

From Compliance to Confidence:
Negotiating Racialized Identities as Novice Teachers of Color

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A dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
University of Washington
2019

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College of Education

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Abstract

From Compliance to Confidence:
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There has been a nationwide call to increase diversity in the teaching profession, and though schools are looking to recruit more teachers of color, many continue to leave the profession at a higher rate than their White colleagues. Understanding their reasons for this seems to require an understanding of their interpretation of the systems and structures in which they work as well as how their identities may or may not align with those systems and structures that have been in place since they were students themselves. This dissertation uses a situative and critical race lens to understand several things: (1) how teachers of colors' racialized histories and experiences may influence their perceptions of their roles and practices, (2) how they navigate and access resources and opportunities to learn that may be aligned with their racialized identities, and (3) how they navigate their racialized identities within their schools in their first year of teaching. In using Nasir's (2012) conceptualizations of racialized identities, I use semi-

structured interviews, a focus group interview, school staff interviews, and observations to understand the complex and multidimensional ways in which four teachers of color navigate the tensions, affordances, and constraints within their schools and how they positioned themselves as racialized beings in those spaces. The findings highlight the nuanced ways in which the teachers' negotiation of their racialized identities could not be untethered from their shifting contexts. The findings also reveal the extent to which the teachers navigate and perceive their alignment to the resources available to them in their schools. In having a deeper understanding of the processes by which teachers of color bring their racialized identities into the profession, I hope to bring to the forefront the critical considerations for teacher education programs, administrators, and educational leaders when it comes to a system that honors the rich identities and stories that teachers of color offer the profession.

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Acknowledgements

The process of writing this dissertation and project was similar to running a marathon. It is the cheerleaders along the course who really keep you going. I had many cheerleaders and sources of support throughout this process and each one stood along various points along the course at just the right time.

I am forever grateful to Sue Nolen, who has supported me from my first days fresh out of the classroom to this day. Sue, without the opportunities to do research and the work in teacher education, I would not have received the supports and knowledge to do this work. I am especially grateful for your anecdotes and advice, and most importantly, for validating my identity as a teacher, educator, and researcher of color throughout this process.

To Ann, thank you for your guidance through this process as well as your critical eye and questions that push me to be a better writer and researcher.

To my committee members, Ken Zeichner, William Vesneski, and Charles Lea. Each of you has been instrumental in pushing me intellectually, and providing immeasurable support. You each came along at different stages of the process and encouraged me through words, walks, meals, and shared stories.

I also could not have completed or endured the process without the support of classmates, who ultimately became family. Their brilliant minds and ideas, critical eyes, and support were invaluable. To Dr. Lindsey Wilson, Dr. Naeun Cheon, the future Dr. Elba Moise, and future Dr. Kristen Bergsman, thank you for your love and support from our days as baby academics. Without you, I would not have gotten where I am now and I am so grateful for what I get to learn from each of you.

To the future Doctors Jenny Gawronksi, Starlie Chinen, Paul Hobson, and Sayaka Omori, I also cannot thank you enough for being on this journey with me. Thank you for meals, check-ins, walks, and for your critical and brilliant minds. To Dr. Michelle Seijas, thank you for 20 years of friendship and for encouraging me through your work with educators and leaders of color. To Lilly Hayden, thank you for your encouragement and little tokens to celebrate my milestones. They meant more than you know. And to Elizabeth Sdun, thank you for your friendship since our teacher ed program. Though we have the distance between us, you have always been a huge source of support.

To my “Nolen Siblings”, Dr. Susan Cooper, Dr. Alexandra Goodell, and Dr. Gavin Tierney, thank you for checking in with me and for all of your knowledge and support.

Without my former elementary students and teacher candidates, this passion for this project would be absent. Each of you has informed who I am as an educator and researcher. To Desaree Ayala, in particular, I did not realize that as a former student, you would influence and motivate me in so many ways. Keep pushing yourself because you are one of the strongest and determined people I know.

To my extended family-Poh Poh, Gung Gung, Ma Ma, and Yeh Yeh, aunts, uncles, and cousins- thank you for grounding me through this process. To my parents and sister, I can't express how much your support along this journey has meant to me. Without you all, I could not do this. To Miles, Mia, and Miriam, I hope you all see yourself in your teachers one day. You three melt my heart in every way possible. Lastly, to Justin, I cannot thank you enough for your patience, love, and encouragement. Your stories of teaching keep me going. You have taught me to better balance work and life throughout this process. I'm ready to be a grown up with you now.

Dedication

To my family-Mom, Dad, Mel, Matt, Miles, Mia, Miriam, and Justin

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The idea of teacher identity is complex. Unlike most professionals, teachers bring into the job their previous ideas of what teaching is or what their role is from their own time as students. Those ideas and perceptions are very much framed by their own experiences with their teachers and the education system; teachers have had many opportunities to observe the profession from their own time as students. They bring in their own autobiographical experiences and understandings of teaching, which develop and are modified as they interact with a variety of people and contexts across the ecosystem of education. There is no end point to this development (Sexton, 2008). Understanding a teacher's identity, particularly a novice teacher's identity, highlights how individuals mediate learning in their contexts. It also highlights how they draw upon the different ways in which they are positioned in their programs and schools, their experiences, and the resources they draw upon to enact their professional selves in particular ways. The teacher's role is socio-historically constructed, institutionally maintained, and contextualized at the school level in response to the needs of the community (Bullough, Gitlin, & Goldstein, 1984). At the same time, they are also choosing to act in ways that align with their own self-understandings (Goffman, 1959) and with who they are as individuals entering a profession that entails that they take on many roles.

Much of the current literature on teacher identity emphasizes the critical influence personal histories and educational experiences have on how novice teachers perceive their roles and identities in the classroom. There is a predominance of literature that focuses on preparing White teachers and examining their own identities in relation to working with diverse student populations. Though it is critical for White, middle-class teachers, who dominate the teaching

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profession, to examine their privilege, biases, and assumptions when working with their socioeconomically, linguistically, and racially diverse students and communities, it is also imperative for teachers of colors' identities to be examined and supported.

Teachers of color are often known to be personally committed to the success of children of color, and they affect a wide range of student academic outcomes (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). They also serve as powerful role models for all students and prove that teaching can be a viable career for people of color. In their research, Villegas and Irvine (2010) have characterized five practices that teachers of color tend to orient themselves to: (1) having high expectations of students, (2) using culturally responsive teaching, (3) developing trusting relationships with students, (4) confronting issues of racism through teaching, and (5) serving as advocates and cultural brokers between the home and the school. Studies of the relationship between the presence of African American teachers in schools and their African American students' positive outcomes have been attributed to teachers of colors' affinity toward infusing classrooms with culturally relevant teachings and examples, setting high academic expectations, developing trust, and serving as cultural and linguistic resources as well as being advocates, mentors, and liaisons for their students' families and communities (King, 1993). Despite these roles they take on in supporting their students, teacher retention rates for White teachers continue to be higher than for teachers of color for myriad reasons (U.S. Department of Education, 2016).

When teachers enter their schools and classrooms, they are mostly entering spaces that have been institutionally, politically, and systemically created for White teachers and dominant families who understand the school system, who may tend to support the school system in school-centric ways, and who traditionally have had easy access to the system (Irvine, 2003;

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Quiocho & Rios, 2000). When teachers of color enter those same spaces where they are trying to negotiate their roles identities in relation to those contexts, there may be affordances and constraints that can strengthen or limit how those roles and identities may be enacted; some of those constraints may further leave them feeling marginalized in a system that is inherently instantiated by hierarchical power dynamics. On the other hand, there may be affordances within their contexts that may strengthen their abilities to align their identities as racialized beings with the practices and roles they perceive to be valuable and validated as a teacher of color. When teachers of color's racialized identities are validated and honored, then can we hope to see the increase in their presence as leaders in the education system.

Significance of the Study

In 2004, the National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teacher Workforce (National Education Association, 2004) and several studies highlighted that over 20 million students of color deserve and need to see educators who look like them (Achinstein & Aguirre, 2008; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Achinstein, Ogawa, & Sexton, 2010; Parker, 2003). Teachers of color are underrepresented in their professions at a time when students of color are emerging as the dominant sector of the public school population (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). This concern with the shortage of teachers of color has been met with attention from top education officials and organizations and there has been a call for more teachers of color in American classrooms (Flanagan, 2010; National Education Association, 2004). However, reports also show that there is an issue with the recruitment and retention of teachers of color, thus barriers and policies need to be examined in order to meet this goal.

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Just as the literature on teacher identity emphasizes the critical influence of personal history and educational experiences have in how novice teachers perceive their roles and identities in the classroom, so do those factors play a role in how novice teachers of color view their teacher identities. However, it is also important to consider the racialized histories and experiences of those teachers who have experienced education in ways that may be very different from their White colleagues, and to understand how those histories and experiences inform the varied ways that teachers of color value and access supports and resources within the different contexts in which they find themselves working.

Understanding teachers' identities can often provide insight into the decisions that they make when navigating their contexts and how they may interact with others and the resources around them. Hammerness, Darling-Hammond and Bransford (2005) talk about teacher identity development in this way:

Developing an identity as a teacher is an important part of securing teachers' commitment to their work and adherence to professional norms... the identities teachers develop shape their dispositions, where they place their effort, whether and how they seek out professional development opportunities, and what obligations they see as intrinsic to their role. (Hammerness, Darling-Hammond, & Bransford, 2005, pp. 383–384).

Teachers of color's racialized identities are worthwhile to explore due to the multi-layered and complex interactions that may be present when thinking about ways in which they have been socialized around race. Those racialized identities also can have an influence on how they may see themselves as part of a system that has not always been designed for their success.

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Teachers of color also bring with them cultural norms, expectations, and ways of being that may align or conflict with the context in which they are teaching. Thus the ways in which culturally, linguistically, and racially diverse teachers and students come together in these environments and think about their identities is important to explore. All of this, by no means, implies that all teachers of color are able to be successful and connect with all students of color, nor does it imply that sharing community membership or sharing a similar racial identity as students necessitate a strong connection. I also do not want to imply that White teachers are not capable of reaching their students of color. This study aims to reveal how teachers of color may also access and take up resources in different ways that align with their goals, perceived roles, and the dispositions they value for themselves as a teacher; these goals, perceived roles, and dispositions may differ from those of their White colleagues or what is upheld by the dominant culture in their schools. Because of this, sometimes the actions and practices of teachers of color are called into question or misunderstood. In dismissing the experiences and racialized identities of novice teachers of color, the risk is the loss of the valuable insights and resources that teachers of color can bring into socioeconomically, linguistically, and racially diverse schools and communities as well as the connections they may be able to build between schools and their students, families, and communities. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) emphasize that the experiences and voices of people of color are required for a complete analysis of the educational system and is also used to counteract the stories of the dominant group.

If administrators and teacher educators could understand how teachers of color's racialized identities influence their perceptions of their roles and practices on a day to day basis, they might consider these questions: How can teachers of color be better supported and seen as

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valuable resources in their schools and communities, and how can the decisions they make for their students and their teaching practices be validated even if they don't fit the mold of what is expected and valued in their contexts?

Toward answering those and the broader questions about what happens to novice teachers when they enter the workforce, this study will address two research questions: (1) Do the racialized identities of novice teachers of color influence their perceptions of their roles and practices in schools? If so, how? (2) In what ways are those racialized identities and histories of novice teachers of color drawn from to make sense of the resources and constraints within their contexts? How are those identities negotiated and renegotiated during their first year of teaching?

Definitions

In this study, I will focus on my participants as “teachers of color.” The phrase “people of color is often used as an umbrella to identify different groups, but it also emphasizes the fact that not all groups share similar experiences. Nieto (2000) notes that the term “people of color” describes groups such as African Americans, Asian Americans, American Indians, and Latinos. This term emerged from the communities themselves, and "implies important connections among the groups and underlines some common experiences" (p. 30). However, the existence of connections does not equate to a uniform experience. People of color are not defined as a united group, but there is, in fact, variance within and amongst people of color. The variance lies in their immigration experiences, education, linguistic differences, and histories (Kohli, 2009). Several studies on teachers of color use the term “minority” to describe their participants (Quirocho & Rios, 2000; Tewel & Trubowitz, 1987), but I will use “teachers of color” rather than “minority” due to the connotation of being “less than” or “othered.” The term “minority” is also

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centered around Whiteness and places people of color on the periphery. The term describes who people of color “are not.” The term “teacher of color” is a general term that will highlight that though the participants are all people of color, their experiences are, nonetheless, unique, based on their histories and experiences. The term “people of color does not rely on Whiteness as a reference point or as a default. I will also use the terms “African American” and “Black” interchangeably based on the specific cases I am addressing, as one participant identified as Black while another identified as African American. When discussing their cases, I will use the terms by which they self-identified.

In many studies, “racial identities” and “racialized identities” are used to explain how one interacts with the world and how the world interacts with them. These identities are framed by histories and experiences with racism, microaggression, and marginalization. The term “racialized identities” is used as an effort to “honor the idea that race (and thus racial identities) is not an inherent category, but rather is made *racial* through social interaction, positioning, and discourse.” (Nasir, 2012, p.5). These identities are continuously reinforced and reinvented and signify that there is fluidity and dynamicism to how race is socially constructed (Nasir, 2012). Racialized identities “are related to the complex process of racial socialization, which occurs in family and school contexts” (Nasir, 2012, p.25) and are complex and personal. In other words, how one has been racially socialized in their schools and families may frame the ways they see others or perceive the way that others see them. Through acknowledging racialized identities, multiple levels of history and experience related to one’s race are recognized, as it is problematic to essentialize the characteristics of racial categories. By extension, Gutierrez (2004) emphasizes the regularity and variability within groups. “Racial identities” have more to do with race as an

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identity based on physical features and language (Webster, 1992). Moreover, it is how people parcel out and/or maintain racial boundaries; it is the identity that individuals access to check off the boxes in paperwork or how they socially identify themselves. Miller (1999) discusses that the process of racial socialization and racial identities are “inextricably bound” (p.497); therefore, racialized identities are constructed as individuals interact with others in racially stratified spaces. Knowledge of one’s racialized identity may also mean being aware of their racial identity development. Understanding one’s racialized identity also encompasses a history of racialization due to one’s racial identity and is far more complex than checking off a box that matches their racial identification.

When considering those racialized histories, experiences of immigration, racism, microaggressions, and discrimination may also play a role in how teachers of color view their roles in education. Hence, those experiences may also inform how they make sense of or take up the contextual resources in their schools. For the purpose of this study, I aimed to understand how teachers of colors made sense of and took up resources in their school contexts. In this study, the term “resources” is defined by Cote and Levine’s (2002) cultural identity model that describes how individuals utilize various assets and resources as they construct identities in social settings. These include material, ideational, and relational resources. For example, material resources refer to the tools or physical artifacts that they may utilize in their schools such as curriculum guides and websites. Ideational resources are “ideas about oneself or one’s relationship to a place in the world as well as ideas about what is valued and good.” (Nasir & Cook, 2009, p.44). An example would be the ideals that a teacher may enter their classroom with and what values and skills they feel they have to teach their students. Relational resources

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are connections with others in one's setting, such as feeling supported by colleagues and students.

Lastly, literature on teacher identities have conceptualized "development" in different ways. While existing literature use the terms "shifts," (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009) "construction," (Lave & Wenger, 1991) "formation," (Rodgers & Scott, 2008), "trajectories" (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008) "shaping" (Flores & Day, 2006) identities to describe the dynamic nature of identity development, I am choosing to use the term "negotiation" as a way to describe how the teachers navigate the tensions that come with thinking about their identities in relation to perceptions of their contexts.

Chapter 2: Review of Framing Literature

Research and scholarship around novice teacher identity and teachers of color will be reviewed in this section. This review will situate where this study fits in the current body of literature and why this issue needs to continue to be explored.

Teachers of Color: A brief history

The history and experiences of teachers of color have evolved in the last 60 years (Gordon, 2000); some of the experiences stemming from legislative acts such as Brown vs. Board of Education in 1954, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and immigration acts that limited or allowed for people from other countries to come into the United States. The history behind of teacher of colors' opportunities shed light into some of the current experiences within schools and the education system today.

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Different racial groups experienced challenges in the profession in different ways. For example, Black teachers were often found teaching children on slave plantations before it was legal (Gordon, 2000; Perkins, 1989). Due to segregated schooling, specifically in the south, teaching became an occupation available to Black teachers (Siddle Walker, 2001; Villegas & Lucas, 2004). Later in the 1950's, teaching became the main profession among the Black workforce (Cole, 1986) where many Black teachers played powerful roles in their communities to organize and lead for change (Siddle Walker, 2001). However, when *Brown vs. Board of Education* passed in 1954, this had significant and negative consequences for the Black teachers. Desegregation cost thousands Black teachers to lose their jobs.

While Black teachers struggled with the impact of desegregation, Latino teachers also faced the challenges that came with fighting for bilingual education (Gordon, 2000). Due to several rulings, such as *Ciscneros vs. Corpus Christi* in 1971, Latinos were integrated with White students, so Latino teachers suffered a similar job loss as those experienced by their Black counterparts. At this time, White teachers were able to teach in mixed race classrooms, which pushed out the teachers of color. With these two examples, both Black and Latino groups of teachers also faced the loss of teaching those in their own communities, whose experiences were similar in terms of cultural and linguistic resources and histories.

Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) teachers had a slightly different experience since their immigration histories were different across different AAPI groups. The AAPI experience cannot be essentialized and generalized as each Asian group faced different challenges in their immigration experience and discriminatory practices. For example, many Southeast Asian immigrants entered the country as refugees in the 1970's (Rong & Preissle,

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1997) while the immigration experience of Chinese and Japanese were quite different. These experiences also afforded different opportunities for AAPI teachers to teach within their communities in less formal ways. For example, the segregation of Chinese and Japanese schools within their communities, such as the Japanese internment camps, were places where teachers in those communities could set up schools for the children. Along with the diversity in immigration stories is a rich diversity in language, religion, and customs of these different groups. What is also unique to the AAPI demographic is the attitude towards teachers in the profession. In Gordon's (2000) study, she interviewed several AAPI teachers, who shared the high regard for teachers in their culture. However, many also shared that many of their families pushed them towards other professions for a reasons such as valuing prestige and honor. Their families also perceived a lack of respect for teachers in America, and there was a fear of not being prepared to teach students from other racial groups (Gordon, 2000). In many communities of color, there is an expectation that if the student completed college, they should not take a job that is more community or service-oriented, rather they should work in a profession that has a higher perceived income. There is also the pressure to later give back to their communities or to appease their families (Gordon, 2000). Given that many work towards higher paid professions with the pressure of later supporting their family members and parents, this can attribute to a lower number of AAPI teachers in the profession.

Lastly, Native American teachers have a history and narrative that is very unique. Because the Native Americans lived in tribes and on their reservations, their children learned through what their elders modeled and taught (Marashiro, 1982). When federal policies, enacted in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, aimed at forcing Native Americans into the mainstream,

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many children were then put into boarding schools. There, many of their traditions, customs, and language were not allowed; many of them also lost connections with their elders and traditional ways of thinking and being (Unger, 1977). In Gordon's (2000) study, Native American teachers were also interviewed and some of the reasons for why there are a low number of them represented in the profession emerged: negative schooling experiences, low graduation rates, and racism were mentioned. The history of the Native American experience in schools continues to permeate some of the fears associated with the American schooling experience, such as erasure of traditions as well as having to teach narratives that don't align with their customary ways of thinking and believing.

Given these histories of many communities of color, it seems evident as to why teachers of color have felt marginalized and silenced in the profession, but alongside that silencing also the stories of teachers of color who played roles in uplifting and empowering their communities to make change. Many of the experiences that teachers of color have faced stem from systemic decisions and policies that, in many ways, still permeate the educational system today. The experiences of teachers of color today still include these histories because of the explicit and implicit ways in which education, as an institution, still marginalizes their worth and what they may bring to the profession and to many students.

Teachers of Color

Due to the call for diversifying the teaching profession, leading scholars on the experiences of teachers of color have challenged school boards, universities, districts, and school leaders to consider the importance of having the perspectives of a diverse staff (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Kohli, 2018). Many of the studies highlight the complex processes by which

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teachers of color navigate teacher education programs as well as the schools in which they teach. Because many teachers of color cannot dismiss their racial identities when it comes to what they bring into the classroom, they also cannot dismiss the role of race in their histories and what they experience each day. In many studies of teachers of color, it has been found that they face situations in their school contexts that cause them to question and re-negotiate their identities (Feuerverger, 1997; Foster, 1994; Klassen & Carr, 1997). Though this process can be true for all teachers, for teachers of color, race may play a role in the feelings of marginalization or isolation from their colleagues as well as in the tensions they experience within their schools.

Several themes emerged from the literature on novice teachers of color: (1) the roles and socialization of teachers influence and are influenced by a number of factors, (2) there are contextual supports and challenges that can limit or support how teachers of color can carry out the roles they perceive for themselves, and 3) identities are negotiated or shifted due to the supports or challenges presented by their contexts as well as the broader context influenced by policies. More importantly, many of the research on teacher of color use a critical race lens (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solorzano, 1997) to center their narratives as a way to transform practices in the system (Gist, 2018; Kohli, 2009; Kohli, 2018).

Personal and racialized histories. Several studies emphasize that teachers of colors' perceptions of their roles and socialization into the profession are largely influenced by their personal experiences and histories with the teaching profession as well as familial, community, and cultural experiences with education (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Galindo, 1996; Knowles, 1992; Kohli, 2018; Su, 1997). Knowles (1992) posits that the teacher of color's thinking is mainly influenced by their previous educational histories rather than by their training in teacher

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education, with many of these histories also framed by experiences with racism (Borrero, Flores, & de la Cruz, 2016; Duncan-Andrade, 2009; Kohli, 2009; Kohli 2018). Their identities are often developed in the context of social and cultural experiences, their families, communities, and schools. As a result, their identities are also instrumental in understanding their conceptions of diversity (Alleksaht-Snider, 1996; Kanpol, 1992). Teachers' families have a strong influence on teachers' perceptions of education (Galindo, 1996). Galindo's (1996) study of Chicana teachers revealed that family pride in being well-educated helped the teachers define what it meant to be a good teacher as well as what their roles were in schools. This type of socialization may also influence where they choose to work. Research shows that teachers of color are more likely to work in schools with high proportions of students in low-income and racially diverse communities (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Loeb, Darling-Hammond, & Luczak, 2005; Villegas & Lucas, 2004) while many teachers of color choose to go back to the communities and schools in which they taught, or choose to teach in schools where they feel students can see a teacher who looks like them (Cabello, Eckmier, & Baghieri, 1995; Galindo, 1996; Irvine, 1989; Quiocho & Rios, 2000). For many of them, this is informed by their own experience of not seeing teachers of color as students themselves. These and other studies reveal that many teachers of color are influenced to pursue the profession by their families (Green & Weaver, 1992) and to also make a difference in their communities (Cabello, Eckmier, & Baghieri, 1995; Hood & Parker, 1994). What is critical to note and to recognize is that teacher of colors' racialized identities may contribute to their professional identities in a more conscious or salient way that goes beyond just racial identification and the ability to teach students of color.

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Teachers of colors' conceptualization of roles and practices. The ways in which teachers of color have been socialized into the profession also influence the way they conceptualize their roles and practices in schools. Much of this socialization has been from their families, communities, and experiences in schools when they were students. Studies show that teachers of color want to be change agents or cultural brokers for their students and families of color (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Gomez & Rodriguez, 2011; Irvine, 2003; Jacullo-Nolo, 1994; King, 1993). Teachers of color also often have an insight to the racialized experiences of their students of color and can support how they navigate structural barriers in schools (Gomez & Rodriguez, 2011; Kohli, 2009; Mabokela & Madison, 2007; Villegas & Irvine, 2010) while also wanting to be a role model for those in their communities to those who share the same cultural and racial background as them (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Borrero, Flores, & de la Cruz, 2016; Irvine, 1989; Jacullo-Nolo, 1994; King, 1993, Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Irvine's (1989) study, in particular, focused on the identity of Black teachers who reported organically connecting their professional and personal identities to sources in the Black community in order to be "cultural translators" for their Black students (Irvine, 1989; p.55). They also perceived the successes and failures of their students as gains and losses to the Black community and described themselves as being "ethnically responsible" for their students (Irvine, 1989, p.54). This literature highlights the unique role that teachers of colors' histories and socialization inform the dispositions towards particular roles and practices they have and how they play out when entering schools. Because the identities that teachers of color bring into schools are deeply embedded in their culture, community, and families, the dispositions they bring into their classrooms have a great influence on how they think about their practices as a teacher (Alleksaht-Snyder, 1996). For teachers of

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color, in particular, race can also be an issue due to their minoritized status in the school system. Their racialized identities, histories, and experiences can be marginalized rather than valued as a resource in the community.

Contextual affordances and constraints. Though many of teachers of color found themselves going into the profession with these perceived roles for themselves as change agents, role models, and being able to teach in more culturally responsive ways, many of the aforementioned studies reveal that the contexts in which they find themselves teaching limit or support the ways in which the teachers are able to carry out those roles. Though many teachers go back to teach in the communities in which they were raised or teach in low-income, non-dominant communities, it is in those schools where the accountability measures are high when it comes to upholding policies and systemic practices. Achinstein and Ogawa's (2011) 5 year study of 21 middle and high school teachers, in particular, describes the "double bind" in which the teachers of color find themselves in when thinking of their personal commitments to teaching versus the constraints placed upon them by the system and the policies that keep them from being able to fulfill their perceived roles. The restrictive teaching practices in schools, such as narrowing the curriculum, lack of agency and decision making, lack of social, cultural, and multicultural capital were some of the reasons for why several teachers switched schools or professions. Other studies report that teachers of color experience feelings of isolation as they struggle to be faithful to their identities as teachers of color committed to changing a problematic educational system (Bainer, 1990; Borrero et al., 2016; Feuerverger, 1997; Hulsebosch & Koerner, 1994; Kohli, 2018; Lipka, 1994; Su, 1997). On the other hand, some teachers in Achinstein and Ogawa's (2011) study also revealed supports from principals and having more

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cultural and social capital when working in a smaller school with more agency to supplement curriculum to reflect a more multicultural perspective. The top-down policies and power relations played a critical role in the affordances and constraints on how the teachers implemented the practices and roles to which they felt committed, especially when many already felt marginalized as teachers of color.

When marginalized, teachers of color in the aforementioned studies reported feeling disconnected from their professional and local community that their schools served and this tension and negotiation of their positions within context can contribute to reshaping teachers' identities and understanding of their roles in the teaching profession. With these tensions, the studies indicate that being a teacher of color does not necessarily guarantee success in teaching, but they can play a crucial role in reducing discriminatory practices and can have a great impact on challenging the marginalization of communities of color (Kohli, 2012; Meier, Steward, & England, 1989; Sleeter, 1993) and show empathy to overcome barriers posed by cultural and linguistic difference (Quiocho & Rios, 2000).

Because schools can be places where teachers of color were marginalized as students, the ways in which they navigate their different contexts can afford or constrain their identification with and the engagement in the practices of the schools in which they teach. The literature highlights the complex ways in which teachers of color negotiate the localized tensions within their schools and the ways in which they respond to those tensions.

How teachers of color have been studied. The methodology used in this dissertation study mirrors some of the ways in which other studies on teachers of color have also been conducted. Studies on teachers of color have been conducted to study different aspects of how

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they navigate their roles, experiences, and positions in the school system and some focus on the contexts themselves as places where the teachers experience and navigate issues of racism (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Kohli, 2009; Kohli, 2018). When seeking to understand how teachers of color conceptualize their roles, studies have explored how they developed and enacted culturally responsive teaching practices (Borrero et al., 2016), how they handled sociocultural challenges with their students of color (Achinstein & Aguirre, 2010). Many of these studies were conducted with focus groups (Kohli, 2009), semi-structured interviews (Kohli, 2009; Kohli, 2018; Lee, 2013), and questionnaires, (Kohli, 2018). When looking specifically at first year teachers, Borrero et al.'s (2016) study on new teachers of color explored how they developed and enacted culturally responsive teaching practices using focus group interviews while Achinstein and Ogawa's (2011) longitudinal study conducted interviews, focus groups, and observations across five years to gain a broad understanding of the experiences of novice teachers of color who perceived their roles to be agents of change. To do so, teacher interviews were used to understand the teachers' backgrounds, beliefs and practices, to understand the school contexts, sociocultural identifications, and future plans while administrator and mentor interviews were conducted to understand the school culture, the growth of the new teacher, and supports for new teachers of color. Student focus groups were also held to understand what it was like to be a student in the teacher's class with a teacher of color. Lastly, observations were conducted to understand the cultural responsive practices of the teacher, to understand the community of learners, the teacher's social justice perspective, as well as student engagement. Likewise, Achinstein and Aguirre (2010) examined how new teachers of color negotiated sociocultural challenges in the classroom using 3 semi-structured interviews, video-taped

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lessons, observations, and focus groups across three years to understand how the teachers experienced and responded to sociocultural challenges from students of color who questioned their identities. This study was unique in that it challenged the notion that all teachers of color are culturally matched with students of color while not all teachers of color may be prepared to face some of the challenges that come with teaching students of color.

Though the literature on novice teachers of color is scant, what has already been studied lays a foundation from which to continue building a base to understanding the experiences of teachers of color. What this study contributes is the understanding of the trajectories of engagement and positioning of their racialized identities and how they access resources that uniquely align with those identities.

Novice Teacher Identity Development

Teacher identity development has been conceptualized and studied in a variety of ways. The ways in which they have been conceptualized have also framed the different ways identity development has also been studied. The first section below will focus on the different ways in which teacher identity development has been conceptualized and then I will discuss how it has been studied in the empirical literature.

Conceptualizations of teacher identity development. Understanding how others in the field have conceptualized teacher identity development is useful in understanding that identity development is multi-faceted. The ways it has been defined in some studies and not in others reveals the complexity around how identity has been understood and explored (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). Some frame a teacher identity as something by which teachers can analyze the aspects of teaching to confront the tensions and contradictions in their careers (Olsen, 2008),

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or it can be seen as an organizing element in teachers' professional lives, or as a "resource that people use to explain, justify, and make sense of themselves in relation to others, and to the world at large." (MacLure, 1993, p.311). What we know from the research is that identity is dynamic and shifts over time under the influence of a range of factors such as emotions (Rodgers & Scott, 2008), factors external to the individual and life experiences (Flores & Day, 2006; Sachs 2005). Identity development is also constantly evolving and involves both the person and context (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009) and some conceptualize that there are sub-identities within teacher identities that may operate across contexts (Gee, 2001). For example, Gee (2001) discusses four interrelated ways of viewing identity that represents how identities in practice are being formed and sustained when engaged in an activity: (1) nature identity, which is the identities which are based on a state of being and determined by nature, (2) institutional identity, which is a position that is authorized by institutions, such as being a teacher; with this identity, there is a belief system in place that defines group identities, norms, and practices, (3) discourse identity, which draws on individual traits that evoked and recognized through interactions with others, and (4) affinity identity, which is constructed through shared experiences and ways those shared experiences define membership, such as being part of a school community. With this lens, Gee (2001) posits that individuals choose to emphasize one view of identity over another as they negotiate how they or others perceive their traits. Similarly, Lauriala and Kukkonen (2005) recognize that identity and self-concept are both stable and dynamic in that there are three dimensions to the self: (1) the actual self, which is the attributes the individual actually possesses, (2) the ideal self, which is the attributes that individuals would like to possess, and (3) the ought self, which is the attributes individuals are supposed to possess as a result of certain

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duties or responsibilities. Some of the overlap in these frameworks highlight the idea that individuals come into the teaching profession with ideas of who they already are, who they think they should be in relation to the schools in which they may work, and who they think they should be or would like to be as teachers. These identities may develop as they learn and may be influenced by educational policies, the standards that students need to learn, the culture, and the standards by which they may be evaluated. Similarly, Markus and Nurius (1986) possible selves theory focuses on a set of expected and feared selves. Possible selves focus on a future-oriented influence on self-concept that entails imagination as well as reflection to envision a set of hoped for and feared selves. These selves serve as guidelines for one's future actions (Markus & Nurius, 1986). Sfard and Prusak (2005) propose the constructs of an actual and designated identity to understanding the trajectory of identity development; an actual identity refers to traits pertaining to the individual in the present while the designated identity is the projected vision for the future of the individual.

Identity and agency are also linked in that when teachers are given a sense of agency, they may pursue learning opportunities aligned with their goals (Boaler & Greeno, 2000; Day, Kington, Stobart, & Sammons, 2006; Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Caine, 1998). This sense of agency is what may empower them to move forward with their goals and make decisions that align with them. Agency plays a role in teachers' empowerment to move ideas forward and feeling like they can make decisions about activities in which they align themselves (Holland et al., 1998; Sfard & Prusak). The role that agency has in shaping and developing teachers' identities has a connection to the ways in which they position themselves within educational contexts. From a sociocultural and/or situative theoretical perspective (Nolen & Ward, 2008),

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people are actors in figured worlds (Holland, 2003). In that sense, their involvement in these worlds and their identification with them is not a passive experience. Exploring identity through this lens focuses on participation, “especially our agency, in socially produced, culturally constructed activities” (Holland et al., 2003, p. 40). Thinking about identity in this way allows for both the contributions of context and also individual choice in response to the context.

Within contexts, particularly schools, identities are also connected to practice. Wenger (1998) posits that identity involves membership within a community of practice and has a learning trajectory situated within membership or involvement in different contexts. Trajectories are considered in terms of engagement with the practices of the communities in which individuals participate and that trajectory includes a path with a present and past. It is also defined as a path that corresponds to a change in practices; those changes can be in part due to negotiations and tensions with the community’s practices (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008; Holland, 2010). Similarly, others conceive identity development and learning as emerging from one’s interactions with various figured worlds (Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain, 1998), which are the socially-constructed roles, meaning systems, and symbols of the cultural contexts they encounter. With this lens, teachers may operate within their various figured worlds by asserting and receiving different identities (Horn, Nolen, Ward, Campbell, 2008). Identity refers to the way a person understands and views himself, and is often viewed by others; it also considers histories-in-person, which includes aspects of their past to negotiate present and future practices within their contexts. The extent to which one identifies with a particular figured world relies, to some extent, on their histories-in-person and the way it is manifested in social practice (Holland, 2010). Histories manifest themselves in the present and shape ongoing social worlds and

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practices in which people inhabit. With this lens, trajectories of identity development are informed by a sense of the relationships individuals develop with the contexts they encounter and how they also position themselves in relation to others and the practices in those contexts. This sociocultural view of identity development situates the identity development within contexts as one interacts with others and the practices and resources within those contexts, or communities of practice (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2006; Wenger, 1998; Lave & Wenger, 1991)

The different ways of conceptualizing teacher identity also influences how it is perceived to develop and how it is studied. Some theorists consider identity development to take place and shaped through narratives, discourse. In teaching, narratives indicate understandings of professional identities within changing contexts (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999). Sfard and Prusak also emphasize the collective nature by which discourse can shape collective identities. Likewise, Alsup (2006) contends that engagement in discourse can provoke transformation in practices and thinking when existing frameworks or notions are challenged. Reflection is also seen as a practice that enables teachers to look back at their thoughts and practices and consider their effectiveness. It allows for one to look ahead towards future practice and can also inform identity development (Conway, 2001). Many of these practices of using discourse, reflection, and narratives have been common methods to understand preservice teacher identity development (Gaudelli & Ousley, 2009; Richmond, Juwik, & Steele, 2011) as they are asked to reflect on their courses and practices in the field, or to respond to feedback from professors and mentor teachers.

When considering context, some research highlights the act of constructing, deconstructing, and transforming identities through tensions and frictions that individuals

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experience. (Flores & Day, 2006; Maldarez, Hobson, Tracey, & Kerr, 2007; Ward, Nolen, & Horn, 2011). Maldarez and colleagues (2007) and Flores and Day (2006) both identify that individuals view and interpret new information and experiences through an existing framework and network of knowledge, experience, and belief. For teachers, some of these exciting experiences may be what they experienced when they were students, their own experiences with former teachers, and how they think students should learn. However, MacClure (1993) contends that these identity frameworks cannot nor should not be seen as stable, but something that individuals use to “justify, explain, and make sense of themselves in relation to other people, and to the contexts in which they operate.” (p. 132). New information and experiences can facilitate a construction or deconstruction of identity over time. Some of this new information may be in the form of what teachers may have learned in their teacher education programs or in their new school contexts in the form of professional development or what is valued in their schools. In their study, Flores and Day (2006) found that identities are personally embedded at the beginning of teachers’ careers, but can be destabilized by negative school contexts and cultures in which they work. They also add in emotional factors as an influence on how one perceives their experiences as a teacher. Some of these emotional factors include joy in working with students, but also frustration or lack of trust when working with others. It is the past influences (one’s personal biography of teaching, training, and practices) combined with one’s pre-teaching identity (influenced by learning theories, ideas of what teaching is), and one’s teaching contexts (school culture, leadership, and practice) that shapes and reshapes identity (Flores & Day, 2006). It is the destabilization of those existing identity frameworks that facilitate identity formation. Related literature also discusses destabilization as a form of dissonance or productive friction

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(Hagel & Brown, 2005; Ward et al., 2011) when one's social worlds conflict, but can ultimately lead to growth and improved practice. This can be seen when preservice teachers graduate and become inservice teachers and they notice that the practices they learned and came to value in their programs are not aligned with what is seen in the schools in which they end up teaching. In Ward et al.'s (2011) study, they saw the misalignment or dissonance as an important way of "creating hybrid or boundary spaces where expertise from different social worlds can come together to support learning" (p.15). Others conceptualize boundary spaces as "contact zones" (Smagorinsky, Jukubial, & Moore, 2008), or a "third space" (Zeichner, 2010) where there may be a negotiation in the teachers' navigation between contexts. Engeström (1987) also uses the concept of boundaries as existing between activity systems, and in following that concept, the boundary between the teaching program and inservice teaching can involve a transition or change in the individual's identity. What these studies highlight is the dissonance and negotiation that may occur during a time when preservice teachers transition from one space to another, which is from the university to their jobs as the teacher in charge of their own classrooms.

When preservice teachers graduate from teacher education programs and are ready to begin teaching in their own classrooms, there is a period of transition in which the individual's identity is going from being a student to becoming a professional. As a student in the university, there were norms and values within the realms of the institution that framed the preservice teachers' actions and practices. As they are going into the classroom as professionals, they are transitioning to taking on a new role within a new context with its own set of norms and values. Ward et al.'s (2011) longitudinal study looked at the dissonance experienced by teachers as they negotiated the tensions from feedback from students, their mentors, and supervisors. Through

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observations and interviews of their experiences in the teacher education world, their field placement world, and their real world as inservice teachers, the findings showed that the participants had to reconcile their identities and work at the boundary spaces to create practices that were going to benefit their students. This negotiation was also influenced by their past experiences and how they defined the roles of a teacher or what a successful classroom looked like.

Several studies examined how these boundary spaces could impact the transition between being a preservice to novice teacher (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011; Chong, 2011; Flores & Day, 2006; Hamman, Goseelin, Romano & Bunuan, 2010). Beauchamp and Thomas' (2011) study, in particular, is worthy to note in that they identify this boundary space as the period between preservice teaching and the first few months of being a practicing teacher in a new school. In their study, they saw this as a time when teachers underwent intense shifts in identity in relation to their contexts. They also positioned communities of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991) and figured worlds (Holland et al., 2003) as contexts in which teachers were able to develop their identities. In these different contexts, their interactions with others shaped their identities and ability to develop agency, first as learners in their field placements and then in their new schools as teachers. In this boundary space, they found that new teachers underwent a process by which they were more conscious and in more control of their own professional development (Sexton, 2008). Beauchamp & Thomas (2011), Sexton (2008), and Yuan (2016), in their studies, also considered agency in contributing to developing a strong identity and is a "capacity to perceive personal goals towards which one is directing action" (McAlpine & Amundsen, 2009, p2).

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It was the context that caused the teachers to question and reframe their developing identities. This takes into account that identity development is multi-faceted and is constantly evolving in a multitude of contexts or shifting in relation to shifting contexts (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004).

Some of the highlighted studies in this section position identity development to take place in the head of the individual while others situate the individual's identity development and negotiation within the practices and interactions of their contexts. These ways of conceptualizing identity development also play a role in how they are studied.

Methods in studying teacher identity development. In considering methodological choices for studying identity development in novice teachers, Beauchamp and Thomas (2011), Flores and Day (2006), and Hamman et al.'s (2010) studies both also focused on this transitional period for preservice and inservice teachers, but with 3 different lenses. Beauchamp and Thomas' (2011) study focused on 35 newly graduated teachers' developing identities in boundary spaces across three cohorts of participants from two universities. In conducting two interviews, one after graduation and one 7-8 months into their first teaching experience, they focused on the changes that took place in the participant's perceptions of their identities in the boundary space. Through interviews after graduation, there was a clear indication of apprehension as they approached their first year of teaching, but in the second interview, participants recognized an evolution in their identity where teaching the first few months was a time when they had to take what they learned as a student along with their life experiences and make it fit to who they were (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011). Flores and Days' (2006) study also aimed to understand and compare new teachers' identity development in their first and second

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years of teaching across two school settings. Through pre- and post semi-structured interviews in the beginning and end of the school year, collecting student essays, and a staff questionnaire used to understand the school culture, they sought to understand the teachers' perceptions of their own changes and experiences throughout the school year. The mediating influences of their personal histories, pre-service training, and contextual influences such as leadership and school culture emerged as influences on their identity development as teachers.

Hamman et al.'s (2010) study, however, did not look at context as an influence on teachers' identity development, but sought to compare the dimensions by which 175 preservice teachers and 46 first year teachers would define their possible selves (Markus & Nurius, 1986) in the future and what might be similar or different between the groups at their different points in teaching. In their study, possible selves theory provided a framework for describing not only the contribution of future-oriented thought in the early development of teacher identity, but also away of examining the contextual, motivational and self-regulative contribution self-concepts may have on thoughts and behaviors intended to achieve identity-relevant teacher goals (Hamman et al., 2010). Through a structured, open-ended questionnaire, the participants were asked to identify possible selves they expected to achieve in the coming year. Through iterative coding cycles, four main categories of findings from the inservice teachers emerged: (1) interpersonal relations in the school, (2) classroom management, (3) instruction, and (4) professional qualities. These findings revealed the types of goals the different groups of teachers had based on their possible and feared selves. The preservice teachers reported more task-focused goals such as balancing all the tasks in the profession while the new inservice teachers reported more quality-focused and what it meant to be a professional.

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Ward and colleagues' (Ward, Nolen, & Horn, 2011) longitudinal study of novice teachers' motivation, identity development, and learning in multiple social contexts is also worthy to note in that their situative perspective required an understanding of the teachers' contexts through observations, and interviews with several members in the school community over time. In order to understand how novice teachers understood and developed their identities across their teacher education, fieldwork, and real world teaching contexts, it was important to understand the contextual affordances and constraints and resources that the participants accessed. This took place through the use of field notes, and multiple observations as well as multiple interviews with the teachers, administrators, mentors, and colleagues within and across contexts. Interviews targeted the teachers' understandings of their past, present, and future in relation to teaching as well as a deeper knowledge of the contexts from multiple perspectives. With multiple perspectives across time and space, they were able to analyze the data for confirming or disconfirming evidence for their claims to understand teacher identity development.

This review of the literature provides context as to why it is important to understand the racialized identities and experiences of novice teachers of color as they navigate the contexts in which they find themselves teaching. The historical context provides a framing for why teachers of color have faced challenges in their representation in the profession. Studies on teachers of color also emphasize the unique ways in which teachers of color position themselves and perceive the roles and practices they enact in the racialized structures of their schools. Lastly, the literature on novice teacher identity development helps us understand the complex ways in which identity and identity development have been conceptualized and studied and provides a

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background to situate this study.

While these multiple ways of studying identity development may afford answering different questions about the aspects of how teachers develop their identities, understanding identity development, or trajectories of identity development using methods that provide deep understandings of how teachers are situated and engage in their context over time is important, especially when engaging issues of race and racism.

Research Gap

In exploring the literature on both teachers of color and on teacher identity development, specifically from a learning scientists' perspective, it was challenging to find a body of literature that married the two. There is a fair amount of evidence in the research for how race and teachers of color's experiences and histories play an important role in how they interact with their students, colleagues, and communities as well as how teachers of color perceive their roles to be in schools. This body of research on the positive social and academic outcomes that teachers of color have on their students of color continues to add to the importance of why the recruitment and support of teachers of color is so critical.

When considering the literature on teacher identity, there is a great deal of research on White preservice teachers and inservice teachers' identity and their identity development in working with urban youth. While this body of research is important, White teachers may already have a more dominant lens through which they navigate and access the school system and interact with the different resources within the schools. It is dangerous to presume that all teachers have the same tools and histories to reach and positively influence "urban" youth in diverse school environments as it also homogenizes racial, social, and cultural differences that

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exist among teachers.

The success of a student-teacher relationship simply cannot be reduced to racial affiliation. Therefore we must go beyond just racial affiliation to look at how racialized identities and histories influence more than just relationships, but also the way teachers of color draw on those identities and histories to navigate their school contexts, the opportunities, and resources that come often come from the top-down and fit a more dominant and traditional practice. While Achinstein & Ogawa's (2011) study encompasses an understanding of how novice teachers perceive their roles and practices within their contexts, a deeper understanding of the contextual influences on their access to resources and opportunities to learn on the negotiations of their racialized identities were not explored. It is important to continue understanding the multidimensional and complex ways in which identities and contexts are positioned in relation to one another, especially when issues of race and racism are considered.

This study seeks to bridge the sociocultural literature on teacher identity development and teachers of color in that much of the literature on teacher identity development omits the perspectives of teachers of color. There is a dearth of literature on teachers of color that looks at the critical transition of identity development for new teachers of color within their teaching contexts while the sociocultural literature on teacher identity development in their first year of teaching is also scant. Understanding contextual influences also includes a consideration of identity resources within their contexts that teachers of color access to inform their racialized identities. In order to understand how teachers of color position themselves and their developing identities in relation to the contexts, it is important to go deeper in studying contextual affordances and constraints on how teachers of color develop their racialized identities. This

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study aims to bridge the gap that exists between the sociocultural literature on identity development and the critical examination of race in how those identities are enacted in schools. Sociocultural views also emphasize the importance of interactions and relationships as parts of a community of practice, yet the issues around power and race, which are implicit in many institutions such as schools, are not always considered or explored.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

In this study, I draw on critical race theory (Crenshaw, 2002; Tate, 1997), situative theory (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008) with constructs associated Nasir's (2012) racialized identities. Each framework provided a lens through which I grounded and thought about my methodological decisions and also by which I supported and analyzed my findings.

Critical Race Theory

A critical race perspective makes racial and racialized identities and racism transparent as endemic to society and systems; it also foregrounds schools as a central part of those systems. Critical race theory presumes that racism has contributed to the ways in which groups are advantaged or disadvantaged and was developed to highlight race, racism, and their intersection with other forms of oppression (Kohli, 2009). The theory has been used to complement work that addresses equity and justice and has been extended into the area of education since it brings issues of educational inequities to the forefront.

Critical race theory (CRT) forms the foundation for the study's purpose and methods. Emphasizing education for liberation and equity based on the inherent power and racial hierarchies in education as an overall system, CRT provides the rationale for putting race at the

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forefront of the study. It has also been applied to the field of education to describe how schools function to affirm the status quo and it also helps us understand racial disparities in education and schools. This study addresses the 5 tenets of CRT: (1) the centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination; that racism is an inherent part of our society and is endemic to American life, (2) the challenge to dominant ideology (3) the centrality of experiential knowledge; there is the importance of storytelling and the use of counter-narratives, (4) a commitment to social justice, and (5) the transdisciplinary perspective to understanding discrimination (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solorzano, 1997; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000)

“Critical race theory in education attempts to foreground race and racism in research as well as challenge the traditional paradigms, methods, texts, and separate discourse on race, gender, and class by knowing how these social constructs intersect to impact communities of color.” (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000, p.63)

History and legislation informs us of the inherent racism and prejudice that has been present within the education system and institutions. The effects of racism are embedded in our school system in the ways we have seen how the impacts of segregation, integration, and immigration acts influence what is valued in our school system today. The teachers of color in this study are a product of those systems and work in schools that may perpetuate inequities. This study examined those contexts and how the participants made sense of their roles within them.

Secondly, CRT aims to challenge dominant ideology. The normative practices in schools have been set up to privilege those who are familiar with them and have access to resources to be

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successful within that system. In some schools, those who speak up and push for equitable practices to meet the needs of their students or families of color are often challenged by those who see it as a disruption of the “status quo” in their classrooms or in the practices that have been maintained in the past. This study decenters the norm and Whiteness, and the hope is to challenge those in decision-making positions to evaluate the practices inherent in the system that may continue to perpetuate inequities for our students of color.

This study also addresses the third tenet in countering the narratives that are often heard and valued in research. The idea of using storytelling and counter-narratives is to reverse the status quo that is predicated on the dominant belief that schools are considered neutral spaces where colorblindness is often the view taken to dismiss racism and racial differences in the classroom. However, in examining school curriculum and school practices, there is a discrepancy in the representation of people of color as well as their stories. In this study, the participants’ voices are used to spotlight their experiences and their narratives in order to decenter whiteness in their schools.

The fourth tenet of CRT emphasizes the commitment to social justice and that research centering on social justice must also lead to social change. When work is done to challenge dominant practices and discourse, change from the classroom to systemic levels must occur. Thus the goal of this study is to push for change in systems that have not centered the voices of teachers of color.

Lastly, CRT is multidimensional and is transdisciplinary in that we have a greater understanding of various forms of discrimination through work done in disciplines such as law, sociology, history, and women’s studies (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Because education is

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also historical and political, we must also consider the multiple layers of policies across disciplines that have made our education system what it is and how those policies have impacted issues of power and discrimination in our schools.

Because this study evaluates the identities of racialized beings in a system where power, politics, race, inequities, and racism, and discrimination are inherent, critical race theory is fitting for laying the foundation.

Situative Theory and Identity Development

I use a sociocultural lens and draw upon a situative perspective to examine the teachers' identity development in relation to the different contexts in which they work. The broader sociocultural literature has conceptualized how identities, participation, and learning trajectories are negotiated through contextual and social practices (Dreier, 2002; Wortham, 2005) and studies the complexities of identity development in and across settings by looking at the ways schools, in particular, construct certain roles and identities (Herrenkohl & Mertl, 2010; Wortham, 2005). This provides framing for my study in that I am looking to understand the trajectories of the racialized identity development of the teachers of color through the resources, practices, and interactions within their contexts.

A situative perspective views learning, engagement, and identity to work in conjunction with one another. Learning is conceptualized as an internalized process that can lead to changes in participation and engagement (Boaler & Greeno, 2000; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nasir, 2012). Engagement is seen as an aspect of participation; it recontextualizes practices and identification with practices (Nolen, Ward, & Horn, 2011). Nasir and Hand (2008) pointed out the intimate connection between identity and engagement and claiming that engaging forms of participation

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will help develop and strengthen individuals' identities in connection with specific practices. In her work, Nasir (2002) used shifts in engagement as an indicator of shifting identities. Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain (1998) broadly define identity as how one sees and thinks about themselves and the ways they are seen by others; it is a fluid and dynamic process rather than an outcome that one comes to attain. This process involves one's participation in the world, thus it is multiple, subjective, and positional (Holland et al., 1998) and is shaped by encounters with others as they "address and respond to each other while enacting activities under conditions of political-economic and cultural-historical conjuncture" (Holland & Lave, 2009). With this perspective, learning cannot then be separated from one's identity development, which is how one mediates participation and changes in their practices (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nasir, Roseberry, Warren, & Lee, 2006; Nasir, 2012).

Identities are always negotiated as individuals are constantly being positioned and repositioned and they place themselves into certain roles or categories (Harré, 1984). For example, the role of being a teacher is often defined by the school or the school system and the teachers are positioned by institutional labels that may come with their different contexts. Discourses within contexts also often regulate or position individuals in their contexts, and in some contexts, power dynamics can also play a part in how discourses are interpreted. How individuals see themselves in relation to others, then, cannot be separated from their contexts.. Because identities are always in flux as one participates across different contexts and across time, they are always being negotiated and renegotiated. Faircloth (2012) writes, "the way individuals come to understand themselves is continually negotiated and constructed through what is made possible or necessary amid the daily practices, encounters, discourses and struggles

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available to them within a particular context” (p. 187).

Learning to teach and taking on an identity as a teacher is also situated in activity with others within schools; those activities are shaped by the social, cultural, and institutional contexts in which there are also particular norms, expectations, roles, and ideas that mediate how the novice teacher may see themselves in relation to the community and context they want to become a part of (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003). Schools contain culturally developed norms and expectations that implicitly or explicitly shape interactions and practices within schools and classrooms. Likewise, schools are embedded in communities with their own practices, discourses, value systems, and perceived roles for those who are in them; schools also have cultural, historical, and political practices that frame those same practices, discourses, value systems, and roles.

As a novice teacher entering those spaces and just coming out of a teacher education program, one’s ability to interact and identify oneself within those contexts does not happen at once or over the course of a few weeks. That negotiation and renegotiation of one’s identity involves participation, engagement, learning, and being in that space over time. These novice teachers are no longer apprentices in their classrooms, but professionals navigating their professional identities as well. Some identity theorists and researchers also conceptualize the time between pre-service teaching and inservice teaching as a time when teachers undergo intense shifts in identity and a new context may cause a beginning teacher to question and reframe their developing identity (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011). Beauchamp and Thomas (2011) identify this time as a boundary space where they are also navigating multiple tensions from multiple worlds and contexts. This further takes into account the multi-faceted and evolving

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nature of how one's identity is developed and negotiated across multiple spaces and time (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004).

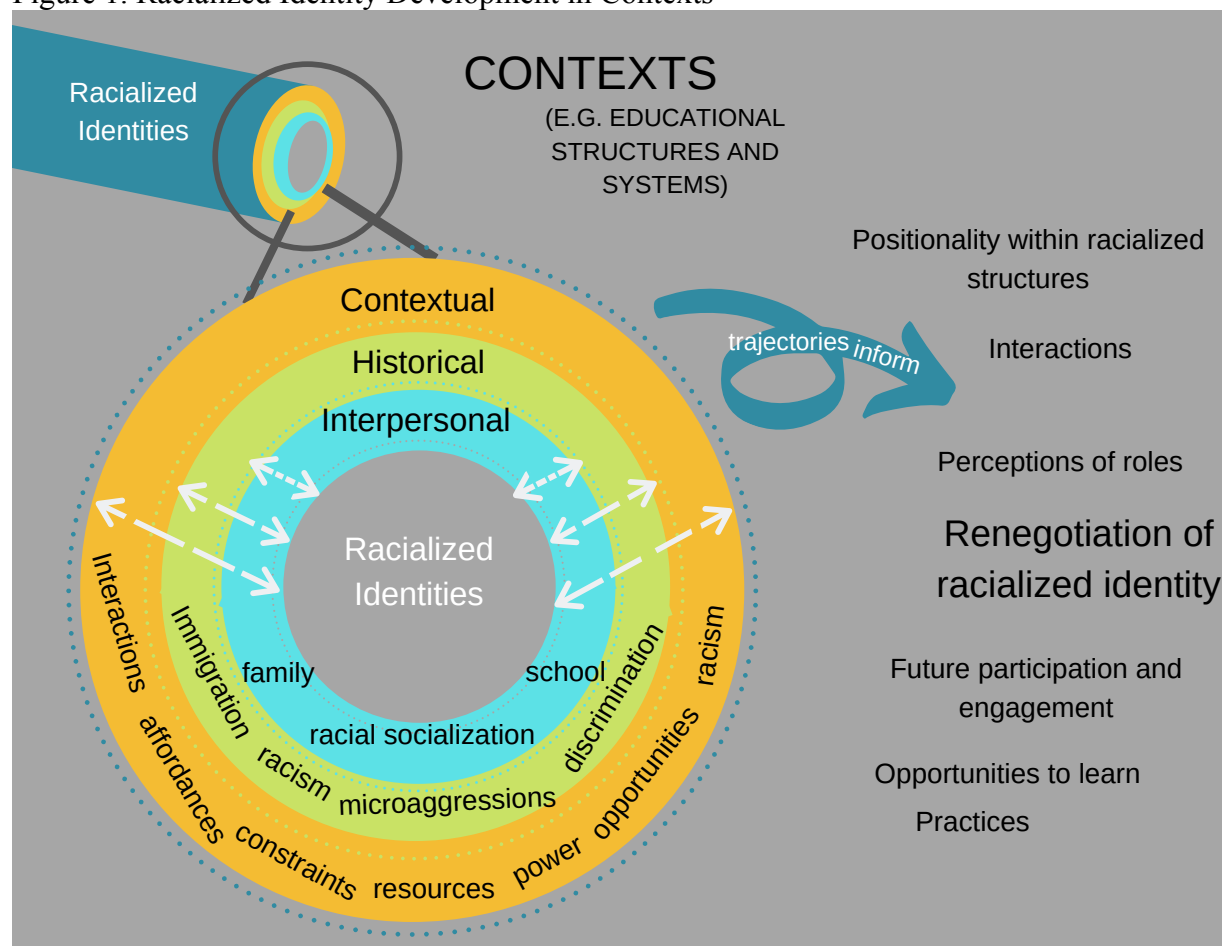
Racialized Identities

This study adds another layer to not only thinking about an individual's identity development as a novice teacher, but also how one's racialized history and experiences influence the ways in which they might conceptualize their roles and practices within their contexts. I sought to understand how those racialized identities developed throughout the teachers' first years of teaching as they navigated their contexts, took up resources, opportunities to learn, and negotiated how their identities as racialized beings played a role in how they perceived themselves and the practices around them.

Nasir's (2012) conceptualization of racialized identities suggests that the racialized identities of novice teachers of color inform their practices and perceived roles in their classrooms and schools. How these practices are differentiated from those of their White colleagues is that they are framed by their racialized identities. According to the conceptual model, racialized identities are influenced by interpersonal, historical and contextual factors. These identities are fluid, dynamic and are constantly renegotiated in context. The representation below (Figure 1) shows the dynamic nature of how racialized identities shift and are constantly negotiated within contexts.

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Figure 1. Racialized Identity Development in Contexts



The interpersonal, historical, and contextual factors that influence how one conceptualizes their racial identity are traces from the individual's histories, but also inform their future practices and participation in activities (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008; Holland & Lave, 2001). Racialized identities are influenced by interpersonal factors in that one's racial socialization and racial identity comes from their family, community, and school contexts (Nasir, 2012). Racialized identities are also constructed by the beliefs one holds about race and the ways they respond to racism as relayed by messages from their families and schools about race and racism

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(Nasir, 2012). Their personal experiences as students themselves and how they have been racially socialized by family members, classmates, and teachers can be negative or positive, but have a role in how they view themselves in relation to others and the world; it may also inform how they see their roles in different contexts and communities.

Secondly, racialized identities are influenced by one's racialized histories. These histories-in-person (Holland, 2010) consist of experiences with racism, microaggressions, oppression, discriminatory practices, and even stories of voluntary or involuntary immigration. These experiences are deeply embedded in the individual's family and communities' histories and may influence how they also perceive and interact with others. Nasir (2012) posits that racialized identities are important to consider in our racially stratified society, which is also deeply embedded in the history of schooling and how people of color have been positioned while Holland and Lave (2001) also explain that racial identities can be built around the histories of relations with others. Power hierarchies and explicit and implicit biases or assumptions can influence these interactions.

Lastly, racialized identities are influenced by contextual factors. Within different contexts are localized definitions and norms that also inform interactions, opportunities, resources, affordances, constraints, and power hierarchies within those contexts (Nasir, 2012). It is also within different contexts that one's identity and trajectories of engagement and participation are negotiated and renegotiated as one interacts with others and considers how they participate or are positioned within those contexts (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008). Nasir (2012) also postulates how learning and identity are cultural and social processes linked to the contexts in which they occur and they shift in relation to contexts, salience, local definitions, and opportunities; they involve

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social artifacts, are guided by social norms, and are engaged in as individuals seek to attain goals for themselves. As a result of these influencing factors, an individual's racialized identity also informs future participation, how they may make sense of and decide on the opportunities to learn as well as how they take up the resources provided to them within particular contexts. In this study, the interacting and reciprocal influences of their historical, interpersonal, and contextual influences on their racialized identities informed their future participation within their broader context of schools and the educational system.

Histories-in-Person

Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, & Cain (2003) describe histories-in-person as “the sediment from past experiences upon which one improves, using the cultural resources available in response to the subject positions afforded one in the present” (p.18). Histories-in-person also surface the tensions that occur when individuals negotiate their identities within sites of local contentious practices and work to inform identities by colliding “with combinations of circumstances that are by degree precedented and unprecedented. The behaviors, the products of the moment, then become available as mediators to change oneself and others, and perhaps even the figured worlds in which one acts” (Holland et al., 2003, p. 46). In other words, how one identifies themselves within their contexts relies to some extent on their histories-in-person and the way it is manifested in practice. Teachers of color encounter the education system with historically prescribed social positions and roles and their perceptions of those roles may be in tension with their own ideas of the roles and practices they want to enact. Their racialized histories in combination with the tensions they experience may inform the ways in which they interact with others and the resources within those contexts. School systems and their individual

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contexts can position them in ways that either perpetuate or disrupt historical patterns. So, in their schools, they may or may not have opportunities to act in ways that surface their histories-in-person. These histories-in-person mediate the ways in which the teachers negotiate their racialized identities and position themselves in their schools, which are also sites in which their histories-in-person stem from their experiences as former students. Learning and identity development are also conceptualized as trajectories of the individual's participation in context, and these trajectories include a path with a present and the past. A trajectory can be seen as the path by which there are changes in engagement and participation within communities and can also be seen as the result of a negotiation of the tensions within the community's practices. Since teachers come into schools with personal histories and biographies that shape possibilities for future participation (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008), how they participate in and negotiate those histories with the practices in their contexts can inform the trajectories of their identity development.

Figured Worlds

Holland and colleagues (1998) also frame identity development in what they conceptualize as "figured worlds", which they define as, "socially and culturally constructed realm[s] of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (Holland et al., 1998, p. 52). Figured worlds are constructed through an individual's interaction with their contexts over time, and each context carries with it specific figured worlds based on the values, structures, and forms of participation afforded and constrained by the context. Holland et al. (1998) describe four points about how figured worlds interact with the identities that people develop: (1) Figured

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worlds and identities within figured worlds are in process, (2) Social position matters – identities that are afforded and constrained by one’s position and context, (3) Figured worlds are reproduced through social interaction, and (4) People are given roles within figured worlds that carry with them certain identifiable characteristics and labels. Figured worlds can be conceived as a context in which people have a given understanding of what to expect and the roles in those contexts are appropriately defined. In schools, those roles are socially constructed for teachers as one who teaches students, plans lessons, among others defined by their contexts. However, when thinking about teachers of color, the roles they perceive for themselves may not be valued or afforded within the figured worlds in their contexts. Holland et al.’s (1998) and Greeno and Gresalfi’s (2008) elements of social positioning within contexts helps us consider the issue of power, which is an inherent part of our school systems when it comes to thinking about the role of race.

Identity Resources and Opportunities to Learn

Identity negotiation is a dynamic process that occurs through interactions within the individual contexts. Those interactions could be between the individual and others and between individuals and resources; it includes the resources and opportunities present or presented within the context (Greeno, 2001; Wenger, 1998). As novice teachers, their participation within contexts can also be characterized in different ways. Lave and Wenger (1991) also discuss opportunities to learn in terms of the way the individual perceives their position or participation in those spaces. Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) conceptualize affordances as opportunities to learn, which means having an understanding of the affordances available to the individual. An affordance includes “resources and practices of the system, that individuals access to those

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resources and practices, and the dispositions and abilities of the individual to participate in a way that supports her or his learning in some way” (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008, p. 172). One’s perceptions of the agency afforded to them versus the agency they exert in their contexts can also make a difference in how they perceive opportunities to learn (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008).

Affordances are not the same for all individuals in that opportunities to learn also include the relationships between characteristics of activity systems and the characteristics of the individuals. When novices see themselves as legitimate participants in their contexts, participation in their responsibilities are more meaningful and they are able to make more tangible contributions to the context in which they are participating. This participation also “requires resources for understanding functions and meanings of activities, including accessing information about how one’s activities fit into the larger functions of the community” (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008, p. 172).

Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) also relate identity to the ways in which individuals might take up or access opportunities to learn and that the ways in which individuals are also positioned in relation to others may play a role in how they take up the opportunities to learn. What this means is that opportunities to learn may be afforded to individuals according to how they are positioned in particular moments. For the novice teachers of color, their perceptions of their position may come from the fact that they are first year teachers at their school sites or that they are the only teacher of color. These ways in which they position themselves in relation to others as well as their participation in the school as an activity setting inform how they may take up resources and access opportunities to learn (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008; Wenger, 1998). Teachers who view themselves as a member of the school community and are positioned by others in the

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same way may take up resources and opportunities to learn in ways that might be different from one who feels excluded or positioned in the periphery. Identities are also intersectional in that identification with racial, ethnic, class, or gender membership are also an aspect how one may perceive their opportunities to learn (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008). Thus, this situated view has implications on how novice teachers of color may position themselves in schools where there are not many others who look like them.

Resources and opportunities can also be social and interactive. Banks and his colleagues (2007) conceptualize that identity development is shaped in interactions with cultural practice while Nasir (2012) also posits that the interaction between individuals and their contexts is a cultural and social process. Cultural practices and contexts also contain resources and opportunities that individuals access or utilize that may align with the identities linked to particular contexts. In their first year of teaching, novices are becoming more familiar with the practices that are valued within that school and community. They are also getting acquainted with curriculum as well as working collaboratively with a number of staff. In other words, this new context may be very different from the one in which they had their field experience, thus the transition to a new context may be one that is negotiated over time.

In this study, I looked at the teachers of colors' identity trajectories or development as they participated and interacted with resources and practices within their diverse contexts in which they are employed. How and why those resources and practices are recognized and acted on can be understood as an influence on one's sense of identity (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008). These resources and practices can be seen as affordances and constraints, which can also inform their development. In the new school contexts in which the teachers are now working, the novice

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teachers of color may act with agency in deciding what practices, opportunities, resources, and activities to take up that may align with the values they hold for themselves. For example, some teachers may be afforded opportunities to choose professional development in areas that are important to them. A teacher focused on improving in strategies for English Language Learners may take up resources or opportunities to grow in that particular area. Whether individuals take up opportunities or choose not to do so is also an important aspect of learning and identity to consider. In thinking about the teachers' racialized identities, I look at how they take up resources and opportunities to learn within their contexts that align with the identities and roles they perceive for themselves.

Nasir's (2012) work explored what supported youth's identity development as athletes. In her work, she found four characteristics and resources that were integral in supporting their identities: 1) allowing the youth to write themselves into practice by taking on roles and making practices their own, 2) providing access to material resources that support identity development, 3) providing access to relational resources, and 4) providing access to ideational resources. This work built upon Cote and Levine's (2002) cultural identity model that posits that individuals utilize resources as they construct identities in social settings and they highlight three resources that may be available to individuals as they negotiate their identities in new settings. For the purpose of the study, I focus specifically on the material, relational, and ideational resources within the teachers' contexts.

Material resources are deemed as physical artifacts available to individuals in their settings, such as curricular and reference materials. These resources are seen as tangible and can be utilized by individuals. In this study, I was also interested in seeing what materials the

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teachers chose to access in and outside of their settings if the ones within their settings did not align with their identities.

Relational resources are the interpersonal connections to others in the setting. In this study, I am examining the school as a context in which the participants work in grade level teams and with administrators. A relational resource teachers may access might be a fellow teacher of color with whom they may be able to trust or share experiences. Understanding the relational resources the teachers identified is useful in seeing how they conceptualize the supports or tensions with others or position themselves in relation to others within their schools.

Lastly, intangible resources, such as ideational resources, are the “ideas about oneself or one’s relationship to and place in the practice and the world as well as ideas about what is valued or good.” (Nasir & Cook, 2009, p. 44). This also entails how the individual sees or values about themselves, their communities, practices, and the world (Nasir & Cook, 2009). In the context of this study, the novice teachers enter their school contexts with ideas of what is a good teacher or the strengths they bring into the classroom. These ideas and beliefs may inform their perceptions of their roles and practices; within their contexts, they may also receive messages that align with those ideas and beliefs.

Novice teachers often generate decisions on what they want to learn based on what they consider relevant and useful, how resources and information align with their values or will help them become the teachers they want to be, and how they want to participate in those contexts (Nolen, Ward, & Horn, 2012). Specifically, novice teachers of color enter into schools with racialized identities, cultural tools and resources that have been shaped by their cultural practices as well as their own racialized experiences and histories of how they or their own families may

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have been treated by others in schools. These experiences and identities may influence the way they interact with their colleagues, students, administrators, students' families, and communities, and how they make sense of or take up opportunities and resources that may or may not be offered in their school contexts. How one identifies those characteristics of resources as being useful or beneficial to their learning also relates to the characteristics of the individuals themselves, thus those affordances or characteristics of resources may not be the same for all (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008). With this in mind, teachers of color will interpret and take up information from their contexts in different and unique ways.

Trajectories

It is important to consider trajectories of identity development and negotiation in relation to how individuals take up resources, opportunities to learn, and are positioned in different ways in their activity systems. Lave and Wenger (1991) talk about a person's trajectories as they become members of a community of practice or activity system, and understanding its purpose serves to help us consider learning and identity development as a process that occurs over time. When considering resources and opportunities to learn, individuals may shift in their interactions with these affordances as they become more familiar with the system in which they are situated. Understanding an individual's trajectory involves hypotheses about affordances that are available to them to participate or engage in their contexts in particular ways (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008). Trajectories of identity development can be altered by the extent to which individuals participate within their schools, but they can also alter their practices and the ways in which they participate and engage due to new understandings or learning within those contexts. In this study, the trajectories of identity development also encompass the ways in which they participate in the

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interactions and engage with the resources and opportunities to learn in their schools as they are transitioning from preservice to inservice teaching.

In this chapter, I described the theories and concepts from which I drew to frame this study: critical race theory, situative theory, and the concept of racialized identities. Within the framework of understanding the trajectories of identity development is the idea of identity resources, which are conceptualized as the resources that individuals draw on to support their identities. With a critical race lens, the context in which I examine and understand the participant's racialized identities may afford or constrain the negotiation and renegotiation of those identities over the course of the year. The ideas within the theories discussed intersect in the ways I will talk about their contexts as well as the ways in which I analyze how the teachers negotiate their identities.

Chapter 4: Research Methods

This study sought to answer the following questions: (1) Do the racialized identities of novice teachers of color influence their perceptions of their roles and practices in schools? If so, how? (2) In what ways are those racialized identities and histories of novice teachers of color drawn from to make sense of the resources and constraints within their contexts? How are those identities negotiated and renegotiated during their first year of teaching?

In this chapter, I will begin by giving an overview of the methodology that was used and the forms of data that were collected. I will discuss the sampling methods for the case study participants and provide information regarding the participants and the schools in which they were employed. Finally, I will discuss the process by which the data sources were analyzed.

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Research Design and Methods

A case study approach was used as the research method to better understand the experiences of the novice teachers of color in their respective teaching sites. Qualitative case studies search for meaning and understanding with the researcher as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, an inductive investigative strategy, and the end product being richly descriptive (Merriam, 2009). Likewise, according to Yin (1994), case study methodology is particularly appropriate for situations in which the issues of interest are closely intertwined with context. This is consistent with the situative theoretical assumption that one's identity is affected by contextual influences and vice versa (Greeno et al., 1998; Holland et al., 1998; Nolen, Horn, & Ward, 2012, Yin, 2008). In this study, each novice teacher's school site had a particular culture and practices within which the teacher negotiated and renegotiated his or her identity and practices.

Merriam (2009) identifies three main characteristics of qualitative case studies. They can be characterized as particularistic, descriptive, and heuristic. They are particularistic in that case studies focus on particular situations or phenomena that arise from "everyday practice" (Merriam, 2009, p.43). This feature applied to this study in that the focus was on the novice teachers of color as they negotiated their racialized identities in their particular school sites. Secondly, a case study is descriptive, meaning that the end result is a "rich and thick" description of the phenomenon that is being studied (Merriam, 2009). Case studies also include as many variables as possible over an extended period of time (Merriam, 2009). This study took place over a period of about 7-10 months and involved various methods of data collection to obtain a rich description of each teacher's identity development as well as the variables within contexts

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which afforded or constrained that development. Merriam (2009) also posits that case study knowledge is highly contextual and that our experiences are rooted in context. Thirdly, the heuristic feature of case study research surfaces new meanings and “extends the reader’s experience, or confirm what is known” (Merriam, 2009, p.44). The findings from this study add to existing literature on novice teacher identities, but also add to the complexity of understanding how novice teachers of color, in particular, perceived and negotiated their racialized identities. Furthermore, cross-case or comparative case studies, which are described as “collecting and analyzing data from several cases, “will enhance the external validity and generalizability of the findings” because including greater variation across similar and contrasting cases can make an interpretation more compelling. (Merriam, 2009, p.49-50). Each case represented in this study highlights the similarities and differences that each participant experienced and negotiated their racialized identities within and across their diverse teaching contexts.

Research Timeframe

Data collection began after Human Subjects approval. I contacted people at several teacher education programs within the greater Seattle area. Through this email, I introduced myself and the purpose of my study and requested that an email with my recruitment letter (Appendix A) be sent to their recent alumni of color who were teaching in the greater Seattle area. If the alumni indicated interest, they were able to contact me by phone or email to determine their eligibility for the study. I ensured that their information would be kept confidential and an informed consent form would be signed that included the purposes and procedures of the research, compensation and benefits, the use of findings, non-disclosure agreement, risks and discomforts, and participants’ rights. Participants were informed that they

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would be identified using pseudonyms in all transcriptions and field notes. At the end of the study, I also provided the participants with a \$20 Amazon gift card as gratitude for their involvement in the study.

Table 1. Research Timeframe

Month	Tasks
November, 2017	Obtain Committee and Human Subjects approval
November, 2017	Recruit research participants via email/letter, obtain participants and consent forms for research.
November-December, 2017	Focus group interview with all novice teacher participants. Schedule and start individual semi-structured interviews with novice teacher participants.
November-January, 2018	Continue first set of semi-structured interviews and artifact collection from schools and novice teachers. Recruit a staff member on the school site who has been a part of the school community for an extended period of time. Transcribe interviews as obtained.
January-March 2018	Complete all interviews with staff member and artifact collection. Schedule second round of semi-structured interviews with novice teachers. Conduct member checks with participants.
June, 2018	Conduct second semi-structured interview with novice teacher participants.
June-July, 2018	Complete transcription and preliminary analysis of the data. Conduct member checks with participants.
July-November, 2018	Intense analysis of the data
December, 2018-June, 2019	Draft and finalize the dissertation

Data Collection Strategy and Sampling Procedures

Sampling decisions and selection. I sought to understand how novice teachers of color negotiated their racial and professional identities as teachers working in socioeconomically,

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linguistically, and racially diverse schools and communities and how they made sense of the affordances and constraints within the new contexts in which they work. The study was situated in the various elementary schools in which these teachers were hired for the 2017-2018 school year. I chose culturally, linguistically, and racially diverse elementary schools in the Pacific Northwest in that existing research shows that teachers of color are more likely to work in schools where there is a more racially, socioeconomically, and linguistically diverse demographic (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Loeb, Darling-Hammond, & Luczak, 2005; Villegas & Lucas, 2004). Cronbach (1975) refers to case studies as “interpretation in context” (p.123), so I chose novice teachers of color as they were crossing a boundary from their teacher education programs and entering their own schools and classrooms as inservice teachers. Though all racially, socioeconomically, linguistically, and culturally diverse schools function in different ways, it was important to see how the teachers navigated or perceived the practices with them. In applying a critical race lens, I wanted to understand the perspectives of teachers of color in their school contexts, which are inherently embedded with dominant practices and often marginalize people of color. In doing so, it was important to understand how the participants interpreted and made sense of the particular resources, participants, and opportunities as practices that may or may not perpetuate practices that continue to marginalize people of color. Thus, teachers of colors’ narratives acted to counteract the dominant voices that are often heard and represented in the research and education. As novice teachers entering a new context, this was a space in which they would be negotiating their professional identities as they interacted with others and the resources and opportunities provided to them. As novice teachers of color, they were also bringing in their unique, racialized experiences and histories that informed their interactions,

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practices, and how they took up and accessed the opportunities and resources that would or would not align with their values and dispositions about the profession and their roles. The unit of the analysis was the novice teacher of color within their individual school contexts.

Recruitment of novice teachers of color began upon IRB approval and this was done through purposeful sampling of recent graduates of local universities in the Pacific Northwest.

Connections were made with those who graduated from two different teacher education programs at a larger university as well as with connections at smaller universities with teacher education programs. The letter introduced who I was and informed them of the purpose of the study and emphasized that anything they chose to share with me would be kept in confidence.

Through purposeful sampling, which relies on information-rich cases, I was able to recruit at least four novice teachers who self-identified as people of color who graduated from two different teacher education programs and were in their first year of teaching in culturally, linguistically, and racially diverse Title I elementary schools. I also interviewed one staff member at each school site who was identified by the participating teacher as one they went to for support or resources. This included staff members such as the office personnel, a grade level colleague, or a staff member who has worked in the school for a number of years.

Throughout this sampling process, I was very aware and reflective of my positionality in the recruitment and throughout the tenure of the study. Though my hope was to recruit participants from several local universities, the four participants who responded and volunteered ended up being recent graduates from the university from where I am currently working and receiving my doctorate. Two of the participants, Mya and Rachel, graduated from the traditional teacher education program while the other two, Hawa and Milo, graduated from a teacher

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residency program from the same university. I had been a teacher assistant in courses that Mya and Rachel had been enrolled, but was not in a position in which I had to grade or supervise them. I had no prior relationship with Hawa and Milo. While working in both teacher education programs, I had also had previous field coach experience at the schools in which Hawa and Milo were teaching, which gave me some prior insight into their contexts. I will later discuss how I reflected on and checked my biases and prior knowledge throughout the collection and analysis of the data.

Table 2. Participant Information

Participant¹	School	Racial Identity	Gender Identity	Grade Level
Hawa	Sand Hill Elementary	Somali/African-American	Female	Special Education K-2nd
Mya	Saratoga Elementary	Multiracial/Black	Female	2 nd -3 rd combination
Rachel	Overland Elementary	Asian-American	Female	2 nd grade
Milo	Valley Oak Elementary	Filipino-American	Male	4 th grade

School Sites. Each school site was unique based on its location, programs, and demographics. Because of the uniqueness of each site, it lent itself to the uniqueness of each case in this study (Table 3)

Sand Hill Elementary School was located in a small, residential neighborhood in the southwest part of the city, which is known for its diversity. Sand Hill was considered a neighborhood school, so many of the students walked to or were driven to the school and lived in the immediate boundary of the school. One unique feature to Sand Hill Elementary was its open concept structure. An open concept structure, introduced in the 1960's, entails having large

¹ All school and participant names are pseudonyms

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rooms that would house several classrooms that were separated by bookshelves as “walls” rather than physical walls. This was to allow movement across class areas and to facilitate more collaboration among teachers. Sand Hill Elementary had three larger classrooms: one that housed the K-2nd grade classrooms, one that housed 3rd -5th grade classrooms, and one that housed two special education classrooms. With the open concept structure, the staff was dedicated to “connecting with children and their families as individuals and as a community of learners” (Sand Hill school website) and the physical set up of the school allowed for more collaboration among staff. Within grade levels, students often moved from teacher to teacher in order for teachers to know more of the students in the school (Hawa interview, 12/9/17). Because of the small size of the school, there were a few after school activities or clubs for students to access, such as a Frisbee or environmental education club, which were hosted by the teachers themselves (School website, 2018). For families, there was a PTA and Watch D.O.G.S program for parents to get involved (School website, 2018). For teachers, there were supports with various trainings in the district curriculum, the school’s behavior support program, or in working with English Language Learners (School website, 2018)

Saratoga Elementary was a small school located in a residential neighborhood in the northeastern part of the city. The neighborhood consisted of apartment complexes, a transient housing community, as well a larger affluent neighborhood. Saratoga Elementary was located near a large research university, and with the diverse housing communities in the area, the student population was also diverse. More specifically, there were students living in transient housing who struggled with basic needs while there were also those living along the lake who were well-educated and/or working for the larger tech companies that populated the area

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(Brandon interview, 5/11/18). Both Brandon, the school staff member and Mya reported that when students of color were being referred to, it did not always include the Asian student population. Saratoga was a former site for one of the districts' gifted programs, which shifted the student population a few years prior to the study. The PTA had a strong presence at Saratoga. On their separate website, it is noted that the PTA supported many of the extracurricular activities at the school, including a drama club, gardening club. They also brought in financial resources through fundraisers that also support students in financial need (Saratoga PTA website, 2018). Through the resources, they also funded and put on many of the assemblies tied to the socio-emotional (SEL) curriculum such as the Black Lives Matter and Lunar New Year assemblies (School website, 2018). The school-wide implementation of the socio-emotional curriculum entailed the hiring of a school counselor to go into the classrooms to teach 40-minute SEL lessons each week. At the time of the study, the principal was in her second year in the building. Though a high teacher turnover rate was reported by the school staff member and the school improvement plan, I was unable to locate the percentage on the district and school website.

Overland Elementary School was located in a small town north of the larger metropolitan area. The school was a larger and newer and was built to replace an older building. It was located in a residential neighborhood off of a main highway. The school was surrounded by apartment complexes, a mobile home park across the street, and single family homes. Off the main highway, one could find used car dealerships and pot shops. The Hispanic, or Latino students made up the majority of the student population at around 35%, as the school had funding for Sheltered English Language Learner classrooms so that those classrooms had additional push-in support. Additionally, there were tiered systems of support from instructional

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and behavioral support specialists. Overland was known for having a number of systems and procedures put into place, so a number of supports were offered to teachers (Kara interview, 3/5/18) There was a regular group of Hispanic mothers and a strong PTA who supported the school community. At the time of the study, the principal was in her first year in the building, but was previously the Assistant Principal. Additionally, the school had a dean who had the role of managing behavioral and technology supports.

Valley Oak Elementary School was located in the diverse, southern part of the city. The school was in a building that was previously used as a community hub for the African American community and had a 40% student demographic who identified as Black, many of whom were living in a housing project nearby. In the school building, there was evidence of the influence of the Black community as there are many paintings of the names of Black activists and celebrities on the school walls. The school was located in a neighborhood known for being one of the most racially diverse in the city and where there are a lot of parks and green space (Valley Oak website, 2018). The school also had a well-known history dating back to the late 1800's and had gone through a number of building and administrative changes through the years. The school also has a strong partnership with community organizations and partners for additional support, such as tutors or classroom assistance, within the building. During the year of the study, the principal had invited Somali families into the school for a celebration of National Hijab Day. This was not a typical practice in other schools in the district, but this was one way in which the school tried to be inclusive of the students' families. Additionally, Black community members were present in the building to support student learning. The multi-leveled building had space to support many programs offered at the school such as a room for drama classes, music, and art.

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For behavioral supports, there was a room for students to access if they needed to calm down or have some quiet time. Also present in the building was a group of mentors provided by the city and they were in every 3rd through 5th grade classroom. These mentors could be found leading small groups or working with individual students on a daily basis. They were a consistent presence within the classroom and school community. At the time of the study, the principal had been a leader in the building for a year and a half with the former principal having had been there for three years. By the end of the study, the current principal had announced that she was departing for a new position the following year.

Table 3. School Information²

School Name	Demographics	Free and Reduced Lunch
Sand Hill Elementary	236 students; 18 K-5 classrooms; 23% Black, 22% Hispanic, Pacific Islander 20%, 20% White, 14% Unknown/Multiracial 24% ELL 13% Special Education <u>Teacher demographics</u> (from 2017 school report card): 22 teachers 16 White 3 Asian 2 African American 1 Hispanic	67%
Saratoga Elementary	225 students; 9 K-5 classrooms; 12% Black, 34% Caucasian, 12% Asian/Pacific Islander, 16% Hispanic, 23% Multiracial, 0.9% American Indian/Alaskan Native 22 home languages 23% ELL 9% Special Education	44%

² Information taken from 2017-2018 District School Reports

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	<p>40% mobility each year</p> <p><u>Teacher demographics:</u> 17 teachers 16 White 1 Black</p>	
Overland Elementary	<p>567 students; 24 K-5 Classrooms; 13.6% African American, 1.8% American Indian, 11.3% Asian/Pacific Islander, 28.4% Caucasian, 34.9% Hispanic, 10.1% Multiracial</p> <p>32.2% ELL 11.7% Special Education</p> <p><u>Teacher demographics:</u> 46 teachers 44 White 1 Asian 1 Identifying with 2 or more races</p>	62%
Valley Oak Elementary	<p>417 students; 23 K-5 Classrooms; 40% Black, 11% Hispanic; 36% Asian/Pacific Islander, 3% White, 9% Multiracial/Unknown</p> <p>41% ELL 15% Special Education</p> <p><u>Teacher demographics:</u> 39 teachers 22 White 6 Asian 5 African American 4 Identifying with 2 or more races 1 Hispanic/Latino 1 Native Hawaiian</p>	80%

Data sources and collection. I collected data from several sources to address my research questions: (1) a focus group interview, (2) 2 semi-structured interviews per teacher and

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one interview per site with a school community member identified by the participating teacher, and (3) artifacts collected from the school site and teacher if they mention artifacts or materials from which they draw. Triangulation, using multiple sources of data or multiple methods, will be used to confirm emerging findings (Merriam, 2009, p.215-216). For comparative studies, collecting data from multiple sources can help provide intensive and holistic descriptions and analyses of the cases in depth (Merriam, 2009). According to Patton (1990), “ By using a combination of observations, interviewing, and document analysis, the fieldworker is able to use different data sources to validate and crosscheck findings” (p.244).

An initial semi-structured teacher interview (Appendix B) was scheduled to get to know each participant and to understand if and how their racialized identities and histories influenced the way they perceived their roles and practices within the schools in which they were teaching. Qualitative inquiry aims to minimize the imposition of predetermined responses when gathering data, so questions should be asked in a way that participants can respond in their own words (Patton, 2003). Likewise “we cannot observe how people have organized the world and the meanings they attach to what goes on in the world. We have to ask people questions about those things” (Patton, 2002, p.340-341). The questions from the first semi-structured interview aimed at understanding the participants’ individual lived experiences as a person of color and to understand that perspective as it relates to their perceived roles and practices they envisioned for themselves as teachers. In this interview, I also sought to understand how the novice teachers were socialized by their families or schools to think or talk about race. With the critical race perspective, the questions also aimed at understanding their schooling experiences with the framing of schools as places where students often experience issues of racism. In alignment with

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the tenets of critical race theory, in hearing first person accounts from teachers of color, there is an insistence for the narratives to reflect perspectives of those who have experienced racism; this reflexive stance called for the teachers to look back in order to also look forward in hopes of fostering change (Gist, 2018). For the first interview, Milo, Mya, and Hawa were interviewed in their classrooms while Rachel chose to meet me at the university from which she graduated.

The focus group interview was conducted a month after the initial interviews. It was conducted in order to obtain data that was socially constructed within the interaction of the group (Merriam, 2009). The object was to get high quality data in a social context where people could consider their own views in the context of the views of others (Patton, 2002). “Focus groups work best for topics people could talk about to each other in their every day lives, but don’t” (Macnaghten & Myers, 2004, p.65). In this study, the focus group elicited individual as well as collective stories about past and current experiences in schools as racialized people. The interview questions aimed at eliciting individual or shared experiences across contexts (Appendix C). This interview was conducted in central location to all the participants.

An interview with a school community member at each school was also conducted in order to better understand the context in which the novice teachers of color were working. In only interviewing the novice teachers, I would only receiving one interpretation of their context by someone who was newly entering the school community. In their study, Achinstein and Ogawa (2011) conducted additional interviews with staff/administration in order to further understand the school contexts and the supports for teachers of color. In interviewing someone who has been a school community member, I had a second interpretation of the context to which I was able to make comparisons. Because the unit of analysis in this study was the novice teacher

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of color, the interviews of the school community members were used to further understand the context (Appendix D). These interviews took place at each of the participants' schools.

Additionally, I conducted one classroom observation at each school site. Using an observation protocol (Appendix E), I looked at the physical context of the school, including what was on the walls of the school, who was present in the halls, and observing the general tone of the school. When observing the classroom context, I looked at who and what was in the classroom, what was up on the walls, what resources the teacher used, how students were arranged, where the teacher positioned themselves, as well as how the teacher spoke to students and how they responded. The observational data also helped inform the questions in my second interview (Appendix F).

The second semi-structured interview was conducted towards the end of the participants' school year. In the second interview, I sought to understand how the teachers' racialized identities influenced the way they accessed or took up opportunities and resources in their schools as well as to understand how those identities were negotiated over time through their practices as their trajectories of participation may have changed in their given contexts. Thus, the second interview helped me gain this information as I asked questions about their own personal understandings of their school culture as they had more time at the school and were able to share about the opportunities and resources found to be useful to their roles and practices they took on during the year. In her study, Nasir (2009) also sought out information in her interviews and observations that would indicate shifts in the athletes' participation in activities and the ways they spoke about their participation. Since identity work is dynamic and entails a constant process of participation and negotiation (Dreier, 1999; Wenger, 1998), collecting data over time

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can capture and illustrate these processes. Wenger (1998) states that an identity trajectory “has a coherence through time that connects the past, present, and future” (p. 154). This second interview helped me understand the process behind any changes that took place in how the novice teachers of color made sense of their contexts after several months of getting to know the school culture and to also see if there were shifts in the way they took up opportunities and resources given in those contexts.

Lastly, I collected and analyzed documents collected from the participants to validate or challenge emerging findings from other data sources (Merriam, 2009). Information from document analysis included handouts or material artifacts that the participating teacher used as a resource they drew on or from to inform their practices. Some of these resources were documents they posted up by their desks, documents they created for their students for goal setting, or other materials noted to be useful for their practices.

Data Analysis

In this study, analysis of the data was conducted “along with (not after) data collection” (Merriam, 2009, p.269). Merriam (2009) also adds “data collection and analysis is a simultaneous activity in qualitative research” (p.151). Hence, the process of data analysis was non-linear and ongoing. Merriam (2009) also posits that in a multiple case study, there are two stages of analysis- the within-case analysis and the cross-case analysis. For the within-case analysis, each case is treated and looked at holistically (Merriam, 2009). Data was collected for the purpose of gaining as much information as possible about contextual variables that may bear

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on the case. For this study, all the information generated by the interview transcripts, observation field notes, and document analysis was compiled for each case. For each case, I did open coding, which was used to capture “recurring patterns that cut across ‘the preponderance’ (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.139) of the data” (Merriam, 1998, p.179). Through iterative cycles of coding, I assigned codes to pieces of data and constructed categories (Appendix G). Codes were developed and organized into preliminary categories according to the research questions. This helped to generate “a comprehensive primary resource package” (Patton, 2002, p.449). Some of these codes or themes were derived from the theoretical framework, research questions, and previous literature. Examples of some of these general codes were related to race, histories, identities, tensions or conflicts, and resources, just to name a few. In addition, I looked closely at each participant’s contexts and coded for issues of race and power, resources, and existing affordances and constraints and tensions. By looking comprehensively over the field notes, interview transcripts, and codes, I determined how and if they could be grouped together through the process of axial coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2007). Categories of coding were also tied to the conceptual framework, including concepts relating to critical race theory, situative theory, racialized identities, and identity resources. This is “coding that comes from interpretation and reflection on meanings” (Richards, 2005, p.94). This process was repeated for each case and the codes created from the first case were used to compare with the code groupings of subsequent cases. Within cases, I looked for data in the second interview that revealed any shifts in how they conceptualized their roles in the school or in the profession or any shifts in how they talked about their interaction with others within their context as well as how they accessed the resources within their contexts. When looking for the identity resources they were accessing (Nasir &

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Cook, 2009), I also paid attention to how they conceptualized their role in the profession and who and what they accessed to enact those roles. This data was revealed in the first and second interviews and in the focus group interview.

After within-case analysis, I then conducted a cross- case analysis. The purpose of this analysis was to “build a general explanation that fits each of the individual cases, even though the cases vary in their details” (Yin, 1994, p.12). This process was to also draw abstractions across cases. Merriam (2009) describes cross-case analysis as “a unified description across cases, [building] categories, themes, or typologies that conceptualize the data from all the cases...or building substantive theory offering an integrated framework covering multiple cases” (p.234). Across cases, I looked for patterns across cases that related to how the novice teachers access identity resources within their contexts as well as the histories that inform how they access them. I also looked for patterns that pertained to the types of shifts they went through between the first and second interviews, in how they were thinking about their roles and participation in their schools. In addition, it was important to note emerging patterns when it came to how they perceived their positioning as racialized beings within also racialized contexts.

Some of the limitations and concerns regarding qualitative research are concerning the issues of rigor, trustworthiness, validity, and reliability. To handle these concerns, I gave attention to the way in which the data was collected, analyzed, interpreted, and presented. Three strategies I used to increase the rigor of this study were: (1) triangulation, (2) reflexivity, and (3) member checking. According to Merriam, (2009), triangulation is the use of multiple sources of data and comparing and cross-checking the data collected through observations and interviews. In this way, the consistency of my findings could be corroborated by data from the interview

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transcripts, field notes, and analytical notes. Reflexivity is “the process of reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the ‘human as instrument’” (Lincoln & Guba, 2000, p.183). This strategy looks at the researcher’s position as one that comes with bias, dispositions, and assumptions regarding the research (Merriam, 2009). Steedman (1991) emphasizes that knowledge cannot be separated from the knower. I was aware that my position as a teacher of color and researcher could influence the process and outcomes of the research. Through the process of the research, I was often reflecting on my own reactions, biases, and assumptions by documenting my thoughts after each interaction with the participants. I wanted to make sure that I was not interpreting their experiences and narratives based on my prior experience as a teacher and having had some prior knowledge of their school sites. Because I had also been through similar experiences as a teacher and in my work as a teacher education coach, I was very careful to check my biases and personal feelings. This was done by writing out my thoughts after each interview. I often left each interview feeling very heavy with personal connections to their stories or the feeling of wanting to give advice, so being mindful of these as a potential interference to how I might interpret their stories was at the forefront of the analysis. Lastly, member checks involved getting feedback and clarification from the research participants. “This is the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of what participants say and do and the perspective they have on what is going on, as well as being an important way of identifying your own biases and misunderstanding of what you observed” (Maxwell, 2005, p.111). This process was done several times throughout the study. After transcribing the interviews, generating emerging themes, and categorizing the data, participants were contacted regarding things they had mentioned and were asked to elaborate or clarify to make sure that I did not misinterpret their

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narratives and experiences. This was to ensure that the findings reflected and were informed by the participants' experiences and understandings.

This chapter outlined the methodological decisions and strategies used to frame the design, implementation, and analysis of the study. Included were decisions made in choosing the sites, the sample, and in the types of data collected. These decisions were grounded by and reflected the theoretical frameworks and concepts mentioned in the previous chapter.

Chapter 5: Findings

In this chapter, I will discuss the patterns that emerged from each participant's narratives on negotiating their racialized identity development. This multi-layered process included the ways in which they talked about how their racialized histories-in-person and schooling experiences influenced their perceived roles and practices as well as resources they drew upon to navigate those racialized identities within their schools. The process also included an examination of their trajectories of engagement and participation in their schools and the negotiation and renegotiation of their identities over time in their different contexts; this negotiation and renegotiation entailed the ways in which they navigated the contradictions they experienced within their contexts and the roles and practices they wanted to enact as teachers of color.

I will focus specifically on three major cross-case findings that address my research questions: (1) How the participants' personal histories and experiences within their own education influenced their perceived role and practices as a teacher, (2) The extent to which the participants navigated the resources and opportunities to learn and that these varied according to

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the ways in which they perceived their roles as teachers, and (3) How changes in participants' perceptions of contextual constraints and supports informed the process of negotiation and renegotiation of their racialized identities as teachers of color and novice teachers.

Each of these themes relates to the dynamic nature by which the teachers of color's racialized identities and trajectories of participation and engagement with their contexts were negotiated over the course of their first year of teaching. Each teacher saw their abilities to enact the roles and practices they perceived for themselves in relation to their school contexts and the opportunities and constraints within them; those perceived roles were often framed by the personal histories and experiences they brought into their schools as racialized beings. They drew on the resources in their schools to the extent they felt they could enact their perceived roles. The ways in which the teachers negotiated and renegotiated their identities also seemed to be related to the perceptions of what was going on in their schools and this seemed to be a dynamic process that took place throughout the year.

Cross-Case Findings

Collectively, the teachers voiced knowing they were an asset to their districts and schools and it looked good for the diversity of their teaching staff:

There is power in maybe job security, because I'm one of the few teachers of color. I feel like they want you in their school. It looks good for them for diversity...I know I was hired because I am a POC... So it's like, yeah, I got hired because I'm a POC, which is fun, and cool. (Focus group interview, 2/10/18)

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Towards the beginning of the year, each teacher saw themselves as an asset as a teacher of color in relation to their different contexts, however throughout the trajectory of their engagement and interactions within their schools, their narratives included the interactions of their histories in person, the tensions they experienced and navigated in relationship to resources available to them, and how they positioned themselves within their contexts. The following themes emerged as they each narrated these experiences throughout their first year and how the negotiation of their racialized identities were afforded or constrained within their contexts.

Teachers of Colors' Histories and Perceived Roles

Interpersonal, historical, and contextual factors influence one's racialized identities. Those identities include traces from one's individual histories. Those three factors also inform how one participates in future practices and interacts with others in their contexts (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008; Holland & Lave, 2001). While these findings are consistent with the literature in that teachers of colors' histories inform their perceived roles and practices, those histories-in-person (Holland et al., 2003) have not been interpreted with a situative lens of how those histories inform their trajectories of identity development. Holland et al., (2003) conceptualize histories-in-person as elements from one's past experiences that interact with resources and affordances in the present. These histories-in-person manifest themselves in the process of identity development as they interact with and engage in their contexts. Their histories-in-person and interactions within their contexts also informed how the 4 teachers navigated the roles and practices they perceived for themselves as they became more familiar with others and the culture of the school. In this study, each of the participants' personal histories and experiences within their own education seemed to be related to how they perceived their roles and practices as a

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teacher. The way in which roles are conceptualized in this study is the practices and responsibilities that the participants envisioned themselves enacting or as important as teachers of color. Roles are often associated with social positions that entail certain expected characteristics (Biddle, 1979), but in this case, the construction of those roles the teachers perceived for themselves was framed by their racialized histories and identities and by the contexts in which they found themselves. Each of them had experiences that were embedded in their families, communities, and schooling experiences, and those diverse histories and experiences were evident in the ways in which they conceptualized their roles and identities as a teacher of color. Each of the participants' identification with being a teacher of color was embraced in different ways; it also varied with respect to how they viewed what it meant to be a teacher of color to their students. In other words, identity was racialized for all of the teachers, but the nature of that racialization was varied. In this section, I highlight the ways in which the teachers of color perceived their roles and practices. Some of those roles included wanting to challenge the status quo, being advocates for their students, having honest and real conversations with students, including conversations about race, keeping students in their classrooms, and building community in their classrooms.

Teachers of color as catalysts of change. The ways in which each participant described and talked about how they were perceived as students of color seemed to influence how they saw themselves as teachers of color. Considering their histories in person as a part of the trajectory of their identity negotiation was weaved into their narratives. Holland et al. (2003) conceptualize how identities are historical and are also contested in practice, so the ways in which the teachers talked about their histories in relation to their contexts and practices was also a part of the

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trajectory and process by which they negotiated their racialized identities. For example, when thinking about their own experiences in school, each of them spoke of how they were treated by fellow students or teachers in one way or another. In thinking about their personal experiences and histories, the participants did not want what happened to them to happen to their students.

Here, Mya describes her experience as a student:

I went to an all-White school. I very much put all of the negative messages about Blackness onto myself without realizing it and wanted to straighten my hair and all. I guess I'm working now in being more centered with [that]... I feel like a lot of it was socialization. I went to Catholic school until the end of fourth grade and I was the only person of color and I got put in my own desk facing the wall in the back of the room in fourth grade and I was sent to the principal all the time just ... It was pretty abusive. And a lot of the kids there, because I was different, they would say things. It was often like, "Your hair looks like shit growing out of your head," and so, it was rough..(Mya interview, 12/13/17)

Here, Mya described the isolation she experienced as the only student of color at her school. She perceived that because of this, teachers made assumptions about her and labeled her as "bad." She was often sent out of the classroom without teachers trying to understand that she was going through challenges in her home life as well. Her teachers did not seem to make the time to understand her life outside of school, which entailed taking on many responsibilities since her mom was often sick or not able to take care of her:

I wished that with the little I know academically, my teachers had bothered to call [my parents] or with my behaviors, had asked questions instead of just assigning that I was bad or that I wasn't trying because I also had a learning disorder that I didn't know I had

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until I was 21 going back to college...It's just that you don't see kids that are behavior kids if you see them as nuisance and not as someone who needs help. So, that has very much informed my teaching and just me as a human. (Mya interview, 12/13/17)

It wasn't until Mya went to an alternative school when she had a teacher and principal who really spent time getting to know her. It was also through their support when she realized "there wasn't something wrong with me and I wasn't bad all the time." (Mya interview, 12/13/17). She shared that those negative and positive experiences throughout her schooling shaped her "moral code," especially when she felt supported and cared for by her teacher and principal. Because she saw many of her own students experiencing trauma in the ways that she had, she wanted to be able to "give that opportunity to kids." Here, she was referring to that unconditional support and love she wanted to give her students. She spoke of making sure she kept her students in her classroom and making them feel like they belonged there. This theme of loving and having relationships with her students seemed to be woven into her all of her practices and it was also evident in the way she spoke to and cared for her students during the time I observed her.

Likewise, Hawa shared about her experience as Somali as well as her connection to her Muslim faith. In her interviews, she would often share how many of the people in her community who were Muslim were also Somali, thus the way she spoke about the interaction between her religious and racial identities seemed to play a role in how she experienced school and the world. Hawa spoke about her hijab throughout her interviews as a way to represent her connection to both of those identities as a Somali and as a Muslim. For her, she could not separate her identification to both communities and this is important to note in that it is easy to disavow the

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intersection of identities that individuals hold. For Hawa, differentiating the interaction between her Somali and Muslim identities would be imposing a White-dominant or imposed view of her racial identity. When considering the participants' histories-in-person, it is also important to consider them as racialized in systems that perceived them as different. When growing up, Hawa went from one school that was very diverse and where her Somali and Muslim identities were represented to one where she stood out when she wore her hijab. The experience made her not want to wear her hijab anymore and gave her anxiety:

I'm never going to wear this hijab ever again, so I started wearing the smaller ones and I remember before summer school started, I was feeling so much anxiety and I would just look through magazines and it felt like, this is what all the people are going to wear. I was like 'how am I going to fit in? I look so different...I just felt like I wouldn't be welcome and I just want not looking forward to it. (Hawa interview, 12/9/17)

In her interview at the end of the year, Hawa spoke of the connections she started making with the Somali girls in the school and having them go into her classroom to help out. She was intentional about who she was choosing to build relationships with and made sure she chose the girls who wore hijabs as well:

They'll be like, Miss Hawa she looks like you. And I'm like yeah, "Is it because she's wearing a hijab too?" "Yeah, she's wearing a hijab, yeah." I ask the student, "Where are you from?" She's like, "Somalia." I'm like, "That's probably why too, because I'm from Somalia. We are from the same place. That's why we look alike..." (Hawa interview, 6/15/18)

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Because Hawa had reported being in schools where teachers did not wear hijabs or where she felt she could not fit in if she wore one, she found it important to be a presence for the other Somali girls at her school so they could also see a teacher wearing a hijab and not experience what she experienced when in a school where she could not seem to racially identify with her classmates or teachers nor see anyone also wearing a hijab.

Hawa also described herself as being someone who “fell between the cracks” when her teachers did not interact with her too much. They saw her wearing her traditional clothing and would assume she did not speak English, so many did not take the time to speak with her. She saw this as a disadvantage to her education and providing her the skills to be successful:

I learned how to test take and I really didn't have a lot of real conceptual knowledge of a lot of things...I aim to challenge [my] students, not just the ones who are acting out behaviorally, but the ones who are quiet and are going to slip through the cracks...Is anybody challenging those students? Pushing them to do their best? That is one thing that I really carried inside of me...(Hawa interview, 12/9/18)

Hawa often spoke of pushing her students, especially her quieter students, and making sure that all of her students would leave with skills to be successful. Especially when working with students receiving Special Education services, this was even more critical for her.

In these examples, both Mya and Hawa drew on their personal histories and experiences as students of color and tied them to the ways in which they perceived their roles to be with their own students. In these instances, the roles were to, in many ways, keep their students from experiencing some of the experiences they endured as a result of their racial identities, or intersecting identities, such as Hawa's connection to her religious identity. For each of the

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participants, they could not separate their racialized histories in person and their schooling experiences from their ideas of the teacher they wanted to be, or the teacher they did not want to be. Their experiences highlight how personal histories are often weaved into teachers' identities and how they see position and themselves in their own classrooms. For these teachers of color, their racialized histories, experiences, and perceptions of being treated in particular ways seemed to frame their roles as making sure their students were not treated in similar ways. This finding goes beyond the idea that their histories mattered in how they perceived their role, but that their experiences of exclusion and othering as youth in schools informed those perceptions of their roles in providing learning environments that fostered inclusion and belonging for their own students.

Teachers of color as advocates. Advocacy was another role that emerged out of the participants' narratives of their personal histories and experiences. Hawa, in particular, spoke about advocacy in two different ways across her interviews, especially when it came to working with her students receiving Special Education services. For her, what seemed to be important was the idea of teaching the students to be self-advocates since many of them struggled with communicating their needs. She also saw herself as being an advocate for those in her community. Since Hawa was working with students in SPED³, teaching self-advocacy skills meant teaching them to speak up when they needed something:

I really want to foster advocacy in my students. I want them to build those skills to advocate for themselves, so that is what we do throughout the day is 'Do you want this?

How can you ask for it in an appropriate way? What can you do?' I think that is very

³ Hawa used this term, meaning Special Education, to refer to her students who were receiving Special Education services.

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important because they build strong emotions just like us, but they're still figuring out how to deal with it...Building that I feel like is just as important as building their academic skills so they can go out into the world and figure out the world is not going to be nice and easy for them. (Hawa interview, 12/9/18)

Hawa often spoke of this skill of self-advocacy that many teachers in Special Education classrooms teach their students, but she also weaved in her own experiences when she experienced injustice and feeling like she could not do anything about it; she did not want her students to experience not knowing how, or not being able to speak up for themselves. She recognized that many of her students were not going to have accommodations, modifications, and supports in the real world as they would in the classroom, and it was her role to prepare them for what it could be like when they are out there.

She also spoke of her experience as an immigrant and thinking about her Somali culture and the experiences that many of the immigrant parents have with teachers:

In my culture, a lot of immigrant culture, you leave the teaching to the teacher. You trust the teacher in that way, like 'oh, I'm going to take care of my child at home.' For the most part, they feel like, 'Oh, the teacher's got it. They're going to do the best care for my child.' Sometimes that's not the case where if you want certain things to happen for your child, you have to go and say it. You have to...the teacher's vision of what's best might be different from your vision of what's best...There's a lot of students are coming into special education who are from immigrant backgrounds, who are Muslim, who are Somali as well, and it's a lot to navigate all of that. In SPED, you have to advocate for your child, otherwise you don't get lot of resources. (Hawa interview, 12/9/17)

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Hawa refers to the stigma that comes with what it might mean to have a child in SPED and that often times, many parents think their child will “grow out of it,” but Hawa also added that sometimes, being in SPED was like a “one-way door” and there was no way out. This, in particular, was something she was intentional about navigating by recognizing that many in her community and many people of color were often referred to Special Education. Because the school system is often normed by White, middle class parents, this can also indicate a different kind of advocacy that is often spoken about in the Special Education community. She also explained, at the end of the year, that she became more intentional and about communicating with families about behavior challenges and working together with the families for the child’s success. I observed Hawa and the instructional assistants spending a great deal of time making sure students asked for things in appropriate ways and that they used their words rather than physical means of getting what they wanted. One way she also worked to destigmatize the students receiving Special Education services was in collaborating with the general education classroom teachers and pushing her students into their classrooms. This was something she was able to do with the support of other staff members, but she found it imperative to make sure that the school became more of an inclusive community for her students.

Advocacy also meant knowing your students and advocating for them when school decisions or the system didn’t meet all of their needs. For Milo, his role of advocacy stemmed from having empathy and using that empathy to drive relationships and to foster self-advocacy. This idea of empathy stemmed from being from a community where people looked out for one another.

Empathy, this idea of always having the right to pushback when you feel that something's

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not right, you are always welcome to kind of say "Hey I don't think this is right." But you always have to back it up, you can't just say "This is crap," and then not say why. You have to give your own personal opinion, and we work on that a lot in this classroom...I will listen to them and we will come up [with solutions] as a classroom so they can see that sense of power in their own voice. (Milo interview, 12/14/17)

Milo described grew up in a similar community and socioeconomic background as many of his students. He saw similarities between his upbringing and family life and his students'. He also saw himself in many of his students, like he could be "their older brother", and this impacted the ways in which he cared for his students:

I just feel that because I come from a very familiar community to my students, I look like a lot of my students, I talk like a lot of my students, I grew up with kind of like the same stresses as my students. And because I am able to resonate with them so much as a person of color, as someone who's gone through the same struggles, family, and money, and all that. It's just a little bit more powerful. And I remind myself of this every single day, I am extremely fortunate to be teaching at the school that I am today being the person that I am. (Milo interview, 12/14/17)

Milo continued in explaining that when attending a school where he did not look like many of his classmates or any of his teachers. Milo's parents had him bussed to a school in a different neighborhood because it was known for being more academically strong. Milo mentioned that because most of his teachers were White, it took some time for his parents to trust them. It wasn't until they did that they could finally begin to advocate for him.

In his second interview, Milo shared that he knew he would care about his students, but did not

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realize he would care as much as he did. When learning that one of his students had been homeless during the year, he and the school counselor were able to get a housing voucher for the student and her family. Through time with his students and also getting to know their lives outside of home, he realized that one could not forget the “human side of teaching” (Milo interview, 6/19/18). The way that Milo spoke about his interactions with his students and their families seemed to go beyond the school-centric views of families and the presumption that their practices need to be more aligned with the schools’. These sentiments seem to be connected to his ideas about building community in and outside of his classroom and how this was something he also valued when he was a student.

In being an advocate, Mya took an opportunity to speak up for her students, particularly her Black students, when a conversation came up around their test scores. Mya described a moment when she felt she needed to share something with the staff. She was aware that they would be having a discussion around test data, particularly the test data in relation to the Black students at the school:

I just knew going in that meeting, that the one thing I knew I was going to say is that we can’t ask [the Black students] to perform in the same ways as the other groups when we haven’t provided anything special for them. (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

At her staff meeting, Mya pressed on how they, as a staff, had to change their practices to be more equitable if they were going to see some positive test results with the Black students. At that same meeting, she seemed to surprise herself by making a suggestion for racial caucusing as a staff so they could address issues of bias in working with their students. Mya mentioned that as she found herself sharing in the meeting, she was still very nervous because she was not sure

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how the staff perceived her “Blackness” and speaking up for the Black students. Mya’s action of speaking up for the Black students also seemed to be tied to her perception of her Blackness at Saratoga. Mya critiqued the system that did not help her become successful as a student herself and did not want the system to fail those students. When she spoke up, she thought about the power in her voice as “the Black teacher” (Mya interview, 6/18/18).

Each participant’s ideas of advocacy meant knowing their students and their backgrounds. It also included a piece of their own stories of advocacy from their experiences. Because of those experiences, speaking up for students or teaching their students to have strong voices for themselves seemed more meaningful.

Teachers of color as truth tellers. A third theme that emerged as a role that the participants’ perceived for themselves was in having real conversations with their students. To the participants, having a real conversation meant being truthful with them about the implications and impact of their behaviors. Tied to this role was that each teacher mentioned the importance of keeping their students in the classroom. Each teacher reported that it was a common practice at their schools for students to be sent out of their classrooms for behavioral challenges. In some cases, students would be sitting outside of their classrooms, some would be roaming the hallways, and at a couple of the schools, students might be sent to a de-escalation room. Each participant described how they had wished someone had real conversations with them when they were growing up or that teachers would speak to their students about their behaviors rather than just sending them out of their classrooms. Each of the participants framed these conversations in different ways. For example, Hawa mentioned that she wanted to teach her students how to interact with the world because she did not want them to have “a rude awakening” like she did

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(Hawa interview, 12/9/18). For Hawa, in the Special Education setting, this meant being very intentional when it came to teaching her students to appropriately advocate for themselves and how to interact with others. For Mya, she wished that her teachers took the time to ask about her life or to find out about the root causes of her behaviors rather than labeling her as bad. Milo framed his conversations with his students around particular life skills that went beyond the classroom, and for Rachel, she had a desire to talk about race in her classroom because she didn't want students to go through what she went through when coming to terms with her racial identity as a person of color.

Rachel identified as biracial, half-Japanese and half-White, but shared that growing up, she tried to shun her Asian identity when she often saw that she was often one of the only Asians in her class:

In elementary school, I was starting to see the effects of being one of the only Asians in my class, where I don't think I know what point it was, but at one point something made me decide I didn't like being Asian. I wanted lighter hair and I wanted to change my name to my middle name because it's not Asian, and I just tried to reject everything.

(Rachel interview, 12/2/17)

It wasn't until she was in her teacher education program when Rachel started to think about her identity as an Asian American and how, throughout her life, she was seen by others as Asian and had the "Asian experience." Because of this, she realized she had denied many of the instances in her past when she had felt oppressed or treated a certain way due to how she was perceived as an Asian person. She realized that she had many conflicting messages about race growing up. While in her racial caucusing group, tough conversations and the process of coming

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to terms with the mixed messages about race helped her embrace her identity. At Overland, Rachel's class consisted of mostly students of color since she was in a Sheltered ELL classroom and she wanted to make sure she had conversations with her students around race so they did not experience what she went through later in life when coming to terms with the color of their skin:

I felt like for the White students [in her class last year as a student teacher], I wanted them to understand that they were allies. And I think for everyone else, I just want to give them tools to navigate the society and to understand the history, and I think I need to do something with that. I just have to figure out how. How do I get first graders who are six years old to understand that the world was not nice to [people like] them and is still not nice to them? I'm just trying to prevent the kids from [experiencing oppression], like never talking about race, and then one day thinking, 'Oh, I don't like being dark.' (Rachel interview, 12/2/17)

Rachel's experience growing up was that conversations about race were taboo and she felt she had a role to make sure her students did not have that experience where they would not see the value of their identities and experiences as people of color. Because she perceived her teachers stereotyping her as an Asian student, Rachel wanted to deny her Asian identity throughout many of her years in school. She perceived her role as using books that represented her students and also making sure she validated the use of their home language in the class when she was not allowed to in her own school experience.

Likewise, Mya felt it was important to have challenging and conversations about race with her students. As a teacher who identified as Black, she wanted to be explicit about her race with her students, especially her students of color who, she reported, were often seen as having

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behavioral challenges. When her students of color had behavior issues, she felt it was important to “be real” with them (Mya interview, 12/13/17). She felt that someone had to have a hard conversation with the students. For example, she had to have more stern conversations with other teachers’ students who were running in the halls or behaving inappropriately. She noticed she just had to tell them to stop or call them out on their behavior. However, she also made sure to do so by having them see the impact of their actions on others and really having a conversation with them. Sometimes this also meant sitting with students who were sent out of their classrooms and were sitting in the hallway and talking about what happened. Mya mentioned that often times, it was the students of color sitting in the hallways. This idea of “warm regard” and respect became core to her practice and other teachers even noticed and mentioned to Mya about the changes in her students’ behaviors. She continued to connect her actions to her personal history as she shared in the second interview that she could see a lot of herself in the students’ behaviors, especially when they would challenge her. For Mya, the idea of making sure she touched base with the student about the impact of their actions was critical to her practice and was something I even had a chance to observe in her classroom when she interacted with a student who accidentally knocked another one down. In the conversation, Mya was firm with student in asking if he noticed what had happened because he was not careful. She then had a brief conversation with him about being mindful about the impact of his actions and paying attention to others around him. At the end of the conversations she had with students about their behaviors, Mya explained that it was important for her to also repair the relationship with the students so they could both move forward. Repairing meant making sure the student knew that once the behavior was addressed, she still cared for them. This was important to her since, in her

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own experience, teachers did not have conversations with her; she was just labeled as bad. This connection to her histories-in-person was a part of that “moral code” that she took with her into her classroom; it could also be an example of the type of racial socialization that parents of color may communicate with their own children and making sure they are aware of the implications of their actions on others and how those behaviors could be perceived by society.

Like Rachel, Mya also felt it was important to talk with her students about race, especially when it helped connect her student to their identities. She mentioned several instances when one of her students shared that he thought being Black was bad, and another student challenged her when he said that Mya calling herself Black was racist. Mya used those conversation and her own experiences to connect with that students; she also wanted to find opportunities to celebrate Blackness in her classroom:

We had a meeting and I just started talking about the history of the word Black and how it's replaced all of these other words throughout history...you can also use African-American. Those are kind of the two dominant terms and then it was really interesting because then one of my other students who was mixed, some people weren't listening and she said, 'I feel really upset right now that people aren't listening because they are telling me that they don't care about my life and how I experienced these things.' Then I had a student who just moved here from Kenya, and so then he said, "Well, I don't want to be called Black because I'm not Black. I'm African." Yes, Student S is African. Student A is Black. Even in this classroom, we can talk about all these different words that we use for how we identify ourselves and I'm trying. (Mya interview, 12/13/17)

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She felt the curriculum limited her from being able to read texts that represented the students and because they had to follow curriculum with fidelity, she had to be sure to make time for those conversations. Throughout the year, Mya felt that people did not talk about race at her school and if families heard that she did, she could get into a lot of trouble. Mya perceived that the power dynamics within and between parents and teachers seemed to permeate how and what decisions were made in the school:

I think it would come from kids going home and talking about things that they learned and then having families, then use that power to affect me and what it ... Yeah, it freaks me out. That's the one thing I was really worried about in coming here was how high income parents are going to feel about me. (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

Though she was also aware and afraid that she could get into trouble with the administration or other parents at her school, Mya reported that these conversations were critical for some of her students, especially in a school where a large number of the White students and families had a fair share of power and resources.

In examples such as these, the racialized histories and identities of the teachers framed the way they thought about their interactions and conversations with their students. The conversations also seemed like ones that were intended to protect their students or to keep them from experiencing what the teachers experienced themselves.

Teachers of color as community teachers. Lastly, community was a theme that also emerged as for why these teachers chose this profession. The teachers defined community in different ways. For them, community was what they wanted to foster and build in their classrooms; building community within their classroom was essential before they could teach the

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academic content. This meant teaching the ideas of respect for one another, taking care of each other, and fostering trust with each other. For Milo, he recalled the value of community in his middle and high school where students looked out for one another and stood up for each other. Community also meant making sure students felt like they belonged, as each teacher reported. Each of the teachers recalled being pulled out of or sent out of their classrooms when they were students because of behavior challenges or being tracked into receiving English Language Learner support and recalled how these practices in schools are often based on stereotypes or assumptions about non-dominant students.

For some of the teachers, when there were tensions within their school contexts, they focused on fostering the community within the walls of their classrooms. Some of these tensions came in the form of having little structure or support in the buildings or staff dissatisfaction with the administration. By navigating some of these tensions, this meant keeping students within the classroom where there was consistency when things seemed more “chaotic outside” (Milo interview, 6/19/18). Milo described the importance for keeping the community within his classroom. For him, because he also racially identified with many of his students and families in his school, he also saw his commitment to the profession as a way of serving and giving back to his community. He mentioned that he did not see teachers who looked like him until he went to college and that really resonated with him. When deciding to go into education, he knew that he was choosing a profession where he might stand out as a Filipino American and as a male, but in his school building, he was able to see his identity as an asset in relation to his students and in his role:

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I'm fortunate enough to be a school with a high Filipino student population...Especially in this city, because there aren't a lot of Filipinos and they're primarily located in this neighborhood...Being able to teach here, I'm super fortunate because I get to work with students in the community that I was grown up in...It's powerful in that I'm working with people that look like me...It's an unspoken connection. (Milo interview, 12/14/17)

Earlier in the school year, when asked why he chose to work at Valley Oak, he mentioned that while student teaching at the school, he really appreciated the community and staff. When asked how he defined "community," Milo explained that it was people who had similar values or people who thought like he did. He felt he could be real with the students and that they were real with him. He shared that he "resonated with their identities. (Milo interview, 12/14,17). Milo mentioned growing up in a school where he and his classmates looked out for one another and because of that, it was what he wanted in his own classroom. While observing Milo in his classroom, I was able to see the ways in which students validated and helped each other. Students were observed collaborating on their work and they encouraged one another or helped each other find information if they were stuck. Because accountability was one of the practices that Milo often emphasized, students were also seen holding each other accountable for their work by trying to keep each other on task. I observed that Milo did a small amount of direct teaching, but students spent a great deal of time working independently or with partners. He would often ask how they were keeping themselves and each other accountable for the work they were doing while checking in with students who might be struggling. In his second interview, Milo acknowledged that his identity as a teacher of color did not necessarily mean he could

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connect with all of his students and their families, but he saw himself as an asset as a non-White teacher in his school.

Hawa also spoke of her classroom community and wanting to make sure her students felt like they belonged in the class by not sending them out each time there was an issue, but also connected her role as a SPED teacher to her Muslim and Somali communities. Hawa spoke a lot about her identity as a Somali and as a Muslim; she spoke frequently about the hijab that she grew up wearing as a way to identify with her community and to fit in, but mentioned having schooling experiences when she did not want to stand out because she was wearing one. Hawa mentioned her mom as an influence on her becoming a teacher and how she looked up to her mom when she was an Instructional Assistant and did home visits with her students' families. Hawa mentioned home visits as a practice she envisioned for herself one day. She appreciated how the community embraced her mom and she got to build strong relationships with her students:

I originally wanted to be a [Sunday school teacher at the mosque] cause that's one of my passions, to help give back to my community and support those students. Cause growing up, I didn't see anybody with a hijab. I didn't see a teacher with a hijab, so you don't get to connect with your teacher at that level...I realize people in my community, there's a lot of students who are coming into special education who are from immigrant backgrounds, who are Muslim, who are Somali as well, and it's a lot to navigate all of that. So, I could still do this work [in SPED] and it made me feel like I could give back to my community in a more meaningful way, cause there's a lot of taboo attached to SPED.
(Hawa interview, 12/9/17)

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Hawa mentioned later in the first interview that she worked hard in making sure her students were seen and valued by everyone in the school community and she did this by pushing them into the general education classes rather than just keeping them in their separate wing in the back of the school. This was important to her as a way of destigmatizing the ideas around being in SPED and how others saw her students because “they are an extension of me and what we are doing in here [the classroom]. (Hawa interview, 12/9/18)

The idea of community was salient throughout the teachers’ stories, but in these two examples, they allude to the idea that community is part of their historical and contextual influences when they think about their perceived roles in the contexts in which they teach, and these historical and contextual influences are a part of how they conceptualize their racialized identities.

In summary, the analysis revealed an alignment of the participants’ racialized identities and experiences to how they perceived and enacted their roles in the classroom. Many of those roles reflected how the participants experienced school themselves or how they wanted to reach their students of color or communities who looked like them. These aspects reflect what the literature and theory also reveals about the role of personal histories in how teachers think about their identities in their classrooms (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011). However, for these teachers of color, their narratives show, in particular, how their racialized histories and experiences inform how they were thinking about their practices in relation to the different contexts they were in. Their narratives and perceptions about their contexts, as told in the previous section, provide the backdrop by which they navigated and negotiated their racialized histories. These findings also emphasize the complexity in how each of those histories-

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in person informed the trajectories of the teachers' racialized identity development and positioning within their different school contexts. The complexity seemed to revolve around their racialized histories-in-person and how their own socialization around race and racism played out in those trajectories.

Teachers of Colors' Access to Identity Resources and Opportunities to Learn

In the previous section, I addressed the different ways in which the participant's perceived their roles in the classroom. Some of those roles included advocacy, having real conversations with students, including conversations about race, keeping students in their classrooms, and building community. In the beginning of the school year, the participants mentioned these roles they perceived for themselves while they were still learning about their different schools, the school culture, the staff, leadership, the students, as well as the resources available to them.

The analysis of their narratives focused on three identity resources: (1) material, resources, which were tangible tools or artifacts that the participants might access or utilize, (2) relational resources, which were their connections to or the support from others, and (3) ideational resources, which were the ideas they had about themselves or what they valued as teachers. The teachers' ideational resources did not emerge in their narratives or in the observations, so I will primarily focus on the material and relational resources in this section.

Related to this was what the participants shared as opportunities to learn (Greeno and Gresalfi, 2008). These included the abilities of the individual to participate in ways that supported their learning in some way. The ways in which they positioned themselves and how they perceived how others positioned them also seemed to play a role in how they were afforded

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opportunities to learn. For example, teachers might take up some professional development opportunities over others, or find some more salient to their practices than others. Some of their perceptions about what they could also take up might relate to perceptions of agency within their contexts. Their positioning of themselves as novices and as teachers of color were often mentioned as a lens by which they viewed these resources and opportunities to learn.

Material resources. For each of the participants, they access or take up of the material resources varied in relation to how they perceived their roles in the classroom. As novice teachers, they accessed many of the materials provided to them that would help them teach the mandated curriculum or would help them fulfill the daily routines of the day. As teachers of color, what they accessed to support their racialized identities seemed to vary in part due to how they perceived their agency to use other materials or the accessibility to those resources.

For Hawa, the materials that she accessed and were given were many hands-on materials that students would use in their lessons, or to access content and procedures in class. Some of these materials were timers, iPads, signs with pictures, bean bags, a trampoline, and classroom incentive visuals. Because Hawa was in a SPED classroom and many of her students struggled in their reading skills, she relied on a lot of visual and hands-on materials for students to use. A lot of technology was used for incentives and for students to track their behavior as immediate feedback. With these resources, she was able to keep to her classroom rules and expectations that also kept students accountable for their behaviors. In her first interview, Hawa shared that she did not always want to use reward systems, but found that this was what students responded to. During her classroom observation, I observed Hawa feeling challenged by students hitting each other, running around the classroom, and yelling. One of the roles that Hawa perceived for

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herself was in keeping her students in the classroom. When framing this role, Hawa mentioned the stigma of being labeled as a student receiving special education services and how many of her students were also students of color. Because she also noticed that many in her own African American and immigrant community were receiving these services, she reported the importance of focusing her efforts on making sure her students were welcome in the classroom. During my observation, she had several instructional assistants in her classroom whom she seemed to direct to support many of the students who exhibited more challenging behaviors and the ways in which she directed them and also had conversations with her students after they calmed down was evident of the importance of this role. In addition to what she was provided by the school, Hawa also accessed ideas provided by a district behavior interventionist, whom she accessed with the support of her principal; this helped her be able to think about the ways in which she could manage some of the challenging behaviors that were happening in the room. By the end of the year, she was able to take up new behavior management strategies that she learned from others in order to continue to support her students while also helping them feel like important members of her classroom. With the ideas given to her by her first year mentor and the behavior interventionist, she noticed great differences in her students' behaviors:

I'm happy to see we have not been calling [for additional behavioral supports in the [classroom]...I feel like we don't send any kids outside of our classroom anymore. I feel really great about that. I think that's one of the reasons we've been getting a lot of compliments is because we've been able to self sustain ourselves. We don't need a lot of outside support, everything is functioning and sometimes people walk in and they put their head in and kids are just sitting down doing work or learning, and it's like, it's nice to see

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that happening here now. (Hawa interview, 6/15/18)

This idea of supporting and making sure her students felt like valued members in her class community were also framed by a resource provided to her during her teacher education program. Hawa recalled listening to a panel of incarcerated men, who were predominantly Black, and the experience helped her think about being more intentional about her practices. In learning new ways of interacting with her students and the different challenges in the classroom, Hawa seemed to be proud of how the rest of the year had played out in her classroom.

Because the general education teachers mentioned the constraints of having to stick to the district-mandated curriculum and that this did not always allow for them to read books that were more representative of their students, they tried to locate texts that would allow for the curriculum to be more accessible and relevant to the students. For Rachel, this meant making sure there were books in Spanish in her classroom and encouraging her students to also speak Spanish. Because Rachel was not allowed to speak Japanese in her classroom when she was a student, she wanted to value her students' home languages. Similarly, because Milo racially identified with many of his students, he made sure to find books that represented their Filipino culture, to which, he reported, they always seemed excited about. Prior to her first year of teaching, Rachel reported putting together a social justice and multicultural resource library for herself, which she mentioned not being able access due to schedule and curriculum restraints. Because Rachel was teaching in a Sheltered English Language Learners classroom, an opportunity she was able to take advantage of was the Guided Language Acquisition Design (GLAD) training that was going to be approaching at the end of the school year. This was a resource designed to help teachers with strategies to work with their English Language

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Learners. However, to participate, Rachel had to put her name in a lottery in order to receive this additional training to further help her English Language Learners and was accepted for the summer training at the end of the school year.

One of the things that Mya appreciated about her school was the focus on socio-emotional learning. The curriculum was embedded in the school culture, language, and practices. Because one of the roles she perceived for herself was to be able to foster a caring community for her classroom, she drew on the curriculum and the accessibility of the school counselor at Saratoga. She mentioned that it was “a part of the school that really aligned with the practices I wanted to enact as a teacher.” (Mya interview, 12/13/17).

Mya also drew on a number of outside resources that complemented her teaching. These resources were not connected to the district-mandated curriculum, but were curricula or resources focused on social justice teaching practices. Because these resources were not afforded in her school context, Mya took the agency to access them on her time outside of the school day. Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) consider perceptions of agency as an influence on how individuals also take up opportunities to learn. They discuss this agency to be an initiative in constructing meaning from and understanding the concepts that are subjects of their learning. For Mya, the resources and her access to opportunities to learn afforded her opportunities to grow in the areas aligned with what was important to her. Mya acknowledged 5 resources that were useful to her: Rethinking Schools, Edutopia, Prodigy, The Moth, and a local conference for social justice teaching. Edutopia and Prodigy are research-based resources that gave her ideas for building classroom community as well as for organizing assessments and data. In one interview, she mentioned struggling with organizing data due to having a learning disorder.

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Rethinking Schools is a non-profit organization and publication that is committed to equity and to the vision that “public education is central to the creation of a humane, caring, multiracial democracy. Rethinking Schools also emphasizes issues that impact urban school, especially around race.

The Moth was a non-profit dedicated to the art of storytelling and also offered a Teacher Institute focused on helping teachers, students, and professors create stronger bonds by bringing storytelling into their school communities. On their website, they state, “Student storytelling can challenge dominant narratives about young people’s lives, while developing new ways for students to listen to each other in classroom spaces” (<https://themoth.org>). At the time of the interview, Mya was in the process of applying to attend the Teacher Institute to learn more about bringing storytelling into the Saratoga community. She felt that storytelling would “be useful for the community despite the level of affluence; everyone had problems that go along with the realm of life and just being a kid, like you know...and people don’t listen to you or think you’re knowledgeable.” (Mya interview, 6/18.18). This resource seemed to be tied to the ways in which Mya was attempting to navigate and challenge the power dynamics at Saratoga in that she expressed that even with the economic diversity at the school, every child had a story that could be shared and appreciated regardless of their socioeconomic status.

Lastly, Mya took the opportunity to attend a local social justice conference during the year. In her two interviews, she had mentioned wanting to celebrate Blackness in her classroom, especially when students seemed to be struggling with some of their identities as African American, African, or Black students:

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[The boy's] mom was like he's saying people don't want to play with him because he's Black and saying that he's bad and, "Oh, my God." Then, I went to Teaching for Social Justice Conference and the first one I went to was Black is Beautiful because it was right after that it happened and I was trying to figure out how to celebrate Blackness without it being like, 'Oh, [Student's name] is having a hard time right now because all of you are doing this.' (Mya interview, 12/13/18)

Whether it was a website, text, or professional development opportunity, Mya's decisions for the material resources she accessed seemed to be aligned with the roles and practices she had perceived herself enacting in the classroom; The access to these resources also seemed to stem from her perceptions of the kind of classroom environment she wanted to provide for her students in terms of building community, celebrating their identities, and having conversations about race and issues around equity and justice. These were also resources and opportunities to learn that she accessed outside of the school day, which may tell us that she did not feel like her racialized identity was not being supported or developed by the resources available to her within her context.

The material resources and opportunities to learn that each participant drew on within or outside of their contexts seemed to reflect their perceptions of their agency to enact the roles they perceived for themselves. Within their contexts, they used what materials were given to them, such as curriculum and teaching materials, but they also took the time to seek out other materials and opportunities that would be useful in them being able to be the teachers they envisioned being. Opportunities to learn include the dispositions and abilities of the individual to participate in a way that supports their learning in some way (Greeno and Gresalfi, 2008),

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and because interactions with materials and people vary within contexts, so did the affordances and opportunities that the participants chose to take up throughout the year.

Relational resources. Relational resources for their developing identities as teachers of color were the resources that the participants mentioned most frequently. Relationships were conceptualized in two different ways: (1) in the form of support in improving practices, and (2) in the form of trusting friendships and relationships over the school year.

The connections the participants made were often with those who were like-minded in the way they thought about their teaching practices and those they perceived as willing to put in the work for the students. Hawa often spoke of having a supportive relationship with her principal. This was evident across each interview. One of the roles she perceived for herself was to destigmatize what it meant to be labeled as a Special Education student. Because of this, Hawa received the support of her principal to help her push her students into the general education classrooms. This support came in the form of meeting with Hawa to figure out a schedule for the students as well supporting Hawa in her idea:

I don't feel [like she is] disconnected [from SPED], I feel like she's in this with us, and she understands, and if there is a problem going on I feel really comfortable going to her and being like, "I have this situation, how should I handle it, what should I do, what do you think?" She'll be like, "Maybe we should do this." Let me help. Let's figure something out... I heard some stuff about other principals, which was hard. It was like, "Oh really?" It was like, yeah, my principal doesn't do any of this. It made me feel really blessed. (Hawa interview, 6/15/18)

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With the support of her principal, the behavior interventionist whom she sought out for advice, and her first year mentor through the school district, Hawa felt she was able to put into place the practices she needed in order to handle some of the behavior challenges in her classroom. She also felt supported in her role of making sure her students were more present in the school community as a whole. At the end of the year, Hawa reiterated the importance of focusing on the class and school community. Because she often spoke of the diverse communities to which she identified herself- as a Muslim, as Somali, and as an immigrant, this indicates that the idea of community seemed to be at the forefront of her intentions and actions.

In a similar way, Rachel was appreciative of the different levels of support she received in her classroom. She received supports from her principal, especially at her grade level where all of them were fairly new teachers. She described the times when her principal would go in and support her or other teachers with behaviors or even model lessons. Rachel's school was known as a "systems school", as mentioned by the literacy interventionist I interviewed (3/5/18), meaning it was known for having many systems and structures in place for all the teachers. Procedures and protocols were in place and there were many levels of support for teachers:

Well, I feel like there were just a lot of people supporting me. There's our first year coach who has a meeting with me every Monday. Then we have a literacy coach who's at our school every two weeks for two weeks. And so, she was also supporting me, even with behavior and that's not her job. Just like, there's the solution room paras, I would get advice from them. I would talk to the counselor, like, "What do I do?" I feel like people are just kind of there to help. So, I just got ideas from that. I feel kind of supported.

(Rachel, focus group interview, 2/10/18)

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The structures and tiers of support in Rachel's school were of great benefit to her in this way when it came to supporting her work with behaviors and academics. However, the relational resources (and material resources) that she desired were people who would go into her classroom and coach her on what it looked like to teach a lesson focused on social justice. She mentioned people from her teacher education program whom she wanted as support in this area. She noted that she didn't need all the materials such as the book-binders. She wanted someone to help her talk about race and social justice issues with her students. Because Rachel was asking for something not available to her as a resources or opportunity to learn and because she perceived little agency to access them due to the time and curricular constraints in her context, this seemed to influence the way she perceived the trajectory of her identity and engagement with who and what was available to her at her school.

In this regard, Hawa seemed to perceive the support by her colleagues and administration as valuable resources for developing her identity as a teacher focused on building and keeping community in her classroom. In Rachel's case, she was navigating the lack of access or lack of agency to access the resources she felt she needed to develop her identity as a "non-traditional" teacher of color. These professional relationships, or lack of them, offered them ways to navigate the different challenges they faced in their classrooms and was a part of the process by which they had to negotiate their racialized identities in relation to what they perceived to be available to them.

Because each participant also mentioned that building trust and respect was vital before teaching the academics, this was what they spent a great deal of their time trying to build with students and colleagues throughout the year. Mya described the idea of giving respect that

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needed to be reciprocated. She had to “give respect to get respect.” (Mya interview, 6/18/18).

Because she spent time building relationships with her students, she found this to be helpful in other areas throughout the year, such as in behavior management and when she held them to high expectations. She was also able to build trusting relationships with her students of color, which made them more comfortable talking about their racial identities. In her interviews, Mya discussed her relationships with her students, colleagues, families, and supportive others. These relationships were where she grounded herself as a teacher and reported this was an area where she was most successful. Mya spent time with students during recess time, allowed them to share information and concerns with her through a class mailbox, and even met them out of the school context. On the day of the focus group interview, Mya shared about taking a former student out for yogurt who had moved and was back for a visit. This was a student, whom Mya mentioned, had a challenging home environment:

I usually build relationships with all students, but I am really intentional about how I’m building relationships with kids of color so that they see that someone who is either a person of color, or somebody who looks like them has gone through similar things and that we keep going. It only takes one person to really see a kid, and that lasts with them for their whole life. (Focus group interview, 2/10/18)

Here, Mya emphasized the connection that she has with some of her students who have challenging home lives, just as she did. Because she wanted the students to feel valued and seen, it was important for her to nurture the relationships with her students. At the end of the year, she spoke fondly of the relationships that she built with each of her students and that she valued them more than she realized. This could also be viewed as a relational resource she accessed to inform

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the trajectory of her racialized identity development as a teacher of color. Because she also mentioned her history as a connection to how she related to them, Mya was also connecting her histories in person to how she navigated relationships with others.

The participants also drew from the relationships from several colleagues at the school. These were relationships where they spent time in each other's classrooms after school and shared their struggles. In the beginning of the year, Milo described "vibing" with the principal as well as his colleagues. He found support from his grade level team in the form of having colleagues to share struggles with and from whom to receive feedback. He also mentioned his first year mentor, who was provided by the district. What was unique about their relationship was that his mentor was also one of his former teachers and was someone who had access to his history. Milo reported that this relationship was valuable since challenges within the school context started to take a toll on him and having someone outside of the school was helpful. Though Milo was at a school with a few other teachers of color, he mentioned feeling a little isolated from them on the second floor of his building. With the impact of the changes within his school building, Milo described the tensions and stress that many on staff were experiencing. He described wanting a group of teachers of color with whom he could just share his frustrations and experiences

When talking about his colleagues, Milo reported being able to rely on the support of his grade level team, especially when the dynamics at his school began to change in more challenging ways, but he also expressed this same feeling of wanting to connect with a group of Asian American/Pacific Islander teachers in the area and to be able to support one another with the challenges of teaching and the intersections of their professions with their identities. Though

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he was already part of a Filipino Educators group, he found that they were “more talk and less action.” (Milo interview, 12/14/17). This tension seems to indicate that Milo saw relationships with other teachers of color as going beyond support and encouragement. He seemed to desire conversations where they could talk about their identities in relation to the profession, but also push those conversations towards transformative practices in their buildings and with students.

Rachel found herself at a larger school of around 700 students and reported feeling disconnected from things that were going on around the school. She reported that many of the staff did not know each other and she was often mistaken for another person of color on the staff. It wasn't until the middle of the year that she began to develop stronger relationships with some of her colleagues, whom she named as her best friends by the end of the school year. Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) discuss how when individuals view themselves or are viewed by others as alien or isolated in their communities or excluded from the life trajectories for which school learning or systems are designed, they may feel cut off from the opportunities to learn that are provided for those who are understood to be a part of the school's mainstream. In other words, even though Rachel accessed resources to inform her pedagogical strategies as a teacher, the resources that aligned with her goals of being a more “non-traditional” teacher and teaching issues of social justice were not afforded to her. This was also evident when she discussed the different views that she held in relation to her colleagues, which informed the ways in which she viewed her relationships with and interactions with others in her building.

Relatedly, Hawa reported that there were a couple of other teachers of color at Sand Hill who invited her to lunch and would check in on her, but she admitted not spending a lot of time developing relationships with others outside of the school day due to wanting time to decompress

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after a challenging day in her classroom. She connected her feelings to how her students might feel sometimes- that there were a lot of emotions, but they were often held in. Looking forward, Hawa mentioned wanting to connect more with others the following year.

Since Mya was at a smaller school of under 300 students and a staff of about 7 teachers, she was careful to figure out whom she could trust. She mentioned that in a small school, there were tense relationships between staff members and between staff members and leadership. She mentioned two colleagues and the school counselor as people who supported her through the year. One colleague, in particular, was one of her grade-level team members whom she mentioned meeting with outside of the school day to plan. They would each get a substitute and plan through the day since this time was not always available to them:

And my planning partner is really, really awesome. She is White, but she is definitely like, ‘These White people need to shape up. And they need to be uncomfortable, and that's the only way we're going to change things.’ So, she's a great planning partner to have. But she has three kids, so she leaves immediately after school, and we have to take a day once a month to be able to plan with each other. (Focus group interview, 2/10/18)

Here, Mya appreciated that her partner had a similar vision in wanting to create some change at the school. Because of this, Mya felt she could trust her and valued the time they took to plan for their students. When I was able to follow up with Mya after the summer of her first year, she mentioned joining a community of teachers of color who were meeting about once a month. She saw this as a place to “help lighten the tokenism that she would be engaging in at the school” (Mya personal communication, 9/20/18). She mentioned being thankful for this community and how it had helped her navigate being in a profession of mostly White women.

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Mya was able to find White allies in her building with whom she could express her frustrations around the issues of race and power. Outside of the schools, she was able to seek out a community of teachers of color with whom she could continue to engage in conversations about their practices and how to challenge the system. These relational resources contributed to her developing racialized identity as a teacher of color.

The participants seemed to seek out or even desired to seek out supportive interactions, either professionally in their school sites or to build trusting relationships with those whom they could share their struggles as teachers of color and as novice teachers. The relationships they drew on seemed to be ones that supported their racialized identities and the roles in which they perceived for themselves in their classrooms. Conversely, the relationships the teachers spoke more negatively about were with those whose practices they perceived to be in tension with their own, such as hearing teachers with deficit views of families and students or perceiving that particular teachers did not want to put the work into being more equitable in their practices. They each navigated these tensions in different ways, but drew on the relationships that seemed to support them in positive ways as they navigated the different dynamics in their contexts. The ways in which the teachers talked about their trajectories of engagement with others as resources seemed to inform the negotiation of their identities by the end of the year, but also informed how they viewed their practices in moving forward.

Teachers' Negotiation of their Racialized Identities in Context

The last theme that emerged from the participants' narratives addresses the ways in which they seemed to negotiate and renegotiate their racialized identities and shift their trajectories of identification and engagement within their contexts. Wortham (2006) describes

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how identities are always negotiated as individuals position and reposition themselves within their contexts. Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) discuss that the ways individuals become positioned interact with the identities they develop through their participation. Specifically, this section highlights the trajectories in the participants' perceptions of their positioning in relation to the contextual constraints and supports and how those perceptions informed the negotiation of their racialized identities.

Each of the teachers' reports of their experiences at each of their schools were primarily framed by their perceptions; these perceptions were undergirded by interpersonal, historical, and contextual factors and experiences they each recalled and drew on when navigating their contexts. This navigation and negotiation, in turn, was reflected in the ways they later narrated their future roles and practices within their schools.

Each of the four teachers went through similar processes of negotiating and renegotiating their racialized identities as they spent more time in and grew in their understandings of their school contexts. However, I illustrate these processes with two participants with contrasting trajectories of identification and engagement within their schools. Lave and Wenger (1991) talk about trajectories as changes in learning or practice as individuals participate in communities or contexts. Trajectories are also considered in terms of one's engagement with the practices and resources in their contexts and also include elements of their past, present, and future participation (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008).

The ways in which Milo and Mya spoke about their identities often related to their racialized identities as teachers of color, but also their identities as novice teachers. Their narratives and perceptions of their experiences seemed to be tethered to the contexts in which

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they were teaching and they seemed to go through an iterative process of negotiating their identities as situations within their contexts changed. In their narratives, Milo and Mya reported how their contexts afforded different outcomes for their trajectories and how they negotiated their racialized identity development. Milo began the year talking about the ways in which he racially identified with his school community and felt like he genuinely belonged there but ended the year questioning his role and voice at his school. Conversely, Mya initially experienced tensions around where she fit in as the only teacher of color and trying to stay under the radar when enacting particular practices in her classroom. However, by the end of the school year, she perceived her voice and racialized identity to be an asset in her school. Three factors in the school contexts emerged from the data that informed the trajectories of how the teachers' negotiated their racialized identities within their contexts: (1) the dynamics of their school cultures, (2) the presence and support of the administration, and (3) how they positioned their voices in their schools.

These two cases highlight the complexities that novice teachers of color navigate when entering a new school context where their lenses are not guided by their mentors, but by their own perceptions and experiences. A critical race lens emphasizes the issues of power, race, and inequities that are often instantiated in school structures and systems, and the teachers in this study were continuing to interpret, navigate, and negotiate these contexts for the second time—once as students of color themselves and now as teachers of color. A situative lens from which identity is framed also places individuals in direct relationship with their activity systems, thus highlighting the school culture and the ways in which the teachers positioned themselves and their identities within these systems was critical to examine. The ways in which they participated

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and interacted with others in their schools were framed by their historical and every day navigation and negotiation of those contexts as racialized persons, thus the ways they negotiated their racialized identities reflected the changing nature of their contexts as well as well as the perceived affordance and constraints within them.

Because administration hold the reins in making decisions around structures, their positions come with connotations of power and authority. Some make decisions alongside staff while others make decisions for the staff. Leadership at schools can look similar or different across schools and districts and with their responsibilities as one that makes sure schools are well-run and students are learning, Different styles of leadership come through as being effective or not effective. The teachers' perceptions of the school administration, how they positioned themselves in relation to the administration, and their perceptions of how the administration positioned them also informed the trajectories of their engagement and negotiation of their racialized identities in their contexts.

Lastly, teachers' perceptions of the power and relevance of their voices were also a result of how they positioned themselves in relation to the resources and others within their school contexts. The different ways in which Milo and Mya navigated and negotiated their racialized identities was examined in relation to the changing contexts in which they found themselves. What seemed to emerge throughout their narratives was the question of whether their voices and ideas mattered as novices and as teachers of color and this seemed to be influenced by how they positioned themselves and how they perceived others positioned them as well as well as their trajectories of engagement and participation within their contexts.

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Milo: Shifting towards the margins. Milo stepped into his role at Valley Oak after being a preservice teacher across the hall with his mentor teacher and now colleague. He already had a year to familiarize himself with the school community as well as the curriculum, but in his first year, he was going to be navigating how he perceived his role as the classroom teacher in that school community and how he was going to implement those roles in relation to the students for whom he was responsible. In the beginning of the year, Milo described feeling like he was “meant to be” at Valley Oak due to his identification with many students and families in the school community. As a Filipino American, he appreciated being a teacher his students could identify with and that he had an “unspoken connection” with some of the families there because of his racial identity. Likewise, seeing fellow teachers of color on staff, Milo also described “vibing” with many of his colleagues as well as his principal and that many of them took on a lens of social justice teaching and trying to change the system. At Valley Oak, many of the teachers were also graduates of the same teacher education program from which Milo also graduated, so many of them had been trained under similar instructors with similar methodologies and practices. In this regard, Milo described having a connection with both the school community due to a similar racial background and some of the teachers on staff due to the commonalities in their training and practices. He began the year positioning himself as a valuable member of the school community.

In his first interview and in the focus group interview, Milo described moments or events for why he appreciated being at a school where issues impacting students’ lives were addressed. He appreciated that the students’ identities were often valued, as evident with the school celebrating National Hijab Day. The principal also brought in a social justice lens and

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opportunities for the staff to learn more about the mostly Somali and Asian student populations whom they were serving. Because Milo also saw himself as part of this community, he described a strong identification with the school and why he was there. Throughout the year, he also recognized that just because he was a teacher of color did not mean he could identify with all students and families of color. He described moments when he found himself not being able to fully empathize with students as he much as he thought he could. He also mentioned the struggle of trying to connect with certain parents and wanting to convey that they were really on the same team:

...I know I talk about how I'm a person of color, and I can empathize with what people are going through, but I can't understand the full picture...I've definitely been more cognizant of my identity with parents because, sure, I can vibe with them, but also I recognize there's language barriers, and notice that they're not all Filipino They're not all Asian. A lot of them are African. Some of them are Hispanic. Some of them are Vietnamese, and although I'm closer to Vietnamese folks than I am with African folks, there's still a language barrier. There's still almost a cultural divide of ... Not really a cultural divide, but you know, some differences. (Milo interview, 6/19/18)

Experiences with parents became moments of growth for Milo as he spoke of the challenges that caused him to reflect on how he interacted with parents and the assumptions that could easily be made about what parents want or how they perceive the teacher's role to be. He also described learning how families' cultural practices are important to consider when making classroom decisions. With these reflections and his moments of tension with families, Milo had to renegotiate his position in relation to the families and the students with whom he struggled to

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connect. He realized he had to re-evaluate his perception of his identity in relation to all families of color and saw this tension and learning opportunity as a way to renegotiate his racialized identity in relation to his school community and the practices to engage with them.

Both Milo and Todd, a staff member and colleague of Milo's, described behavior issues as being one that many of the staff were trying to figure out and that the different ways in which the staff perceived how to handle challenging behaviors seemed to cause some tension among them. Some of these tensions around the inconsistency in behavior practices stemmed from the transition in principals in the last couple years. While many of the teachers found these strategies of their behavior program to be valuable in reaching students, some were still needing more support on a systems level rather than trying to manage all behaviors within the classrooms on their own. The program's emphasis on understanding and building relationships with students seemed to align with Milo's ideas of his perceived roles in the school and classroom, which were to build community and relationships with his students and to make sure he addressed behaviors within the classroom rather than having to send students out. In thinking about his views in relation to his colleagues, Milo considered his identity as a Filipino American, but also his identity as a young, new teacher:

When it comes to my colleagues, the whole upstairs is White. I'm the only POC, but I think more the issue with me is this intersection of my age, primarily. I'm the youngest person, I think, in the school as a teacher. I'm definitely a standout amongst all the other teachers upstairs. So, I think more so it's not a conversation ... I mean, yeah, it is a conversation, of course, about my identity as a Filipino American, but also at same time, I'm this young, I've got a lot of energy. I come in with a more restorative justice approach

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than all the other old fashioned folks coming with, or what they have. (Focus group interview, 2/10/18)

Here, Milo's statement corroborates with Todd's description of the "newer guard of teachers" coming in to the school and how this had a role in the dynamics of the school culture. Todd had reported a high turnover in the staff and the changes he had noticed over the past few years, especially in regard to how the staff responded to changes in how discipline was handled by the administration. Based on both Todd and Milo's reports regarding the different ideas around school discipline, it seems this was an area where the staff was split. Early on in the year, Milo also noticed the tensions around his ideas about managing behaviors and positioned himself as someone who had a somewhat different approach than others. This approach, as corroborated by Todd, brought to the surface the tensions that the staff as a whole was trying to navigate. For Milo, these tensions seemed to weave into his narratives and the trajectory of his engagement and interactions with others throughout the year.

The turning point in Milo's sentiments about the school culture seemed to shift toward the middle to end of the year when the principal announced that she was leaving the school at the end of the year. At that point, Milo began to also notice changes within the school that seemed to reflect what he perceived as "chaotic." (Milo interview, 6/19/18):

We're noticing that our inclusion model isn't working to the best of our ability, and I think it's because just of a lack of structure, and how to deal with student with intense behaviors. You know, maybe not everyone's on the same page about what's suspension or what that looks like. A lot of different practices of discipline going on, and that comes with different trainings, that comes with different mindsets, it comes with different

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upbringings. A majority of the last half of the year has been focusing in on not what's outside of my classroom, but what's on the inside. What can I do to keep my classroom running, to keep it functioning, while acknowledging the fact that outside of it it's kind of chaotic. (Milo interview, 6/19/18)

This sentiment came up a few times as Milo mentioned wanting his administrators to visit his room, but also did not want to draw any attention to himself as someone who might be struggling. This tension of cultivating a supportive relationship with the principal yet being nervous and cautious was also on Milo's radar and also played into the way that Milo seemed to negotiate his identity and position himself as a novice and teacher of color. He seemed to recognize that as a first year teacher, he didn't want to call too much attention to himself and as a teacher of color, he reported feeling that he would have to rationalize his practices in order to feel validated. For Milo, it seemed important for him to be positioned as a valuable member of the school community, but also for his position and practices as a novice teacher of color to be validated by the leadership at his school. Feeling valued as a part of the community and building community in his classroom were themes in his narratives, which seemed to indicate a desire for himself and for his students to be seen as legitimate participants within the school.

Because Milo had been working with his class on accountability, flexibility, and efficiency, he described that there was a lack of structure in the system, which meant there was a lack of accountability and he was trying to just do his best for his students within the walls of his classroom (Milo interview, 6/19/18). Though he appreciated the support of his colleagues, specifically his grade level team, he also reported the negative impact of everyone's attitudes on the school climate and school culture:

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...because we also have just a lot of turnover, and we have just not a lot of hope and motivation in the school, from the general climate that I see. Our school had the third lowest staff climate scores out of all schools school district. Yeah. That's kind of saying something. We have to have the executive director of schools come in and facilitate meetings because no one can agree...with admin in there. It's, like I said, as a first year teacher, sure, I can't really do much. It's so hard to watch. Some colleagues of mine are really negative, to the point where the negativity impacts their experience in the classroom. Some of them are just wanting out, and keep talking about how they want out during lunchtime, but our kids are right there in front of us. Why are you talking about this? It's just like the climate is trash. The climate is so poor, and I'm doing my absolute best to not let it feed me. (Milo interview, 6/19/18)

Here, Milo alluded to his perceived role of building community in his classroom and being there for his students even though he perceived that many of his colleagues seemed to be “checking out.” In his interview, he proceeded to talk about the different relationships he was building with his students and what he was doing to nurture those relationships despite what was going on outside of his classroom. He talked about advocating for a student when he found out they did not have a home and working with another colleague to obtain a housing voucher for the student. He also shared about an opportunity he had to attend a student’s ballet recital where he was referred to as “Uncle Milo.” Hence, while he perceived the school climate to be negatively impacting him, he seemed to be trying to build it up within his own classroom. Milo reflected on why he was a teacher and also remembered to draw on who he was as someone who always tried to be positive.

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Milo's frustration around the changes and lack of structure in the school and what he perceived to be disengagement from the principal also seemed to play a role in the way he shifted his own trajectory of engagement and positioning in the school. This continues to indicate how the changing nature of contexts can inform how one also develops and negotiates their identity development. Though these changes seemed to be impacting the whole staff as a whole, for Milo, it seemed to make him question the kinds of support he would receive in his development as a novice and teacher of color. During all these changes within the context, Milo focused on making sure he was doing what he could to support his students and continuing to build community and relationships with them. He did not have many interactions with the administration aside from going through the evaluation process, at which he described as something that just had to be checked off of the principal's list. He mentioned that "It was supposed to be a process to support you in becoming a better teacher, but I never got that" (Milo interview, 6/19/18).

While his context was going through transitions, Milo's navigation of the tensions around his perceived role as a novice teacher of color also seemed to be in negotiation. This process involved the ways he felt supported within his context and he began to position himself as being isolated- isolated in his practices and support for his students and isolated without support from others in his building. Wortham (2004) considers how individuals position themselves or are positioned by others as they negotiate their contexts and this can be intentional, subconscious, explicit, or implicit. In Milo's case, he seemed to be positioning himself in a way so he would not be affected by the negativity from the staff, but he also perceived that the staff were also positioning themselves in ways to manage the tensions in the building as well. Because

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trajectories are also considered in terms of one's engagement in the practices of a context (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008), Milo's disengagement from his colleagues also seemed to translate into an increase in engagement with the students in his classroom.

Even though Milo's perceptions of the school culture seemed to change, he seemed to navigate these changes by remembering why he chose this profession as well as holding close the roles he perceived for himself of cultivating a strong community in his classroom and being an advocate for his students. He seemed to realize the strengths as well as the limitations to his identity as the young teacher of color with a focus on restorative justice, but used those limitations as opportunities to grow and to add to his "repertoires of practice." (Milo interview, 6/19/18). This seems to tie to the situative nature by which teacher identities develop within their schools. The changes in context that Milo and his colleagues were experiencing and the ways in which he perceived and were affected by those changes seemed to also shift the ways he participated, positioned, and interacted with others within the school. These shifts also seemed to impact the ways in which he could enact some of the roles he perceived for himself, especially when it came to feeling supported as a teacher of color. What he seemed to hold on to was the community that he nurtured in his classroom. Seeing himself as the students' "older brother" or "uncle" also seemed to indicate the familial responsibility that was tied to how he identified himself. An additional constraint was that what seemed to have been a relational resource to him by way of support of the principal and some of his colleagues did not seem to be a resource that he could easily draw upon as he had mentioned a number of times earlier in the school year. In his second interview, he identified this lack of support as something that seemed to be impeding his growth and development, and voice as a teacher of color.

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Milo also considered his voice and position as the young teacher of color on staff. When asked to reflect on the year in terms of future practices, he mentioned the upcoming hiring process for the new principal and what voice he might have in that process:

The thing is, next year, when we have a new principal or an interim principal, whoever it is, what are the strengths going to be? Is it going to be a person of color? We also have to be mindful that ... in regards to a lot of the spearheading for a new principle has been led by two staff members who are both white women...I'm not part of those conversations, unfortunately. It's all the building leadership team (BLT), but I don't know if even BLT's even representative of POC in general. When I think about the POC perspective, I don't see it existing within the hiring process. There is one parent, one parent on the interview committee, which is great, but that's one parent. That's one person of color. There might be an ELD support staff that's on there, but like I said, it's being led by two white women, and sure, I trust them to a certain extent, because I know they work hard and they think about their students first, but at the same time, I don't know. I don't know. (Milo interview, 6/19/18)

Here, Milo considered the importance of having the perspective of a teacher of color in the hiring process and acknowledged that the whole process was lead by two White women on staff. This seemed to be indicative of how he positioned himself and also how he perceived himself to be positioned in his school. His perceptions seemed to fall back to how “it was the White women” who got to make the decisions as if it was a default process he was familiar with. To this, he reported feeling he didn't have much of a say in the process and needed to start being more of a leader in the next year:

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[I gotta] get my face out there like ... I guess get my face out there amongst families and staff members. I mean, everyone knows each other and to a certain extent, they know that I'm the young guy, but they haven't seen what I do in the classroom. I mean, yeah, I feel like my perception so far with people that don't really know me well is the young kid that walks around and smiles a lot, and is very positive, which I think is pretty true, because I had a couple of people tell me that. "Oh, you're that young guy that's really positive." I was like, "Yeah, yeah" ... I don't know whether that's joining a different committee or just showing up to a lot of meetings. It's gonna be really interesting, but I think if I wanna think about my position in the school, my positionality, and if I wanna get into more leadership, I wanna start tomorrow...next year, because of all the transition happening. Sure, we'll have a new leader, but at the same time, I don't want to have the two white women also take over as well...I mean, the question I always think of, like, who delegated those two white women, because I don't think anyone did. I think it was just like, oh, they just talked, and talked a lot, and said a lot of good things...(Milo interview, 6/19/18)

Here, Milo narrated a developing identity within this context and questioned how others might also perceive him as the young, positive teacher. He seemed to be negotiating the tensions around his intersecting identities as the young teacher of color and how others might perceive him as a leader within his school. Milo's perceptions of his future engagement at Valley Oak and how he would position himself provided foresight into how he wanted to continue to change his trajectory and engagement as he thought about how power and roles were also distributed during all the changes in his context and how things might play out for the following year.

Mya: Finding her voice. Mya's negotiation and trajectory of her racialized identity at

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Saratoga contrasted with Milo's experience. Saratoga was a place where Mya saw many contradictions and tensions between her racialized identity and the schools' practices, but she also saw those contradictions as a way to try to challenge or change the status quo. Mya's history in person (Holland et al., 2003) mediated the ways in which she negotiated her racialized identity, and what she seemed to experience was a tension between her racialized history and how it was contested in the practices at her school. Mya had initially positioned herself to be a teacher at a school with fewer financial resources, and though the student population was racially, linguistically, culturally, and socioeconomically diverse, her perceptions of her roles and practices seemed to be in tension with the practices embedded in her school. Being the only teacher of color, Mya positioned herself as someone who stood out among her colleagues in appearance and in how she perceived her roles and practices in her classroom.

Being the only teacher of color at Saratoga was reminiscent of her experience as the only student of color when she was in school. It seemed to come with feelings of fear and questioning if she belonged there:

I think there are things you can't anticipate until you're there [in your own classroom] and then my positionality in the city changed so much and what families and ideologies were there are not necessarily here.... That was a big change and it's a big change for me to figure out how to deal with parents who have a lot of money because then, they have a lot of power and I'm used to being able to be a team player with parents that are lower income and really trying to bring them into the classroom. (Mya interview, 12/13/17)

In her second interview, she talked about working in schools in a different part of the city where the student and community demographics were very different from those of Saratoga. This

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shift in the student population with whom she was working as well as her position as a teacher was a transition point in her identity in the city as well as a teacher and she mentioned this several times.

One thing that seemed to be a source of tension for Mya was the dynamics among the school staff. Mya's perceptions of the principal at Saratoga seemed to also influence the ways in which she perceived the school culture and climate. Some of these perceptions came from being around the small staff who often spoke about the principal in negative ways, "There's a lot of problems here. There's a lot of problems everywhere, but a lot of deep problems here like the staff hates our principal and just endlessly talks about how awful she is." (Mya interview, 12/13/17).

When conversations such as these would happen, Maya described not wanting to be around it and articulated that "the classroom was a space for children" and that is all she cared about (Mya interview, 12/13/18). Mya reported not wanting to be influenced by others' perceptions of the principal, but over time, she also began to form her own perceptions. These sentiments also aligned with her description of how she positioned herself in relation to her colleagues. There were dynamics amongst members of the staff and then the differences that Mya noticed between herself and them. Mya perceived that many of them did not get along, as she mentioned several times that teachers would often go into each other's rooms and gossip about one another or about the leadership. With Saratoga having a small staff, this was easy for her to notice. She also noticed the differences between how she spoke about students and how her colleagues spoke of students, particularly students of color. While she was working hard to build relationships with her students, she reported that many of the other teachers would just

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send their students out of class when there were behavior challenges. Both Mya and Brandon, a colleague, also spoke of the challenges of working with teachers who struggled with making changes in their practices and in their thinking, even if they were practices that were best for the students. They also both mentioned the struggles that came with working on a staff that held on to traditional practices that often included tracking or practices that perpetuated “White normative thinking.” (Brandon interview, 5/11/18). One of the biggest tensions Mya mentioned was her colleagues’ deficit ways of thinking about the students and how to challenge that without standing out. Mya also reported conversations with her colleagues around them celebrating Christmas in their classrooms when she felt that practice was not appropriate or even conversations centered around tracking and labeling students based on their testing abilities and race.

Mya often described the different ways in which she struggled to identify with the practices within her school and the tension between how she saw herself as a teacher of color in relation to the practices of her White colleagues as well as the White families in her school community, particularly the PTA. To negotiate these tensions, Mya reported staying under the radar and keeping her practices behind closed doors. While she also wanted to have richer conversations about students’ traditions and issues of race, she still felt she had to do so carefully for fear of getting in trouble with the families. She was also mindful of her identity as the new and only teacher of color on staff. When describing moments when she did discuss the history of the word “Black” as well as issues of race with her students, she realized what they discussed in class could easily go back to home to the parents, which she was more weary of, given the power in the parents’ voices at Saratoga:

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I think it would come from kids going home and talking about things that they learned and then having families, then use that power to affect me and what it ... Yeah, it freaks me out. That's the one thing I was really worried about in coming here was how high income parents are going to feel about me. (Mya interview, 12/13/17)

It seemed clear that Mya was positioning herself as a novice who still had to tread the waters very carefully, but also as the only teacher of color, she was also cautious of standing out too much. This positioning in these two capacities framed the way she navigated her context and she seemed to struggle with aligning her racialized identity as a teacher of color with those around her.

During our interviews, it seemed to be the conversations about the wealthy parents that seemed to be the cause of Mya's insecurities. Mya reported trying to get used to working with families who had a lot of resources compared to the families she used to work closely with from other schools. Mya perceived that with having money also meant having power and having a voice in the school. She described decisions that were made by parents that she did not agree with; these were mostly decisions that, to Mya, seemed inequitable. She would hear where the money was spent and who would make those decisions to spend the money. This seemed to indicate that Mya's perceptions of power or who held power at Saratoga were linked to who had money. Throughout her interviews, these perceptions about the families and the power they had over school decisions came up often and this seemed to indicate that issues of power were weaved into the practices, decisions, at discourses at her school. At times, she described feeling like she also had to protect some of her student and families of color from the practices that she

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perceived to be harmful to them as decisions would often be made for them without consideration of their circumstances.

Mya's history-in-person also mediated how she perceived her role in relation to the practices at Saratoga. These were aspects of how she saw her racialized histories informing how she navigated particular tensions in the school. Mya reported trying to support students who had more challenging behaviors while also attempting to communicate with the students' parents about their behaviors. She described the efforts she made to understand the root of students' behaviors so that they could better express what they needed. However, even though Mya felt building relationships with students and families was one of her strengths, she also recognized her limitations as a novice and that the leadership had particular obligations and roles that were beyond her capacity as a novice:

I feel like my principal has left me to deal with more than perhaps I should by myself.

She doesn't have very good people skills, and so the way I see it, it's better for me to do it because it's just better for my classroom, for the kids, for the families, for the building.

But it's not the greatest that you have to shield your families from the principal. (Mya interview, 12/13/17).

This sentiment was also corroborated by Brandon when speaking of the impact from the change in principals the last few years. While the former principal was strong in building relationships with the community, they struggled with organization and structure. The current principal was strong in being organized and having structure while challenged in ways of communicating with others. For Mya, this meant that she felt tasked with connecting with many of the students and families who were perceived to be struggling with behaviors, many of whom

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were students of color. As a first year teacher, she felt she was being tasked with things the principal should be doing and did not feel supported by her. She mentioned the few times that the principal would pop her head in to check on her, but Mya seemed to perceive interactions as excuses for the principal to hear that “all was fine so she did not have to do anything.” Mya’s aim was to not draw attention herself, especially as the only person of color on staff. So, even though Mya positioned herself as a novice and as one who was still navigating the context, her principal may have positioned her in a different way. This was a tension that Mya struggled to navigate because of how the power dynamics might play out between the principal and the parents. As a novice and as the only teacher of color, Mya perceived that to be a lot for her to navigate and to be responsible for.

Mya’s perceptions about the school and the principal seemed to come from a place of thinking about her identity in that she often mentioned the racial identities of those whom she referred to in her interviews. This seemed to indicate that issues of race were at the forefront of her mind, or that she was cognizant of her racialized identity and positioning as the only teacher of color on staff. This positioning that included how she saw herself within her context as well as how she perceived how others positioned seemed to play a role in how she was negotiating her racialized identity as she was gaining a deeper understanding of her administrator and those around her. Throughout each of the interviews, Mya seemed to make connections to her history in person and the ways in which she was socialized when it came to issues of race or talking about her racial identification.

Both Mya and Brandon spoke of teachers on the staff who adhered to very traditional teaching practices and were not always wanting to adapt their practices to be more equitable for

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students. Because the district had ways of tracking students in particular programs, many of the staff who had been there for a while had been used to teaching groups of academically successful students who had once attended Saratoga. Many of these families also left the school when the program got moved. Thus, the student population changed and these groups of teachers seemed to struggle with changing demographic (Brandon interview, 5/11/18). While this had an impact on the school culture, it was also an aspect of the school that the principal was trying to navigate:

I think it's interesting that we all have young principals. I think in my building, it reminds me of what you're talking about in your building, where she is more on a new wave of things. And the teachers that have been doing things in more deficit models are feeling really targeted, which is why they hate her. So then they're really toxic to be around.

They'll go into people's rooms, and be talking about her. Just unbelievable accusations that are completely unfounded. But it comes back to they feel uncomfortable, because they're being asked to do something that's outside of what they've been doing this whole time. And it brings up a lot of feelings, and a lot of big feelings. (Focus group interview, 2/10/18)

Here, Mya described the tension in the building when it came to how the principal was trying to handle teachers who held deficit views of students and were not always willing to change their practices. She explained that the principal was “working to get rid of teachers that had a pretty racist ideology toward students” and saw that as “making waves in the right direction” (Focus group interview, 2/10/18). What this seemed to indicate was that the principal was using this process to sort out teachers who did not seem willing to reflect on their deficit views of particular students or were not approaching their teaching with a lens of equity. Mya’s

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understandings and her perceptions of her principal seemed to acknowledge that the principal was trying to change the narrative at the school, and in her mind, these were positive changes that also seemed to shift her understandings and later how she re-positioned herself and also at Saratoga.

These changes in Mya's understandings of the context as well as the principal seemed to play a role in how she continued to negotiate her racialized identity and shift the trajectory in her practices and identification at Saratoga. There were also moments when Mya benefitted from the support of her principal. To celebrate Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Day, Mya spoke to her students about the day being a day of action and about children marching to impact their country. When a White parent complained to the principal, the principal complained to the principal about the extent to which Mya was talking about the day, the principal supported Mya's teachings and backed her up. When Mya brought this story to the focus group interview, it prompted stories from the participants about being too nervous to "shake up the waters" because of their provisional status as an employee. What Mya also explained was her fear of the parents, especially those on the PTA, thus having the support of the principal when a parent spoke up seemed impactful. By the end of the year interview, Mya was speaking of the ways in which parents were trying to get rid of the principal, particularly parents with money who were making what she perceived were unhealthy decisions for the school. She mentioned the principal trying to stand her ground to those parents when it came to those decisions that would negatively impact the school.

Toward the middle of the school year, Mya mentioned experiencing a great deal of stress and burnout around the time of spring break. She expressed that she had been really hard on herself and wondering if the principal was going to "figure her out." (Mya interview, 6/18/18).

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I was really hard on myself for all the things that I felt like I could have been doing better or didn't do, like caring every day... and just continuing to put more and more on and feeling super stressed like, 'is my principal going to figure this out?' (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

Here, she seemed to be questioning her competence and confidence as a teacher. She did not want her principal to figure out that things were really challenging for her and, ultimately, she didn't seem to want the principal to break through her façade. As a novice teacher and teacher of color, these thoughts seemed to foreground a lot of her thinking. However, after a conversation with the principal, she realized her principal had a different perception of her and this change in her perception was a turning point in their relationship:

She was like 'I know that you beat yourself up about stuff, so why would I give you more things to beat yourself over? Like, I know that you're highly reflective on your practices, so there isn't anything that I could say to you that you haven't already thought yourself if I said it to you, then you would be beating yourself up...she said, 'no, you're fine...just make sure you're eating and sleeping. (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

This conversation between Mya and the principal seemed to be a turning point in how she perceived herself and how she felt the principal perceived her. This honest conversation made her feel better about her upcoming teacher evaluation and seemed to take away a bit of the pressure she had been putting on herself. Again, this conversation seemed to shift Mya's perceptions about herself and her positioning in the principal's eyes.

From that point on, Mya's confidence in herself as a teacher at Saratoga seemed to grow and her trajectory of engagement and participation within the school began to shift. She spoke of

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finding her voice as the Black teacher in the building. She described going to the principal and asking to be on the Race and Equity Team for the following year, to which she described the principal was pleased about. Mya's engagement within her school also began to change as she also began to see herself as a valued member of Saratoga. The principal's validation of her practices seemed to be a catalyst for how Mya continued to develop her racialized identity throughout the rest of the year.

Throughout the year, Mya found more of her voice in the school, especially when she realized her principal had more confidence in her than she realized. With this shift in the power of her voice also came more confidence in displaying her Black identity. One example was when she had to quiet the whole student body in an assembly when it had gotten too loud. She yelled over the excitement of the children. She remarked that teachers later thanked her for doing that. She conveyed with pride that someone referred to her as "just a teacher that knows how to hold it down and I was like, well, I'm super Black in that way, like, here's the line." (Mya interview, 6/18/18). In both of her interviews, Mya tried to navigate her "Blackness" within a context where she was the only teacher of color and how that Blackness was perceived among parents and her colleagues. These thoughts and reflections seemed to resonate throughout the year, so this moment for her to show her identity in the way she reported was a crucial one in her racialized identity development in her school.

In her first interview, Mya mentioned a nervousness about parents viewing her as the "loud Black teacher", yet as she provided the example above, Mya smiled with pride that she was able to use her voice and presence and acknowledge that it was part of the Black in her. While this moment is particularly salient, with giving this example, she also wanted to convey

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the importance of being a warm demander, which was by telling students what they needed to hear and then moving on and continuing the relationship with them. Based on her statement, it seems to indicate that she was alluding to a memory of her interactions with her former principal while she was a student and how he was direct with her and then they continued to move forward and let it go.

Further examples of this shift in her voice and how she perceived her role include instances when she had to have more stern conversations with other teachers' students who were running in the halls or behaving inappropriately. She noticed she just had to tell them to stop or call them out on their behavior. However, she also made sure to do so by having them see the impact of their actions on others. This idea of "warm regard" became core to her practice and other teachers even noticed and mentioned changes in Mya's students' behaviors. She continued to connect her actions to her personal history as she shared in the second interview that she could see a lot of herself in the students' behaviors, especially when they would challenge her.

Toward the end of the school year, Mya reflected on a key word that seemed to weigh on her and it was around the idea of respect. She mentioned that she wanted it to be her theme for the following year:

That's it, and then it's settled...yeah, that's me. Like it's not just me as a teacher, it's me as a person. And the things that really upset me as a person is when we're, for no reason, cruel to each other, or I get to gain something, but it's because of your loss, and those are the things that just really deeply hurt me, but they're so entrenched in the way we as a society function. (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

Mya's sentiments seem to allude to something greater than just what is going on within

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her context, but what existed within society and a greater system that she was also negatively impacted by. Her past experiences and how she was positioned in those experiences seemed to inform this idea of respect that she often emphasized in her classroom. With her assertion of how she wanted to push the idea of respect in the following year, she was also bringing aspects of her past into her future trajectory and practices (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008).

Mya continued by talking about how respect was also cultural and the concept varied between different cultures. She thought aloud about how this could also impact their test data in regards to the different racial groups and how they might think about how respect is perceived or discussed at school. Mya thought about her relationships with her students as well as the positive school climate results and how this might also impact standardized test scores, a topic that Mya had several sentiments about.

When asked for moments when she thought about her identity as a teacher of color, Mya described a moment when she felt she needed to share something with the staff. She was aware that they would be having a discussion around test data, particularly the test data in relation to the Black students at the school.

I just knew going in that meeting, that the one thing I knew I was going to say is that we can't ask [the Black students] to perform in the same ways as the other groups when we haven't provided anything special for them. (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

At her staff meeting, Mya pressed on how they, as a staff, had to change their practices to be more equitable if they were going to see some positive test results with the Black students. At that same meeting, she seemed to surprise herself by making a suggestion for racial caucusing as a staff so they could address issues of bias in working with their students. Mya mentioned that

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as she found herself sharing in the meeting, she was still very nervous:

I think it's hard. It makes me feel unsteady in my identity because I always worry that people are like 'You're barely Black, like why are you speaking for Black people?' And I'm like, 'But I'm Blacker than you are. That's exactly why, and so no, go ahead. (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

These feelings seem to connect to what Mya shared in her first interview about the anxiety of being the only teacher of color at her school. She shared about the photos and posters from the Women's March displayed outside of her classroom and seemed to be negotiating the tensions of displaying aspects of her identity and whether parents and colleagues would question the extent to which she displayed it. Her narratives indicated a desire for to her Blackness to be displayed, but her perceptions of the narratives within the context seemed to constrain that desire. She anticipated challenges to the identity she claimed as a Black teacher, so the ways in which she enacted or displayed her racialized identity, whether it was on her classroom door or in her voice, was constantly negotiated. She was also cognizant of the interaction between her racialized identity and being a novice in a context that was not used to confronting issues of race.

The data from the two interviews at different times of the year showed the multiple ways in which Mya's identity shifted and developed throughout the year. I want to end with Mya's closing thoughts in her second interview, which showed a change in how she felt about her place at Saratoga:

I feel very, very, very lucky to have landed here...I always thought I'd be a south end teacher, but it's like I've got south end problems right here. I don't... I can't see myself leaving anytime soon. I love it here...you know, we also hired a new teacher for next

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year and she is Latina...I think that will continue to be an other good resources for us to have in our building...continue to diversify...I just want to still be a member of our community in terms of our staff who is helpful and generous with resources and whatever I can, even if I know that those people are doing things that I don't personally agree with. I still want them to think that I'm on their side and still friendly with them. (Mya interview, 6/18/18)

When Mya's second school year started, she communicated to me that she had taken on a new role on the race equity team and hoping that in doing so, more people could be tasked with the role of finding resources and activities to share with the rest of the staff. After a bit of community building with the staff, Mya mentioned other members of the staff thanked her for putting equity and anti-racist practices at the forefront of their work. She also shared about not being so afraid of the PTA anymore. Her focus was on the kids and putting them first. (Mya, personal communication, 9/20/18).

These changes in her narrative also illustrate how identities are always negotiated in relation to and within social contexts. Mya's access to relational resources within her context also shifted as the year progressed and as her colleagues and principal acknowledged her voice, she was able to position herself and was positioned by others in a new and more salient way that informed her identity development as a novice and teacher of color.

These findings show the ebb and flow of emotions and tensions around how Mya seemed to negotiate and renegotiate her racialized identity throughout the year. The dynamic nature of how she perceived herself as a racialized person within her context and her trajectory of participation and engagement seemed to shift, which also lead to her increased in engagement of

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the practices within the school community and perceived agency in challenging the discourses of power in her school.

These contrasting narratives indicate the complex processes of navigating and negotiating the affordances and constraints within school contexts that were shifting in practices, discourses, and resources. Their contexts informed the negotiation of their racialized identities in the ways in which both Milo and Mya positioned themselves and perceived how others positioned them. In response those perceptions, their trajectories of participation and engagement with the resources, staff, and students within their contexts also shifted. While Mya found her voice and confidence through changes in relationships with others at Saratoga, the changes and constraints within the organizational structures at Valley Oak were a limitation to Milo's development of his racialized identity.

Chapter 6: Discussion

In this multiple case study, I examined how novice teachers of color navigated and negotiated their racialized identities in their first year of teaching. I also sought to understand the affordances and constraints within their teaching contexts that may have played a role in the ways they negotiated those identities. In addition to examining their contexts, I wanted to understand the resources they accessed or drew on to support and develop their racialized identities. Using concepts grounded in critical race theory (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solorzano, 1997) and a situative perspective (Lave & Wenger, 1991) of identity development, I focused understanding the teachers' racialized identities, as conceptualized by Nasir (2012) and the identity resources accessed to support those racialized identities. These theories and concepts afforded a lens on the identity development and negotiation of teachers of color that highlighted

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the complexity to which they navigate contexts that are embedded with histories and practices that were not designed for teachers who looked like them. These cases illuminate several factors that contribute to the complexity of being a novice teacher of color with racialized histories and experiences while also navigating a new school culture, practices, and resources. They also highlight the implications and directions for supporting novice teachers of color in the preservice year and beyond.

This study produces new understandings about how the racialized identities of novice teachers of color are navigated and negotiated within contexts by examining how teachers of color understand their positions in relation to colleagues, resources, administrations, and their school communities. The traditional literature on identity development omits the racialized nature by which teachers of color negotiate their racialized histories in person (Holland et al., 2003) with the racialized nature of their contexts. By bringing in Nasir's (2012) framework of recognizing the racialized identities that teachers of color bring into the profession, this study also takes on a critical race perspective to also take into account and consider the complex identities of the racialized individual situated within racialized contexts. This study provides a deeper understanding into how the teachers of color altered their trajectories of engagement and identification in their contexts, but also altered their practices in response to changes in those trajectories and interpretations of their contexts throughout the year. Their racialized identities played a role into their perceived positions in the margins and this study hopes to center their perspectives and experiences in the profession.

The findings from this study are also consistent with many studies on teachers of color and on novice teacher identity development. The findings show that teachers of colors' histories

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and racialized experiences inform the practices and roles they perceive for themselves in their schools and classrooms, are likely to work in school settings in which they can give back to their communities and serve racially, culturally, socioeconomically, and racially diverse students, and also experience feelings of racism within their teaching contexts (e.g. Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011; Achinstein, Ogawa, & Sexton, 2011; Borrero et al., 2016; Galindo, 1996; Kohli, 2018).

This study also revealed the complex process by which the participants had to navigate the ways in which they positioned themselves in relationship to others within their school contexts. It highlighted that identity development involves adapting the norms and views of the profession as well as developing a sense of identity that requires contextual experiences with community, and emphasized the negotiation process over time as they had to familiarize themselves with the resources, curriculum, and the school culture during a transitional period between their time as preservice teachers to inservice teachers (e.g. Beauchamp & Thomas, 2011; Hamman et al., 2010; Horn, Nolen, Ward, Campbell, 2008; Ward et al., 2011)

Much of the literature on teacher identity development omits the construct and element of race in much of the empirical base. The development of a teacher identity is widely studied, especially in regards to the identity development of White teachers teaching in urban schools with students of color, however, when studying teachers of color, one cannot disavow the racialized histories and experiences they bring into the classroom nor can one dismiss the resources they access and draw on in their school contexts to support those identities. Likewise, this study contributes to the literature on teachers of color in offering a situative perspective of their experiences that has not been explored. Though the role of context has been considered, the identity resources that contribute to teachers of colors' identity development and negotiation of

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their contexts is also worthy of understanding. The narratives of the teachers of color and their experiences center on their perceptions of the affordances and constraints within their contexts and how they navigate and negotiate their positionality in a profession dominated by White teachers.

The findings point to the importance of considering the ways in which contexts inform identity development. This study, in particular, adds in the dimension of racialized experiences as an integral part of that identity development in context. When thinking about schools, we are thinking about contexts with practices and ideologies developed by White teachers and White, middle class families and students. Because of the history of schools as institutions and as part of a system, it is important to consider the practices in the system that marginalizes students, families, and teachers of color. Without the consideration of those inequitable practices that are present in schools, it would be challenging to fully understand how teachers of color negotiate their roles and identities and inform their trajectories of identity and engagement as situated in those practices, especially as they are just entering their schools as novices.

The findings contribute to the literature in several domains: (1) considering the histories and perspectives of novice teachers of color and the ways in which those histories inform their perceived roles and practices in their racialized contexts, (2) understanding the ways in which teachers of color may access and draw on the supports and resources that align with their racialized identities, and (3) understanding the roles of affordances and constraints within their ever-shifting contexts in how teachers negotiate those identities.

How Teachers of Colors' Histories Inform their Perceived Roles and Practices in Context

The conceptual framework on racialized identities considers the interactions of the

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teacher of colors' historical, interpersonal, and contextual interpretations as an influence on their racialized identities (Nasir, 2012). This framework provided a heuristic to inform the data that centered on the participants' racialized histories and experiences and how they used them to inform their perceived roles and practices within their teaching contexts as they understood them. Nasir (2012) posits that racialized identities are important to consider in our racially stratified society, which is also deeply embedded in the history of schooling and how people of color have been positioned. In this study, I considered the teachers' histories-in-person (Holland et al., 2003) in negotiation with the contexts in which they found themselves working. The negotiation and shifts in the trajectories of their racialized identity development was in response to the tensions between those racialized histories and what they experienced in their schools.

Teachers of colors' racialized histories as situated in racialized contexts. A critical race perspective situates schools as part of a system that has been racially stratified, and each of the participants also had histories situated within those systems. Their racialized histories were formed through socialization within their communities, families, and schooling experiences (Nasir, 2012). Gist (2018), and Kohli's (2009; 2018) studies on teachers of color, using a critical race lens, claim that teachers of color are often more aware of the inequity in society and the educational system; they also report that teacher of color have experienced racism in their schools. Each of the participants spoke of how, at some point in their education, many of their peers and teachers did not look like them. Mya, specifically, spoke of being the only student of color in her school and teachers not taking the time to get to know her. Milo's parents had him attend a school out of his neighborhood so he could get a better education, but no one at that school looked like him. Hawa's teachers did not interact with her because they assumed she did

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not speak English, and Rachel reported growing up wanting to dismiss her Asian identity and was not aware that she was identified as and treated as a person of color until she was able to reflect on her experiences in her teaching program. While growing up, she was often the only person of color in her class and she reported that her teachers made assumptions about her abilities due to her race. These were examples of the teachers going through a school system that impacted them and positioned them in negative ways due to the allocation of resources to schools in better neighborhoods or assumptions that were made about them because they did not look like or behave like their White peers. Nasir's (2012) conceptualization of racialized identities specifies that individuals are socialized by their families, communities, and schools in how to think and talk about race. Each of the participants' histories and experiences included examples of how they were socialized in their schools to think about race and their positions in relation to their White peers, and based on the socialization in their schooling experiences, they articulated narratives of marginalization, stereotypes, and implicit bias and assumptions. This study contributes to the current literature on teachers of color and teacher identity development by showing how the racialized contexts in which teachers grew up informed their self-positioning in their current contexts. Holland and Lave (2001) explain that racial identities are built around the histories of relations with others and that power hierarchies and explicit and implicit biases and assumptions can influence these interactions. Within their contexts, their histories-in-person manifested themselves in different ways as their past experiences informed their current and future practices. Rachel wanted to make sure her students, who were mostly Spanish-speaking, were going to be proud of their linguistic and racial identities as she also recalled not being able to speak Japanese when she was in school. Thus, the negotiation of her

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racialized history of experiencing microaggressions, being told to leave her Japanese language out of the classroom, and the ways in which she was socialized to think and talk (or not talk) about race framed her sense of her role within her school context. For each of the teachers, it was the backdrop of their racialized histories of being marginalized or othered as students or from being connected to their communities that informed the different ways in which they felt they could navigate and negotiate their racialized identities within their schools. That same process also informed how they perceived the ability to enact the roles and practices they perceived for themselves.

Racialized histories informing the negotiation and redefining of roles. While the ways in which these teachers perceived their roles were framed by their racialized histories, those roles had to be redefined as they entered entering new contexts. Holland (2010) point out how individuals' histories-in-persons manifest in their figured worlds, meaning that identity development takes place when histories-in-person frame how individuals shape and are shaped by their practices and interactions in contentious practice. The teachers of color considered their histories-in-person in interaction with the practices, artifacts, and others within their figured worlds they positioned themselves in relation to those in their figured worlds. Holland (2010) also contend that as people engage in the activities associated with their figured world and learn its meanings, they become more attuned to the actions relevant to the those in that figured world. How the teachers' histories-in-person manifested themselves in their schools and practices seemed to be in reaction to the dominant scripts they saw playing out in their schools, but also in reaction to the roles imposed on them in those spaces. Wortham (2006) points out the connection of learning and identity development and how, using available social categories, individuals are

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given and take on specific roles and identities. In schools, roles are often predetermined and imposed, in part, by institutional labels. Those in power, or those who conduct the teacher evaluations, also define what it means to be a “good” or “strong” teacher. So, each of these novices were in a position to navigate how to redefine themselves as the teachers they wanted to be within their contexts so as long as they would not call attention to themselves and could “stay under the radar.” In many ways, “staying under the radar” infers how the teachers positioned themselves in relation to others in their schools, in relation to the institutionalized roles they perceived they had to conform to, and in relation to the curriculum and practices in their schools. This way in which they collectively reported feeling and positioning themselves in relation to others seemed to indicate a knowledge of and tension around what they perceived to be acceptable or not acceptable practices at their schools. What this tells us is that their perceptions of the White, dominant practices in their schools also positioned them to experience these tensions. What was happening with Milo and Mya, in particular, was that their shifting contexts also seemed to transform how they perceived and defined their roles. The trajectories of their engagement and identification with others and in their schools and the negotiation of their racialized identities informed and were informed by the shifting nature of their contexts. They each shifted their ways of engagement in response to changes in their relationships with others and in response to tensions within their schools. Wortham (2006) highlights the changing and transforming nature of identities within contexts. Earlier in the year, Mya described how she perceived her role to be a teacher who wanted to have deeper conversations about race with her students. Her racialized histories-in person informed this perceived role for herself in that issues of race were ignored in her own schooling and family experiences. At Saratoga, she perceived

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that teachers and families did not talk about race, so she did this behind closed doors. Later as her relationship with the principal shifted, Mya also perceived a shift in her agency to be more open about the practices that were important to her. For Milo and Mya, their perceived roles did not become untethered from their histories and identities as teachers of color, but evolved and were sometimes redefined in relation to the shifting nature of what was happening in their schools. This, in itself, complicates the trajectory of identity development in that novice teachers can go into their schools with idealized images of who they want to be as a teacher, but can feel constrained by how their ideals align with the schools' values. While this is consistent in the literature on novice teacher identity development, what this study also contributes is the notion that for teachers of color, the complication may be that their school contexts do not consider those histories as a resource for one's evolving practice. Further, teachers' racialized histories are also tethered to one's experiences extended in places like schools, which are also racialized. While previous work on teachers of color also considers their perceptions of their roles and practices as being informed by their histories and connection with their students of color, they do not situate these perceptions within the racialized contexts of schools. By understanding how these things are negotiated it opens the door to a deeper understanding & explorations of how all teacher identity is racialized and how we should attend more to the relationship between identity and context as dynamic processes in trying to get a handle on developing teachers with the capacities we want to foster. Using a situative and critical race lens that considers that racialized identities are developed and negotiated within racialized contexts provides a more nuanced perspective toward the literature on teacher identity development and teachers color.

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Identity Resources and Opportunities to Learn in Support of Teachers' Racialized Identities

In this study, I also wanted to understand how the participants accessed and made sense of the resources and opportunities to learn within their contexts.. A part of their trajectories of engagement and participation within their contexts included interactions with others and the resources within those contexts. In this study, those resources included material, relational, and ideational resources. Nasir (2012) postulates how learning and identity are cultural and social processes linked to the contexts in which they occur and they shift in relation to contexts, salience, local definitions, and opportunities; they involve social artifacts, are guided by social norms, and are engaged in as individuals seek to attain goals for themselves. As a result of these influencing factors, an individual's racialized identity also informs future participation, how they may make sense of and decide on the opportunities to learn as well as how they take up the resources provided to them within their contexts. While the scant literature on novice teachers of color focus on understanding the existing supports for teachers in their schools (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011), this study contributes to our understanding of how the teachers of color perceive and navigate the resources and opportunities to learn within their contexts to develop and negotiate their racialized identities. As mentioned in the previous section, the teachers' trajectories of engagement in the resources and opportunities to learn were also informed by how they negotiated their histories-in-person with the contentious practices within their schools.

The teachers in this study chose to access particular resources and opportunities to learn within their contexts that aligned with or helped them develop their racialized identities as teachers of color. When these resources or opportunities to learn were not available in their

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contexts, some of the teachers accessed them elsewhere. Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) conceptualize opportunities to learn as affordances for changing participation and practices, with affordances including the resources and practices of the systems, the individuals' access to those resources and practices, and the dispositions of the individual to participate in ways that supports their learning and identity development (Greeno & Gresalfi, 2008; Norman, 1998). What seems important and relevant to this study is that how one takes up opportunities to learn and engage in the practices in their contexts is also related to how one positions oneself or perceives their participation within their figured worlds (Holland et al., 2003). As novices and, in some cases, the only teacher of color on staff, the participants seemed to be cognizant of their positions in relation to others at their schools. This was evident in the way Rachel talked about being at a "provisional status" and the possibility of losing her job if she "sneezed the wrong way" or with Mya and Rachel being mindful of their positions as the only teachers of color at their schools. Mya was especially mindful of this when she mentioned that her colleagues might perceive her as "that Black teacher." These perceptions of their positions within their figured worlds also seemed to influence how they perceived their roles, which were tied to their perceptions around their agency to access particular resources as well as the opportunities to learn.

Material resources. Material resources are conceptualized as the tangible resources available to individuals within their contexts that support their identity development (Nasir, 2012). As individuals become more familiar with their schools and the practices within their figured worlds, they become attuned to the use of artifacts, practices, and the meanings associated with them (Holland, 2010). They also shape or shift their practices in response to their dispositions and sensitivities to these practices. In their schools, the teachers were each told to

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teach the literacy curriculum with fidelity and many of the texts they read were already predetermined by the curriculum, hence they perceived that opportunities for using other texts were not allowed. However, when their districts implemented “Black Lives Matter Week,” they took this opportunity to choose texts and teaching materials that reflected how they felt issues of race should be brought into the classrooms. Rachel chose texts about Ruby Bridges and Jackie Robinson and made sure to highlight the characters’ strength and courage despite what they faced as people of color. For her, highlighting race in her class was important because of the stigma around the topic of race when she was growing up. Mya highlighted the impact of the Children’s March and the power of youth when it comes to having a voice. She also accessed outside resources and websites focused on teaching issues of social justice in schools. Some of these resources revolved around how to bring cohesiveness to the school community around storytelling or how to talk about race in her classroom. Mya also attended a conference on teaching for social justice, from which she took back ideas to talk, not only about her Blackness, but how to validate different ways that students would talk about their own identities. Because Mya often seemed to choose resources and opportunities to learn that were not situated within her school, and because the resources and opportunities she sought out were related to her identity as a Black teacher or in teaching issues about race, this indicates how schools, as institutions, still seem to avoid conversations around these very issues that relate to inequities and the opportunity gaps within their schools. These resources seemed to be aligned to how Mya saw herself as a teacher of color, though she also had to navigate how to use them in a context where other teachers and parents were not comfortable talking about issues of race and social justice. In this case, there is a navigation and negotiation around how Mya perceived her

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positioning in relation to her histories-in-person as well as the practices that were embedded in her school. Knowing that her conversations about race were not a part of the scripts within her figured world also positioned her to react to her circumstances by keeping those conversations behind closed doors. Holland (2010) talks about histories-in-person as a crossroads between structure and agency, but in Mya's case, the structures did not afford her agency to act in ways that aligned with her racialized identity.

Relatedly, how the teachers perceived flexibility in how resources could be accessed or used also seemed to influence how their racialized identities were negotiated. Rachel shared that the students really enjoyed the lessons she taught during Black Lives Matter Week or during Martin Luther King Jr. Day, but also went back to teaching from the curriculum in order to stay on schedule with her colleagues. Both Rachel and Kara, an instructional coach at Overland, reported that the school had a fairly strict schedule for the teachers when it came to their academic instruction, so Rachel felt constrained by this. Because she also spoke of being nervous as a first year teacher, she felt limited and several times said that if her principal said she had to do something, she would have to do it. This is an example of her perceived position in the school in relation to how she also perceived her agency to choose particular resources to inform her teaching. The absence of the material resources she felt she needed to develop her racialized identity seemed to play a role in how she negotiated her identity in relation to her practices as well. Though both Mya and Rachel were both the only teachers of color at their schools, they positioned themselves in different ways in relation to their colleagues, to the curriculum, and what they were allowed to use. Rachel did not perceive her colleagues to have a lens of social justice teaching and she was also trying to keep up with her four grade level teammates while

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Mya had developed a relationship with three colleagues in particular, and she reported connecting with them around issues of disrupting the status quo at Saratoga. Thus, the process by which the teachers accessed material resources came with their perceptions around the agency they had or did not have to use them in the ways in which they wanted to; the process was also mediated by their perceptions or their roles and positions in their contexts with their grade level team members. When it came to accessing outside material resources, they perceived agency in being able to do this on their own time. However, using and implementing some of the resources came with their perceptions around the restrictions within their contexts, including accountability to the curriculum and to teaching schedules. The ways in which the teachers framed their engagement and interactions with and use of their material resources was mediated by their perceptions of how they were positioned by others and how they also positioned themselves in relation to their colleagues as well as the practices in their schools. As novice teachers of color, their perceptions of how they were positioned by others as teachers of color seemed to also mediate their feelings of agency to veer from the mandated and institutionalized curriculum.

Vygotsky's (1978) contribution to learning was the idea that tools and artifacts mediate learning and identity development; they help with mediating human activity and also help us understand the world around us. In the case of these teachers, curriculum, testing, district materials, trainings, and classroom texts were common tools and artifacts seen and used in the schools. They are designed to help teachers become better at their practice and, in some cases, standardize teaching and learning. However, when considering issues of race and power, many of the tools and resources used to mediate learning and identity also wield power in different

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ways. Language and curriculum, in particular have power embedded in them. In Rachel's case, she was assigned to teach a Sheltered English Language Learners class with a majority of students being English Language Learners, so the training she sought out was related to teaching her particular group of students. Because she was required to teach from the district-mandated curriculum, she reported feeling constrained by this lack of flexibility when it came to allowing her students to speak and read in Spanish. A critical race lens allows us to critique the ways in which the educational system enforces and enculturates the dominant lens into our schools, classrooms, and resources. This lens also helps us understand how these institutionalized resources impose particular roles and practices that silence the voices and ignore experiences of teachers of color.

Relational resources. Each teacher referred to the relational resources in their schools most often when it came to how they negotiated and developed their racialized identities throughout the year. However, the ways in which these relational resources were available to them also shifted as did the circumstances within their schools. Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) discuss how identities and trajectories of engagement and participation not only include one's identification with practices and materials, but also with others in contexts. The figured worlds of schools also contain discourses that are valued and also entails coordination with others (Holland, 2010). Each of the teachers had opportunities to engage with staff and grade level colleagues and positioned themselves in relation to their practices and discourse. The resources they referred to were people who supported them with ideas as a novice teacher, but also people whom they could trust and connect with at their schools. For some of them, it was their first year mentor teachers whom they could talk to about the negative dynamics in their schools and

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receive advice about self-care. For others, it was colleagues who shared a similar lean towards changing the inequitable practices at their schools. Mya aligned herself well with Brandon, who, in his interview, talked about the White, normative thinking that seemed to be a part of the school culture. It was with him, her grade level teammate, and another novice who had also graduated from her program whom she confided in when trying to navigate her position and identity at the school. She saw them as White allies with whom she could engage in the challenging conversations about race and power in their school. Later, Mya was able to connect with a group of teachers of color in the region with whom it was important for her to talk about the “issues of tokenism as being a teacher of color in a profession dominated by White people.” The lack of this particular relational resource at her school prompted her to look for them elsewhere. Milo also expressed a similar sentiment when he expressed a desire for more connections with other people of color in his school. This idea of connecting with an affinity group of people of color has a lot of implications on how teachers of color may position themselves at their schools, especially if they are the only teacher of color. This relational resource or opportunity was not afforded to her at Saratoga, so she went outside to find it. Holland et al., (2003) and Wenger (1998) consider how the ways in which individual’s position themselves in relation to the practices and resources in their contexts can shape their trajectories of engagement and participation within their contexts. Holland et al. (2003), in particular, talks about the extent that identifies with their figured worlds relies, to some extent, on one’s history-in-person and how it is manifested in social practice. Throughout the year, Mya mentioned the tensions she negotiated between the practices within her school and how she perceived herself as a teacher to her students. She positioned herself as having a different lens to teaching than many

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of the teachers due to being the only teacher of color on staff and having a social justice lens. Her history-in-person also came into conflict with how she viewed the curriculum and practices in her school. Due to these tensions, Mya accessed resources outside of her context to align her practices with the teacher she wanted to be.

Teachers' perceptions of their relationships with their principals were also noted. Some of the changes in those perceptions seemed to be related to how much the teacher felt the principals' values aligned with theirs. Milo named an initial connection with his principal in the beginning of the year and how he appreciated that she was also a person of color and also had a strong passion for social justice practices, but as the year progressed and there was a perceived lack of support due to her impending departure from her role as principal, this impacted the dynamics and culture of the school. This shift in dynamics and perceived lack of support from his principal (as well as a perceived lack of support from his colleagues) also seemed to shift his perception of his position at his school. While he initially saw himself as an asset as a teacher of color in the beginning of the year, he later began to question his growth as a novice and a teacher of color because what he once perceived as relational resources for his development in the building were now absent. Mya, on the other hand, experienced a shift in her perceptions of and relationship with the principal. Her perceptions of how the principal perceived her also shifted, so when Mya realized her principal had confidence in her as a teacher and developed a greater understanding for why her principal made certain decisions that she once perceived as hurtful, there was a corresponding shift in her confidence and voice as the one teacher of color at Saratoga. At that point, Mya felt she could see her principal as someone from whom she didn't have to "hide" anymore.

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Rachel's development of her racialized identity played itself out in a different way in that she found herself at a larger school where she reported that no one really knew one another or didn't know what was going in the school. Everyone seemed isolated into their grade level teams and hallways, thus Rachel's positioning seemed to be on the periphery and, as a novice, she perceived that complying with what the administrators would want was what might be best for her, especially after seeing another first year colleague get let go halfway through the year. As a teacher of color, though Rachel's access of resources aligned with her racialized identity and were accessed when she perceived she had agency to do so, they were often framed in terms of her future participation and what she wanted to do more of in the following year. The ways in which Rachel positioned herself and accessed resources seemed to be in alignment with what she felt her administrators would want for her and at the end of the year, she wrapped up the year by describing herself as "the teacher she did not want to be." Navigating these tensions became a complex process in her development in terms of how she positioned herself and saw herself as part of her community and context. These narratives are telling of the layered process that came with how the teachers navigated their identities as novices and as teachers of color. Just as they perceived particular institutionalized roles were imposed on them, so was the sentiment about the resources localized in their contexts. Nasir (2012) uses her ideas of identity resources in contexts to support identity development, thus highlighting the importance of allow teachers of color to write themselves into their practices and allowing them to take on roles they can claim as their own rather than imposed by the district or school. Along with the teachers being situated within their schools, the practices and resources that are often valued in them are likewise embedded in broader sociopolitical contexts. Within these contexts, it is important to consider how the

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teachers' individual racialized identities played out differently as a Black, mixed race teacher, or as an Asian American/Pacific Islander in their schools. For example, Mya mentioned trying to be very intentional when trying to think about how her class and the school should learn and do during a week dedicated to the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement. With her own racialized identity in mind and in thinking about her desire to have conversations around race with her students, she also mentioned being disappointed in the way it was superficially discussed at her school while Milo had discussion with students each day about the significance of BLM. Because it was a district decision to bring attention to the BLM movement, and schools had agency to decide how to implement it within their own buildings, this resource was situated within the broader district level decisions as well as conversations in the context of anti-Blackness and social justice in education. At Saratoga, Mya perceived that teachers did not have intentional discussions about how to bring it into their curriculum, while at Valley Oak, where there was a large Black student population, the Black principal informed families and the staff that discussions around the BLM were going to be weaved into class discussions and activities. So, though Mya and Milo were working in the same district, the ways they both viewed this as a resource was not only framed by their racialized identities, but also by those racialized identities in the contexts that may or may not have valued these critical conversations about race and education.

Teachers of Colors' Negotiation of their Racialized Identities in Context

The discussion of the last finding positions the individual in relation to the resources and opportunities to learn within their contexts. However, contexts are ever-shifting, and identities must be renegotiated. Holland et al. (1998) describes identities as constantly developing, and

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each of the teachers navigated this process in very nuanced and complex ways. The teachers' trajectories of engagement and participation within their contexts as well as how they positioned themselves in relation to their colleagues, the resources, and the practices in their schools informed the ways in which they also negotiated their racialized identities. What this study adds to the literature on teacher identity development and teachers of color is that each of the findings point back to the role of their school contexts in shaping their racialized identities and their trajectories of engagement and participation in their schools. I have discussed how the ways in which the teachers positioned themselves as novices and as teachers of color on their staff informed many of the ways their negotiation process took place. Looking at teacher identity development without considering teachers' racialized identities dismisses the understanding of how they may position themselves as racialized beings within their contexts. In taking a sociocultural perspective, learning is reconceptualized from something housed in an individual's head to changes in participation and engagement (Boaler & Greeno, 2000; Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nasir, 2012; Wortham, 2006). When contexts are shifting, so does the teacher of color's negotiation of their racialized identities and their perceptions of their positions in relation to those shifting contexts. In this study, I considered identities as one of the ways the teachers mediated participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Nasir, 2012) and looked at identity as not just a static identification, but as changes in practice. These changes in practice were related to the ways they positioned themselves as members of their school communities and with that, included emotions and feelings of support, yet also isolation. In cases of isolation, the teachers had to re-evaluate and renegotiate their positions in their schools, which also shifted their trajectories of engagement and participation with the practices, resources, and others within their contexts.

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Wenger (1998) states that our engagement, alignment, and identification with contexts all contribute to our membership in a community, which, in combination with ownership of meaning, builds one's identity. Nasir (2012), explored these concepts further, pointing out that alignment acts as a way individuals coordinate action across communities of practice and that alignment demonstrates and generates one's identity, their participation shifting as they align with (or move away from) a community. This was observed in how Milo and Mya's trajectories and alignment with and participation in their school communities shifted in nuanced ways. Viewing identity development as an interaction between individuals and their contexts can help us recognize the ways in which educational structures define and frame success and failure for the teachers. In also using a critical race perspective, this study recognizes identity development within the constraints of educational structures that are also embedded with issues of racism.

In the beginning of the year, each of the teachers positioned themselves in their schools where they saw themselves as an asset to their students. For example, Milo saw himself racially identifying with many of the students and families and found this connection to be an advantage to him whereas Rachel saw herself as an asset to the school and district as the only teacher of color on her staff. She noted that it looked good for the "diversity" of the district. This positioning in relation to their contexts and their school communities seemed to validate their choices for teaching at the schools they chose to teach at; they saw themselves as teachers who would be able to have stronger connections with their students of color and families due to possible shared experiences and histories as people of color. Each of their personal histories and experiences as former students informed the way they perceived their roles, but because they were also navigating and learning about their different contexts, they each had to be mindful of

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how those identities and perceived roles could be enacted in the present. Mya spent a great deal of time providing background information about the dynamics and school culture at Saratoga, and her perception of that information seemed to impact the enactment of the roles and practices she perceived for herself as a teacher. While figuring it out, she responded by keeping her door closed and under the radar, as Rachel also expressed. What happened behind the closed doors seemed to reflect practices that came out the teachers' histories-in-person. For Mya, that history included being sent out of the classroom a lot and not addressing issues of race and racism in her life. So, while it seemed like she was initially limiting her participation and interactions with colleagues and families, behind closed doors, Mya wanted to make sure her students, particularly her students of color, did not experience what she had experienced as a student of color. Thus while race was not addressed by other teachers or families, it was important for her to address it in her class. Outside of the classroom, she was going through a process of figuring out her position in relation to others at her site. The "others" were the White teachers, her administration, and the parents whom she perceived held a lot of power. This negotiation outside of her room came in the form of feeling like she "didn't want to be found out" by others or the admin, or by feeling uneasiness when she displayed pictures outside of her classroom that represented who she was as a Black teacher. However, inside her classroom, the negotiation process seemed to look different. Because it was important for her to develop close relationships with her students and she was able to do this, she viewed her position in a different light when it came to her students. Using this ideational and relational resource, the community she developed in her classroom seemed to position her to feel comfortable having the conversations about race or identity in ways she felt she could not outside of her classroom. This was similar to Milo's

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experience in that he initially positioned himself as an asset and valuable member to his school community due to his relationships with his principal and colleagues, but over time, as the dynamics within his context began to change, so did the ways in which he positioned himself in relation to those same people. He, like Mya, spoke of trying to focus on what was going on inside of his room when it was “chaotic outside.” So, while he was starting to feel more marginalized as the novice teacher of color on his staff, he still held on to what he had already established in terms of the relationships and practices he had developed in his classroom as a means to “get through the school year.”

This interaction between the ways in which the teachers positioned themselves and how they negotiated their identities aligns with Holland and colleagues’ (1998) idea of figured worlds and how one’s identity is afforded or constrained by one’s position and context (Holland et al., 1998). In figured worlds, individuals are often aware of their roles and what practices are valued in particular contexts. From the beginning of the year, the teachers initially perceived their practices and roles to be aligned with those of the schools’, but over time, through interactions, through changes within their schools, and through a greater understanding of the structures, the teachers had to renegotiate what it meant to be a teacher of color within their contexts and how they saw themselves positioned within their schools by the end of the year. For some, like Mya and Milo, in particular, the process of negotiating and renegotiating their racialized identities came with greater understandings and reflections of how, throughout their lives, the different contexts in which they interacted afforded or constrained those processes in the past and how they might afford or constrain continued negotiation in the future. Because of this, it is also important to emphasize that their process of negotiation and development also extended beyond

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the contexts of their school buildings. Mya and Milo both mentioned the affordances and constraints of the communities of the schools they attended themselves, and they also mentioned the impact and role of the communities on Valley Oak and Saratoga. With that, is important to consider the nested nature of schools situated in communities. For Mya, this was evident in her naming the perceived issues of power that came with Saratoga being a school serving students with a great deal of income diversity.

The teachers' narratives speak to the ways in which they positioned themselves within the structures of their schools. With Rachel being in a school known for their "systems and procedures," or with Mya being in a school where the wealthier White families had a lot of power in decision-making, they also had to navigate how they positioned themselves in relation to existing practices in their schools. The perceptions of their agency to challenge certain practices also seemed to play a role in their racialized identity development, as we saw with Mya speaking out at her staff meeting about the test scores of their Black students. The role that agency had in shaping and developing teachers' identities has a connection to the ways in which they position themselves within educational contexts. From a socio-cultural and/or situative theoretical perspective (Nolen & Ward, 2008), the teachers had perceptions of their roles and positions within figured worlds (Holland, 2003). In that sense, their involvement in these worlds and their identification with them was not a passive experience. Exploring identity through this lens focuses on participation, "especially our agency, in socially produced, culturally constructed activities" (Holland et al., 2003, p. 40). Thinking about identity in this way allows for both the contributions of context and also individual choice in response to the context. The teachers each had perceptions about how much agency they had to enact particular practices and much of those

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perceptions were informed by how they also positioned themselves in their contexts.

The findings also suggest that the ways in which the participants' found themselves to participate and engage in their figured worlds were a part of the some of the tensions they navigated and negotiated over time. It also seemed that there were tensions between their identities and the system, which Gist (2018) found can occur when people of color occupy a non-dominant position in society. In this case, it was in their schools. The teachers seemed to struggle with disassociating their personal beliefs about education from the realities and barriers they found themselves facing, in part, due to the fact that it had some implications on their own perceived roles and pursuits as teachers of color. Participation within their contexts entailed both conformity and alienation from standards and values that seem of to be function of the knowledge their contexts represented. In the end, it was found that the contrasting shifts in Milo and Mya's participation were also centered around their interpretations and perceptions of the staff dynamics. Milo seemed to begin to isolate himself while Mya seemed to find her voice and a place to become an active and engaged member of her school. She was aware that she was not going to agree with everyone's practices, but she still declared that this was "where she was supposed to be and wanted to continue to be "a member of the school community." In holding to this lens, the participants racialized identity development trajectories reflected what Wenger (1998) describe as 1) the teachers sense (or lack) of belonging and value in their schools, 2) alignment or misalignment with the values and practices in the structures of the school, and 3) an imagination of what their roles and practices could be through their personal history and lenses. The teachers' identity development entailed a negotiation of meanings that existed within a broader structure of schooling and the negotiability of that identity seemed to refer to the extent

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to which they were able to modify and claim their own meanings that mattered to them (Wenger, 1998). In other words, each of these teachers brought with them cultural norms, expectations, and ways of being that either aligned or conflicted with the context of their schools. Thus the ways in which the teachers of color negotiated and renegotiated their identities seemed to follow a trajectory that included stories of their histories, their present experiences in their contexts, as well as how they saw themselves as teachers in the future. How they perceived their contextual affordances and constraints allowed these trajectories to play out in different ways throughout the year.

Implications

Implications for Teacher Education

This study emphasizes the complexity around teachers' racialized identities; each had complex, multidimensional, and dynamic histories and stories that were enacted out in different ways as they navigated their school contexts. For some of the teachers, while in their teacher education programs, they had opportunities to interrogate and reflect on their histories prior to entering their first classrooms as well as finding support in other colleagues and peers of color through racial caucusing or conversations with others about the implications of their racialized identities in relation to their future students. Another implication is the need for a presence of faculty of color. Many teacher education programs reflect what is seen in schools in that the staff in many colleges of education are also White. When there is a lack of faculty of color, the teacher candidates of color may continue to just see their presence as the token preservice teachers of color and a more diverse perspective around what they bring to the profession may be absent or ignored. Relational resources were also important for the participants to navigate their

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first year. Once preservice teachers graduate, it is easy to feel isolated at their different schools. If preservice teachers of color are given opportunities to network and be mentored by local inservice teachers early on, they will have these resources to hold onto as they enter the profession.

In examining many of the resources used in schools, they wield power. With this in mind, it is important for teacher educators to provide opportunities for preservice teachers to reflect on their schooling histories, resources, and opportunities provided to them and to think about how those opportunities and resources afforded them privilege and success in their schooling experiences. For preservice teachers of color, it is important for them to reflect on the same things, but the space to do so and framing their conversations might look different from those given to White preservice teachers.

In this study, it was important for the teachers in this study to make sure the curriculum was relevant to their students' lives, but perceived that they could not be flexible with what they were allowed to teach. They talked about having to rationalize their decisions and have data to back up practices or to prove themselves. They saw issues of power and irrelevance in the curriculum when students' languages and lives were not represented. If preservice teachers are given opportunities to evaluate and critique curriculum and school policies early on, then will they have stronger rationales for their practices and decisions for the following year.

While teacher education programs do not always have control over where their teachers find jobs, it is likely that preservice teachers of color may end up being the only teacher of color on their staff. While preparing them for the specific contexts in which they will work would be a challenge, having conversations with preservice teachers about researching their schools and

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districts prior to applying would be an essential one to have as questions about the community, the role of families, or even knowing the racial diversity of the staff may be important to know. Many preservice teachers often take the first job they are offered, as Rachel reported. Preservice teachers should be afforded time and opportunities to speak with inservice teachers of color at different schools to understand the contextual affordances and constraints they face, and what might be useful to know if they find themselves to be the only teacher of color at their site. It is also important for teacher educators and field instructors to be familiar with and to have partnerships with the different contexts in which they place their preservice teachers. This would include knowledge of the district, schools, and communities as well consistent conversations with school administrators.

Implications for Administrators

Teachers of colors' histories and experiences cannot be essentialized and this can be damaging when administrators or colleagues assume that because people of color have similar experiences, the teacher of color can be the one who interacts with the students and families of color. There must be caution against using a reductionist approach to the role and identities of teachers of color in relation to students of color as it simplifies the relationships between individuals based on racial affiliation alone.

The histories they all recalled also seemed to influence the roles they perceived for themselves. As novice teachers, there is often the anxiety of being "found out" or that if one did not comply, they would lose their positions. The findings point to how when novice teachers, in particular, are afforded opportunities to have agency and flexibility around what they may perceive to be imposed roles and practices, they may feel they have more control over what

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resources and learning opportunities they choose to take up. For teachers of color, sometimes those roles are centered on advocacy for students and families and navigating a system that they and their families also had to navigate and sometimes they are focused on fostering relationships with their students that go beyond the four walls of the classroom. It is critical for administrators to not only validate, but to also build relationships with their teachers of color so their histories and practices can be seen as resources.

As articulated by the teachers, having a support network of teachers of color was important as a relational resource that they did not have, yet appreciated having (Cote and Levine, 2002; Nasir, 2012). It is a way for teachers of color to continue developing and strengthening their identities as teachers of color. Likewise, each participant was paired with a first year mentor to support them throughout the year, however each was paired with a White mentor. While each of their mentors were named as being a helpful resource to them, it would be important to consider the implications of being paired with a veteran teacher of color.

Administrators seem to have a great deal of influence over the school culture and cohesiveness among the staff and community. A high turnover of administration also impacts school culture and supports that teachers experience. If principals want to be relied on as competent and supportive leaders of a school, an evaluation of supports for administration would be important. In this study, the ways in which the principals supported and provided resources for teachers seemed to influence the perceptions of the participants in this study. When teachers of color feel like their goals and practices are supported by their administration, they feel like their practices are not put into question. Building community and cohesiveness among staff from the beginning of the school year is critical in the retention of teachers of color. It is important for

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teachers of color to feel that their school leaders are not just another part of the system that they need to challenge in order to be heard. As novices, there is a desire for consistency, structure and clear expectations, but when those are not clearly and explicitly articulated and modeled by administrators and colleagues, it is easy for them to feel alone in trying to figure things out. As teachers of color, there is also a need for them to feel empowered and to have their voices be a part of the decisions that are made in their schools. When those voices are not validated, especially when there are not many teachers of color on staff, then they also start to feel isolated in their views and practices. Previous research also tells these same stories of isolation among teachers of color, so this study further adds emphasis to the changes that school leaders and administrators must be intentional about when it comes to retaining teachers of color on their staff.

When it comes to examining curriculum, opportunities and conversations with teachers regarding the cultural relevance and responsiveness of mandated curriculum should be part every day conversations, especially in relation to the student population. With those conversations, it would be important to consider where teachers can be flexible and giving them trust to make those decisions according to their every day knowledge of their students and their academic needs.

Implications for Systemic Change

It is important to recognize the role of race and racism that has been embedded in our school systems and it is practices stemming from those systems that have made its way into macro to microsystem decisions in our teachers and students' lives. Building up teacher leaders of color could be a first step when thinking about what it could mean to have more diverse voices

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in deciding on and implementing new district policies. Some of the ways for this to happen might include having teachers of color as part of hiring committees or asking for diverse perspectives around policy decisions that may directly impact students of color. Another step is for teachers of color to be a part of the process of scrutiny over district curriculum, testing, and support systems to make sure practices are equitable. Lastly, providing avenues and mentorship for students of color to feel successful and relevant in that often times, students of colors' stories in education include not being seen or being disciplined or treated unfairly by teachers or school administration. When students of color are able to feel relevant and valuable in the school through policies and in relationships, they may consider teaching as a profession themselves.

When considering resources and opportunities to learn, what is important to consider is how schools and educators use these tools and language, as imposed by district leaders and curriculum writers, to impose the dominant language and normative practices on teachers of color, especially when working with students and families of color. The teachers also mentioned the constraints that came with having to teach the curriculum to fidelity, and some of those constraints included feeling like they could not choose texts that reflected the students in their classrooms. Their sentiments align with the research on how teachers of color are often more likely to teach in more culturally responsive ways and that students of color respond more when teachers teach alternative perspectives on curriculum and pedagogy (Carrasco, Vera, & Cazden, 1981; Nieto, 2002; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). Given these opportunities, then could conversations about disrupting the status quo occur. Because some of the participants also accessed identity resources and opportunities to learn that were outside of their contexts, it would be important to consider the wealth of resources that communities or even community based organizations may

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offer to teachers.

The study also situates identity development in school contexts where the teachers interacted with other staff, parents, and administrators. Power is also embedded in relationships and is related to how the teachers of color positioned themselves as novices and as teachers of color on their staff. There was perceived power when they spoke about their relationships with veteran teachers, parents who had resources to influence decisions at the schools, and administrators as leaders of their schools. Issues of power and hierarchy are an inherent part of school systems, but because the teachers of colors' histories in their own schooling experiences exposed them to these structures first hand, they seemed to be more cognizant of their positioning in relation to others. When so many administrators and school leaders are often White, it is important for them to be mindful of the histories and racialized experiences of their teachers of color and the implications for some of the demands and responsibilities that might be imposed on them, especially when interacting with students or families of color.

Acknowledging that schools and the curriculum, opportunities, relationships, and resources within them have embedded issues of power in them is important. Once those power structures are interrogated, then the barriers for students and teachers of color can then be dismantled.

Quiocho and Rios (2000) summarized their literature review by reporting, "Once minority group members have their credentials, they face discrimination in employment practices, culturally discontinuous school climates and taboos about raising issues of racism, lack of promotion opportunities, and failure of others to recognize their leadership skills" (p. 522).

Many of these factors that teachers of color often face were already experienced by these

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novice teachers of color in their first year of teaching, and with much of the research conducted on more veteran teachers of color, we know these issues continue to be persist and are experienced by teachers of color. Many of these issues are rooted in a system that, historically, has not valued the work, the perspectives, the histories, and the practices of teachers of color. With a call for diversity in the teaching force, we are seeing more concerted efforts in recruitment and retention, but the issues of inequity and whose voices are valued within school contexts and decision-making structures still persist. Teachers of colors' histories in schooling are deeply tied to the contexts that shaped their socialization experiences as well as their views about issues of race and education. Since many of them are choosing to be in the profession to prevent many of their students from being negatively impacted by that same system tells us that their interpretation of the system has not changed much. Hence, continued analysis and interrogation of school structures, curriculum, policies, and decisions is critical for change to happen. With a critical race lens, an acknowledgement of race as a part of schools and those underlying structures within them is the first step.

Strengths and Limitations

In order to understand, in depth, the process of novice teachers of colors' racialized identity development in the contexts of their first year of employment, this study focused on a small sample of cases. While a larger sample might afford particular features of the teachers' experiences, such as understanding how they navigate relationship or the curriculum, it was important for me to understand the teachers' processes of navigating their diverse contexts in relation to their histories and positions as novice teachers of color.

This study also lasted during their first year of teaching in order to understand their

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experiences as they perceived them coming straight out of their teacher education programs.

This only provided one snapshot into a process of racialized identity development that will most likely take place over the trajectory of their careers. While there is more to explore in terms of the teachers' long term racialized identity development, it was also important to capture how their histories and perceptions of their roles coming out of their programs would be enacted in their first year and how much of their contexts afforded those opportunities to do so. I also looked at their first year of teaching as a situated moment in their development as novices and as racialized beings. The data also did not reveal the ideational resources that the participants were able to access within their contexts. More observations in their contexts would have afforded more opportunities to have gleaned that information.

The schools had also experienced a number of changes in terms of staff and principal turnover prior to the study, which was a contextual constraint for the teachers, but it was also an influencing factor on how the teachers navigated their spaces and provided many implications for structural changes and practices. This is telling of the long- term impacts that come with shifting contexts and the impacts on teacher identity development.

Another limitation was that each of my participants graduated from two different teacher education programs from the same university. This did not afford opportunities to understand the influence of other teacher preparation programs on how teachers' perceive roles and practices.

Related to this was the consideration of my positionality as an instructor and field coach in the two programs from which the teachers graduated. While I did not teach or coach any of them while they were in their programs, they were aware of my positionality within those programs. Throughout the study, I was also intentional about my own identity as an Asian

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American teacher of color and the implications on my analysis. I wanted to be careful to not allow my experiences unconsciously bias my data collection or analysis. I was intentional in grounding the analysis on the narratives and actions of the participants.

Lastly, because of the nature of the study and not being able to full understanding of the contexts in which the participants were working, I could not make causal claims or generalizations about teachers of colors' racialized experiences and their contexts. However, this will add to the literature on the resources teachers of color access and the situative nature of identity development as a teacher of color in racialized spaces.

Directions for Future Research

There is much more to consider when examining the different ways that teachers of color navigate and negotiate their identities within their school contexts. The teachers, while in their first year, were navigating the tensions within their schools while also forming perceptions based on what they observed or what they were hearing. Some of their perceptions also changed as they learned more about their schools and the existing dynamics. It would be worthy to continue exploring how they continued to navigate their contexts beyond the first year. Though a number of studies have conducted research on more seasoned teachers of color, understanding their trajectories in a more longitudinal sense from their time as a novice might give us a more in-depth look into their continued identity development.

The teachers also spoke of their interactions with others on staff as part of some of the tensions they were navigating. In many of the interviews with the participants, they spoke of having more of a lens on social justice or restorative justice than some of their colleagues or disagreeing with some of the colleagues' practices. Exploring teachers of colors' lenses and

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conceptualizations of social justice and equity work in relation to how their White colleagues perceive the work could provide more information on how teachers think about and do the work of social justice, especially when working with students of color.

Administrators also bring in their own experiences around the profession that may be informed by their histories, experiences in schools as students, teachers, and as leaders. It would be worthy to explore how administrative leaders of color may foster school cultures and support for their teachers of color on staff and to understand how they also negotiate practices of the system with local practices in their schools.

Lastly, because the participants conveyed a desire to have a supportive network of teachers of color, it would be worthwhile to look at the efficacy and impact of support when teachers of color are able to collaborate with and come together in solidarity around the challenges in the profession. Mya was able to find that supportive network for herself outside of the school and often explored supplemental curriculum and resources to align with her role to be a teacher focused on social justice and relationships. What I did not get to explore was how she followed through on using these resources and what the outcomes were. Identifying how teachers of color choose and use these outside resources would be helpful in understanding how to better support them and the dispositions they bring into the classroom.

Conclusion

Earlier in Chapter 1, I clarified my decision to use the term “teacher of color” rather than “minority teacher” or “minoritized teacher.” The latter terms position teachers of color in relation to the norm, or in this case, the White teachers who make up around 80% of our teaching workforce. In acknowledging that race and racism are embedded into our school system, the

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ways in which many teachers of color think about their roles, practices, dispositions, and identities as teachers will always be “in relation” to the dominant practices inherent in our schools. It is evident in curriculum, the way language is used, and even in the school policies around discipline and what is deemed as “appropriate or good behavior.” When students or teachers don’t fit the normative ways of practice or behavior in schools, they often have two choices: (1) they are reprimanded, or (2) they comply. This multiple case study explored how four teachers of color negotiated their racialized identities in relation to the tensions and supports within their school contexts. The findings provided insight into the complex and multidimensional ways in which histories, identifications, and positioning play into the dynamic nature and trajectory of their racialized identities. Those trajectories included stories of their pasts, interpretations of their present, and imaginations of their futures. While this can be true for all teachers, for teachers of color, issues of race could not be untethered from their stories.

We can see that this study and those that came before this, continue to highlight the critical need to not only diversifying the teaching workforce, but in honoring and supporting what teachers of color have to contribute to our education system. Without the histories and stories they bring in as former students of color, they might not be able to reach students of color in ways that many of their White colleagues may be able to, nor without their strong ties to their communities, would they not be able to advocate for students and families in ways that are meaningful to them. While I cannot dismiss that White teachers can also play powerful roles in their students lives, it is time to decenter Whiteness and normative practices in our schools that histories of practices and curriculum has been predicated.

Sharing these narratives and histories were just one move in giving the teachers of colors’

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voices a platform, but moving forward and tackling the ways in which our systemic and structural policies will be the greatest challenge. Our highest priority should be in continuing to meet the needs of students of color and addressing the opportunity and achievement gap, and as Achinstein, Ogawa, and Sexton (2010) emphasize, that means heeding the “democratic imperative” and making sure more teachers of color are recruited, retained, and supported in the system that has always challenged them.

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FROM COMPLIANCE TO CONFIDENCE: NEGOTIATING RACIALIZED IDENTITIES AS
NOVICE TEACHERS OF COLOR

Appendices

Appendix A. Letter to the Participants

Dear New Teacher,

Hello and congratulations on the completion of your teacher education program and the start of your new career! What an exciting transition!

My name is Nathanie Lee and I am a doctoral candidate in the Learning Science and Human Development department in the College of Education at the University of Washington. I am contacting you because I am looking for first year teachers of color for my dissertation study.

I am a former elementary school teacher who taught in the public school for ten years. I am also a Chinese American and that identity played a role in the way that I interacted with those in my school- whether they were administrators, colleagues, parents, or students. I truly believe that as teachers of color, that identity has some implications for our practices- whether they are explicit or implicit in nature.

I am interested in studying the racialized identities of first-year teachers of color as many of us make pedagogical decisions that may be based on our personal histories in schooling. Participants must be self-identified teachers of color who will be spending the first year of their teaching career in diverse public elementary schools.

As a participant in this study, you will be asked to participate in one focus group interview and two individual interviews over the course of the year. I will be asking questions related to your schooling experiences, how you perceive your role to be in your school, and also how you are navigating the context in which you are working.

The study will take place over the academic school year of 2017-2018. Your identity will be completely confidential. I, as the researcher, will be the only one who will know your identity. It will never be revealed or published. You will be identified with a pseudonym when needed.

The significance of your participation in this study would be working towards equity in public schooling and also in a greater and deeper understanding of how teacher education programs and school administrators can retain and support their teachers of color.

You can contact me via e-mail or phone with the following information or you may return the below form in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope.

 Name _____
 Phone Number _____
 E-mail address _____

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Race with which you identify _____
Public School where are teaching _____ Grade level _____

Thank you,
Nathanie Lee
nalee@uw.edu
530-902-1611

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NOVICE TEACHERS OF COLOR

Appendix B. Teacher Interview 1 Protocol

Preamble: Thank you for spending some time with me today. As you know, the purpose of my research is to understand your experiences as a novice teacher of color. You have already signed a consent form when we conducted the focus group, but I want to remind you that all that you share with me is shared in confidence and your name will not be identified in the study. I will also ask your permission to audio record this interview and if there is any moment when you are uncomfortable or would like to stop the interview, please let me know.

- 1) Since you are now aware of the purpose of my study, how would you racially identify?
- 2) How is your first year of teaching going so far?
- 3) Was teaching your own class what you expected it to be when you graduated from your teaching program?
- 4) Tell me about your own schooling experiences as a student growing up? (Can prompt: to what extent did being a person of color have a bearing on those experiences?) How did your teachers interact with you or your family?
- 5) How do you feel about your preparation in terms of being a teacher of color? Were there elements of the program that you felt spoke to you as a teacher or person of color?
- 6) Why did you decide to become a teacher? What were some life experiences or factors that influenced that decision?
- 7) Why did you choose to teach at the school that you are teaching at now? What factors went into that decision and what were some things you thought about or did before making that final decision to teach at this school? (Prompt: were there some values or practices that seemed to align with what you value?)
- 8) How might you describe your school community? How is it similar or different from the community that you grew up or lived in? What do you know about the community and families that attend your school?
- 9) How might you describe your school culture?
- 10) What do you perceive to be your role as a teacher? And what practices do you feel like you want to or need to enact in your classroom to full those roles?
- 11) As a teacher of color, what do you feel are the most important things you want to impart to your students? What are the important skills and lessons that you want to teach them?

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- 12) How does your identity as a teacher of color influence that sense of your role or the teacher you want to be?
- 13) What are some benefits or challenges to being a teacher of color at your school?
- 14) Now as an inservice teacher, what resources do you think you need or do you seem to draw on to be the teacher that you want to be?
- 15) Is there anything else you would like to tell me that I have not asked you already? Or anything you would like to add?

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Appendix C. Focus Group Interview Protocol

Introduction Text

My name is Nathanie Lee and I will be the moderator for today's focus group. Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in this study. As you know, I am interested in understanding all of your experiences and histories as teachers of color and how your histories and racialized identities inform how you make sense of the resources and constraints in your school context. I first want to inform you that all that you say will be held in confidence and your names will not be identified in the write up of this study.

I am passing around a consent form and a non-disclosure form. By signing these forms, you are agreeing to participate in the focus group and to keep our discussion confidential. If you feel uncomfortable for any reason signing these forms, you are free to leave at any time. Please take a moment to read them over. I will also be audio recording our session together, so you can let me know if you are uncomfortable with this at any time and I will turn off the recorder.

Before we begin, I would like to go over a few ground rules for the focus group. These are in place to ensure that all of you feel comfortable sharing your experiences and opinions.

Ground Rules:

1. *Confidentiality* – As per the non-disclosure form, please respect the confidentiality of your peers..
2. *One Speaker at a Time* – Only one person should speak at a time in order to make sure that we can all hear what everyone is saying. Be mindful of your air time.
3. *Use Respectful Language* – In order to facilitate an open discussion, please avoid any statements or words that may be offensive to other members of the group.
4. *Open Discussion* – This is a time for everyone to feel free to express their opinions and viewpoints. You will not be asked to reach consensus on the topics discussed. There will be no right or wrong answers.
5. *Participation is Important* – It is important that everyone's voice is shared and heard in order to make this the most productive focus group possible. Please speak up if you have something to add to the conversation!

Questions

1. How is your year coming along so far?
2. What has been some successes and challenges that you have experienced so far as a teacher?
3. What comes to mind when you think about being a teacher of color? Why might you think that identity might be important to your teaching practice?
4. What are some life experiences that you have had that influences who you are as a teacher?
5. How do you think of your identities as a person of color in relation to those with whom you work? Your students? The community? Your colleagues?

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6. How might you describe the racial climate of your school? (between colleagues, admin and teachers, teachers and students, students and students, teachers and parents?) if you could make a change to that climate, what might you propose?
7. What do you feel would be essential supports and resources for teachers of color in a teacher education program and in their first year of teaching?
8. What do you want your colleagues and administrators to understand about you as a teacher of color?
9. What advice would you give to new teachers of color?

Conclusion Text

Thank you for participating in today's focus group. Your responses and time are really appreciated. Again, it is important that we respect the confidentiality and experiences of each member of this group. As a reminder, I will be contacting each of you to schedule individual interviews in the next month.

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Appendix D. Observation Protocol

Teacher _____
School _____
Grade level _____

Research Questions:

Notes/look fors to bring in from first interview:

Observation look fors:

General

- How many students are in the class?
- What grade level is this class?
- What is the racial demographic /make-up of the class? (may need information from teacher)
- Where does the teacher position themselves when teaching?
- What is the teacher teaching?

Observation Protocol

- Teacher Student interaction
- Positioning
- Eye contact?
- Facial expressions
- How are students addressed
- How directions are given
- What strategies are used for instruction
- Is there active participation?
- Feedback to students
- Voice level
- Who is in the room? What are their roles?

Instructional Routine

- How teacher calls on students- who do they call on?
- Where does the teacher position themselves?

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- How responds to student responses
- How sets up goals and expectations about classroom interactions
- Responses when students follow directions/expectations (or don't)
- How facilitates student discussions/interactions with one another
- How they demand and hold high academic expectations and behavioral standards for each student
- How they connect students and subject matter to teaching and learning
- Seating and grouping of students during lessons
- Types of questions
- What materials are being used when they are teaching?
- What are students doing during the lesson?

Classroom Environment

- Arrangement of desk/chairs-seating and grouping?
- Bulletin Boards
- Display of students' work
- Bookshelves -what is on the bookshelves?
- Decorations
- Noise level
- Classroom rules
- Classroom charter?
- School rules/discipline policies?
- Management strategies?
- What is around the teacher's desk? Teacher resources?

Potential Follow-up Questions

- How do you use _____?
- Where did you get _____from? Or how did you get the idea to use/do_____?
- In your interview, you mentioned_____, I see_____
- How are these other adults in the room used?
- Why did you decide to set up the room in this way?

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Appendix E. Teacher Interview 2 Protocol

Research Questions:

- (1) How do the histories and racialized identities of novice teachers of color influence their perceptions of their roles and practices in schools?
- (2) **In what ways are the racialized identities and histories of novice teachers of color drawn from to make sense of the resources and constraints within their contexts? How are those identities negotiated and renegotiated during their first year of teaching?** (addressed in this second interview)

- 1) How have things been going since we last spoke?
- 2) I wanted to ask you one question that may ask you go back in time a little. When growing up, how were you taught or influenced to think about your own racial identity or the race in general? How did/does that affect how you see your students? Their families? The community?
- 3) Last time, we had a chance to talk about how you perceived your role as a teacher of color and what practices you wanted to enact in order to fulfill that role or those roles (can remind them of what they said). Have there been opportunities for you to enact those practices or roles?
- 4) As time has now passed and you have been in your school longer, is there anything you want to add to that in terms of what you perceived your role to be in this given context
- 5) What resources are available to you in order to do those things? And if not, what do you feel you would need in order to be that kind of teacher you want to be? (Professional development programs, school activities....)
- 6) What kinds of opportunities have there been at the school that seem to align with how you envision your role to be as a teacher? Are those opportunities provided by the school or are they opportunities you created for yourself? Are you engaged in the school, community, or district outside of school time?
- 7) Likewise, have there been opportunities or resources at the school that do not seem to align with the role you perceive for yourself or your identity as a teacher? How have you negotiated those things for yourself?
- 8) What were some moments, if there were any, that made you think about your identity as a teacher of color in relation to your role in the classroom? Or in relation to your students or the staff?
- 9) What has this year taught you about yourself as a teacher/teacher of color?

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- 10) How might you describe your school culture in relation to your identity as teacher of color?
- 11) What have been some turning point moments in your time at your school site that has impacted your identity as a teacher?
- 12) What supports are in place at your school site that have allowed your voice to be heard as a novice teacher of color? Or, in what ways do you feel like it is constrained? Who might you feel supported by? Or constrained by? Why?
- 13) Is there a person on staff that you go to support or resources? Who might that person be for you, and why?
- 14) What do you want your colleagues and administration to understand about you as a teacher of color?
- 15) What would you change or do differently after this year? Why?
- 16) What has this year taught you about yourself as a teacher/teacher of color?
- 17) In what ways did the aspects or ideas of your role seem to change throughout the year?
- 18) What were some of the moments that made you think about your identity as a TOC in relation to your role in your classroom?
- 19) What would you change or do differently after this year? Why?
- 20) Is there anything else you would like to tell me that I have not asked you already?

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Appendix F. Staff Interview Protocol

Preamble: Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in this interview. I am a doctoral student at UW and am conducting a study to understand how novice teachers of color develop their identities in relation to the contexts in which they are working. Because they are new to the school and I am a guest, I am seeking to understand the context of the schools in which these teachers are placed. You have been identified by one of the teacher participants as a resource, so I have some questions for you regarding your understanding of the school community, the culture of the school, and resources and opportunities available to teachers within this school context. Any information you share with me will remain confidential and your name will never be used. If you feel uncomfortable with any of the questions or the interview at any time, please let me know.

- 1) How long have you been at this school site? And what is your role? In what capacity do you work with LM?
- 2) What are some things you can tell me about the school? The history? What changes you may have seen take place over the time you have been here? Staff turnover? Programs that stand out?
- 3) How might you describe the school culture in terms of the staff, the families, and the students and how everyone interacts?
- 4) Who might you consider to be a part of the school community?
- 5) What are some characteristics of this school community that are some strengths?
- 6) Likewise, what are some characteristics of the school community that may be challenging?
- 7) How might you describe the racial demographics of the student and teacher population?
- 8) How might you describe the supports provided to teachers in this building? From admin? From other staff members? Grade level members?
- 9) Are you familiar with supports that are provided to new teachers? Particularly new teachers of color?
- 10) If teachers need supports or resources, whom might they go to? How could they best get them?
- 11) What kind of creativity do teachers have when it comes to what they are to teach throughout the day?

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- 12) In what ways does the administration or the school address issues of equity and race (in relation to students or teachers)?
- 13) What advice would you give a new teacher who is working here at this school?
- 14) Is there anything else you would like to share with me that I have not asked you yet?

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Appendix G. Code List

Advice for teacher ed program
Advice for teachers of color
Agency
Alignment of personal values with school values
Challenges in context
Classroom
Community
Community- people with same values and upbringing
Community-classroom
Community-geographic
Community-school
Community-school families
Compliance
Context
Contextual constraints
Contextual supports
Conversations about race with students
Curriculum support
Curriculum-constraints
Desire for resource
Developing identity/role as teacher
Developing practice
Developing racialized identity
Disagreement with practices
Doing own thing
Equity
Holding high expectations for students
Ideational resource
Identity
Identity as an asset
Identity resources
Improvement in practice
Knowledge about self
Knowledge of students
Material resource
Novice challenges
Personal history
Personal history connected with school community
Personal influences-people
Possible future study
Professional development opportunity
Push back from others- parents
Push back on colleagues
Racial identity of students
Racialized identity
Relational resource
Relationship with administration
Relationship with cohort members in program

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Relationship with colleagues
Relationship with families
Relationship with students
Role-as teacher
Roles&practices
School
School choice
School resources
Self-reflection
Skills/values to impart
Social justice teaching practices
Support
Support from administrator
Support from colleagues
Support from families
Teacher preparation
Tep racial caucusing
Tocs at school site

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NOVICE TEACHERS OF COLOR

Nathanie A. Lee
3847 20th Avenue SW Seattle, WA 98106 • 530-902-1611
nalee@uw.edu

EDUCATION

University of Washington, Seattle	Expected, June 2019
<i>Ph.D.: Learning Science and Human Development</i>	
<i>Master of Education: Human Development and Cognition</i>	2012-2015
California State University, Sacramento	2000-2001
Multiple Subject Teaching with CLEAR and Cross-cultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) Teaching Credential	
University of California, Davis	1996-1999
<i>Bachelors of Science: Exercise Physiology</i>	
<i>Minor: Human Development</i>	

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

University of Washington	December 2017-June 2018
<i>Research Assistant</i>	
<i>Teacher Education Research Internship</i>	
<i>Principal Investigators: Kenneth Zeichner, Charles Peck, and Sheila Valencia</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collaborated and participated in the development of methods, data collection, and analysis of a year-long research project on the impact and efficacy of the teacher education programs on how inservice teachers took up social justice practices in their own classrooms. 	
University of Washington	September 2014-August 2015
<i>Research Assistant</i>	
<i>Equitable Parent-School Collaboration Research Project</i>	
<i>Principal Investigators: Ann Ishimaru and Joe Lott</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Collected and analyzed qualitative data for the Equitable Parent-School Collaboration Research Project in partnership with the Road Map Project. Collaborated on research briefs for practitioners, and co-designed parent curriculum with families, researchers and community members. 	
University of Washington	September 2013-June 2014
<i>Research Apprentice</i>	
<i>Knowledge in Action Research Group</i>	
<i>Principal Investigator: Susan Nolen</i>	

FROM COMPLIANCE TO CONFIDENCE: NEGOTIATING RACIALIZED IDENTITIES AS NOVICE TEACHERS OF COLOR

- Participated in the analysis of project data in the Knowledge in Action research project at the University of Washington LIFE Center

UNIVERSITY TEACHING EXPERIENCE

University of Washington-College of Education **Fall 2016-2018**

Elementary Teacher Education Program Course Instructor-Teaching and Learning

- The course emphasized learning theories in connection to students' field experiences
- Students reflected on personal assumptions and biases about how students learn and how teachers teach
- Students used research based practices and evidence to design their own pedagogical creed
- Provided summative and formative feedback for student progress

University of Washington-College of Education **Summer 2018**

Seattle Teacher Residency Course Instructor- Learning Theory

- The course focused on using sociocultural theories of learning to tie theory to practice and learning environments
- Students constructed a personal theory of learning and teaching by the end of the course using empirical research and theory
- Provided summative and formative feedback for student progress.

University of Washington-College of Education **Summer 2018**

Seattle Teacher Residency Course Instructor- Child Development

- The course focused on teaching students cognitive, physical, and socio-emotional trajectories of learning in alignment with Common Core state standards as well as standards for socio-emotional and Physical Education
- Provided summative and formative feedback for student progress
- Collaborated with district employees to teach on trauma-informed instruction and practices

University of Washington-College of Education **Fall 2017-Present**

Seattle Teacher Residency Coach

- Supported and supervised Seattle Teacher Residency students in their coursework and in the field through drop in and formal observations throughout the school year
- Worked collaboratively with faculty and mentor teachers in the Seattle Public School District to support the residents with feedback and coaching on content and pedagogical strategies
- Participated in admission process for prospective residents.

Seattle University- College of Education **December-June 2018**

Elementary Teacher Education Program Coach

- Supervised and coached teacher candidates in field placement classroom

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- Conducted classroom observations at a school site in the Highline School District
- Collaborated with university faculty, community stakeholders, and classroom mentors to prepare the teacher candidates to be classroom teachers

University of Washington-College of Education **September 2013-June 2017**
Elementary Teacher Education Program Coach

- Mentored and supervised elementary teacher candidates in their teacher education program experience
- Duties included classroom observations at school sites in the Seattle and Highline School Districts
- Collaborated with University of Washington faculty and classroom teachers to support education and growth as future classroom teachers
- Participated in the admission process for prospective teacher candidates

University of Washington-College of Education **Spring 2013**
Secondary Teacher Education Program Coach

- Supported and mentored secondary teacher candidates in their school site placements in the Edmonds School District
- Duties included classroom observations and support in negotiating field-based and coursework

University of Washington-College of Education **January 2019-Present**
September 2016-June 2018
Elementary Teacher Education Program- Racial Caucus and Student of Color Affinity Group Facilitator

- Facilitated student teachers of color racial caucus group and affinity group where students had opportunities to discuss and reflect on racial identities in relation to their work as teachers

University of Washington-College of Education
Teacher Assistant- Teaching and Learning in Social Study Methods **Summer 2016-2017**
Teaching and Learning in Science Methods **Winter 2014-2016**
Teaching and Learning: Learning Theory **Fall 2013-2015**
Teaching and Learning in Numeracy **Winter 2014**
Teaching for Learning in Secondary Education **Spring 2013**
Adolescent Development **Spring 2013**

Graduate Student Grader- Educational Discourse Communities **Winter 2013**
Classroom Assessment **Winter 2013**

- Assisted instructors in supporting teaching candidates' learning in theory and methods courses in the Elementary and Secondary Teacher Education Programs.

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- Duties included working with and supporting students in learning and practicing strategies in different content areas.
- Assisted instructors in preparing lesson plans, class materials and grading papers. Co-facilitated class discussions.

K-12 TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Elk Grove Unified School District-Arlene Hein Elementary School August 2010-July 2012

Sixth Grade Teacher

Supervisor: Toni Westermann

- Duties included implementing district curriculum to support student learning
- Used data-driven assessments to design and differentiate lessons
- Collaborated with grade-level, school staff and families

Elk Grove Unified School District-Arlene Hein Elementary School August 2005-July 2010

Third Grade Teacher

Supervisor: Toni Westermann

- Duties included implementing district curriculum to support student learning
- Used data-driven assessments to design and differentiate lessons
- Collaborated with grade-level and school staff, and communicating with families
- Participated in district assessment and re-design of math curriculum.

Elk Grove Unified School District-Arlene Hein Elementary School August 2004-June 2005

Kindergarten Teacher

Supervisor: Bob Roe

- Duties included implementing district curriculum to support student learning,
- Used data-driven assessments to design and differentiate lessons
- Collaborated with grade-level, school staff, and families

Davis Joint Unified School District-Birch Lane Elementary January 2002-June 2004

Title I Math and Reading Intervention Teacher

Supervisor: Kathy Tyzzer

- Provided supplemental reading and math support for students needing extra support in reading and math content.
- Collaborated with and supported classroom teachers and parents with weekly reports of student progress and used data-driven instruction and assessments for instruction and supports.

RESEARCH ARTICLES, REPORTS AND BRIEFS

FROM COMPLIANCE TO CONFIDENCE: NEGOTIATING RACIALIZED IDENTITIES AS NOVICE TEACHERS OF COLOR

Tierney, G., Goodell, A., Nolen, S.B., Lee, N., Whitefield, L. & Abbott, R.D. (2018). (Re) Designing for engagement in a project-based AP Environmental Science course. *The Journal of Experimental Education*. DOI: [10.1080/00220973.2018.1535479](https://doi.org/10.1080/00220973.2018.1535479)

Lee, N.A. (2017). Family Visits: Parent voices in a teacher-initiated practice. *The Washington Educational Research Association Journal*., 9(2), 68-72.

Torres, K., Lee, N., Tran, C., (2015). *Building Relationships, Bridging Cultures: Cultural Brokering in Family Engagement*. University of Washington: Seattle, WA.

PRESENTATIONS

Lee, N.A. (2019, April). (Re) negotiating identities: Novice teachers of color. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Meeting, Toronto, B.C.

Lee, N.A. (2018, December) Teachers of Color: Negotiating one's racialized identities. Paper presented at the Washington Educational Research Association Meeting, Seattle, WA.

Lee, N.A. (2017, April). Family visits: Parent voices in a teacher-initiated practice: Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Meeting, San Antonio, TX.

Lee, N.A. (2016, December). Family visits: Parent voices in a teacher-initiated practice. Paper presented at the Washington Educational Research Association Meeting, Seattle, WA.

SCHOLARSHIPS, FELLOWSHIPS, AND AWARDS

Elizabeth Osterhaus Fellowship	2018
University of Washington, Seattle, WA	
Doi Dissertation Fellowship	2018
University of Washington, Seattle, WA	
College of Education Conference Scholarship Awards	2017
University of Washington, Seattle, WA	

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Educational Research Association	2013-current
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