverse students, even though their personal beliefs about diversity point to the need to continually interrogate biases before, during, and after similar diversity placements (Kirkland, 2014).

Limitations

While our research extends the literature on the impact of diversity placements on teacher candidates, our study has a number of limitations. As mentioned previously, when using a paired-samples t-test, a small sample size makes it difficult to reach statistical significance. In addition, focus groups and interviews were conducted in the final semester before participants returned to locales throughout the Midwest to complete their student teaching. Multiple rounds of interviews and member checking with participants would have increased the validity of the analysis (Creswell, 2013). Future research utilizing the *PBADS*, informed by this and similar studies, will benefit from larger population samples. Also, future research design that allows for multiple rounds of interviews may lead to additional nuance around teacher candidates' personal and professional beliefs about diversity.

Implications for Teacher Education

Based on the aforementioned findings, we present three recommendations to TPPs that utilize diversity placements to enhance TCs' personal and professional beliefs about diversity. Our recommendations are especially suited for TPPs like Midwest University that enroll mostly White, middle-class TCs.

Require Multiple Diversity Placements

In TPPs requiring a diversity placement as part of TCs' degree completion, that field experience should be moved as early in TCs' learning experiences as possible. This recommendation is especially important for TPPs situated within communities with majority White K-12 student populations. Midwest University TCs in this study experienced the diversity placement one semester prior to student teaching. For some, the experience was overwhelming because a majority of the previous field experiences had taken place in school settings with majority White and medium-to-high income student populations. Earlier placements in diverse settings allow TCs to contextualize their TPP coursework related to working with diverse students (Gomez et al., 2009), while also highlighting potential areas of professional development TCs may be interested in pursuing. For example, early exposure to ELL student populations allows TCs time to pursue additional certification/education in ESL/ELL or bilingual education.

Provide a Scaffolded Approach to Diversity Placements

Midwest University's elementary TPP scaffolds TCs' field experiences by requiring an observational practicum at the beginning of their time in the program and gradually requiring TCs take on more of the classroom teacher responsibilities during subsequent field experiences. However, Midwest University does not follow this same scaffolded approach to diversity placements by only requiring one such placement which typically occurs during the final semester of coursework before student teaching. Aligning with the recommendations put forth by Siwatu et al. (2011), we recommend TPPs follow a similar progression but with an emphasis on providing TCs with "substantial contact" in diverse settings (Groulx, 2001, p. 85). Merely adding more diversity placements does not ensure meaningful change in personal and professional beliefs about diversity (Kirkland, 2014). Following previous research recommendations, we suggest that diversity placements should be embedded throughout the TPP and coupled with a course that allows TCs to interpret their experiences (Sleeter, 2001); examine their evolving dispositions, beliefs, and biases through discussion (Cochran-Smith, 1995; He & Cooper, 2009; Kirkland, 2014); and engage in critical reflection before, during, and after the diversity placement (Acquah & Commins, 2016; Dyce & Owusu-Ansah, 2016; Kyles & Olafson, 2008). Such coursework would ideally equip teacher candidates to build genuine relationships with a diverse group of students based on mutual trust rather than building relationships as a means to an end as was hinted at by some of the participants in this study. See Table 7 for an explanation of this approach to diversity placements over time in a TPP.

Table 7: Scaffolded Approach to Diversity Placements

Observation: School Community	In conjunction with a class on diversity and inclusion, TCs engage in an observational diversity placement, during which they seek to increase understanding of the school and its various stakeholders.
Observation: Students	In conjunction with a class on cross-cultural relations, TCs engage in an observational diversity placement, during which they observe students.
Community-Based Service Learning	In conjunction with a class on learning theories (e.g., educational psychology), TCs engage in one-on-one tutoring with diverse students.
Microteaching	In conjunction with a methods course, TCs design and carry out small-group lessons with diverse students.
Student Teaching	TCs move from co-teaching to teaching independently.

Note: Adapted from Siwatu et al. (2011, p. 215)

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Place Teacher Candidates with Cooperating Teachers Who Model Equity Literacy

Finally, the impact of one's cooperating teacher on a TC's personal and professional beliefs cannot be overstated. Scholars studying teaching self-efficacy and drawing from Bandura's (1982) social cognitive theory, have provided ample evidence as to the impact of a cooperating teacher on TCs' teaching self-efficacy development. In particular, cooperating teachers may contribute to TCs' self-efficacy development through the feedback they provide (or don't provide) on TCs' teaching and/or through the way they model various teaching practices (Christopherson et al., 2016; Martins et al., 2015; McKim & Velez, 2017). The same is true for enhancing TCs' beliefs about working with diverse students: cooperating teachers may contribute to TCs' increased or decreased sense of self-efficacy teaching diverse students (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Siwatu et al., 2011). During the interviews in this study, TCs noted several instances when their CTs expressed deficit beliefs about diverse students and families (e.g., parents don't care, poor students haven't seen fruits or vegetables). Additionally, TCs spoke of times when CTs removed "difficult" children from the classroom when TCs taught a lesson that would be observed by their university supervisor. CTs rarely acknowledged diversity in the classroom with TCs and offered little guidance on responding to student difference through differentiation. Due to the role that vicarious experiences (e.g., cooperating teacher modeling), verbal persuasion (e.g., cooperating teacher feedback), and mastery experiences (e.g., actually teaching a group of diverse students) (Bandura, 1982) play in TCs' self-efficacy to teach diverse students, it is not surprising that TCs felt ill-equipped to teach in diverse settings when their CT rarely acknowledged diversity, expressed deficit beliefs, provided little guidance for supporting diverse students, and limited TCs' opportunities to teach all students. Therefore, given the impact of CTs on TCs' beliefs and practices, TPPs should intentionally foster partnerships with cooperating teachers who model equity literacy in their work with elementary students and families. In order to enhance relationships with CTs who model equity literacy, TPPs must establish systems for supporting CTs' equity literacy while also actively avoiding placements with CTs that have little interest in supporting or modeling continual development of equity literacy. One way TPPs may accomplish this task is by providing and supporting professional development on culturally sustaining pedagogy (Paris & Alim, 2017) with partner districts. TPPs often have the expertise and resources to provide meaningful training, and districts are often open to this type of development without always having the resources or expertise to provide meaningful professional development.

Conclusion

Teacher preparation continues evolving in response to ever changing educational challenges combined with student population changes and needs (NCES, 2019). This study highlights the challenges and opportunities presented by diversity placements in teacher education, particularly in teacher preparation programs (TPPs) with a largely homogeneous student and community population similar to that at Midwest University. In this study, the diversity placement was the first time the majority of participating Midwest University teacher candidates (TCs) had worked closely with diverse students. For the most part, those interactions and experiences contributed to an increase in openness, acceptance, and awareness, especially when it came to TCs' professional beliefs about diversity. At the same time, TCs showed smaller gains in their personal beliefs, and as indicated during the interviews, the diversity placement actually reinforced negative stereotypes

and deficit beliefs about students and families. Simply requiring a diversity placement as a hoop to jump through (Ladson-Billings, 2010) has been shown to be ineffective at positively altering TCs' beliefs. Therefore, as TPPs work to address the cultural mismatch between TCs and their future students, TPPs may need to restructure their course sequence and field experience requirements to promote multiple opportunities for TCs to engage with diverse students over time and with adequate support from associated coursework and exemplary cooperating teachers.

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Teachers' Perceptions of Bilingualism: Toward a More Equitable Approach

Jenna L. Canillas

Abstract

This study reviews orientations toward educating multilingual students with a focus on recent policies and initiatives in California. It includes data and findings from a study investigating the linguistic and cultural resources that English learners bring to school as funds of identity. The research site was a public elementary school in an urban community in Southern California. Data from surveys, interviews, and artwork created by Spanish-speaking focus students in fourth and fifth grade and interviews with their teachers were collected and analyzed. In this article, teachers' perspectives are examined in light of student survey results. Findings indicate that although the teachers in the study stated that students' abilities to speak more than one language represents a strength, depictions of everyday experiences in the classroom contradicted the language as resource orientation and recast language as a problem. Additionally, participants relegated the benefits of bilingualism to ambiguous advantages for the future rather than a resource for learning and daily academic tasks. Finally, directions for future research that can further the notion of multilingualism in educational settings are recommended.

Keywords: *English Learners, bilingualism, multilingual students, translanguaging*

In fall 2018, five million public school students were identified as English learners, or students who speak a language other than English at home (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021). California leads the nation in terms of the number of English learners or multilingual students in K-12 schools with over one million identified English learners and 2.5 million students who speak a language other than English at home. These students from over seventy-five language groups represented 41.5 percent of the state's public school enrollment in 2020 (California Department of Education (CDE), 2021, April 29). In the context of this paper, the terms *English learners* and *multilingual students* may be used interchangeably and refer to the same group of students. The richness and diversity of California's population places the state at the forefront of educational policy and programs aimed at serving English learners and their communities. Events in California often have significant repercussions for education in other states when educational policies are replicated. This article discusses findings from a recent study conducted at an urban elementary school in Southern California to highlight three teachers' perspectives on multilingualism based on interviews with teachers and survey data from Spanish-speaking focus students in their classes. After discussing three orientations toward educating multilingual students and providing a brief historical context of the education of English learners in California, I will review recent policy changes in California aimed at providing more equitable educational experiences for multilingual students. Then, using findings from my study, I will challenge perspectives that minimize students'

linguistic skills and cultural experiences as resources for learning and suggest directions for future research that can further the notion of multilingualism in educational settings.

Orientations Toward Language

In a seminal work on the subject, Ruíz (1984) proposed three orientations toward language and its role in society: *language as problem, language as right,* and *language as resource.* Language as problem implies a causal relationship with options for solutions. Ruíz suggested the societal linking of language minority groups with social problems, with the result that a "sociolinguistic Darwinism will force on us the notion that subordinate languages are problems to be resolved" (p. 19). Based on my own personal observations and experiences teaching English learners, I apply a medical analogy to describe this approach such that it views linguistic diversity as a condition to be diagnosed and treated through programmatic prescription regardless of the risk of side effects, such as loss of "subordinate" languages.

Language policies and programs initiated in the 1960s and 1970s in association with the War on Poverty assumed English language deficiencies because "non-English language groups have a handicap to be overcome" (p. 19). Prescriptive measures meant to address language deficiencies often included bilingual programming. Although supported by language proponents, initiatives such as the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act of 1976 framed the language challenge facing English learners in California as primarily a language problem with the solution as bilingual education (Gándara, 2002; Olsen, 2021). Additionally, Ruíz noted that the language as problem orientation is representative of a more general perspective on diversity that confuses uniformity with unity, thereby necessitating a monolingual society, a perspective that led some activists to advocate for *language as right* (1984).

While Ruíz (1984) acknowledged the connection between the civil rights movement and the *language as right* orientation, Ruíz unveiled the complex nature of fitting language into a more general conception of rights by virtue of its ability to impact many aspects of social life. For example, civil affairs such as voting rights, protection against discrimination, and judicial proceedings involve communication through both written and spoken language. Additionally, in the U.S. legal system, language often serves as a proxy for protection for language minority groups (*Meyer v. Nebraska*, 1932; *U.S. v. Texas*, 1971; *Lau v. Nichols*, 1974). These protections represent vital supports for economic and community structures, especially in light of the transnational nature of many iterative migratory circuits to the U.S. for Latinxs from Central America and the Caribbean (Suárez-Orozco & Páez, 2002). Yet, the legal discourse itself can be general and problematic, engendering backlash from the public and resistance from organizations that need to comply. For these reasons, Ruíz offers language as resource as a more promising and palatable orientation to language planning and policy (Ibid).

The *language as resource* orientation focuses on the benefits of speaking more than one language. Common arguments for multiple languages include better overall communication skills, more opportunities in commerce, improved conceptual skills in science and mathematics, increased reading ability and cognitive flexibility, more empathy, a global mindset, linguistic creativity, and slower decline in executive function for the aged (Bialystok, 2007; Crivello, et al., 2016; Ruíz, 1984; Woll & Wei, 2019). These arguments can be used in support of bilingual programs and foreign language requirements for high school. However, at the same time, policies and programs for English learners have often resulted in the loss of languages other than English (Valdés, 2001; Valenzuela, 1999). Few efforts at preservation, development, and use of students' existing

language skills for content learning have appeared in schools, particularly where English remains the language of instruction. While the discussion of the benefits of knowing more than one language may help to fuel public support for multilingualism, research is needed regarding the actual impact on praxis to incorporate students' linguistic resources into the learning process. My study aimed to do this through an investigation of the linguistic and cultural resources that multilingual learners bring to school and how are they used in school settings. Before introducing the participants and data collected in the study, a brief description of significant events in the education of English learners in California will provide context for the study.

Historical Context for the Education of English Learners in California

The State of California often leads the nation in terms of educating its English language learners. The 1974 landmark U.S. Supreme Court case, *Lau v. Nichols* originated when English learners of Chinese ancestry in San Francisco Unified School District did not receive supplemental classes in English language skills. The court mandated that local schools must provide students identified as English learners with an instructional program leading to equal access to an education. Four years later, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit ruled on *Castañeda v. Pickard.* This decision declared that the local Texas school district's practice of segregating bilingual students based on race and ethnicity failed to provide an effective program for students to learn English (Wright, 2010; Zacarian, 2011). The prevailing deficit ideologies led to solutions that conceptualized languages other than English in school as a problem to be fixed (Gorski, 2010; Ruiz, 1984; Valencia, 2010). In an effort to improve education for English learners in California, California legislators passed the Chacon-Moscone Bilingual-Bicultural Education Act in 1976. Supported by language proponents, this legislation declared bilingual education to be a right and required public school students to receive instruction in a language that they understand (Olsen, 2021). Schools with twenty or more speakers of a language in a grade level were required to provide a bilingual program using certified teachers. However, many of these bilingual classrooms used a transitional model in which academic instruction in the home language was limited; programs were not designed to focus on academic achievement, but to transition students quickly to English as the sole language of instruction (Gándara, 2002).

The sudden implementation of new bilingual programs created a shortage of qualified bilingual teachers across the state. When the number of qualified teachers could not meet the demand, bilingual instructional aides with little to no training were hired to help alleviate the teacher shortage (Olsen, 2021). Public criticism of these new measures grew, inciting a movement toward English as the sole language of instruction. In 1998 after an intense media battle featuring a "discourse of threat" that framed multilingualism as a threat to the English language (Katznelson & Bernstein, 2017), California voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 227 *English Language in Public Schools*, a measure backed by prominent Silicon Valley businessman Ron Unz. Proposition 227 virtually eliminated bilingual education across California, and therefore, the need for certified bilingual educators. Prior to the passage of Proposition 227, approximately thirty percent of English learners in California were enrolled in bilingual programs; after the implementation of the restrictions outlined in Proposition 227, this number decreased to between five and eight percent of English learners (Olsen, 2021). English became the mandated language of instruction rendering any preparation students may have had in their native languages essentially inconsequential (Gándara, 2002; Olsen, 2010).

Shifting Discourse in California Policy and Planning

In the aftermath of Proposition 227, activists and supporters of bilingual education labored to transform public opinion regarding bilingualism toward *language as resource* perspectives. In fall of 1998, bilingual advocates began to reorganize and formed a new coalition called Californians Together. Language experts, researchers, and community activists collaborated in their efforts to "change the public view of bilingualism from being a problem to an asset, to move away from the paradigm of bilingual education as a deficit model of compensatory education" (Olsen, 2021, p. 141). The group's central strategy involved working with local school districts and state legislators to recognize the accomplishments of bilingual students with a Seal of Biliteracy. In 2012, California became the first state to adopt the Seal of Biliteracy, marked by a gold seal on the high school diploma or transcript, for "graduates who have attained a high level of proficiency in speaking, reading, and writing one or more languages in addition to English" (California Department of Education, 2021, April 20). The Seal of Biliteracy program spread rapidly to other states. Currently, forty-four states and the District of Columbia have approved a statewide Seal of Biliteracy for high school graduates who demonstrate proficiency in two or more languages (Californians Together, 2021).

Figure 1: *State Laws Regarding the Seal of Biliteracy*
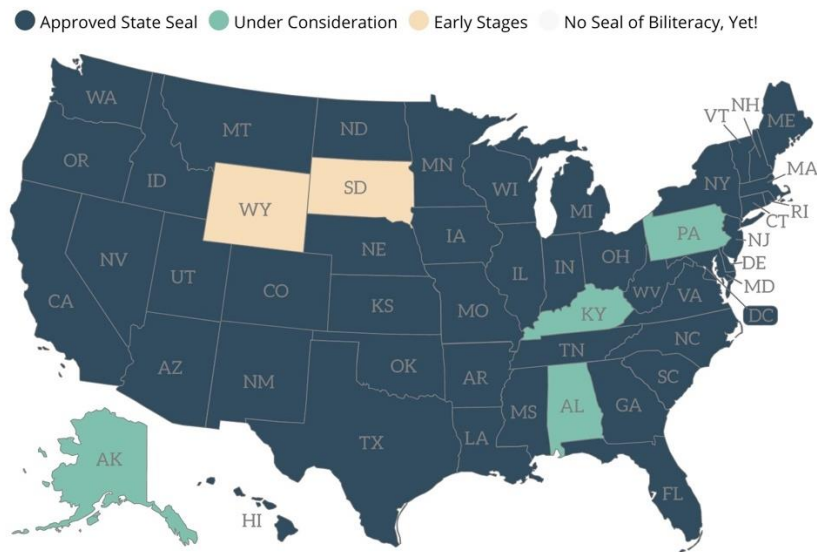
Note. From sealofbiliteracy.org. Copyright 2021. (https://sealofbiliteracy.org/index.php)

State adoption and popularity of the Seal of Biliteracy signaled a significant shift in public opinion regarding multilingualism. Almost two decades of additional advocacy efforts by organized proponents of equitable programs for multilingual students culminated in the passage of Proposition 58, the California Education for a Global Economy (Ed.G.E.) Initiative. The legislation took effect on July 1, 2017 and repealed many of the restrictions of Proposition 227, including the English-only instruction mandate. It also provided schools with significant flexibility in terms of the design of programs to serve multilingual students, including a provision supporting dual

language immersion programs. Dual language programs, one form of bilingual education, deliver instruction in English and another language beginning in kindergarten and continuing through elementary school. Researchers have found positive outcomes for students in dual language programs such as the development of proficiency in English more quickly, academically outperforming peers in English only programs, and deeper cross-cultural understanding (Collier & Thomas, 2017; Steele, et al., 2017; Umansky & Reardon, 2014).

Educators and activists in California took advantage of the momentum in the movement toward language as a resource. Several important publications that framed language as a resource followed the implementation of Proposition 58. First, in late 2017, the California State Board of Education unanimously approved the *California English Learner Roadmap*. This document provides guidance to local education agencies by articulating a common vision and mission for educating English learner students in the state. Its mission is to "prepare graduates with the linguistic, academic and social skills and competencies they require for college, career, and civic participation in a global, diverse, and multilingual world, thus ensuring a thriving future for California" (CDE, 2021, February 1). The *Roadmap* established culture and language as resources as explained in the following description:

> The languages and cultures English learners bring to their education are assets for their own learning and are important contributions to learning communities. These assets are valued and built upon in culturally responsive curriculum and instruction and in programs that support, wherever possible, the development of proficiency in multiple languages. (CDE, 2020 November 3).

Soon after in 2018, the Communications and English Learner Support divisions of the CDE published State Superintendent of Education Tom Torlakson's call to action in *Global California 2030*. In this initiative, the "California way" of "aiming high and dreaming big" fueled several ambitious goals aimed at vastly expanding the number of students who know at least two languages in California schools by the year 2030:

- triple the number of students who earn the Seal of Biliteracy;
- enroll half of all K-12 students in programs that lead to proficiency in two or more languages;
- quadruple the number of dual language immersion programs offered in various languages from 407 in 2017 to 1,600;
- grow the number of state-approved programs for training bilingual teachers from 30 in 2016 to 100 in 2030 and double the number of teachers authorized to teach two languages (CDE, 2018).

Torlakson's initiative also formalized California's perspective in the shift to viewing language as resource:

> At one point in our recent past, English learners were viewed only as a challenge to the educational system because these students needed extra support. Today, we recognize that these young people are assets to our state and their local communities. Like all students, they bring a rich cultural and linguistic heritage to our classrooms, making our schools more vibrant and diverse. (CDE, 2018)

As a complement to the *Roadmap, California Ed.G.E* and *Global California 2030* initiatives, the CDE published *Improving Education for English Learners and Multilingual Students: Theory to Practice* (CDE, 2020). This tome of over five hundred pages opens with a sense of urgency created by a

> unique opportunity to promote both individual potential and the realization of a multicultural and multilingual society. At no other time in history has this dual goal been more urgent. Right now, California needs its students to become globally competent citizens with the knowledge, values, skills, and attitudes to improve their communities, state, and world (Improving CDE, 2020, p. 30).

The volume contains examples of evidence-based pedagogy and best practices for developing multilingualism with a focus on asset-based environments and systemic structures. It encourages educators to design learning experiences in which students use their home languages as "a powerful support for their learning" regardless of the language of instruction, and recommends that "all school staff assert frequent messages about the benefits of bilingualism" (CDE, 2020, p. 54).

These asset-based approaches have emerged as a potent strategy directed at dismantling dominant deficit perspectives toward educating students identified by schools as English learners (Brooks & Karathanos, 2009; CDE, 2020; Celedón-Pattichis, et al., 2018; García, & Ozturk, 2017; Hakuta, 2018; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). An asset can be defined as an "advantage or resource; a valuable person or thing" (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). According to these approaches, the ability to communicate in a language other than English represents just one of the many advantages or resources that multilingual students bring to school as part of their lived experiences; others include cultural heritage, values, and accumulated bodies of knowledge existing in households and communities called Funds of Knowledge (CDE, 2020; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). In other words, children's language skills and experiences outside of school matter, and therefore are important to consider in order for students to fully engage in learning. My study to investigate the linguistic and cultural resources that children bring to school and how they are or are not used for learning took place during this whirlwind transition in discourse to language as a resource.

Methodology

The data presented here originated from a larger case study investigation into the kinds of linguistic and cultural resources that students bring to school and how those resources are used in the classroom setting (Canillas, 2018). The goal of my study was to counter deficit-informed research by highlighting the abundant linguistic and cultural resources that multilingual learners bring to school that can be valuable to learning activities. My research questions were:

- What funds of identity (linguistic and cultural resources) do students at risk of becoming Long Term English Learner bring to the school? To what extend do students use them to construct or perform identities in school?
- In what ways do school policies and discourse shape the identities of students at risk of becoming Long Term English Learners?

- How does peer school culture shape identities of students at risk of becoming Long Term English Learner?

A case study format enabled me to embed myself at the school and collect rich data on the lived experiences of students and teachers as they navigated everyday schooling events. My research took place in 2017 at a public charter school with approximately 300 students in grades kindergarten through sixth grade in an urban area of Southern California. Sixty-seven percent of students at the school were considered socioeconomically disadvantaged and twenty-three percent were identified as English language learners. The school offered an asset-based curriculum with daily offerings of activities such as art, music, robotics, hockey, theatre, and journalism. Data collection included semester-long observations in classrooms and at school events, semi-structured interviews with three teachers and the school administrator, an initial survey taken by focal students, information from official school records for each student, group interviews with focal students, and two pieces of artwork created by each focal student with accompanying interviews of explanations of their pieces.

Student Participants

The focal group consisted of all identified English learners at the school who met or were close to meeting the state criteria to be considered "at risk of becoming a Long Term English Learner" (Assem. Bill CA 2193, 2011-12). These are students who are in grades five to eleven, have been in U.S. schools for four or more years, scored at the intermediate level or below on the state English language proficiency test, and received a score of *Does Not Meet* on the annual standardized test for English language arts. Five students in fourth grade and five students in fifth grade met the criteria and participated in the study. There was one classroom per grade level at the school for grades four through six. All five focal students in fourth grade were in the same classroom with the fourth grade teacher, and all five fifth grade focal students were in the same classroom with the fifth grade teacher. One additional student in sixth grade met these criteria, but did not return a consent form, and so was not included in the study, although the sixth grade teacher was a participant in the teacher interview. All of the focal students were orally bilingual in Spanish and English; none claimed to be able to write in Spanish. The study would have included students who spoke languages other than Spanish if they had been available.

Teacher Participants

Three teachers participated in the study through interviews and classroom observations: the teacher of five fourth grade focal students, whom we will call Teacher 1; the teacher of five fifth grade focal students, whom we will call Teacher 2; and the teacher of a fifth and sixth grade combination class, whom we will refer to as Teacher 3. The student who did not return the consent form was enrolled in Teacher 3's classroom. Asking for participation from only teachers at the school who had focus students in their classes allowed me to compare data gathered from the students with data from teacher interviews. Although the student in sixth grade was not an official focal student, I was able to conduct general observations in the sixth grade classroom and interview Teacher 3. Teacher 1, the most experienced teacher in the study, was a veteran educator with seventeen years of experience in the classroom and thirteen years as a school principal. Teacher 1 self-identified as an English language learner who came from a multilingual home. In contrast,

Teacher 2 represented the least experienced educator in the study. As a newly credentialed teacher, Teacher 2 had recently been hired as a long-term substitute after completing student teaching at the school during the previous semester. Teacher 3 had only one student in the class who was identified as an English learner, yet had significant past experience working with English learners. Teacher 3 reported several non-consecutive years of teaching in various settings including juvenile hall after a prior career at an accounting agency.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collection included field notes, semi-structured interviews with teachers and focal students, school records, surveys from focal students, and art work from focal students. Teachers were interviewed individually in the classroom as each had time during a lunch break or prep period. Interviews with each teacher included questions about their views on languages other than English in school and their observations of how home languages were used by students in their classrooms. All teacher and student interviews were transcribed by me. Transcriptions of interviews and digital images of student artwork were analyzed and coded for patterns using an iterative approach (Lichtman, 2013; Yin, 2013). Nine of ten focal students completed the initial survey I created on Google forms (Table 1), constructed of scaled questions and open-ended questions in student friendly, first-person language about their experiences in school, favorite subjects, and preferences for first and second language use at home as well as at school. One focal student was unable to complete the survey. The student survey utilized a Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). Survey data were analyzed after conversion to a spreadsheet and used to hone interview topics. According to the results of the student survey, students agreed or strongly agreed that speaking Spanish was one of their strengths; in addition, students agreed that speaking Spanish helps them at school. The highest rating occurred when students responded to whether they like speaking Spanish. It is clear that the students in the study highly valued their family traditions, including the ability to speak their home language. Speaking Spanish is important to them and to their families. Students indicated that they learn things from their families that help them at school. Their lowest mean rating occurred when asked whether their teachers think that speaking more than one language is important.

Table 1: *Selected Questions from the Student Survey*

Question	Mean
I learn things from my family that help me at school.	4.6
Family traditions are important to me.	4.7
I like to speak a language other than English	4.9
Speaking Spanish is important to me.	4.4
Speaking Spanish is important to my family.	4.6
Speaking more than one language helps me in school.	4.2
Speaking more than one language is one of my strengths.	4.1

My teachers think speaking more than one language is important.	3.9

Findings and Discussion

Findings: Teacher Perspectives on Language

Data indicate that although the teachers in the study stated that students' abilities to speak more than one language represents a strength, depictions of everyday experiences in the classroom contradicted the language as resource orientation and recast language as a problem. All three teachers expressed the idea that speaking a language other than English can be a strength. For example, Teacher 1, a veteran educator of over thirty years, explained, "If they have another language, it is a strength. It leads to open doors that otherwise wouldn't" (Teacher 1, personal communication, May 3, 2017). Teacher 1 stated that having another language is a "gift" that leads to "open doors," but did not specify what those doors could be. Teacher 2, a newly credentialed teacher, provided this description of students' use of their home language:

> I hear a lot of Spanish words just being thrown out like casually in our class, so I feel like it's a good bonding thing for them as a whole…like they have that, connection, I guess I could call it. Like I can see that it's something that they really all pretty much value, and it's comforting to them, I think. (Teacher 2, personal communication, May 11, 2017).

According to this novice teacher, Spanish speaking students in the class "all pretty much value" the ability to speak Spanish; they find the connections they make to be "comforting to them," indicating probable positive social-emotional outcomes for multilingual students. Teacher 3 in the 5th/6th grade combination class, also a veteran teacher, conveyed a similar sentiment toward multilingualism:

> I would consider it to be a strength long term. I think in the beginning, it could cause struggles because they want to be like the other kids and they want to get doing everything. So long term it becomes a strength, but I think when they're starting off in school it's definitely a struggle...I find really working with the vocabulary and before we start any kind of project or any activity really frontloading strategies to them and the vocabulary and getting them ready and building the background knowledge because so many times I find they don't know what we're talking about on something that we as Americans just know. (Teacher 3, personal communication, May 17, 2017).

Although Teacher 3 considered speaking a language other than English as a strength, some undertones of the *language as problem* orientation were evident. The benefits of bilingualism were only apparent in the long term it becomes a strength somehow; in the present classroom environment it can cause struggles for the teacher and for the student. The teacher needs to pre-teach vocabulary and build background knowledge because multilingual students "don't know what we're talking about on something that we as Americans just know." Ironically, every focal student in the study was born in the U.S. as an American citizen. The phrase "we as Americans" signals an othering of multilingual students as outsiders who lack the privileged mainstream knowledge of the American classroom. Although having a language other than English may be a strength in the long term, it

presented a problem that led to struggles for this teacher. Teacher 3 also commented on multilingual students' lives outside of school: "Kids coming from our neighborhoods, the English language learners, they're never going to get to explore their strengths because they're just sitting home eating Cheetos and playing X-box or watching whatever with grandma" (Teacher 3, personal communication, May 17, 2017). In this statement, students' strengths do not include language or culture, but are only accessible outside of the home. This perspective falls short of identifying the rich linguistic and cultural resources as described in California's newest push in support of multilingualism and makes stereotypical assumptions about students' lives outside of school.

Teacher 1 listed slightly more specific benefits of speaking more than one language, but also described language as a barrier that made it difficult for English learners to understand concepts in school. The teacher reported that "kids with dual languages will learn another language easier, quicker…a third language, fourth language, fifth language. So, it's a gift if you speak more than one language, then you quickly learn these other languages" (Teacher 1, personal communication, May 3, 2017). Students with "dual languages" learn new languages easier and faster, but for most students, the opportunity to learn a third, fourth, or fifth language is not part of the curriculum, especially for students who are not meeting grade level standards in English. Teacher 1 described working with one of the focal students in this way:

> Her ability to understand concepts is definitely related to her EL status because she is the one that doesn't hear anything but Spanish at home, so when she reads at school, she's not hearing English. So with her I like to write things down, that works for her.
>
> Also, you take part of the word, the root word or the word, the part that's in Latin in an English word that helps the kids understand also. And also, to have someone, either myself or someone else give the Spanish word if they're Spanish-speaking. (Teacher 1, personal communication, May 3, 2017)

In this instance, Teacher 1 connected the student's difficulty understanding concepts to her "status" as an English learner because she "doesn't hear anything but Spanish at home" as if there is an expectation that families will use languages other than Spanish for communication and literacy practices. Speaking Spanish was framed as a problem that causes the student to "not hear English" when she reads at school. However, Teacher 1 does recognize the usefulness of identifying Latin root words that may be similar to Spanish to help the student learn vocabulary. Later in the interview, Teacher 1 shared this anecdote:

> I was working in another district that was predominantly Hispanic with a lot of EL kids. They'd go out on the playground and always speak Spanish, and if you tried to help them with the English, they didn't want to speak it. I don't know how you overcome that. I mean, without saying, Nah, let's speak English...[in the classroom] sometimes they didn't want to [speak English] because they didn't want to miss anything or get anything wrong, and then other times, it was the attitude, especially if they got older, say in junior high. I was doing junior high for a while. It became an attitude. I don't know how you break that. (Teacher 1, personal communication, May 3, 2017)

In this interview excerpt, Teacher 1 framed speaking Spanish as a problem to be overcome even

on the playground, a space removed from the formal academic structures and requirements of the classroom. In Teachers 1's experience with junior high students, reluctance to speak English was an "attitude" that needs to be broken. This veteran educator named other languages as a strength, but in everyday educational settings, having Spanish as a home language became a barrier to learning and language was as problem when students chose to speak Spanish.

Teacher 2 had just begun teaching as a long term substitute. Nevertheless, this teacher was already aware that students spoke Spanish, and observed them using it in the classroom to build relationships with each other. The teacher shared with me that she had not been able to collect much information thus far regarding the students' home experiences: "I know that they speak Spanish obviously with their parents, but overall I haven't really seen too much about their home culturally" (Teacher 2, personal communication, May 11, 2017).

Discussion

In light of the asset-based approach used by the school, it was not surprising to find that teachers expressed a *language as resource* orientation (Ruíz, 1984) toward their multilingual students' home languages. However, when elaborating on the practical daily events of schooling, language was framed as a *problem* and notions of language as resource were embedded in narratives of ambiguity surrounding the benefits of multilingualism. By ascribing to orientations that devalue students' linguistic and cultural resources, teachers may overlook the powerful ways in which multilingual students can and do use their primary language in the classroom for learning and identity building. In doing so, educators may "perpetuate deficit thinking by ascribing to stereotypical ideas about students' lives outside of school" (Canillas, 2018, p. 176). Ruíz described the three orientations to language programs and policy as "competing but not incompatible" and additionally advocates for "a repertoire of orientations from which to draw" (1984, p. 18). What I am proposing is an addition to our repertoire of orientations- *language as learning tool*, i.e. harnessing the power of linguistic diversity, skills, and culture to increase motivation, engagement, and academic achievement.

Beyond the instrumental nature of language, it is important to remember its deep connection to culture and identity. For this reason, language as a learning tool has two dimensions: first, language as a learning tool for students to comprehend and engage with content. Teacher 1 provided an example of this when explaining the use of Latin root words to assist Spanish speakers with English vocabulary. Translanguaging also offers a promising strategy for language as a learning tool by incorporating multilingual abilities in the learning process. Language researchers refer to translanguaging as the act of accessing and leveraging one's complete set of skills in more than one language for learning (García, Aponte, & Le, 2019; García & Seltzer, 2015). The act of juxtaposing Spanish words with English to enhance the meaning of select words or concepts reflects a bilingual student's unique ability to strategically employ the entire linguistic repertoire for learning and communication, rather than being limited to only a portion of their language skills (English). Translanguaging as a strategy for employing linguistic resources positions students as capable speakers and communicators and linguistic diversity not as something to be tolerated, but as a critical tool for learning and identity building, to be celebrated and prized.

The second dimension involves educators learning about students' linguistic and cultural resources in order to leverage them for learning in the classroom. In other words, the teacher becomes the learner and uses new knowledge of the students as a tool for instruction. Openness to

using data collection methods such as student surveys, artwork, and frequent and friendly communication with students and families will allow teachers to get to know the everyday lives and interests of their students. Educational equity for multilingual students involves identifying and addressing the subtractive structures in the school system that are masked by popular rhetoric such as promoting notions of language as a resource without practical application in the classroom. California's new direction strives to accomplish this, but the success of these new initiatives depends on the ability to realign teacher perspectives with the high level of esteem given to linguistic and cultural resources.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The limitations of this study include the small number of participants and the single location for research. However, because California remains a forerunner of much of the policy for the nation regarding educating multilingual students, this project can shed light on the current orientations toward language. Clearly, more research is needed regarding the nature of multilingualism as a resource and tool for learning and what that may look like in practice. Moving from the orientation of language as problem to language as resource represented a significant shift in public opinion and policy. Adding language as *tool for learning* offers a more equitable approach by reinforcing the value of multilingualism to daily learning tasks, especially when envisioned through practical strategies that acknowledge students' identities and the languages that accompany those identities. Researchers could investigate further methods for educators to identify and incorporate information about students' lives into daily classroom requirements. Encouraging strategies such as translanguaging in the classroom that utilize language as a learning tool to build on students' whole repertoire of language skills promotes a more equitable approach and avoids narratives of ambiguity that devalue the linguistic and cultural resources students bring to school. Teachers must be given the training and resources to align daily practice with new policies. It will take significant work, commitment and collaboration to make the shifts necessary to see California's new vision to reach fruition.

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Standing for Equality: Past Voices Today

Gary A. Homana

Abstract

This essay reflects on the use and value of Voices of Baltimore: Life under Segregation, a documentary film that captures and preserves the rich oral histories of seven African Americans from the Mason-Dixon border area of Baltimore, Maryland who attended segregated schools and lived through desegregation before and following the 1954 Supreme Court Brown v Board of Education ruling. As a teaching tool, Voices of Baltimore is intended to engage students and adults in thoughtful discussion and critical analysis of the complex social, cultural, and political forces surrounding legal segregation and how they are reflected in schools and society today. The work is a multi-dimensional research project that has many uses beyond preserving these invaluable stories. In addition to the film three K-12 curriculum guidebooks are available for for elementary, middle and high schools, as well one for the university level to pre-service and in-service teachers, schools and universities, community members and others to learn more about Baltimore figures where the norms were in conflict with the very nature of democracy.

Keywords: *Voices of Baltimore, segregation, desegregation, teacher education, community*

In concluding this special issue, I wanted to share reflections on the development, value and use of *Voices of Baltimore: Life under Segregation* (Homana, McDermott, & CampbellJones, 2017), a free educational resource. As a primary resource document, *Voices of Baltimore* captures and preserves the rich oral histories of seven African Americans from the Mason-Dixon border area of Baltimore, Maryland who attended segregated schools and lived through desegregation before and following the 1954 Supreme Court *Brown v Board of Education* ruling. These stories, of witnessses who never expected that their lives would become a testament of resilience and an enduring legacy against oppression, speak volumes about how our nation can become a more tolerant and equitable society. At the same time, while our society has become more ethnically and racially diverse, inequalities persist, including increased school segregation and poverty.

The intention of the project is to contribute, not only to local communities, but the nation's ability to understand, address, and engage in social change, especially in high poverty and culturally linguistically diverse schools so that all children have an opportunity to achieve their dreams and become the very best that they can be in our increasingly pluralistic society. It provides a platform to understand not just the lives and stories, but something much more—how the experiences intertwine and reflect, despite deep historical prejudice, both the individual's personal integrity and moral imagination, as well as the ways that strong family supports and cultural and religious institutions enabled them to maintain the resilience necessary to achieve equality and dignity. *Voices of Baltimore* serves to honor not only the lives of our film participants, but of those who came before— and their lived struggles for rights as human beings. It asks the question, *Where have we been, and*

where are we going?—which is so timely today. The documentary film and K-12, middle, high school and university curriculum guidebooks are available at no cost to pre-service and in-service teachers, schools and universities, community members and others to learn more about Baltimore figures where the norms were in conflict with the very nature of democracy.

Theoretical Perspectives Underlying the Project

The full-length documentary film presents four themes that emerged from the larger narrative across the stories of living in segregated Jim Crow Baltimore. These themes include 1) answering the call to civil rights, 2) the insular nature of segregated communities, 3) expectations and responsibilities greater than the self, and 4) reflections on desegregation and inequality within the context of society today. The dialogue from the unscripted interviews, which flowed from a discussion between the interviewee and film narrator, Dr. Franklin CampbellJones, began with the initial open-ended prompt, "Share with us your experiences growing up during the era of legal segregation." Using qualitative techniques, including coding language to analyze the transcripts, consistencies emerged across the seven personal stories (interviews). Two of the filmmakers (Homana and McDermott) triangulated coding arriving at similar, yet independent thematic conclusions. Additionally, the themes were validated via a check-in process with the film participants.

The narratives in *Voices of Baltimore* reflect the perspective of "critical incidents" espoused by Goodson (1992, p. 118) occurring at various points across the life continuum— creating themes embodied in the "life perspective" (1992, p. 118). From this perspective, the narratives reflect the intersection of both life and societal history illuminating the "choices, contingencies and options open to the individual" (p. 118). The critical incidents shared by the film participants reveal much about the personal conflicts, role of family and community, high expectations for success, and the responsibility beyond oneself.

Although focused on Baltimore, reaction to the film by viewers nationally suggest that these stories reflect and represent countless lives and experiences across the country—making the film both unique and shared. Grumet argues that because perceptions of the self, others and the world are shaped by personal and social discourses they do not lead to fixed notions of voice (in Pinar et al., 1995). Rather, through these interactions

> We have begun to hear our multiple voices within the contexts of our sustained collaboration, and thus recognized that 'finding voices' is not a definitive event but rather a continuous and relational process (p. 525).

This notion supports the argument that although inherently personal, the autobiography is not experienced or re-told in isolation. Rather, the self is always in relationship to others across a range of both unique contexts and experiences.

Voices of Baltimore is intended to help deconstruct the narrative of Jim Crow segregation relevant to Black life in America during the mid-20th century. As we move forward as a country, especially in our current political and cultural environment, it is critical to understand and address the historical and contemporary relevance of the persistence of inequity in our schools and society. What follows is a short overview of the four sections of the film and the value the may serve as teaching tools.

Answering the Call to Civil Rights: "Making a Way Where There Ain't no Way"

Voices of Baltimore reveals that living through and breaking the barriers erected under Jim Crow America took on many forms in the lives of the participants. For example, prior to the 1954 *Brown v Board of Education* ruling students were "selected to attend the White schools—the girls would go to Eastern and the boys to City or Poly" (Welch, P.). The decision was made by school administrators based on the students' ability to compete in the White schools, without the permission of their parents.

At the same time, another witness (Gill, F.) said about her school, "I felt comfortable, I felt attractive. It was a school where there were people like me." Black schools were places where students were supported and encouraged by their teachers to learn and succeed as opposed to the White schools, as one witness expressed, when she was

Introduced to another world, and it's different from my own comfortable world. And it's there that I met teachers who didn't think I should be smart and do well. I learned that it was just the opposite. You're not as smart as the rest of these children in this school. (Welch, P.)

School desegregation in Baltimore, as across the nation, also meant confrontation with angry protesters who wanted to maintain "separate but equal". One witness, who integrated the highly respected Poly Technic Institute, noted that they were "mostly white mothers because the men were at work. You know, it was get them out of our schools. We don't want them in our schools, "separate but equal". It was horrible." (Gill, W.)

Despite the obstacles, the film participants were insistent that how one lived one's life made a difference. With strong influence from their families, teachers and neighbors they developed a resilience and determination to oppose inequality and injustice. There are countless stories shared by the *Voices of Baltimore* participants' social activism for change that reflect a deeply ingrained commitment to the call for equal rights. For all of the film participants, the responsibility to defend human dignity and equal representation was not to be ignored.

Insulation/Isolation: The Insular Nature of Segregated Communities

In Baltimore, African Americans were mostly restricted to their Black neighborhoods by geographical barriers as noted by the participants:

Schools were not integrated. There were Black schools—schools only Black children went. And so I only had Black teachers. I never had the experience of White teachers. So everything was, you know—nothing was mixed. I know we might not have had a lot of things going on in school that maybe White schools had but we were all together. We went to the Y. The Y was, you know, for Blacks. It was something we used to do. And we knew what we could and could not do. And go and could not go. (Gill, F.)

You were kept there in that neighborhood by, not necessarily because your parents kept you there, but because there was no place else to go—there was an obvious barrier. (Bell, R.)

Similar to America today, the film participants shared embedded hatred and racism:

Outside of our two streets it was scary. It could be very scary because you could be threatened at any moment. There were cross burnings and KKK might have been written at the end of the block—it could be very, very scary. (Chatmon, E.)

So I knew—not far from where we lived, around the corner—which is now Guilford—we used to walk through there, but you weren't welcome. You would move quickly because you really weren't supposed to be there. (Welch, P.)

At the same time, according to the film participants, legalized segregation ended up creating supportive and thriving communities:

"They went to their own schools, families shopped at the same stores, people went to the same movie theaters and churches—all within the same neighborhoods." (Gill, W.)

Everything was separate. But the interesting thing—I think it was because my family, my family's friends, the community, church members, neighbors, made sure that we were able to do as many things as we possibly could. We never felt disenfranchised. (Green Washington, T.)

Although Jim Crow segregated African Americans into isolated communities they also instilled determination, resilience and the responsibility to demand equality. These both served to buffer the residents from danger, while simultaneously fostering expectations for success and support for those coming up after them.

Expectations: The Responsibility Greater Than Yourself – The Obligation

A common theme shared by the film participants was the responsibility to represent the race and become "pioneers of possibility" (Homana, McDermott, & CampbellJones, 2017). Excelling academically was central and promoted across the community:

Mediocrity was not acceptable, only excellence. (Green Washington, T.)
All of the teachers instilled in us that we had to be twice as good. There was a great sense of pride in what we did, in who we were and people just motivated you. And you not only got it in school, you got in in the community. (Chatmon, E.)

So that was what I grew up in. A neighborhood of people expecting that I would do the right thing, and that I would go to school, and that I would be smart. And, I was going to be somebody. (Welch, P.)

The teachers were determined that you are going to learn something because they knew when you finish those 12 years, that you're going to be out there in that world and you're going to be facing some problems that you're not prepared for. (Diggs, L.)

Then and Now: Where We've Been, Where We're Going

Recent Black Lives Matter protests—fueled by the murder of George Floyd, Brianna Taylor and too many others—reflect activism among generations of individuals who have come together to challenge injustice and the new Jim Crow laws emerging across the country. Today, persistent policies and institutional practices have resulted in challenges related to under-resourced and increasingly segregated schools; quality health care and housing; food deserts; restricted voting rights; and unacceptable increases in unemployment, poverty and mass incarceration. The film participants reflected on these societal challenges, including the rise of racism:

> You would've thought that you wouldn't have to fight certain battles again, but we are now looking at a situation where race, as a factor—a negative factor—is again raising its head. Racism in this country is becoming much more tolerant. But the truth of the matter is, the only way you're really going to get to the bottom of it is by confronting it. And the reason the White teachers don't have to, is because of White privilege. That's it. So somebody's got to challenge it. (Bell, R.)

> It is a very, very different world from the world I grew up in, where the community was behind you, where in your schools everybody looked like you and those teachers knew that in order for you to succeed in society you had to really be good. (Chatmon, E.)

Rather than accepting the common narrative promoted across the country that desegregation was a solution to the nation's problems, the film participants clarified the reality that needs to be taught and addressed in schools and society:

> What happened unfortunately is, integration has had its own problems, so-called integration. I mean it was never complete, but once you've got to the point where [segregation] was no longer illegal, then there was no need to talk about the issues. So what happens? People start going back to doing the same things they did before. (Bell, R.)

> The problem was not so much integration, but how it was mismanaged. You don't make change like that. You get people ready for change, you do education for Black people, for White people. You don't just throw people together who have historically believed that they were better than us and then expect a different result, you're not going to get a different result. So, I regret that integration occurred in the way it occurred because the way it occurred was so unhealthy and so wrong. And, a great part of that had to do with the resentment. (Chatmon, E.)

At the same time, all of the participants are committed to ensuring change. Reflecting a determination for justice and dedicating their lives to teach, serve and inspire—especially for young people. For example:

> I think there is a great need to help young people feel that they are capable, that they do have what it takes to do whatever it is they want to do. I really feel we need to take a greater look at what we're doing with very young children to help them to get to the place where they need to be. (Washington, T.)

I've been doing this volunteer work for over 25 years now. I give bus tours trying to attract children to go through these communities—just share history. And this old church that I discovered that was falling down no bigger than a large log cabin—converted it to Diggs-Johnson Museum, where I could really share history with children. (Diggs, L.)

I still feel compelled and I am so serious. I still feel I have to make sure that students in schools learn from people who understand who they are. And, yes, I would love to be in a clean environment in a wonderful school where the roof doesn't leak and it's cool and it's clean and orderly, but I need to make sure that students are known to their teachers. (Welch, P.)

Moving Forward: A Philosophy of Teaching for Social Change

Teaching and learning for social change is grounded within an understanding of the multiple perspectives that have shaped the values, goals, and conflicts of educational opportunities in our pluralistic society. Powerful teaching strengthens students' abilities to not only understand the effect of various forces on education and society, but to also examine the impact of these forces on their own lives as both human beings and future educators.

Key characteristics for this philosophy of teaching include: fostering meaningful learning that builds on and enhances academic knowledge and civic and social responsibility; creating cooperative and collaborative experiences where students share in decision-making processes; developing mutual respect through supportive interactions; and promoting learning opportunities for students to become reflective, thoughtful, creative, and critically engaged learners. These characteristics serve as the foundation for in-depth discussions, dialogues and deliberations where students not only explore various educational and societal issues, but also examine the impact of these issues on their own lives.

This approach to teaching is also an integral part of the generative social and cultural practices that promote learning over time. As students are immersed in the learning process they begin to explore and understand how to make meaning out of their lives and the world—that is, how as a member of a learning community people interact to sustain mutual agreement on issues that are important to them. Through this process students identify, share, and develop a context for learning that becomes transformational—for the individual and the learning community.

Embracing the value of normative structures and cultures that shape cognitive skills associated with learning is central to the approach. Often, teaching and learning primarily focus on the formal curriculum. The normative structures, however, are just as important, if not more important, than the formal curriculum. Therefore, it is critical to emphasize a positive conceptualization of learning based on healthy norms of behavior, expectations, attitudes, and actions across various contexts, as well as the social processes, so that students are better prepared to fully participate as informed and active citizens.

Teaching for social justice and social change should afford students the opportunity to actively engage with one another in ways that foster understandings of how cultural perspectives and social issues are shaped by the values and conflicts within classrooms, schools and neighborhoods. Teaching for this purpose can help to deconstruct these forces and to strengthen students' abilities to not only understand and respect diverse cultural issues, but also to examine the impact that they have on their own lives as individuals and as members of a community. In this way, teaching that

welcomes and supports diverse opinions and viewpoints plays a vital role in preparing students to develop and sustain the possibilities for democratic and socially just schools and communities.

Voices of Baltimore: Use in Schools and the Community

As a teaching tool, *Voices of Baltimore* is intended to engage students and adults in thoughtful discussion and critical analysis of the complex social, cultural, and political forces surrounding legal segregation and how they are reflected in schools and society today. The work is a multi-dimensional research project that has many uses beyond preserving these invaluable stories. For example, three K-12 curriculum guidebooks are available for for elementary, middle and high schools (Vandiver, 2018), and a university level guidebook (McNulty & Homana, 2018). The material is available for students, teachers, and members of the community as a way for them to engage in deconstructing the narratives so that they better understand and address the historical and contemporary relevance of the inequality in schools and society. The guidebooks and full-length film are available free to the public at www.voicesofbaltimore.com. The website also includes a link to the film trailer, and information on upcoming events, the film participants, and film clips of additional others who lived through Jim Crow in Baltimore.

Exploring the new curriculum guidebook created for *Voices of Baltimore: Life under Segregation*, provides the opportunity for users to:

- Make connections between past and present, between local and global, individual and group: Past-present: Looks at the issue historically and in contemporary settings. Local-global: Compare how the desegregation movement of Baltimore with national and global efforts to fight the same systemic oppression. Individual-systemic: Examining institutionalized racism and systemic forms of oppression experiences at individual level.
- Critically re-examine the past and historical narratives and how they affect our individual perspectives and larger social paradigm. How can critical narrative discourse disrupt the prevailing paradigm?
- Consider actions to shape current and future policies

The intent of the project is to provide the participants with new ways to think and engage in and about these issues so that they can utilize different approaches to teaching.

Voices of Baltimore: Life under Segregation is framed against the issues raised by Michelle Alexander (2012) in *The New Jim Crow*. Underlying all teaching should be a focus on developing tolerance, respect, cooperation and the ability to understand others points of views. This project is designed to use the film in conjunction with the new curriculum guide(s) to enhance the teaching of the struggle for civil and human rights. The following questions are examined in our film and broadly guide the work:

- What counts as educational opportunity, for whom has it improved over the past 60 years, for whom has it not improved, and with what sustainability and potential for the future?
- How has desegregation affected the types of collective or individual opportunities people of color have in making public decisions that contribute to the wellbeing of their communities?

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- How can a complex and critical analysis of the effects of desegregation on the inclusion or exclusion of teachers of color influence our *current* policies for the promotion for diversity in the teaching workforce, especially serving urban schools?

Final Reflections on *Voices of Baltimore: Life under Segregation*

Forty-five minutes during the fall of 2014 ended up being more than simply hearing a visiting speaker in a classroom. It was an inspirational experience that left me with the goal to preserve the shared stories of individuals, and their struggles for equality and freedom. *Voices of Baltimore* began with an invitation to visit a section of EDUC 202: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives: America's Urban Education at Towson University to learn about the life experiences of Evelyn Chatmon, the first female African American Assistant Superintendent in Baltimore County Schools, of growing up and living through legal segregation, or Jim Crow. Ms. Chatmon shared her experiences, the values instilled by her parents, family, and community, the struggles, the personal integrity, and her continual dedication to make a difference in the lives of not only students, but adults as well. It was a deeply moving experience, a strikingly sense of the power of her story. It was transformational—a realization that this and other stories like it needed to be preserved—for the value, courage, commitment and dedication—not only for the individual but for the community in which they were raised. Perhaps more importantly, it was a recognition of those who came before, their struggles for dignity and rights as a human beings. It was also awareness of the possibility of the work as a teaching tool and the potential role it could play in healing American society.

The stories shared by the film participants are both unique, yet cross boundaries that can link us together and help us see who we are both individually and as a country, our positive qualities and our flaws, and where we need to go. These are stories of individuals that make a difference. As we move forward as a country, especially in our current political and cultural environment, it is critical to understand and address the historical and contemporary relevance of the persistence of inequality in our schools and society. The film and opportunity to work with, and learn from, the "voices" and my three colleagues has enabled me to more deeply look at issues of race, culture, power, inequality, and justice from different perspectives while creating something that is truly powerful and potentially transformative for others.

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