

Contexts That Inform Racial Awareness and Affect Teaching Practice:

A Study of White Bilingual Teachers

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Abstract

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This qualitative study examines the varying contexts that inform racial awareness and teaching practice for White bilingual teachers. These contexts include the teacher education program in which the teachers were trained, the personal experiences of the participants, and the schools in which they teach. This study also investigates the impact that racial awareness has on teaching practice given the large number of constraints under which teachers practice. There are several studies that examine racial discourse in teacher education and White teachers. During the past 20 years there has been increased attention to the implementation of culturally relevant teaching and multicultural education. Although these bodies of literature have contributed tremendously to the field, there is little research that connects White teachers' racial

awareness to their teaching practice. There is also little research on how bilingual teachers are prepared for work in classrooms that consist predominantly of students of color.

The participants in this study included four White bilingual teachers and six instructors at the university where the participants received their certification. The four teachers in this study were White bilingual women who had been teaching for the last two to five years. The instructors at Northern California University taught courses on teaching in diverse classrooms, theories of second language acquisition, teaching and learning theory, and the required courses for a bilingual teaching certificate. Data collection included semi-structured interviews and observations. Through the use of Bourdieu's theories of habitus and field, qualitative analysis focused on the influences that contribute to the racial awareness of the four teachers in the study, racial discourse at the teacher education level, and the implementation of culturally responsive and multicultural teaching practices in bilingual classrooms.

Many of the instructors at Northern California University addressed race from a historical perspective, which included an emphasis on racism at the institutional level. Although all instructors addressed issues of race in their courses, White teacher candidates in the required courses for the bilingual certificate engaged in deeper conversations on issues of race than their peers in other courses. The four teachers in the study also demonstrated a strong level of racial awareness as well as culturally responsive and multicultural teaching practices such as pedagogy that ensure equity for students, multicultural content integration. They also acknowledged the socioemotional needs of students in their classrooms. Additionally, the four participants were heavily influenced by the school context, which was either congruent or incongruent with the participants' teaching philosophies.

This dissertation explores the effects that racial awareness has on teaching practice within different school contexts. It also explores racial discourse in bilingual teacher preparation, which has been under-researched and can inform efforts to better prepare all teachers for work in diverse classrooms.

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this dissertation to my former students and their families. I admire your continual investment in an educational system that has not fully recognized or utilized the valuable resources you bring to the classroom. It is my hope that this work will make classrooms a better place for you and others like you in the future.

**In Memorial**

In loving memory of my mother, Suzie Dod Thomas, my stepfather, Piri Thomas, and my grandmother, Barbara Finstrom.

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction: Historical Background and Rationale for the Study**

For the last 15 years I have been involved in education as a teacher and as an advocate for bilingual students. The bulk of that time was spent teaching in urban schools near where this study takes place. I taught kindergarten, first, and third grades in dual immersion and bilingual classrooms. During my time teaching in the dual language program, I had the privilege of working with talented and experienced teachers. Unfortunately, the district where we taught was heavily under-resourced and on the brink of being taken over by the state, which resulted in a strict adherence to adopted curriculum that was inappropriate for dual language classrooms and not culturally relevant for students. In hopes of finding a more supportive environment as a critical educator, I later taught in another district at a school that made every effort to provide the students with what they needed, but lacked innovation for making curriculum relevant to the lives of students as a way to raise scores in reading and math. My experiences in these schools motivated me to ask questions about the role of teacher education in preparing teachers, the myriad factors that contribute to the understanding of race, and the need for culturally responsive and multicultural teaching.

As common core education standards become more prominent in schools nationwide, there is an opportunity for teachers to take advantage of the standards and within them create environments in which students, especially students of color, are engaged in learning relevant to their lives. This is especially important as the federal government reinstates a revised version of No Child Left Behind, which includes a focus on high-stakes testing and jeopardizes students' ability to engage in critical thinking and learning. In this current educational environment, it has become a moral imperative for me to increase the number of critical educators and to better meet the needs of students of color as a teacher educator. Much of the work I have done in teacher

education at the University of Washington is to help teachers become critical of, yet work within, common core standards and district-adopted curriculum. I have also worked to provide a framework for how to modify curriculum so that it meets the academic and cultural needs of students and engages them in learning that will increase their opportunities. While I have been fully committed to the teacher candidates in our program, in reality, the work I do is primarily for their future students.

This dissertation is one important part of my efforts to investigate and hopefully reform how we approach teacher education. As I reflect on my work as a White bilingual teacher in diverse classrooms, understanding that the social construction of race and institutionalized racism helped me to see my students as a part of a larger system that either oppressed or privileged them. Sadly, however, the critical lens I brought to the classroom was not shared by all of my White colleagues, and attitudes toward students were often negative. These experiences motivated me to investigate the role and impact of preservice teacher education programs on candidates' understanding of race. As I got deeper into the research on how teacher education programs approach racial issues, I felt it was important to look at approaches used in bilingual teacher education because of the complex history of bilingual education in the United States and the many demands that are placed on bilingual teachers. I saw this study as an opportunity to bring bilingual teacher preparation into the larger conversation on how White bilingual teachers understand race and the nature of racial discourse in bilingual teacher preparation courses. Furthermore, I saw an opportunity to investigate the interaction between teacher education programs and school contexts with regard to implementing culturally responsive and multicultural teaching practices in the classroom, where understanding the historical context of students' lives is vital to knowing truly who they are.

## **Rationale and Significance of the Study**

In order to understand the importance of studying racial discourse in bilingual teacher preparation, it is necessary to understand three issues. The first is that throughout the history of the United States racial formations and institutionalized racism have been tools of oppression for people of color (Broadkin, 1998; Jacobson, 1998; Horsman, 1981). The second is that there are no explicit connections between the literature on approaches to racial discourse in teacher education and bilingual teacher preparation. And third, both a rationale for and examples of culturally responsive teaching are well articulated (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2009), however no connection is made between how White teachers understand race and the type of practices they implement in the classroom. In this section, I will briefly identify the literature that exists on these issues, along with gaps that I hope this study will fill.

Carey McWilliams (1964) wrote: “What had to be proved in 1943 is today [1964] generally conceded, namely, that racial discrimination is a national problem...” (p. 312). Written after the seeming success of the civil rights movement and the creation of title VII, McWilliams was hopeful that people of color would be able to “fight more vigorously than ever for freedom” (p. 345). Though much progress has been made, Banks (2013) reminds us that even with the election of the first African American president, which gave the impression that the United States has become a post-racial society, “the manifestations of race [are] explicit, cogent, and strident” (p. ix). Because of this, the salience of race cannot be underscored enough, especially when considering training White teachers for work with students of color.

When looking at the research on preparing White teachers for work in diverse classroom, we know that White teachers make up approximately 86% of the teacher population and may already have preconceived notions and perceptions of race (Gay & Howard, 2002; Sleeter,

2001). We also know that for most people of color, racism is an “everyday experience” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 7), and that many White people are largely unaware of their unearned privileges (White, 2011). Racism and the lack of racial consciousness on the part of many White people have had an effect on the education of students of color, and consequently on how White teachers are trained to work with this student population (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Delpit, 2006; Gay, 2010; Grant & Gillette, 2006; Howard, 1999; King, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Leonardo, 2013; Levine-Rasky, 2000; Maher & Tetreault, 1997; Pollock, 2008; Sleeter, 1993). Consequently, research on teacher education programs indicates that directly addressing issues such as race and racism from a historical, economic, and institutional perspective is essential to preparing teachers for work in diverse classrooms (Cochran-Smith, 2000; McLaren, 1997; King, 1991).

In the last 25 years, addressing issues of race in teacher education programs has become more integrated into the dialogue on teacher preparation in general (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Cochran-Smith, 2000; Sleeter, 2001; Pollock, Deckman, & Shallaby, 2009; Young, 2007; White, 2011; Siraj-Blachford, 1993; Maher & Tetreault, 1997; LaDuke, 2011; King, 1991; Caputo-Pearl, Al-Alim & Martin, 2007). While research in this area is beneficial to thinking about approaches to racial discourse, it does not include experiences that take place in bilingual teacher education, which may offer other strategies that effectively engage teacher candidates in racial discourse.

Over the last 30 years there has been an increase in popularity of bilingual programs. Dual language programs are becoming especially popular because its varying models have shown to be beneficial for both English Language Learners and native English-speaking students (Lindholm-Leary, 2004). This increase in popularity is also joined by concerns about educational

equity (Valdes, 1997) and teacher preparedness (Bustos Flores, Sheets, & Clark, 2011).

Unfortunately, while there is a wealth of research comparing bilingual programs, and within the last 20 years an increased emphasis on the importance of multicultural education and culturally relevant teaching, there is very little research on how bilingual teachers are trained. Grinberg and Saavedra (2000) offer a critical view of what is missing in bilingual teacher preparation programs. They argue that bilingual teacher training has been rooted in what is considered the relevant knowledge base; meaning that the research was provided by a community of scholars who had conducted research in an accepted manner, rather than being grounded in a political or cultural critique. Their findings are further supported by Trujillo (1998), who states that research on bilingual education has mostly focused on effective teaching strategies and the benefits of being bilingual rather than on the historical premise of bilingual education, which is to empower bilingual youth. None of these studies, however, explicitly name race or racism as key factors in their critique of the research or the implications for future practice.

The research that currently exists on training bilingual teachers provides an important foundation for my study in that it articulates the complex work of being a bilingual educator. Studies show that bilingual teachers are often tasked with building and creating materials and making language policy decisions, but perhaps more important, they also find themselves engaged in the political act of keeping bilingual education an option for students (Télez & Varghese, 2013; Varghese, 2006; Cahnmann & Varghese, 2005). Additionally, working with recently immigrated families demands that teachers know, understand, and be critical of immigration policies that affect students and their families (Sánchez and Ek, 2009). Given these demands, bilingual teachers must have an understanding of the importance of and the struggle

for bilingual education. They also must understand the role racism plays in the attempts to dismantle programs that benefit bilingual students.

While there are many factors that contribute to our understanding of racism, teacher education programs play a large role in preparing White teachers for work in diverse classrooms. Unfortunately, there is little known about how understanding race and racism affects teacher practice (King, 1991; Pollock, Deckman & Shallaby, 2009; Richert, Donahue & LaBoskey 2008). Gay (2002) states that it is important that teachers develop a cultural diversity knowledge base to improve their teaching practice. This knowledge base includes values and traditions along with “detailed factual information about the cultural particularities of specific ethnic groups” (p. 107). Gay’s framework, while useful on a practical level, does not explicitly make the connection between cultural values and traditions, and the historical experience of a particular culture, nor does it explicitly ask teachers to learn and understand the history of particular ethnic groups. As a result, this study seeks to extend Gay’s framework by examining the extent to which understanding the history of racial construction and the effects of institutionalized racism on particular students provides a larger cultural knowledge base for teacher candidates. This knowledge base can then be used to plan and implement a variety of teaching practices that are engaging and beneficial to both bilingual students and all students of color.

This dissertation merges together what have been three separate bodies of literature: racial discourse in teacher education, bilingual teacher education, and culturally responsive teaching. While literature on bilingual teacher education calls for more diversity and multicultural education (Hernandez Sheets, Araujo, Calderon, & Indiatsi, 2011), directly

addressing issues of race in bilingual teacher preparation has been left out of the conversation on how to best prepare bilingual teachers.

Because bilingual teachers must speak the target language proficiently, many bilingual teachers are teachers of color. However, with 86% of the teacher population consisting of White women, there are still many White bilingual teachers teaching in classrooms composed of predominantly students of color (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). It is my hope that the focus on White bilingual teachers will help add a missing dimension to the literature on preparing White teachers. Additionally, due to the many challenges bilingual teachers face and the initial premise of bilingual education, there are responsibilities placed on bilingual teachers that—given the changing demographics—should now also be shared with teachers who work in monolingual classrooms.

Finally, culturally responsive teaching methods may be beneficial to bilingual students, and students of color more generally. However, broadening the scope of what we should know about students to include a historical perspective on race and institutionalized racism helps strengthen the rationale for implementation. As a result, this study draws on the strengths of research in bilingual and monolingual teacher education, along with culturally responsive teaching, in order to create dialogue between three bodies of literature, but more importantly to create possibilities for White teacher candidates to become critical and effective teachers.

### **A Brief History of Race and an Overview of Bilingual Education in California**

In order to fully introduce the study, I will describe where it is situated within the history of racial formation and the history of bilingual education in the United States. With regard to race, Jacobson (1998) states: “We tend to think of race as being indisputable, real... It seems a product not of social imagination, but of biology” (p. 1). Over time, we have discovered that race

is not biological, but merely a social construction. However, Leonardo (2013) explains that “race, like religion, remains an idea-based relation, it lives through material institutions” (p. 79). His quotation illustrates that race—but more importantly, racism—has become very real. As a result, race and racism in the United States constitute a complex and changing construct.

Throughout history, racial categorizations have been fluid. Despite the census definitions of race, in today’s society being White is based largely on physical appearance and provides access to educational and financial resources (Brodkin, 1998; Jacobson, 1998). The ways in which racial categories were developed is a direct reflection of the historical context at the time. While racial categorization began occurring in Europe prior to the exploration and colonization of the West, the official establishment of the White race occurred after the conquest of the Americas (Omi & Winant, 1994; Frankenberg, 1993; Horsman, 1981). During this time, those who were considered a different race in Europe unified to become the White race in the United States. The immigration and assimilation of Western European immigrants, followed by the exclusion and subjugation of Asian and African immigrants along with Mexican and Native Americans who already inhabited the land, then reified these common definitions. These categories were then later institutionalized through court cases and legislation (Brodkin, 1998; Jacobson, 1998; Horsman, 1981) that justified the establishment of different races, and in the process created the racial categories we see today on United States census forms.

Along with Western expansion, the large influx of immigrants to the United States created an environment where multiple languages were spoken. For many Western European immigrants, language loss was a large part of the assimilation process. Although bilingual classrooms have existed all over the country since the 1800s, these programs were mostly designed to help students transition into English courses and to eventually assimilate completely

into American society (Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000). As a result, the history of bilingual education in the United States is complicated. More recently, with English-only laws passed in several states, teaching students in their first language has been contentious. Teachers in states such as California have been able to work around the English-only legislation. However, since the law was passed, some programs have shut down. Additionally, as test score data become the focal point for school and district funding, other existing programs are being phased out.

Despite the varying attitudes toward bilingual education, this study takes place in California where the remaining bilingual programs continue to succeed. In 1992 the California Commission on Teacher Certification (CTC) made it mandatory that all teachers obtain a certificate qualifying them to work with English Language Learners, and required a separate authorization to work in bilingual classrooms (Barreto, 1997). The CLAD (Cross-cultural, Language, and Academic Development) and BCLAD (Bilingual, Cross-cultural, Language, and Academic Development) certificates were acknowledging that teacher education must prepare teachers to work with culturally and linguistically diverse student populations. Unfortunately, six years later California residents voted to make instruction only in English mandatory in all classrooms through the passage of Proposition 227. The language within the law, however, was vague enough that the implementation was left up to schools and districts, and was not necessarily reinforced (Palmer & Garcia, 2000). Additionally, waivers could be signed so that parents could opt into bilingual programs, thus leaving programs in many schools intact, while other schools ended their programs and provided instruction only in English. There is currently legislation proposed to repeal proposition 227; however, even with the ban, various types programs exist statewide.

The teachers in this study represent a cross-section of the types of programs offered currently to bilingual students and their families. Transitional bilingual education (TBE) programs provide native Spanish-speaking students with the ability to learn in Spanish during kindergarten and first grade. Halfway through second grade, the students begin to transition their reading skills from Spanish into English. TBE programs are slowly being phased out due to pressures of test score proficiency for bilingual students. Bilingual maintenance programs are much less popular, and are also being phased out. These programs begin in kindergarten and last through fifth or sixth grades. The populations in both the bilingual maintenance programs and TBE programs are 100% native Spanish speakers, compared to dual immersion, in which 50% are native Spanish speakers and 50% are native English speakers. Dual or two-way immersion programs have become the dominant model for teaching language minority and majority students. It is touted as the best model for teaching English Language Learners. Its advocates state that it is the only model in which students from different linguistic backgrounds become bilingual and biliterate (Lindholm-Leary, 2004).

### **Research Questions and Overview of the Study**

This is a study of four White bilingual teachers in which I investigate the differing contexts that enable teachers to understand racism from an institutional perspective, and whether this understanding has made them critical educators even within school contexts that may not promote culturally responsive or multicultural teaching practices. I also investigate the differences in the racial discourse between the bilingual and monolingual teacher education programs in which these teachers were trained, along with the many factors that contributed to the formation of racial ideologies.

In trying to assess how understanding issues of race and racism, teacher education, and school contexts affect teacher practice, I investigated the following questions:

1. How and which contexts contribute to a White bilingual teacher's understanding of racial constructs such as institutionalized racism, White privilege, and oppression?
2. How do racial discourses in bilingual and non-bilingual teacher education courses differ, and how do they contribute to teacher learning?
3. How, if at all, does understanding racial constructs such as institutionalized racism, White privilege, and oppression influence White bilingual teachers' use of culturally relevant practices in their classrooms, and to what extent are their practices also affected by the school context?

In order to answer these questions, I conducted this qualitative study in Northern California for seven months. I made weekly observations in the classrooms of four White bilingual teachers, along with observations in the teacher education program from which they had graduated within the last two to five years. I also conducted interviews with instructors in the teacher education program, and numerous interviews with the study's participants. These observations and interviews provided me with a well-rounded perspective on the many contexts that influence racial awareness and teaching practice.

Conducting a thorough analysis of these data required a complex theoretical orientation. As a result, I chose Bourdieu's (1977, 1992) theories of habitus and field to frame my study. These theories allowed me to look at how the individual or one's habitus is affected by her surroundings, both personally and professionally. Additionally, there is also a reciprocal relationship between the field and habitus: an individual is able to hold power within one field, but fields such as schools or teacher education programs also affect how an individual is able to

behave—or in the case of this study—teach. These two theories frame my analysis of how different aspects of the study participants' personal lives affected what they learned, how they engaged in their teacher education, and how the teacher education program and school contexts significantly influenced the types of practices the participants used in their classrooms.

Along with a more detailed explanation of the methodologies used to collect data and the theories used for analysis, this dissertation includes a review of the pertinent literature. This literature covers the historical aspects of racial formation in the United States, current and past research on racial discourse in teacher education, and an overview of what is currently known about bilingual teacher preparation. The literature review also describes the theoretical and practical research on culturally responsive teaching and multicultural education.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 summarize the findings of this study. In chapter 6, I describe the background of the teacher education program, the approaches to racial discourse that were observed, the perspectives instructors working in the program have about their work, and the candidates they teach. Chapter 7 also provides further background and incorporates both the teacher education program and the personal backgrounds of the participants as they relate to the participants' understanding of race and racism. Chapter 8 describes the types of practices the study participants used in their classrooms. It is my hope that through providing background on the personal lives and the training of these four White bilingual teachers, we will better understand how they became the critical educators they are and the barriers they experienced when they did their work.

In the final chapter of this dissertation I have made explicit the connections between my findings and Bourdieu's (1977, 1992) theories of habitus and field. I attempt to make sense of the lived experiences of the study participants (habitus), in connection with the types of practices

they used, while taking into account the influence of three fields: their teacher education program, the bilingual endorsement, and the school context. Additionally, from this discussion comes a set of implications for future research, where I explore the questions about the structure and pedagogy of teacher education programs in hopes of making improvements that will benefit student learning.

### **List of Terms**

**Bilingual and monolingual education.** Although I have described the history and significance of bilingual education in the United States above, I believe that defining the terms *bilingual* and *monolingual* is necessary. These terms refer to the language of instruction. If a classroom is taught in both Spanish and English, it is considered a bilingual classroom. If the language of instruction is only in English, it is considered a monolingual classroom. While many teachers and students speak more than one language, for the purposes of this study, *bilingual* and *monolingual* refer to the language of instruction or the type of certification earned from the State of California.

**Critical educator.** I use the term *critical educator* several times throughout this study. The roots of this term come from Freire's (1993) notion of education for liberation and critical pedagogy. I use this term to describe a particular lens that teachers bring to their work. This means being discerning of curriculum and policies, along with being consistently reflective about their relationship to students and how schools affect student learning.

**Culturally responsive and relevant teaching/pedagogy.** Throughout this study I use the terms *culturally relevant* and *culturally responsive teaching and pedagogy*. Although these two terms are distinct, they are often used interchangeably. Gay (2002, 2010) and Ladson-Billings (2009) used these two terms when referring to curriculum and teaching practices that are

responsive and relevant to students' different cultural backgrounds and lives. I use these terms interchangeably to describe practices I observed during the study.

**Multicultural education.** In addition to *culturally responsive teaching*, I also use the terms *multicultural education* and *multicultural teaching practices*. Banks (2016b) states, "Multicultural education incorporates the idea that all students—regardless of their gender; sexual orientation; social class; and ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics—should have an equal opportunity to learn in school" (p. 3). I use Banks's ideas and frameworks on the five dimensions of multicultural education and levels of multicultural content integration as a way to assess and describe teaching practice. I also use the term *multicultural teaching practices* to specifically describe practice, rather than the framework from which the practices originate.

**Model.** I use the word *model* in two different contexts. When speaking about bilingual education, I use the word *model* to refer to the type of program implemented. For example, some bilingual programs use a 90/10 model, in which students in kindergarten are taught 90% in a language other than English. I also use *model* to discuss the ways in which instructors at the teacher education level demonstrate particular practices to teacher candidates.

**Race.** Race is a social construction (Jacobson, 1998; Brodtkin, 1998; Horsman, 1981). Over time, racial categories and terms have been coined by those in power to differentiate those with darker skin from those with whiter skin. Despite this social construction, the implications of these racial categories are very real (Leonardo, 2013). I use the term *race* frequently throughout this study. I refer to the study's participants understanding of race, where I mean their understanding of the social construction and the implications of racial categorization throughout the history of the United States.

**Racism.** In addition to *race*, I also use the term *racism* frequently. Different from *race*, I use the term *racism* to describe the discriminatory acts committed toward people as a result of their race. Most important to this study, however, is the differentiation between individual and institutionalized racism. *Individual racism* refers to acts of discrimination that occur between individuals. *Institutionalized racism* refers to laws, policies, and systems that privilege White people over people of color (Feagin, 2006). This differentiation is a central part of my study because systemic or institutionalized racism is often invisible to the White people who benefit from it and is often left out of conversations about racial inequality (McIntosh, 1989; Frankenberg, 1993).

**Racial discourse.** While there is a longer history of studying discourse more broadly, the study of racial discourse is what is most important to my work. I use the term *racial discourse* as defined by Van Dijk (1992). He analyzes “the ways majority group members write and talk about minorities, for example in everyday conversations, textbooks, news reports, parliamentary debates, and academic and corporate discourses” (p. 92). Specific to this study, I use the term *racial discourse* to describe how all teacher candidates at Northern California University address issues of race, along with how the four study participants explain racial disparity and their overall descriptions of their students.

## **Chapter 2: Review of the Literature**

In this chapter of the dissertation, I will describe all of the relevant literature that has informed my study. Because of the comprehensiveness of this study, there are several bodies of literature from which I draw. Literature that addresses racial formation in the United States is used to place the social construction of race within a historical context and to provide background for how institutions have been a tool of oppression for people of color. I then describe approaches to talking about race in teacher education as way to engage candidates—but especially White candidates—in conversations about race and racial oppression. Because the role of bilingual teachers is demanding, I review literature on how to best prepare them for the work. Last, I examine and describe theories of culturally responsive and multicultural teaching in order to provide a theoretical foundation for the teaching practices study participants used in their classrooms. These bodies of literature support chapters five, six, and seven, which examine racial discourse at the teacher education level, bilingual teacher education, concepts of race, and classroom practices.

### **Racial formations in the United States**

This section explores the literature on how racial categories were formed. McIntosh (1998) states that White people are often unaware of their privilege. This is largely due to the way dominant discourse omits information from social studies curriculum and text books (Loewen, 2009). As a result, this section brings together literature that makes visible how the social construction and institutionalization of race has affected students of color in many ways and provides a rationale for why it is important that race be addressed in teacher education programs.

**Establishing the “Other.”** Although there is evidence that racial categorization was taking place in Europe centuries ago, it was not until the establishment of the racial “other” that

the racial categories we are familiar with were constructed. Horsman (1981) and Omi and Winant (1994) trace racial identification as far back as the 16th and 17th centuries in Europe, or even as far back as what is written in the Bible. Through Horsman's research on the reformation of the English church, it became clear that the English felt they had created a purer form of Christianity. As a result, they considered themselves unique in nature and the chosen ones. Omi and Winant state that Europeans in general considered themselves children of God, but Horsman makes it clear that it was Protestant Anglo-Saxons who claimed to be the superior race.

Despite these early conceptions of race, Omi and Winant (1994), Horsman (1981), and Frankenberg (1993) assert that modern concepts of race became prevalent during and after the conquest of the Americas. Frankenberg brings to the forefront colonial discourses and their effect on racial formation. She states that after the conquest there was a connection between American-ness and Whiteness and being White versus being "other." Omi and Winant also explain that because Europeans considered themselves the children of God, they were "full-fledged human beings" (p. 62). This perception distinguished Anglo-Saxons from the "others" and in the process justified land seizures, slavery, and genocide. They go on to state that the conquest of the Americas was

not simply an epochal historical event—however unparalleled in its importance. It was also the advent of a consolidated social structure of exploitation, appropriation, and domination. Its representation, first in religious terms, but soon enough in scientific and political ones, initiated modern awareness. (p. 62)

Omi and Winant (1994) state that the role of science is vital in understanding how race has been constructed in the United States. According to Horsman (1981), in 18th-century Europe, the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race had already been asserted and widely accepted.

However, it was the work of scientists to prove that this was actually true. The quest for finding the superior race utilized phrenology, or the study of the skull. Horsman highlights several studies that equated head shape with beauty. However, associating head shape and size with intelligence was widely used in justifying the argument that non-Whites were inferior. The many studies that took place during the 18th century later established racial classifications, many of which are still in use today.

There was much debate over whether or not people of color were considered human. At the outset there were four main racial classifications: European, African, Asiatic, and Lapp (Horsman, 1981). Within this classification, all races were considered a part of the human species. In other studies, however, there was some question as to whether or not people of color could be considered a subspecies of human, or if they were human at all. These racial classifications, the establishment of a superior race, and the perception that Anglo-Saxons were the chosen race all contributed to the justification of colonialism, the exploitation of African slaves, and the virtual annihilation of the indigenous tribes of the United States.

Leonardo (2013) views the justification for colonialism slightly differently and states that capitalism is at the root of colonial expansion. The quest for land and cheap labor served as the justification for colonialism. While he makes it clear that mostly Whites benefited from colonial expansion, he states that anyone who owned the means of production stood to gain from the annexation of land and the exploitation of labor through slavery. While Horsman (1981) and Omi and Winant (1994) view the establishment of superior and inferior races as the justification for colonialism and exploitation, Leonardo asserts that it was the process of colonizing and exploiting that made Whites feel they were superior.

Omi and Winant (1994) strongly correlate the conquest of the Americas with racial construction, but more important, with creating of the “other.” They have also established a nation-based paradigm, which they state is rooted in colonialism. Like Leonardo (2013), they view colonialism as a capitalist endeavor, one that created nations out of territories. They state that racial dynamics are “products of colonialism and, therefore, as outcomes of relationships which are global and epochal in character” (p. 37). They go on to say that looking at racial construction within this framework allows us to see the different elements of racial oppression, i.e., “inequality, political disenfranchisement, territorial and institutional segregation [and] cultural domination” (p. 37).

**Formation of the American Anglo-Saxon/White race.** There were many factors that led to the formation of what we now consider the White or Anglo-Saxon race. These factors include Western expansion, U.S. imperialism, intergroup oppression, and assimilation.

Horsman (1981) describes a coming together of the Caucasian, Teutonic, and Anglo-Saxon races, which in Europe had been considered distinct. With this amalgamation also came pride and the perception that this race was not only superior to people of color, but also to the English Anglo-Saxon race. Horsman states:

They simply made the American race a distinct race and gave it the characteristics usually given to the Anglo-Saxons, but with added distinction, from their point of view, that the American was a unique blend of all that was best in the white European races.  
(pp. 250-252)

Taking place in the mid-1800s, the creation of the Anglo-Saxon race also dovetailed with the Mexican-American war and the annexation of lands. During this time, Anglo-Saxons viewed Mexicans as an inferior mixture of Spanish and indigenous heritages, and considered them

similar to Black slaves and the American Indigenous populations (Horsman, 1981). This process clearly defined a White versus “other” dichotomy.

Jacobson (1998) also describes Western expansion as a major factor in the construction of the White race. While he found that there was still a hierarchy among the European ethnic groups, he states that those groups were slowly falling under the category of White. Placing racial formations within a chronological context, the formation and expansion of the White race was gradual and also included subtler factors such as intergroup oppression and assimilation. Jacobson cites the Mexican-American war, the influx of Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the West Coast, and U.S. imperialism in the South Pacific as crucial in forming a new definition of the White race and an expanded definition of “other.”

Jacobson (1998) uses historical literature and mass media to highlight other factors in the construction of whiteness. Citing the early American novel *Modern Chivalry* (Brackenridge, 1792, 2009), Jacobson looks at the transformation of the Irish servant character Teague O’Regan as an example of how groups that were considered non-White set themselves apart from the “other” by allying themselves with the Anglo-Saxons. In the novel, Teague O’Regan also refers to the indigenous people as being savages, and claims that he would not engage in any trade relations but rather shoot them. Jacobson states that this transformation demonstrates to the Anglo-Saxons that the Irish had the potential of being good republicans. The transformation of the Brackenridge character was illustrative of one of the ways the Irish were able to join the Anglo-Saxon race.

It was not just the distinction between the Irish and the indigenous people that aided in the Irish becoming White. There was also a delineation between Protestants and Jews that aided the construction of whiteness. Jacobson (1998) found several examples within the mass media

where stereotypes of Jews were used in order to separate Jews, who were considered non-White, from Protestants, who were considered White. However, as time progressed, the act of distinguishing self from the “other” was not limited to the Irish. Jacobson describes how Jews made efforts to separate themselves from African-Americans through his example of the “Jazz Singer” (p. 111), in which a Jewish actor performed in blackface. Although there were many factors that led to the Jews’ economic success, they also engaged in intergroup oppression in order to distinguish themselves from the “other” and be considered White.

Brodkin (1998) agrees with Horsman (1981) that by the end of the 19th century, most Europeans were considered White. However, she found that Southern and Eastern European immigrants experienced instances of racism on the East Coast and the Midwest, while those who moved West were already considered White. She attributes this difference to rates of assimilation: Eastern European immigrants assimilated at a slower rate than those from Northern European countries, who more closely resembled Anglo-Saxons.

There was once a distinction between Northern European and Eastern European Jews in the 19th century, however, by the middle of the 20th century Jews were considered White (Brodkin, 1998). Brodkin highlights several factors that lead to the inclusion of Jews into the White race. She states that in the wake of WWII, many Jews entered the public mainstream and many Jewish intellectuals spoke on behalf of Whites and Whiteness. There was also a large influx of Jews into Hollywood, which perpetuated the model minority myth by equating Jewish values with those of middle-class, American Whites.

**Institutionalizing the White/Anglo-Saxon race.** Institutions played a large role in defining race during the first half of the 20th century. These racial constructions were created through immigration policies and citizenship rights, court decisions, legislation, and government

policies. Jacobson (1998) draws attention to the evolution of immigration policies in the U.S. and their role in constructing notions of whiteness. He begins with the massive influx of Irish immigrants in the 1840s, and then the subsequent quotas during the 1920s, which excluded the Chinese during the latter part of the 19th century. He asserts that these immigration restrictions “established a code of whiteness that was inclusive of all Europeans” (p. 72). During this period, all European immigrants were now considered White, in contrast to the Chinese who were considered Asian and replaced European immigrants as a source of cheap labor.

Jacobson (1998) also describes the role of citizenship in defining race. He cites the 1740 Congressional enactment that gave all free Whites the rights of citizenship. This enactment defined a citizen as someone who owned property—rather than being property, as slaves were—and those who were able to help put down a slave rebellion and fight in the land wars against the indigenous people. However, he found that it was not until later that specific court cases across the United States would play the largest role in defining who the free White persons were, and who was eligible to become a citizen. Jacobson found that there were some inconsistencies among court decisions, but people of Chinese, Indian, Armenian, Syrian, or Filipino descent were largely denied citizenship because they did not look White. It was these court decisions that made it possible for non-Anglo-Saxons to be considered White.

Omi and Winant (1994) also describe the role of citizenship in constructing race. While Jacobson (1998) concludes that being deemed White was based to a large extent on physical features, Omi and Winant cite several instances in California where the government struggled to place Mexicans and Chinese within the pre-established racial categories. In these instances, the government declared Mexicans as White, and gave them the rights of a free White person while the Chinese were considered “Indians” (p. 82) who had no political rights at that time. The

authors go on to show the fluidity of race when they highlight the changes that have taken place since the late 1800s, when those who were Spanish-speaking were given different racial status, and finally in the late 1900s, when the status of Hispanic was constructed. Leonardo (2013) states: “Because immigration and miscegenation laws regulate a citizenry’s ability to interact, [it] physically creates what a nation looks like” (p. 79). His quote illuminates the most important impact of citizenship rights on the construction of race.

Brodkin (1998) adds another perspective to racial constructions through a connection to slavery and capitalism. She asserts that racial categorizations were largely created in order to justify slavery and provide the European planter class with free labor, which they profited from immensely. Fields (1990) also describes the role of slavery in constructing race. She states that it was slavery that made it possible for the creation of a “Black” race made up of all the African peoples. Brodtkin further points out that the anti-miscegenation laws, which prevented interracial marriage among African, indigenous, and European slaves, were enacted in order to keep the racial categories separated and prevent rebellions through an intermixing and expansion of these oppressed groups.

The anti-miscegenation laws and later Jim Crow legislation in the American South have also influenced the constructions of race. Jacobson (1998) found that the segregation statutes established during the Jim Crow era classified all White persons as those who were simply not Black. Omi and Winant (1994) examine racial formation within a political context. They assert that due to the lack of political representation and inability to vote, people of color—and specifically African-Americans—have been living under a racial dictatorship. The authors also claim that there were three significant consequences: American identity was defined as White; it created racial divisions through institutions; and, similar to Fields’s (1990) argument,

consolidated the “other” by calling indigenous people from many different tribes in United States “natives” and labeling people from many regions of Africa “Black.”

Beyond Omi and Winant’s (1994) illumination of political exclusion, Brodtkin (1998) highlights other forms of exclusion that had a role in creating and defining race through the access to education, housing, and middle-class mobility. She states that governmental affirmative action policies such as the GI Bill now allowed Jews, the Irish, and Italians to buy homes and attend universities when they were previously excluded. Access to homes and an education brought European immigrants out of the working class and into the middle class, which was previously possible only for Anglo-Saxons. Brodtkin also states that African-Americans were given a disproportionate number of dishonorable discharges, effectively excluding them from receiving any benefits of the GI Bill. Also facing segregated schools, African Americans did not enjoy the same upward mobility as Jews, the Irish, and Italians.

Perhaps it is McWilliams (1964) who best describes the impact of racial construction within governmental institutions when he says that the consolidation of the White race is the result of institutionalized racism and individual bigotry. However, he quickly points out that the issue of racial inequality is “not a ‘natural’ fault of society but an aspect of the way a particular society is organized” (p. 313). He goes on to say:

It is all very well to open up department stores’ tearooms to Negro patronage, but too much emphasis on this type of activity can create the illusion that discrimination is merely a form of social bad manners to be corrected by a course in racial etiquette. (p. 313)

McWilliams identifies the importance of understanding how the construction of race has caused and resulted in institutionalized practices that have objectified, exploited, and excluded groups of

color. His quote illuminates how racial discrimination within an institutionalized framework affects people of color.

### **The Effect of Racial Formation on Training Teachers**

The previous section established that over the course of history, the social construction of race has created a binary where people of color are compared to White people (Jacobson, 1998; Horsman, 1981). In addition to this, through dominant discourse patterns, a narrative has emerged that largely erases wrongdoing on the part of White people in the subjection and exploitation of people of color and blames people of color for their own struggles (Foster, 2009; Van Dijk, 2000). These factors play out in two different ways in education. One is in the structure of schools, which are permeated by Whiteness (Leonardo, 2013; Howard, 1999). The other is in the classroom, in which White teachers subconsciously express their White identity through their teaching (Paley, 1989; McIntyre, 1997; Bloom & Peters, 2012; Utt & Tochluk, 2016). As a result, this section will present the challenges and rationale for integrating conversations on race into teacher education.

One of the largest challenges in dealing with race in teacher education is addressing it. Several studies (Case & Hemmings, 2005; Mazzei, 2008; Philip & Benin, 2014; and Gay & Kirkland, 2003) found that White teacher candidates shy away from conversations about race out of fear that they will be viewed as racist. The majority of teacher education programs—except those at historically Black colleges and those targeted toward training bilingual teachers—are mostly White. Case and Hemmings found that White women often made safe spaces for themselves where they did not speak up about issues of race, especially with family and friends. Mazzei points out that this silence is one that is passed down from elders to children, who felt that raising issues of race was unnecessary or rude. Philip also discovered that White teacher

candidates were silent regarding race because they felt their perspectives were not valued, or that racial conversations meant that White teachers would be unable to connect with students of color.

Frankenberg (1993) speaks to another challenge when she describes discursive dimensions of Whiteness. She states, “[d]iscursive repertoires may reinforce, contradict, conceal, explain, or ‘explain away’ the materiality or the history of a given situation” (p. 2). Focusing on Frankenberg’s notion of “explaining away,” it becomes clear that discursive practices have allowed what McIntosh (1989) refers to as “an invisible package of unearned assets which [White people] can count on cashing in on each day” (p. 1). McIntosh states that these discursive practices also cause White people to be unaware of, even oblivious to, their privilege. Having little or no awareness of privilege makes dialogue on racial inequity a challenge.

Leonardo (2004) offers another perspective on White privilege. He states that the discourse on White privilege is often framed in the passive voice. This grammatical construction demonstrates the way in which White people are unaware of their privilege and, as a result, not to blame. While he does not hold each White person responsible for the ills of society, he asserts that a shift in racial discourse is necessary in order to acknowledge what Lipsitz (1995) calls a possessive investment in Whiteness.

Frankenberg (1993) points out that many White people often see themselves as being non-racial, and that for women especially, racism is something that is external to them. Many White pre-service teachers also enter teacher education programs without concern about diversity issues (Milner, 2006). The perception that being White is non-racial and the lack of concern for issues such as race in education, along with Sleeter’s (1993) assessment that White pre-service teachers are afraid to talk about race and privilege, often leads individuals to state

that they do not see color. Schofield (2010) refers to this phenomenon as being colorblind, which not only denies the cultural heritage of students, but also negates the privilege and power White teachers possess. This colorblindness also leads to what Cochran-Smith (1995) describes as an oversimplification of cultures through the celebration of holidays, foods, and music to the detriment of teaching about race and social justice in the classroom.

King (1991) describes an important challenge within teacher education. She found White students avoided talking about race, claiming not to see color, along with approaching multicultural education in an oversimplified way. She states that her White students not only had an oversimplified view of slavery, but also their views perpetuated the notion that African Americans were an inferior race and that the United States is a meritocracy. This oversimplified view of race in the U.S., according to King, defends White privilege and leads to a lack of social ethics. King's findings help illustrate her point that many White teacher candidates fail to see the interconnected factors of racism on structural and institutional levels; she refers to this as "dysconscious racism."

King (1991) states that simply reading about race, being educated, and working in communities of color do not replace important dialogues around race and White privilege, a view that has been bolstered by other studies (Marx, 2004; Johnson Lachuk & Mosley, 2012). Marx found that despite many readings that placed students of color in a positive light, many of her White teacher candidates still held a deficit perspective of their students. However, in class these same candidates talked openly about the ills of racism. While Marx remained largely silent about these issues during the research process, she discovered that intervening more in classroom conversations was necessary to point out the various ways candidates held racist views of their students. Johnson Lachuck and Mosley found that even with White candidates who have a high

level of racial awareness, a lack of understanding of institutionalized racism led to a lack of critical engagement around issues of race in education.

Cochran-Smith (2000) approached racial discourse in her teacher education courses more directly. However, this resulted in the White students in her class viewing their conversations on race as not only sufficient, but perhaps excessive. Many students of color felt they never directly talked about issues of race at all. This disparity brings up another challenge within teacher education: when one group of students is more capable and willing to engage with issues of race than another. Cochran-Smith's findings also indicate that teacher educators need to think about how to best prepare teachers of color for multicultural teaching.

Swartz (1992) highlights another challenge in education that results from the construction of race. She states that public schools today still privilege knowledge constructed for and by Whites. Referring to it as the master script, she states that classroom practice, pedagogy, instructional materials, and theoretical paradigms silence the voices of people of color while legitimizing the voice of White, upper-class men, making their knowledge the standard by which all other knowledge is compared. Her analysis of textbooks also reveals that the discourse on slavery within these texts often provides a justification of slavery rather than a critique. She states that students must be taught to contest knowledge presented in textbooks through liberatory methods practiced by their teachers.

Leonardo (2013) summarizes how these challenges affect students of color in U.S. schools:

From curriculum to comportment, schools require that students adopt an obsessive-compulsive White mindset ... [and even] when students of color do not wholeheartedly adopt White normativity, they assimilate in order to succeed in schools. (p. 95)

Leonardo's quote describes one of the impacts the social construction of race has had for students of color in the United States.

Leonardo (2013) states that students of color are affected by pervasiveness of White narratives in curriculum. There are also several studies, however, that show that beliefs and philosophies are enacted when responding to student needs in their teaching practice (Alsup, 2006; Noyes, 2008; Otto, 2013; Burrige, 2014). As a result, studies show that while White teachers are often well intentioned and desire to be effective educators, their teaching and concept of self often demonstrate a lack of awareness of their privilege (McIntyre, 1997; Pennington, Brock & Ndura, 2012; Henfield & Washington, 2012; Bloom & Peters, 2012). Additionally, when White teachers are pushed to think more deeply about their identity as White educators, they begin to teach in a way that is beneficial to their students of color (Goldenberg, 2014; Ullucci, 2011; Utt & Tochluk, 2016).

### **Approaches to Racial Discourse in Teacher Education Programs**

This section looks at the varying approaches teacher education programs take when talking about race. The literature falls into three different categories: (1) teaching about race from either an institutional perspective or personal perspective; (2) looking at curriculum through the lens of race; and (3) community based teacher education where White candidates learn about and from communities of color. Incidentally, the first category also emerged in my findings, which you will see in chapter five.

Several scholars (Brodkin, 1998; Leonardo, 2013; Omi & Winant, 1994; Jacobson, 1998; and Fields, 1990) view capitalism, and specifically capitalist expansion through colonial imperialism, as a central feature in the construction of race in the United States. Leonardo concisely states: "Race' is less in people's heads and more in their hands. It is defined not

primarily with the circulation of ideas but with the distribution of goods” (p. 57). Additionally, both Leonardo and McLaren (1998) state that addressing issues of racial inequality, especially in the field of education, should begin with a critical understanding of capitalism.

McLaren (1998) also states that teacher education programs need to place racism within an economic context and encourage teacher educators to talk explicitly about the role that capitalism plays in White American dominance. Through these conversations, he hopes that pre-service teachers will begin to understand how dominant and subordinate groups emerge, and more important, how this dominance affects education as a whole.

One of the main ways to help teacher education students to understand racism within an economic context is to cultivate an understanding of institutionalized racism. Because conversations about race often can cause feelings of White guilt, defensiveness, or simply silence (Cochran-Smith, 2000), framing the conversation on race within an institutionalized context helps to provide a deeper understanding of racism. Levine-Rasky (2000) argues that approaching discourse on race from an institutional perspective is imperative and is critical in conversation about White privilege that focuses only on individual rather than systemic issues. She also states that focusing on the loss of cultural identity for White people often leads to a false relationship between the experiences of European immigrants and those of African-American and Native American populations.

Levine-Rasky’s (2000) findings are further supported by White (2011), who found that many pre-service teachers lack an understanding of institutionalized racism. This lack of understanding evolved because the context within which they grew up did not require them to question or interrogate why their schooling worked well for them but not for others. She also

found that many teacher candidates thought that racist and oppressive conditions were the fault of people of color rather than a result of slavery and institutionalized racist policies.

While understanding race within an institutional context, understanding one's position within society is also important, which was another trend found in the literature on racial discourse in teacher education. Howard's (1999) notion of positionality lays the groundwork for talking about race in teacher education programs. While he focuses entirely on White teachers, many of his recommendations for teacher education can be used to address issues of race with teachers from all racial and cultural backgrounds. However, he believes strongly that White people should cultivate an understanding of their own positions in society vis-à-vis race, socioeconomic status, and gender. He states that knowing and being able to reflect on one's self creates the ability to understand privilege. Through this awareness, teachers will be able to not only confront but also reject racist notions and through that process create a transformative White identity.

Several authors (White, 2011; Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Milner, 2006) view reflection on one's identity as a key component of teacher education. They believe reflection is especially important for White teachers, who may spend much of their lives completely unaware of their unearned privileges. They believe that teacher education programs should be structured to include significant opportunities for teacher candidates to reflect upon and interrogate their own identities. They state that unless we step outside and evaluate our lives, we will not understand that our perspectives are simply perspectives and not truth. King (1991) also argues that teachers need to understand how their position can be used to either educate or miseducate students. King believes that the goal of teacher education programs is to encourage students to be critical of their own education and as a result be reflective of their own practices as teachers.

Philip (2011) and Lowenstein (2009) approach White identity slightly differently. In contrast to the literature stating that White teachers come into the programs with no experience talking about race (Frankenberg, 1993; McIntosh, 1989; Cochran-Smith, 1995; Cochran-Smith, 2000; King, 1991; Sleeter, 1993) they argue that White teachers do have knowledge about issues of race. They go on to state that there is a tendency to assume that White people do not have any experiences with issues of race or diversity. They argue that most White teacher candidates have formed some ideas about race, whether they are undeveloped or in some cases misguided. They recommend that teacher educators assess what White candidates already know and use that as a starting point for conversation. Lowenstein believes it is important to emphasize what teachers do know, especially when the focus of many multicultural education courses is to discourage teachers from viewing students in a deficit manner. I think Philip describes this process best: "...it is from changes in individuals' sensemaking that collectively rearticulated meanings emerge" (p. 301). He believes that it is the change in their beliefs that is most central in the conversation, rather than assuming White candidates have little familiarity with issues of race.

It is Pollock (2008), however, who has put together the most comprehensive set of strategies for addressing race in education settings. Her work goes beyond the binary of reflective approach versus personal approach, and does both simultaneously. In the book *Everyday Antiracism: Getting Real About Race in Schools*, contributors outline the social construction of race while also describing the salience of both race and racism. The book also describes both personal and institutionalized racism, along with strategies for addressing issues of race in the classroom through curriculum and dialogue. Pollock describes teachers who are prepared to engage with issues of race as ones who are conscious and thoughtful about how their everyday actions might perpetuate racial inequality.

Cochran-Smith (2000) offers another strategy for addressing race in teacher education programs. She argues that teacher educators should teach students how to read all texts as racialized texts. Cochran-Smith defines texts as curriculum, field experiences, and pedagogies, along with actual course readings. She asserts that pre-service teachers need to examine these texts through the lens of race. By doing this, they will begin to take notice of whose perspectives are being represented and whose voices are being silenced within their own readings. Similarly, Maher and Tetreault (1997) believe that the role of teacher education is to illuminate the intellectual domination of Whites in education at any level. They argue that we cannot only present literature from diverse writers, but we also must push students to look deeply at that literature to find alternative truths.

Young (2007) also believes that in multicultural education, and more specifically when engaging in discourse on culturally responsive teaching, everything should be viewed through the lens of race. Placing race at the forefront of teacher education helps to avoid tokenism and acknowledges the salience of race despite it being a social construction. She argues that the consequences of not placing race at the center of the discourse will result in the perpetuation of racist ideologies to the detriment of students of color.

Integrating community service learning with multicultural teacher education courses is also key in preparing teachers for work in diverse communities (Zeichner & Melnick, 1996; Boyle-Baise & Sleeter, 2000; Johnson Lachuk & Mosley, 2012). Zeichner and Melnick believe that many schools are isolated from communities and thus the community culture. Additionally, student teaching placements “do not provide the kind of contact that is needed to overcome negative attitudes toward culturally different students” (p. 179). Boyle-Baise and Sleeter also found that many of their teacher candidates grew up in communities with very little racial or

economic diversity. As a result, many teacher candidates hold a deficit perspective of their students. Their approach was to engage candidates in a community service learning project. The authors hoped that teacher candidates would be able “contextualize marginalized communities within systems of unequal power” (Boyle-Baise and Sleeter, 2000, p. 7). Boyle-Baise and Sleeter also believe that community service learning projects would “help preservice teachers learn to view communities in terms of their strengths and resources, and to see community problems in terms of political and economic issues such as racism or loss of jobs” (p. 7), reinforcing the argument that teacher education programs should address issues of race from an institutional and structural perspective using candidates’ experiences in community service learning as a forum for these conversations.

Several authors also recommend that teacher candidates be made aware of their perceptions of how parents participate in their children’s education (Baquedano-Lopez, Alexander & Hernandez, 2013; Lareau, 2000; Valdés, 1996). They believe that teachers determine parent involvement in school by the amount of time parents are physically present at the school or engage students in academic work at home. The authors found that these perceptions of parent involvement were rooted in the teachers’ lack of understanding of student and family culture and that their expectations were based on the teachers’ middle-class values. As a result, providing teacher candidates with opportunities to learn about the families and communities where they will be teaching is vital in altering the perception that parents who are not able to be at school or help their children with homework do not care about their children’s education.

## **Preparing Teachers for Work in Bilingual Classrooms**

The history of bilingual education in the United States is complex (Trujillo, 1998; San Miguel, 2004). San Miguel explains that although bilingual education had been around since the 1600s, it was not until the mid-1960s—during the civil rights era—that official bilingual education policy was established and federal bilingual education policy was created in what was called Title VII. Unfortunately, by the 1980s there was increasing resistance to bilingual education, which resulted in the undermining of policy. By the beginning of the new millennium, bilingual education policy was repealed and Title VII funds were no longer available to bilingual education programs.

Despite this challenging history, the political and cultural motivations of bilingual education advocacy distinguish bilingual education from monolingual education (Trujillo, 1998; San Miguel, 2004). Trujillo states that the successful creation of the Title VII education policy created a premise for bilingual education where the intent was to empower Spanish-speaking Latino youth, to reject the pervasive assimilationist perspective, and make students proud of their heritage through schooling in their home language. The demand for bilingual education preceded the first publications on teaching ethnic studies (Banks, 1970; 1973) by only a few years, however the creation of the Title VII education policy did not make teaching in a culturally responsive way a suggestion, but rather mandatory. As such, bilingual education in the United States has a long precedent of asking teachers to value and empower student home culture, which requires unique training. In this section you will find the literature that currently exists on bilingual teacher education which falls into four categories: (1) training teachers for work with English language learner and immigrant students; (2) bilingual teacher identity as a resource; (3)

professional development and new teacher mentoring; and (4) Educar para transformer/  
Education for transformation.

**Training teachers for work with English language learner/immigrant students.** Cline and Nocochea's (2006) study of teachers working in the border regions of the United States reveals that teachers working with recently immigrated students should possess some understanding of the education systems where students come from. Because immigrants have experienced school in classrooms outside of the United States, it is important to understand students' educational frames of reference, along with understanding the role parents play in different educational contexts. They also believe that teachers possess flexibility, understanding, and compassion in order to provide an inclusive environment for recently immigrated students.

Similarly, Sánchez and Ek (2009) view teacher preparation for bilingual teachers as a place to help prepare candidates for the reality of working with immigrant families. The authors state that the anti-immigrant backlash the United States has witnessed in the last six years causes many students and their families to live in fear of deportation. This issue is particularly present in bilingual classrooms, and consequently, bilingual teachers often have to help console their students about issues related to immigration or national politics. As a result, the authors argue that many bilingual teachers, even those of Latino descent, need to challenge their own ideologies. They believe that teacher candidates' attitudes toward immigrants should be interrogated in relation to the dominant discourse, which can be an assimilationist and deficit perspective of immigrant students. To help address this deficit view, Sánchez and Ek state that teacher preparation programs need to offer the opportunity for teacher education candidates to reflect and explore their own political ideologies, especially around immigration issues.

Sánchez and Ek (2009) also found that although teachers advocated for immigrants, some were ill-informed about immigration and education policy. As a result, they recommend that pre-service teachers understand not only how to provide instruction in two languages, but also how to comprehend the changing language policies and the effects of anti-immigrant legislation on children and families. While being able to provide instruction in two languages is unique only to bilingual teachers, teaching immigrant students is not. In 2009, 19% of students spoke a language other than English at home (U.S. Census, 2009).

Ovando, Combs, and Collier (2006) address Sánchez and Ek's (2009) claim that bilingual teachers need to know how to effectively teach in two languages. However, the authors' recommendations are ones that all teachers would benefit from implementing. Ovando, Combs, and Collier approach teacher preparation from an integrative perspective. Rather than separating issues of language acquisition and critical pedagogy, the authors present seven guidelines to help bilingual and second language teachers. Drawing on many linguistic and cognitive development theories, Ovando, Combs, and Collier put together a set of guidelines that range from allowing and respecting a student's first language, viewing bilingualism as an asset, to providing relevant, balanced language instruction. They believe that these basic guidelines are ones all teachers should enact in order to be effective second language instructors.

Ovando, Combs, and Collier (2006) later assert that teachers need to acknowledge and respect students' first languages. The authors believe that respecting students' first language will not only help them to acquire a second language, but that active encouragement of bilingualism affirms that students' home language is valued and correct. They and many other scholars (Gay, 2002; Banks & Banks, 2016b; Delpit, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Irvine, 2010) state that curriculum should be specifically designed to meet the needs of bilingual students. This means

that the curriculum is not only in a child's first language, but also reflects his or her culture.

Ovando, Combs, and Collier cite linguistic research demonstrating that learning to read in two languages poses no threat to acquisition of language or literacy skills in the long run. This balanced approach to curriculum and pedagogy helps to engage students, raise awareness, and make learning more culturally relevant for their students.

Villamil Tinajero and Spencer's (2002) study of a successful bilingual teacher education program included a partnership between the university, program administrators, and the school district. By establishing a set of goals for engaging ELL students, all three stakeholders agreed upon the type of content and pedagogical knowledge necessary to effectively teach in bilingual classrooms. Because the program focused on preparing bilingual teachers for teaching math and science, the university provided access to courses such as chemistry and physics for teachers, which improved their content and pedagogical knowledge. The methods learned as a result of this collaboration hoped to emphasize the importance of "guid[ing] and assist[ing] students as they engage in exploration, questioning, analyzing and problem solving across all learning contexts" (p. 248). In turn, understanding these concepts "would enable ELL students to become successful, independent learners and critical thinkers" (p. 248). While these authors assert that cultivating this type of agency for ELL students is critical, all students would benefit from this type of educational approach.

**Teacher identity as a resource.** Another important area of focus is how identity affects their teaching. Monzó and Rueda (2003) assert that teachers come to the classroom with certain knowledge that is determined by where and how they are raised. As evident in this chapter, most of the literature on multicultural education looks at how White teacher identity affects how they understand issues of race, culture, and most important their students. Unfortunately, there is very

little literature on how to best train teacher candidates of color to work in diverse classrooms (Sleeter, 2001). Because many bilingual teachers are teachers of color, several authors (Riojas Clark, Guardia Jackson, & Prieto, 2011; Monzó & Rueda, 2003) have examined using identity as a resource when teaching in diverse classrooms. Their studies have implications for how teacher education programs train candidates for both bilingual and non-bilingual teacher classrooms.

Riojas Clark, Guardia Jackson, and Prieto (2011) state that a teacher's identity plays an important role in how he or she teaches. They draw upon previous research in psychology, sociology, and cultural studies, which provides theories for identity development. They discovered that many Latino teacher candidates had not explored their own cultural identities, largely because they were not given the chance to learn about their cultures during their own schooling. As a result, the authors offer an approach for teacher education programs that encourages teachers to reflect upon their own identities in order to prepare them for their work as democratic and transformative teachers. They claim that through a "metamorphic transformation model," pre-service teachers engage "in a process that involves reflection and dialogue in which the examination of cumulative life experiences provides *apoyo* [support] and impact instructional philosophies and practices for teachers" (p. 30). They believe this model will help teacher candidates, but especially teacher candidates of color, to become culturally responsive and transformative teachers.

Similar to Riojas Clark, Guardia Jackson, and Prieto (2011), Monzó and Rueda (2003) state that using teachers' funds of knowledge also makes education more transformative for students. They state that when teachers come from the same background as their students, they can access their own funds of knowledge in order to create curriculum and instruction that match the contexts of students' lives. The authors state that teacher education programs—especially

pipeline programs that train paraeducators to become bilingual teachers—should offer the opportunity for teacher candidates to reflect upon their own identities. As seen in my previous description of this study, providing the opportunity to reflect and interrogate their own identities is necessary because, despite having the same background as their students, some participants held deficit views of their students. Achinstein and Ogawa (2011) also focused on teacher identity. They found that teachers of color were becoming increasingly burned out because they and their students' identities were not being affirmed in the schools. The authors state that, due to the challenges experienced by teachers of color, more and varied types of support are necessary.

**Professional development and new teacher mentoring.** Rather than placing the responsibility of training teachers solely on teacher preparation programs, Montañó and Burstein (2006) and Varghese (2004) see potential in professional development as a way to support bilingual teachers. Their suggestions are examples of how professional development can be more responsive to teachers' needs, which would benefit all teachers. Their claims are further supported by research by Boyle-Baise and McIntyre (2008) who state that professional development opportunities should also include training on getting to know families and communities.

Varghese (2006) conducted a study of novice bilingual teachers in urban schools. She found that professional development at these school sites was a place where bilingual teachers' roles were both contested and better articulated. She also discovered that there was a gap between what bilingual teachers wanted in terms of preparation and training for their work and what professional development trainers felt they needed. The professional development coordinators pushed for a more decontextualized and theoretical agenda on literacy and language teaching methods, while the teachers were interested in language policy and advocacy strategies.

Varghese states that the needs of bilingual teachers are unique because their positions require that they assert agency in establishing language policy in their classrooms and developing bilingual curriculum. As a result, her article highlights ways to make professional development more congruent with the needs of novice teachers. When considering the challenges teachers who work in non-bilingual classrooms experience, we should also examine how all teachers can, or, better said, *should*, take on roles that are separate from their work as teachers. For example, teachers need to be prepared to provide academic support, connect students and families to legal and social services, and provide students with support related to gender and sexuality issues. Because of these many roles teachers take on, Varghese raises the important issue regarding the type of professional development provided for teachers, especially when their roles extend beyond that of classroom teachers.

In their study of teachers working in the border regions, Cline and Necochea (2006) assert that bilingual teachers need ongoing professional development. They believe it is a critical component for effective instruction. Their view of professional development helps to provide instructional practices necessary for students and teachers. The authors believe that after teacher preparation programs, teachers should already have some competencies in their content areas. As a result, professional development should focus on adapting and modifying the curriculum and methods in order to meet the needs of their students. While their study is focused on bilingual teachers, looking at how to adapt scripted curriculum to meet the needs of students is vital. The authors also state that teachers working in near the border of the United States and Mexico need specialized training to better understand the issues that pertain to that location. I believe, however, that regardless of the region where schools are located, all teachers would benefit from understanding the issues facing those who live in the community.

Sánchez and Ek (2009) see pre-service education on immigration issues and policies as a vital component of teacher preparation. However, given the changing nature of immigration policy, they believe continuing professional development on how to best advocate for immigrant families is essential. The authors also define and interrogate attitudes toward immigrants, which cannot take place in one class, or even in a series of classes, over the course of a certification program. As a result, providing a space for continual reflection on what immigrant students need and the attitudes teachers harbor toward that population of students is necessary. Sánchez and Ek argue that bilingual teachers need two types of support: one for teaching and another for activism. I believe that all teachers need this supportive framework.

Montaño and Burstein (2006) critique traditional forms of professional development. They state that it rarely addresses a “Chicana/o oppositional pedagogy [which] is the vehicle used to ... create a safe space in which their students negotiate their Chicano/a identity” (p. 38). They argue that most schooling experiences do not validate or include issues Chicano/a students face, which is an experience many students of color share. Since the culture of many students of color is largely overlooked in schools, professional development on how to create a safe space for students of color to negotiate their identities is vital. The authors also believe that Chicano/a educators need not only professional development to bolster an oppositional pedagogy, but also a space for other Chicana/o educators to come together and support one another in their challenging work. They mention the isolation many teachers feel when trying to engage in critical education work with their students. As a result, providing opportunities for like-minded teachers to come together across schools and content areas is an important consideration to make when considering professional development. Organizations such as Rethinking Schools in the

Mid-West and Teachers for Social Justice that have chapters along the West Coast are examples of places where teachers can find such support.

Bustos Flores, Treviño-García, Claeys, Hernández, and Hernández-Sheets (2011) approach professional development from the perspective of novice teacher induction. The authors state that new teachers need multiple ways to connect with a mentor and fellow colleagues. They state that this should happen through conferencing and coaching in addition to opportunities to see master teachers in workshops, seminars, and institutes. Bustos Flores et al. think that teacher education programs should ensure that each candidate has access to professional development and induction support before leaving the program.

Villamil Tinajero and Spencer (2002) offer another approach to mentoring. They found that within their program, the mentor relationship was vital in the development of the teacher. The relationships, however, went beyond coaching and support. Mentors and novice teachers presented at conferences on subjects such as how to engage parents in students' learning and improving math and science education in bilingual classrooms. These types of collaborations serve as a way to build skills for novice teachers and give them an opportunity to feel a sense of power and agency over their teaching practices.

**Educar para transformar (Education for transformation).** Grinberg and Saavedra's (2000) framing of bilingual education within a framework of postcolonial domination requires us to ask the question, What is the purpose of bilingual education? They, along with Cline and Necochea (2006), emphasize the need for multicultural education, diversity, culture, and culturally relevant pedagogy coursework. It is clear, however, that there are many approaches to teaching multicultural education, all of which have had mixed results (Sleeter, 2001), especially for preparing White teachers for work in diverse classrooms. Bustos Flores, Hernández Sheets,

and Riojas Clark (2011) in the book *Teacher Education for Bilingual Student Populations: Educar Para Transformar*, along with Montañó and Burstein (2006) and Villamil Tinajero and Spencer (2002), provide several recommendations for teacher education that apply to non-bilingual classrooms and consequently have implications for teacher education as a whole.

Hernández Sheets, Araujo, Calderon, and Indiatsi (2011) point out an important gap in the research when they highlight the lack of empirical data on the impact of diversity coursework on teaching practice. They propose an alternative way of offering diversity coursework to provide teacher candidates with strategies and practices they can use in their classrooms. They state that reforming of diversity coursework in teacher education is vital for training bilingual teachers and suggest a curriculum that is separated into three parts: an introduction to key concepts and theories, connections between theories, and applying theory to classroom practices. Their approach addresses the critique that multicultural education courses are too theoretical. Looking at connections between theories also helps students to make sense of the varying concepts within multicultural education. Their suggestions are a starting point for reform in multicultural and diversity teacher preparation courses, which makes education for transformation possible.

Another important part of education for transformation is empowering teacher candidates during their training (Villamil Tinajero & Spencer, 2002). Villamil Tinajero and Spencer state that teacher education programs often aim, but are usually unsuccessful, at empowering candidates to be decision-makers within the program. They found that when candidates were treated as professionals by including them in decision-making processes, it encouraged teachers to use similar strategies in their classrooms.

Bustos Flores, Hernandez Sheets, and Riojas Clark (2011) outline the necessary elements for a teacher preparation program for pre-service bilingual teachers. Their teacher preparation model is “conceptualized within two overarching, interdependent frameworks, *transformación* [transformation] and *revolución* (revolution) with three interconnecting dimensions—*iluminación* (illumination), praxis, and *concientización* [conscientization], directing pragmatic content” (p. 14). See Figure 1 for a visual representation of their model.

Figure 1. Visual representation of the concept of educar para transformer found on p. 14 of text.



*Educar Para Transformar 15*

the socio-political, economic, familial, and legal influences of schooling, as well as acknowledge the developmental nature of learning to teach. While there are more topics to consider in this dimension we include three: sociopolitical issues, policy matters, and apprenticeships. Discussion on the dimensions follow and are elaborated further in other chapters in this text. See Figure 2.1: *Educar para Transformar*

***Iluminación***

*Educar's* program design contains specific and sustained curricular content and field experiences for *aspirantes* to experience a personal evolution that questions existing beliefs, enhances ethnic identity, initiates teacher identity, and promotes efficacy (see Chapter 3 and 7). This dimension also focuses on the development

The authors provide a rationale and a set of techniques for each component of their program and draw heavily upon teacher education research, learning theory, transformative pedagogy and Freire's (1993) concept of praxis. They claim that teacher education programs should be restructured in a way that prepares teachers for work in bilingual classrooms, where the goal of their practice is to empower bilingual youth and foster an understanding of how education can be a form of liberation. While focusing this type of training for teachers that work with minority language students is critical, all students should have this type of educational opportunity.

Montaño and Burstein (2006) state that education for transformation “includes activities that invite their students to question and take action against the sociopolitical realities affecting marginalized communities” (p. 31). This type of teaching practice provides a concrete example of what education for transformation can look like in classroom practices and illustrates what teachers from all backgrounds should be implementing in their classrooms.

### **Culturally Responsive and Multicultural Teaching in Practice**

Pollock, Deckman, Mira, and Shalaby (2009) illuminate the challenges of integrating race into teacher education programs by framing the discussion around the question, What can I do? Their focus on the “doing” aspect of teaching can move beyond only talking about race with children toward including and implementing culturally relevant and responsive practices. Although talking about race is an important aspect of multicultural and culturally responsive teaching, it is only one part of the many pedagogical strategies that can be used to engage and effectively teach students of color. Unfortunately, culturally responsive teaching can be difficult to conceptualize given the curricular constraints and the heavy emphasis on test preparation. Despite this, scholars of multicultural education and culturally relevant pedagogies have provided several concrete examples of how to better meet the needs of all students, but especially those from diverse backgrounds. This final part of the literature review serves as the lens through which I examined the teaching practices of the four classroom teachers who participated in the study.

**Frameworks for culturally responsive and multicultural teaching.** Gay (2010) provides a comprehensive overview of culturally responsive teaching theory and practice. She defines culturally responsive teaching as “using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of references, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters

more relevant to and effective for them” (p. 31). Gay stresses the need for culturally responsive teaching because she believes that what teachers deem to be good practices and what they expect from students are rooted in their own cultural norms, often established by the dominant group. As a result, when students do not live up to these expectations, teachers form a deficit viewpoint of their students.

Gay (2010) also highlights the importance of understanding student learning and communication styles. However, her overview of practices has been very integral in my analysis of current classroom teachers. She describes the need for empowering students through the material, student choice and authenticity, cooperative learning, and most important, the use of students’ personal experiences as a central part of the curriculum. Gay states that teacher can empower students by “bolstering students’ morale, providing resources and personal assistance, developing an ethos of achievement, and celebrating individual accomplishments” (p. 35). She states that teaching in this way can be risky, but in order to demonstrate her commitment to this type of instruction, she also includes several examples from her own teaching. Through an explanation of her own class assignments, she asserts that she never asks students to reproduce information, but rather has them work cooperatively, encouraging them to think about and complete her assignments within the context of the course, their readings, and discussion. While this approach can be challenging for her students, she feels that the process helps them to think more deeply about their learning.

Banks (2016a) also provided me with two other frameworks that helped me to analyze classroom practice. Banks’s five dimensions of multicultural education—equity pedagogy, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, empowering school culture, and multicultural content integration—help teachers to consider curriculum along with pedagogy, and the larger

school context. The three dimensions that were most integral to my study were those of prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and multicultural curriculum integration. In prejudice reduction, teachers integrate curriculum and activities that reduce prejudice in and out of the classroom. Equity pedagogy asks teachers to focus not only on what they teach, but how they teach it, in order to assure that their lessons are equitable and accessible for all students. Multicultural content integration is the amount of multicultural content that is integrated into the classroom. The levels of content integration are explained more completely below.

Banks's (2016a) concept of multicultural curriculum reform instructs pre- and in-service teachers on creating and evaluating units and curriculum. This typology begins with a contributions approach that focuses mainly on superficial teaching of heroes and holidays or the more surface aspects of culture. The additive approach describes the small aspects of multiculturalism added to the curriculum without being embedded in the curriculum or fundamentally changing or challenging mainstream knowledge. The transformative approach asks that the framework of the curriculum or lesson be altered in order to integrate multiple perspectives and challenge how knowledge is constructed. The social action approach requires teachers and students to use what they have learned to create social change in the school or community. This typology helps to assess the level of multicultural education integration into lessons and serves as a way for teachers to evaluate their own curriculum.

Many scholars of multicultural education (Schniedewind & Davidson, 2006; Silver, Strong, & Parini, 1997; Gay, 2002; Bondy & Ross, 2008; Mawhinny & Sagan, 2007; Sapon-Shevin, 2008; Cochran-Smith, 1995; Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2005; Banks & Banks, 2016b; Grant & Gillette, 2006; Powell, Cantrell, Malo-Juvera & Correll, 2016; and Paley, 1989) have provided answers to the question, What can I do? What they recommend falls into two major

categories. The first is building relationships with students and learning about the community where students are from and where the school is located. The second is curriculum reformation and the integration of student culture into the classroom, along with finding ways to involve all the major stakeholders when building a curriculum or practice around your students.

**Building and learning about community.** Schniedewind and Davidson (2006) describe several methods for getting to know and building relationships with students. Their work also provides specific teaching practices and lessons teachers can use at various times in the school year. These lessons range from building community within the classroom to specific multicultural content integration. Silver, Strong, and Parini (1997) also add to the framework through their research on learning style differences. Their unique approach to learning encourages teachers to get to know students' learning styles as a way to better meet their needs. While learning styles do not typically fall under the umbrella of multicultural education, Gay (2002) states that it is very common for learning styles to be shared among students with the same cultural background. Scholars such as Bondy and Ross (2008), Mawhinny and Sagan (2007), and Sapon-Shevin (2008) speak to the ways in which teachers should interact with students as well as how teachers build community in their classrooms.

Another aspect of building community involves learning about and understanding the community students come from. Cochran-Smith (1995) states that in order for teachers—especially White teachers—to be effective educators in urban classrooms, they must understand the community where the school is located and where the students are from. She recommends that during teacher preparation teacher candidates should live in a community different from their own. Depending on the quality and support during their preparation, Cochran-Smith's recommendations can help White candidates understand how geography and culture are related

and to understand that everyone, regardless of race, has a culture. Moll and Arnot-Hopffer (2005) take Cochran-Smith's notion of learning about the community to another level. They assert that teachers should spend time walking around the community where the school is located as well as ask students to photograph their neighborhoods in order to gain a broader perspective on how students see and define their communities.

Gay (2002) describes a series of practices in which teachers can engage in order to become culturally responsive educators. She encourages teachers to gain a cultural knowledge base by getting to know students both personally and academically through what she calls culturally responsive caring. She also states that this knowledge should be used to build a curriculum that is relevant and engaging for students. Gay also describes the importance of cooperative learning and the integration of music and movement, specifically for Latino and African-American learners. She also describes curriculum in two ways. She states that textbooks have become the centerpiece of many classrooms, and that despite progress, they still contain stereotypes and historically inaccurate information. As a result, she thinks that transparent teaching of these stereotypes and inaccuracies will lead students to be more critical of textbooks as they progress in their education. In addition to textbook curriculum, Gay believes that reform of the curriculum is necessary. She states, however, that reform must result from collaboration between parents and community members in order to ensure that all voices are represented.

Reflective teaching is another important component of becoming a culturally responsive educator. Grant and Gillette (2006) highlight Dewey's (1933) educational philosophy and the importance of reflection when teaching, especially in multicultural classrooms. Paley (1989) perhaps provides an excellent example of reflective teaching. By using herself as an example, Paley demonstrates how a White teacher can reflect on her own practice and have effective

interactions with students of color in urban classrooms. These practices require teachers and teacher candidates to have a deep understanding of multicultural education and the complexity of race. They also need the ability and space to reflect upon their work in a way that is beneficial to their students.

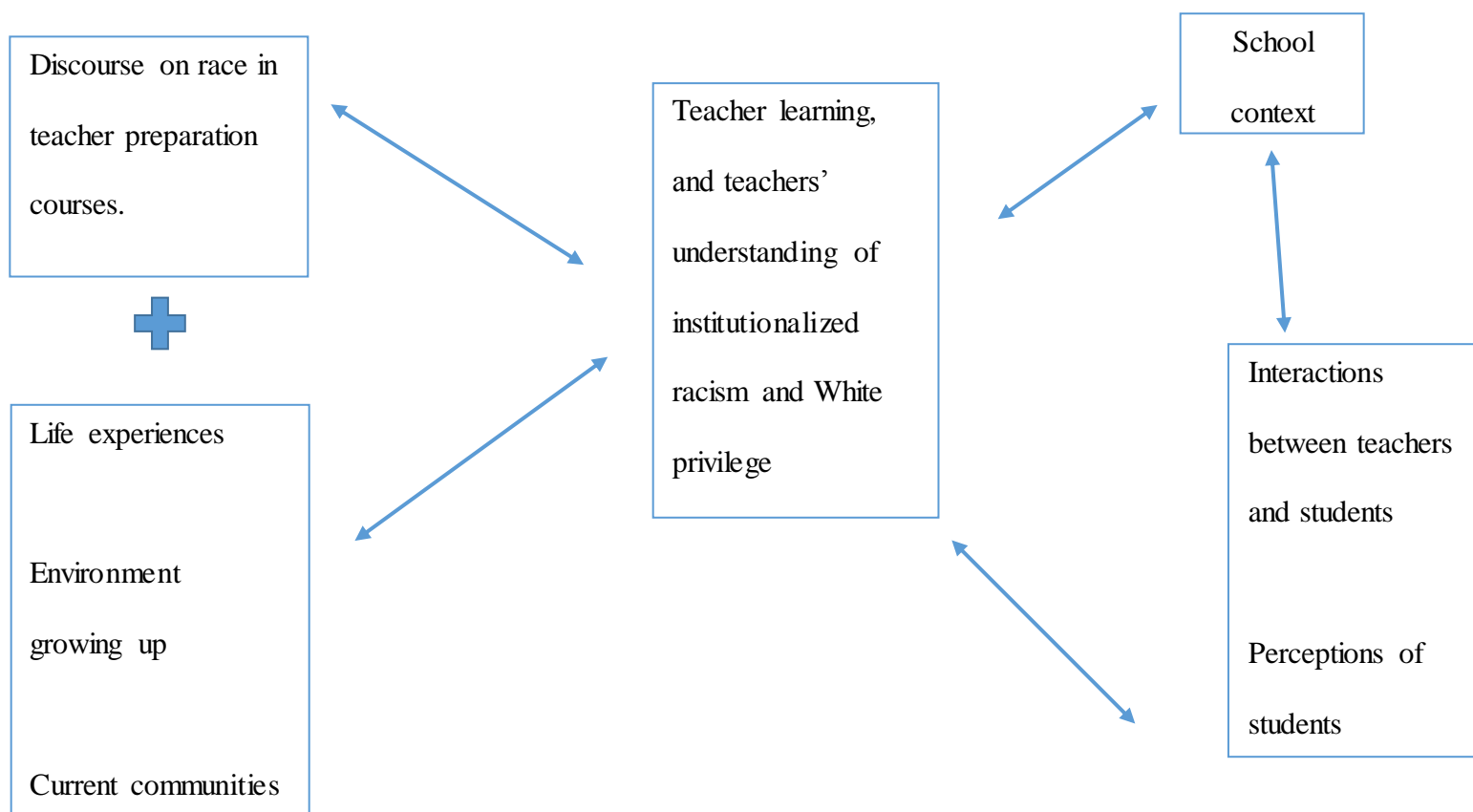
## **Conclusion**

Over the course of my dissertation, the readings described in this review helped inform my research questions and locate places in need of further research. By studying racial formations in the United States, I was able to conceptualize the role teacher education can play in changing the dominant discourse on race and equity. This led to the study of the varying approaches to talking about race in teacher education. In my review of those studies, I was able to pinpoint and examine strategies that are helpful in creating discourse about the history of race in the United States and racism in education. It was looking at the literature on bilingual teacher preparation, however, that illuminated the truly dynamic aspect of the work. Because the premise of bilingual programs is to empower and validate students' home culture, the type of training bilingual teachers need is equally dynamic. Although the studies reviewed in this section of the chapter all aim to prepare teachers for work with students of color, there were no articles that focused entirely on racial discourse in bilingual teacher education. As a result, this study fills that gap by bringing two separate bodies of literature —racial discourse in teacher education and bilingual teacher preparation—together. Finally, theories of culturally relevant and multicultural education were vital in my analysis of teaching practice. Gay (2002, 2010), Banks (2016a), and the theories of Bourdieu (1977) were fundamental in my process of creating a framework for analysis. I will explain the application of Bourdieu's work to this dissertation in my conceptual framework in chapter three.

### Chapter 3: Conceptual Orientation of the Study

As stated in previous chapters, the formation of racial ideology for White people is often an invisible process due to a system that privileges them. In this chapter, I will make this process explicit. The theories described in this framework helped me to understand how ideologies about race are formed and reproduced for White bilingual teachers and how these ideologies and the contexts in which they teach influenced their practices. In figure 1 below, a visual representation of my framework is presented.

Figure 2. Conceptual Framework



Above in figure 2, I have represented what I believe is an influential relationship between teachers' life experience—which includes where they attended school and received their teaching certification—and their understanding of race. I also investigated the relationship

between their understandings of race, the differing contexts in which they teach, and their teaching practice. I have chosen to frame the relationship between teacher education, life experiences, and a teachers' understanding of race as reciprocal, meaning all three of these points of focus influence each other. Similarly, the last point of focus—teacher practice—is also reciprocal, meaning that the school context and the sanctioned teaching practices could inform or change the teachers' race ideologies. While teachers may enhance their understanding of race and privilege through their work in classrooms, this study focuses on the ways in which school contexts and teachers' understanding of race influence classroom practices.

In order to examine these relationships more closely, I have turned to Bourdieu's (1977, 1992) theories of *habitus* and *field* to help me understand and analyze my findings. Habitus was primarily used to investigate how racial ideologies are formed by White bilingual teachers. However, it is also equally important to understand how racial ideologies are maintained and reproduced. Therefore, I will highlight the relationship between habitus or cultural production with theories of racial discourse. Theories within racial discourse analysis are used to analyze the language teachers use to describe their students and their experiences interacting with people of a different race than themselves.

Because my study took place in two contexts, an analysis of these contexts was necessary. Bourdieu's (1992) theory of field helped me to analyze and understand the rules, constraints, and cultures of both the teacher education program in which the participants studied and the schools in which they worked. Using field as the framework allowed me to analyze the pedagogies used in the teacher education courses I observed, which influenced how current teacher candidates engaged in classroom discourse around race and gained both practical and theoretical knowledge. As a result, I examined theories of learning in professional spaces as they

relate to a particular field. Further, I used field to help analyze the ways in which school contexts influence teacher practice.

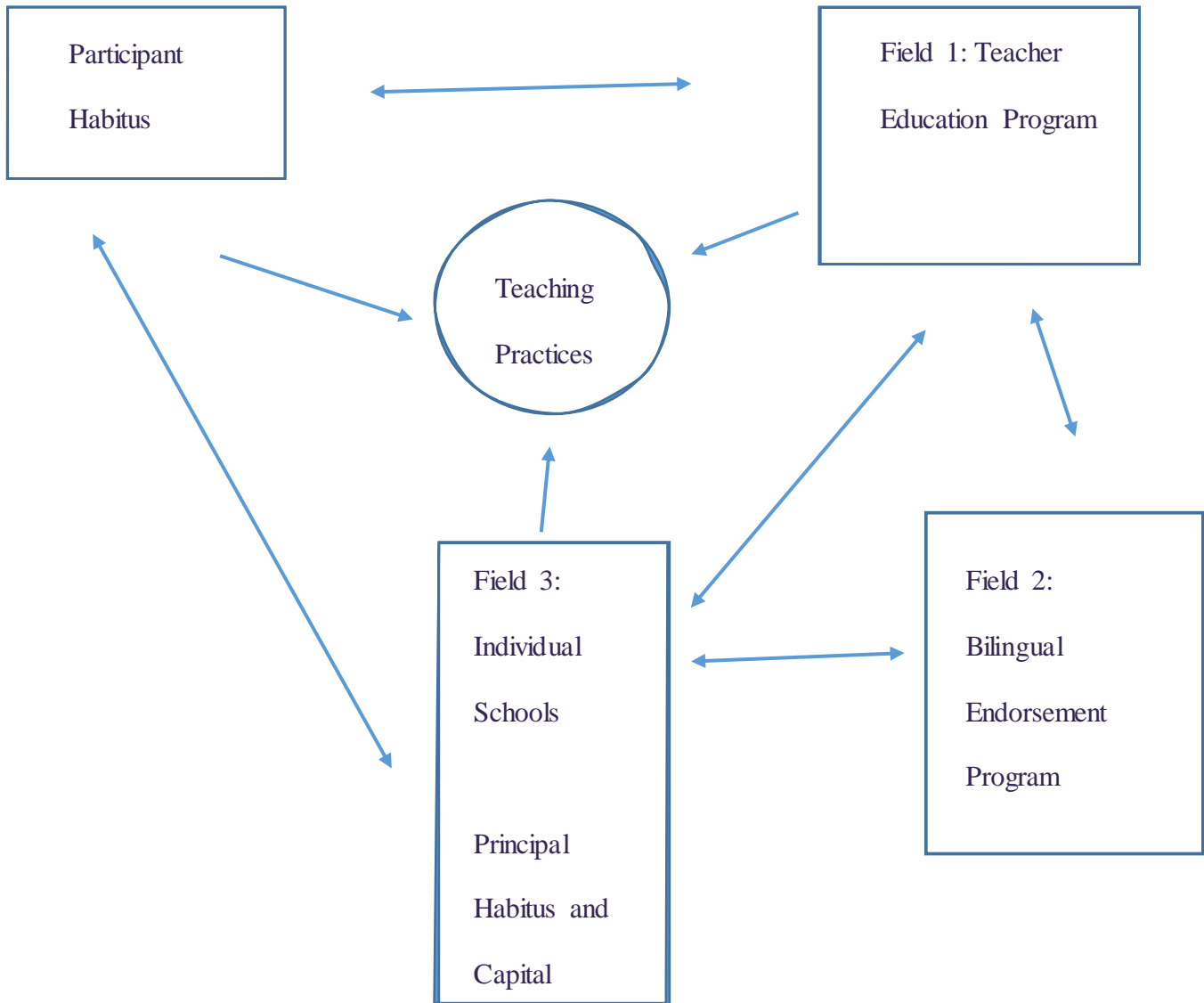
Grenfell (1996) suggests that analysis of the field and habitus should be viewed as a research methodology. As such, Bourdieu (1992) states that a particular field should be analyzed in three parts:

1. Analyze the habitus of the agents; the systems of dispositions they have acquired from a particular life context.
2. Map the objective of structure of relations between positions in the field.
3. Analyze the position of the field within the fields; in particular, to those defining the legitimate content of the discourse. (pp. 104-105)

Grenfell adds that this approach makes visible the relations between the individual and the field, along with positions within the field. This approach helps to illuminate the capital certain individuals and fields have, which influences teachers and their classroom practices.

Because of these complicated relationships a visual representation (see Figure 3) is used to show the (inter)relationships of the variables in my study. Figure 3 illustrates that the participants' habitus and both of the fields—the teacher education program and the school— influence teaching practice. Each field is determined by the habitus and the capital of those within the field. For example, professors, department heads, and principals play a significant role in how classes are taught in the teacher education program and the types of practices expected of teachers in the classroom. The three fields of study have a reciprocal relationship—they inform each other and the participants' habitus. It is important to note, however, that the participant's habitus does not necessarily influence either field perhaps because of her lack of capital within that field.

Figure 3: Theoretical Framework



### **Habitus: Formation and Reproduction of Racial Ideology**

A central theory for understanding the production of culture is Bourdieu's (1977) "habitus." Levinson (2015) describes "habitus" as "the deeply habituated ways of thinking and acting, the 'schemes of perception,' that guide conduct" (p. 120). Mills and Gale (2007) state that habitus

characterizes the recurring patterns of class outlook—the beliefs, values, conduct, speech, dress and manner—which are inculcated by everyday experiences within the family, the peer group and the school. Implying habit, or unthinking-ness in actions, the habitus operates below the level of calculation and consciousness, underlying and conditioning and orienting practices by providing individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives without consciously obeying rules explicitly posed as such. That is, the habitus disposes actors to do certain things, orienting their actions and inclinations, without strictly determining them (p. 436).

The above quote reveals that Bourdieu (1977) believed that our actions and beliefs are a result of our past conditions and influence how we engage and undertake practice. He asserts that these beliefs or representations are often created arbitrarily. However, over time these representations become fixed as group members reinforce these collected beliefs and ways of doing things or "doxa." Web, Schirato, and Danaher (2002) describe Bourdieu's concept of doxa as "a set of core values and discourses which a field articulates as its fundamental principles and which tend to be viewed as inherently true and necessary" (p. xi). They write, "For Bourdieu, the 'doxic attitude' means bodily and unconscious submission to conditions that are in fact quite arbitrary and contingent" (p. xi). Bourdieu (1977) himself stated that doxa is silent, unnoticed, it "goes

*without saying because it comes without saying*” [emphasis in original] (p. 167) until someone comes into direct conflict with this belief, making it more visible.

Throughout Bourdieu’s (1977) elucidations on habitus, the notions of visibility and invisibility are prominent. This binary is critical to my analysis because I am attempting to render visible the habitus of White bilingual teachers and understand its effect on their teaching. Consequently, a deep investigation into the many parts that are interrelated with and contribute to habitus was necessary. One major aspect of habitus is language or discourse. This component is vital to this study because it describes how racial ideology is reproduced through language.

Although Bourdieu’s (1989) focus was not on discourse, he too was concerned with language, especially within the context of educational research. Grenfell (2014) describes Bourdieu’s perspective when he states,

‘Common’ language, he argued, is the repository of ‘common sense’; that is, a historical accumulation of orthodox meaning—names, groups, concepts, taxonomies and categories. In practical educational terms, these might include concepts as ‘achievement’, ‘class’, ‘young and old’....Bourdieu continued by inviting researchers to reveal the *misrecognitions*, which are apparent in such commonly accepted terms, and to uncover both their historical construction and their present applications as a way of ‘breaking’ with the dominant *doxa*...[emphasis in original] Bourdieu had in mind not only everyday usage but the actual technical terms used by researchers. (p. 232)

While Bourdieu is focused only on educational research, his argument that discourse—which I believe also includes racial discourse—is an example of how our language becomes the verbal manifestation of habitus and doxa. His thoughts on the power of language therefore illuminate

how White people—or in the case of this study, White bilingual teachers—understand the complexities of race through the way they talk about societal inequality and people of color.

**Reproduction of ideology: Discourse theory.** Bahktin (1981) believed that dialogue was the bridge between the larger world or society and the individual (Farmer, 1998). He investigated this relationship by analyzing the way we speak. Like Bourdieu (1977), he believed that our ideas are situated within a historical context. He also explained that history could not account for all the words and ideas we articulate. Knowledge and truth are products of social relations, and dialogue is a condition of our existence—a living part of who we are. Farmer (1998) explains Bahktin’s definition of dialogue as “always and thoroughly suffused in a manifold ambiguity, and cannot help but be so long as human existence is, at once, given *and* posited, experiential *and* [emphasis in original] historical, personal *and* [emphasis in original] social” (p. xxiii). It is Bahktin’s conception of dialogue, or the condition of our existence, that is most important to my work. The belief that communication is a central part of our existence means that language has a tremendous amount of power, especially when it is used to both produce and reproduce culture.

Like Bahktin (1981), Foucault (as cited in Miller, 1997) believes that discourse is historically situated, a culturally constructed representation of society, and is how cultural norms are created. While Bourdieu (1977) emphasizes the overarching affect that beliefs have on our actions, Foucault posits that it is not our actions as much as it is our language that produces and reproduces society. Foucault’s theories describe language as having tremendous power. Through discourse, particular arguments have been taken as truths, while other ways of thinking and speaking are pushed to the margins. This aspect of Foucault’s work is central in explaining how discourse can be a tool of oppression. Ultimately, Foucault’s notions of discourse, language, and

power help illuminate the ways dominant narratives are reproduced in society, making an analysis of discourse—but specifically, racial discourse—a key element in understanding how racial ideologies are formed.

The work of the discourse analyst Van Dijk (1992) investigates how racial discourse analysis illuminates the way language is used as a tool of oppression when “majority group members write and talk about minorities, for example, in everyday conversations, textbooks, news reports, parliamentary debates, and academic and corporate discourse” (p. 92). The main function of racial discourse analysis is to explain how discourse reinforces and reproduces racism in society (Van Dijk, 1992; Foster, 2009). In order to engage in racial discourse analysis, one must understand that critical discourse (1) constitutes society, (2) is a form of social action, and (3) does ideological work (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). As a result, what people believe (*habitus*) and how people talk about race creates a dominant narrative from which social action occurs and ideologies are formed.

A critique of Bourdieu’s work is that he devotes little attention to individual agency (Levinson, 2015; Miller, 1997). While he emphasizes the role group behavior, dialogue, and discourse play in the determination of culture, he largely ignores individual agency. Giddens’s (1984) theory of structuration complements and enhances Bourdieu’s theories. Giddens provides a more balanced approach to individual agency within a larger structure of power than Bourdieu (1977) (Levinson, 2015). He (1984) states: “The theory of structuration is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of societal totality, but social practices ordered across space and time” (p. 2). He states that social activities are recursive, meaning that the individual does not create social conditions, but continually reproduces these conditions through his or her actions. Mills and Gale (2007) refute this, however, and argue that an

individual's success depends on his or her access to and ability to navigate within a particular structure. These authors extend Bourdieu's theories by placing the agent's actions and access within a particular structure at the center of cultural reproduction. However, these actions are heavily influenced by one's habitus. Giddens's theory of structuration along with Mills and Gale's concept of a structure is related to Bourdieu's theory of field, which I used to analyze both teacher education programs and school contexts.

### **Field**

Bourdieu (1992) states, "Habitus reveals itself—remember that it consists of dispositions, that is, of virtualities, potentialities, eventualities—only in reference to a definite situation. It is only *in relation to* [emphasis in original] certain structures that habitus produces given discourses or practices" (p. 135). This structure he refers to is what he considers a field, which he defines as

a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in their determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situations (*situs*) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions (domination, subordination, homology, etc.). (p. 97)

Within the context of this study, Bourdieu's concept of field is used to analyze three fields, the teacher education program, the bilingual certification program—where participants received their pre-service training— and the current schools in which they work. In these contexts, the specific profits my participants sought were a multiple subject teaching certification from the program, a bilingual endorsement, and employment from their particular school and district.

Fields also regulate one another (Bourdieu, 1992). There is a reciprocal relationship between teacher education programs, districts, and schools where each field helps regulate the other. For example, teacher education programs train teachers to engage in particular practices that may be in conflict with the curriculum state departments of education and districts ask that teachers use in their classrooms. These fields have similar goals to educate children. However, approaches to meeting these goals can sometimes differ greatly.

While teacher education programs and school district inform each other, within education, one field may have more power than another. Bourdieu (1992) connects the theory of capital to field:

*A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field.* [emphasis in original].

It confers a power over the field, over the materialized or embodied instruments of production or reproduction whose distribution constitute the very structure of the field, and over the regularities and the rules which define the ordinary functioning of the field, and thereby over the profits engendered in it (p. 101).

While each of the fields influence each other, Bourdieu's (1992) emphasis on capital helped me to analyze which of the fields had the most influence over teaching practice. Bourdieu's emphasis on capital also helped me to analyze which aspects within a single field—such as the school context—most informed my participants' teaching practices.

Bourdieu (as cited by Wacquant, 1989) also believed that habitus and field were interconnected and influenced each other. He stated,

The relation between habitus and field operates in two ways. One the one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of imminent necessity of a field (or of a hierarchically intersecting set of

fields). On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction: habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and with value, in which it is worth investing one's practice. (p. 44)

The above quote illustrates the interconnectedness of habitus and field. However, the implications of this relationship are complicated. Bourdieu (1992) illustrates this complexity of field and habitus when he says,

We may think of a field as a space within which an effect of field is exercised, so that what happens to any object that traverses this space cannot be explained solely by the intrinsic properties of the object in question. (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 100)

In this quote Bourdieu highlights the challenge of analyzing one particular object or point of study in isolation, and notes that we must take into account both the individual and the field in which a particular action is taken. Grenfell (2014) further illustrates this complexity when he states,

What occurs does not just depend on the *field* and the local contexts (the *microcosm*) of educational practice; it also results from the interaction between all of these with individual teacher disposition and predispositions, which have been formed in the course of the teachers' biography—in other words, *habitus* [emphasis in original]. (p. 235)

This complex and interconnected aspect of field and habitus helped me examine the impact of an individual course or program on my participants' understanding and engagement related to racial issues.

### **Habitus and Field in Teaching and Teacher Education**

In this section, I examine how habitus and field can and are used to analyze teacher disposition, teacher education programs, and the school context. This section is divided into

three sections: (1) Habitus and teacher identity; (2) Habitus and field: Teacher identity development and teacher learning in pre-service teacher education; and (3) Field: Teacher learning in the school context.

**Habitus and teacher identity.** For the bilingual teachers in this study, the region in which they grew up, the schools they attended, and the values they internalized as children influenced the formation of their identity and worldview, and helped them to form ideas about race. Their habitus affected their identities as teachers and their teaching. Horn, Nolen, Ward, and Campbell (2008) state that identity is “the way a person understands and views himself, and is often viewed by others, at least in certain situations—a perception of self that can be fairly constantly achieved” (p. 62). Identity therefore is what is visible to others, while habitus is the underlining and subconscious beliefs that inform identity (Costello, 2005).

Connelly and Clandinin (1999) state that teacher knowledge is directly related to identity. They see teacher knowledge as a narrative life history, as storied life compositions. These stories, these narratives of experience, are both personal—reflecting a person’s life history—and social—reflecting the milieu, the contexts in which teachers live. (p. 2)

Further, Alsup (2006) argues that:

Much of a teacher’s classroom life involves decision making and acting in response to student needs; therefore, the teacher must be able to enact her identity, beliefs, or philosophy on a regular basis. (p. 91)

The above quotes reveal the often hidden influence a teacher’s habitus and identity have on practice. Studies by Noyes (2008), Woollen and Otto (2013), and BurrIDGE (2014) use Bourdieu’s theory of habitus as a framework for investigating teacher practice. Woollen and Otto

(2013) state that a teacher's habitus has significant influence on classroom practice, especially if that teacher's habitus holds a deficit view of students. Woollen and Otto are primarily concerned with the consequence of not disrupting one's habitus when they state:

If such prevailing teacher attitudes are not disrupted, a disturbing, unintended consequence of educational reform then becomes the social reinforcement of both teacher and student habitus with little actual learning occurring on either side. (p. 87)

Woollen and Otto found that when teachers were unaware of their own habitus, they "imposed their own habitus upon students, families, and communities," which was detrimental to student learning (p. 88).

Burridge (2014) also argues that when teachers used practices that take into account student habitus, their teaching was more effective. He found that in the two schools he studied, the teachers' and the students' habitus and capital affected classroom practices and the teachers' potential for innovation. He pointed out that for many teachers trying new practices felt risky if they were outside of their habitus. This was especially so if teachers did not have the opportunity to change their frames of meaning through communication and collaboration.

Noyes (2008) used habitus slightly differently than Woollen and Otto (2013) and Burridge (2014). In his study, he used the framework for understanding why and how teachers choose particular schools in which to work. Studying two new teachers out of their teacher education program, Noyes found that each teacher gravitated toward secondary schools similar to the ones they attended as students, rather than staying in schools similar to ones where they conducted their student teaching. Noyes surmised that a variety of factors led to the decision to take jobs in a particular school, but that for his participants the schools similar to the teacher's experience as a student (habitus) was the most significant.

Bourdieu (1992) says,

The individual is always, whether he likes it or not, trapped—save to the extent that he becomes aware of it ... that is, within the limits of categories he owes to his upbringing and training (p. 126).

In this study, I make connections between the categories—as Bourdieu describes them—and the types of teaching practices employed in classrooms and even the choices of where and what to teach. Bourdieu— and those using his theories to frame their studies—argue that one's identity and habitus play a vital role in teaching.

**Habitus and field: Teacher identity development and teacher learning in pre-service teacher education.** Bourdieu (1977) helps us to understand how the environments in which we live and grow help to form our perceptions of race. This process is largely invisible to most people, but especially to Whites. As a result, looking closely at the approaches particular agents, such as teacher educators, take within teacher education is central to my analysis of the teacher education program in which my participants studied. The following section will connect theories within teacher learning to Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus and is helpful in understanding the relationship between habitus and field and closely examines the impact an individual's habitus has on a particular field.

Dewey's (1933) work on the reflective process of teaching is helpful when applying Bourdieu's concept of habitus to teacher learning. While his theories have not been directly connected to Bourdieu's concept of habitus, Dewey's criterion for reflection require teachers to delve deeply into their own habitus as part of the process of becoming a better teacher. Rodgers (2002) describes Dewey's criterion for reflection:

1. Reflection is a meaning-making process that moves a learner from one experience into the next with deeper understanding of its relationships with and connections to other experiences and ideas. It is the thread that makes continuity of learning possible, and ensures the progress of the individual, and ultimately, society. It is a means to essentially moral ends.
2. Reflection is a systematic, rigorous, disciplined way of thinking, with roots in scientific inquiry.
3. Reflection needs to happen in community, in interaction with others.
4. Reflection requires attitudes that value the personal and intellectual growth of oneself and of others (p. 845).

While it is unknown if all teacher education programs use these particular criteria as a framework for training teachers, there are programs that view the reflective process in some form as vital to the development of teacher candidates (Shulman, 1987; Feiman-Nemser, 2012; McDonald, Kazemi, and Kavanaugh, 2013). When addressing challenging issues such as race, the process of reflection is heavily utilized and is essential for the development of teacher candidates training to work in diverse classrooms (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Howard, 1999; King, 1991; Sleeter, 1993). Criteria one and three illustrate the intersection between habitus and theory on teacher learning. The process of meaning making is heavily determined by one's habitus, and the assertion that reflection should take place in community—or a particular field—relates directly to the importance of location and situation as places for learning, concepts that I will describe in detail below.

Billett's (2003) research on learning an apprentice model illuminates the relationship between habitus and field. While he investigates the relationship between practice and

ontogenetic development<sup>1</sup>, the quote below helps to illustrate the relationship between habitus and field. He states:

The historical and cultural geneses in the form of sociocultural practice and situationally constituted factors shape the goal-directed activities with which individuals engage. It also identifies microgenetic actions as the source of cognitive change. These occur at the intersection between social contributions (the social experience) and ontogenetic development (the cognitive experience). (p. 140)

In this quote, Billett explains that the process by which we learn is individual and social, depending heavily on the situation but more importantly on the location or field. His assertion that the relationship between the location and the individual is reciprocal mirrors Bourdieu's (1992) notion that an individual's habitus affect the field, but the individual does not determine the field itself. Bourdieu states:

The notion of field reminds us that the true object of social science is not the individual, even though one cannot construct a field if not through individuals.... This does not imply that individuals are mere "illusions," that they do not exist: they exist as *agents*—and not as biological individuals, actors, or subjects—who are socially constituted as active and acting in the field under consideration by the fact that they possess the necessary properties to be effective, to produce effects, in this field. And it is the knowledge of the field itself in which they evolve that allows us best to grasp the roots of

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<sup>1</sup> Ontogenetic development refers to the development or course of development of an individual organism.

their singularity, their *point of view* [emphasis in original]. or position (in a field) from which their particular vision of the world (and of the field itself) is constructed. (p. 107)

Lave and Wenger's (1991) related theory of situated learning also pinpoints the importance of the situation and location as places for learning. They believe that people's thoughts and actions are located in specific spaces of time. Thought and action depend on the settings in which they occur, making all knowledge and activity situated and specific to circumstance. Additionally, their concept of legitimate peripheral participation is important when thinking about teacher learning. This concept explains the process by which newcomers enter communities of practice. Within these communities, participants determine the learning as illustrated by the following quote:

The learning curriculum in didactic situations then evolves out of participation in a specific community of practice ... [and] is essentially situated. It is not something that can be considered in isolation, manipulated in arbitrary didactic terms, or analyzed apart from social relations that share legitimate peripheral participation. A learning curriculum is thus characteristic of a community. (p. 97)

Participation within a community of practice strongly influences curriculum and the type of learning that takes place. Drawing together their notion that our thoughts and actions are historically located as a part of our habitus reveals that the specific locations and circumstances where we learn determine what our learning looks like within communities of practice.

Additionally, Hamel and Ryken (2010) state, "[professional] identity never develops outside of a social world—that the construction of that social world matters" (p. 349).

In contrast to the theories that our identities and learning are shaped by the fields in which learning takes place, Horn, Nolen, Ward, and Campbell (2008) found that while novice

teachers were learning about teaching in two fields—the teacher education program and their practicum—their ideas of good teaching were not necessarily directly influenced by either field. Instead, the beliefs they previously held about good teaching, or the value of particular teaching practices, were heavily influenced by their personal identities.

Studies focusing on teachers' professional identity development (Horn, Nolen, Ward, & Campbell, 2008; Olsen, 2008; Ronfeldt & Grossman, 2008; Hamel & Ryken, 2010) investigate how particular fields—in this case, teacher education programs or practicum sites—influence the professional identity formation of novice teachers. Ronfeldt and Grossman state that teacher candidates try on a variety of professional identities as they progress through programs; however, there were limited opportunities for candidates to test and develop their professional identities. Hamel and Ryken (2010) offer a solution where strong partnerships and cohesion among the fields provide consistent spaces for teacher candidates to try on and develop their professional identifies. Hamel and Ryken's study becomes particularly pertinent when thinking about the role of the school context in informing teacher learning and practice.

### **Field: School Context and Teacher Learning**

Another key location or field that affects teaching practice is the school context in which my participants taught. While one might hope that schools and teacher education programs would mirror one another, Feiman-Nemser and Buchmann (1985) found that teacher candidates often struggled to navigate these two fields. Grossman, Smagorinsky, and Valencia (1999) state, "Once teachers join the workforce, the school becomes the primary activity setting for developing conceptions of teaching and learning" (p. 20). These authors also state that many researchers have found the school culture 'mediates teachers' thinking in powerful and lasting ways" (p. 20).

A study by Flynn (2015) reveals that teachers' habitus is influenced by their background as well as by the policy implementations within schools and districts. Her study illuminates the reciprocal relationship between field and habitus because the school context is powerful in shaping an individual's teaching practice. Flynn found that when trying to understand the reasons why teachers use particular practices, teachers were unaware of their heavy emphasis on the mandated curriculum. Further, she discovered that her participants did not realize how heavily influenced they were by the school and district. As a result, a teacher's linguistic or professional habitus was defined by the curriculum, and it was difficult to separate what teachers felt they must do from what they believed was good practice.

While Grossman, Smagorinsky, and Valencia (1999) used activity theory to frame their study, their focus on location as a key factor in how practices are mediated also relates to the reciprocal relationship between habitus and field. In their initial study they found that when teacher candidates engaged in student teaching, some experienced dissonance between two fields—their teacher education program and their practicum. This occurred when the practices being taught in their teacher education programs were different from those that their mentor teacher employed in the classroom. Even ten years later, Valencia, Martin, Place, and Grossman (2009) found similar gaps between the teacher education program and schools. An important aspect of these studies is the identification of the many variables and factors that affect teacher learning and practice. Grossman, Smagorinski, and Valencia state:

The effects of teacher education programs can only be viewed in conjunction with the variety of variables having to do with the settings in which teachers learn and practice their work. (p. 2)

The variables that Grossman, Smagorinsky, and Valencia describe are two distinct but related fields— teacher education programs and schools. Bourdieu (1992) examines dissonance between fields by pointing out the importance of understanding the capital of those working within that field. Bourdieu states:

The strategies of agents depend on their position in the field, that is, in the distribution of the specific capital, and on the perception that they have of that field, depending on the point of view they make *on* the field as a view taken from a point *in* the field [emphasis in quote. (p. 101)

Teacher candidates—or in the case of this study, beginning teachers—are still building capital. Consequently, professors in teacher education programs, cooperating teachers, and school administrators influence the practices used in classrooms even if these practices are inconsistent.

In a follow-up longitudinal study, Grossman, Valencia, Evans, Thompson, Martin, and Place (2000) found that when they followed teacher candidates into their first three years of teaching, their participants were able to implement some of the practices learned in their teacher education program. However, the way in which the participants taught and conceptualized these practices varied as a result of the context in which they were teaching. This study provides evidence of the relational relationship between two similar fields, teacher education programs and school contexts. However, the path by which teachers choose to teach will vary depending on the school and classroom in which they taught.

Grenfell (2014) also speaks to the discontinuities between teacher education, the teacher, and the schools in which they teach. When examining the connection between habitus and field, he states,

What is found is that teachers are often caught in a space where ‘who’ they are and ‘what’ they are obliged to do in terms of the dominant discourse sometimes clashes. There is then a *double blind* [emphasis in original], in Bourdieu’s terms, when they are asked to operate double structures: theory and practice; personal knowledge based on experience and the official pedagogies of curricula; institutional norms—school and other agencies (government, training, local authorities). (pp. 235-236).

The double structures that Grenfell refers to demonstrate that analyzing fields—the teacher education program and the school context—in interaction with the personal history or habitus of the study participants is essential when trying to understand how and why teachers use particular practices in their classrooms.

## **Conclusion**

While there are many complex aspects of this study, this conceptual orientation will help to reveal the often hidden processes by which White teachers learn about issues of race, along with the many factors that affect classroom practice. Habitus, racial discourse theory, and professional identity formation help to illuminate how particular perceptions of race are formed and the way in which our personal identities influence teaching. The theory of field and theories of learning—but more specifically, teacher learning—are a central part in understanding how teachers navigate the three different fields and why teachers choose to use particular teaching practices. Using Bourdieu’s *habitus* and *field* as the central framework of this study has allowed me to integrate various aspects of teacher identity and learning and have aided in the analysis of my findings.

## Chapter 4: Methodology

### Research Design

My study attempts to bring together many different yet interrelated issues. Grant and Tate's (1995) description of multicultural education research best summarizes my goals for conducting research within multicultural education:

1. [Multicultural research]... is built upon the philosophical ideas of freedom, justice, equality, equity, pluralism, and human dignity.
2. It is the intent and purpose of the research to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of students in order to improve their learning experience and total education.
3. There is an attempt to understand the influence and interactions of the constructs of race, class, socioeconomic status, and gender.
4. There is an attempt to understand the relationship between knowledge and power. (p. 159)

As a former bilingual teacher candidate and teacher, my desire for conducting this study is rooted in my experiences during my preparation, but more importantly in the educational inequity I witnessed as a classroom teacher. Below is a description of my study and my attempt to bring together what I believe are critical components of teacher education for work in diverse classrooms.

This study was a single case study of a teacher preparation program at a small private university in Northern California. Within this single case, I drew some comparisons between the Master's in Teaching program and the Bilingual Endorsement program and studied former bilingual candidates who are now practicing teachers. This case study included semi-structured and unstructured interviews, observation, and a review of documents.

Merriam (2009) defines a case study as “an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (p. 40). Stake (2005) states that case studies are more of a choice of what to be studied rather than a strictly methodological choice. Because this study is limited to one teacher preparation program and its former candidates, the case is “bounded” (Merriam 2009, p.40), meaning that no subjects outside of this program were the focus of study. This method is particularly appropriate because this study aimed to pinpoint how particular teacher preparation courses foster an understanding of race and how that understanding is translated into classroom practices. Due to the large variability in teacher preparation quality and program models, selecting research participants who attended different programs would have been logistically challenging and may not have provided as specific of data about the influence that preparation courses can have on practice.

I chose to undertake a qualitative study because I felt it would yield in-depth data about teacher education courses and culturally relevant teaching practices. Through this study, I gained a better understanding of how a teacher preparation program affects classroom practice. Merriam (2009) states:

Qualitative case studies share with other forms of qualitative research the search for meaning and understanding, the researcher as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, an inductive investigative strategy, and the end product being richly descriptive. (p. 39)

I hope that the findings from this study will provide some understanding about the importance of racial discourse in teacher preparation through a rich description of both the multicultural education and bilingual endorsement courses at the university level and the practices employed by classroom teachers.

Yin (2006) reminds us of the importance of logic when choosing a case, but more specifically, when comparing across cases. Although my study was a comparison within a single case, I feel there is much to be discovered through comparing the bilingual endorsement and general certification programs. As a former bilingual teacher candidate, I saw significant differences between the courses completed for general certification and the courses completed to earn a bilingual certificate. As a result, making comparisons within a case study helped yield data that illuminated the varying experiences candidates can have even within one program.

This chapter describes how data in this study were collected and analyzed. I will present an overview of the settings and the people involved in the study, as well as the procedures and the strategies for data collection. I will also provide a description and rationale for the process by which data were organized and analyzed. I will also discuss the limitations of the study, and the contributions it provides to the field.

### **Settings and People**

This case study was limited to only one teacher preparation program at a small private university in Northern California that prided itself on its mission to train teachers to work for social justice in diverse schools and classrooms. The College of Education at Northern California University offers several pathways for degree attainment: a two-year Master's in Teaching program, a one-year residence program with the local school district—which, with additional courses beyond the first year, could lead to a master's degree—and a dual degree program, in which undergraduate education majors could take the required certification course over the course of their four years and add a fifth year of student teaching in order to attain a Master's in Teaching and a teaching certificate. In addition to the three pathways described above, Northern California University also offers a program dedicated to training teachers for work in urban

schools, which has a very specific social justice objective. None of my participants graduated from that program and I did not conduct any observations in those courses.

I gained access to the site through the help of a mentor who currently works in another department within the College of Education. Through connections she made, I was able to use what Patton (2003) considers a purposeful sampling strategy and recruit participants with the aid of one professor at Northern California University. As the director of the bilingual endorsement program and main instructor for the required courses, Rebecca was able to recommend former students from the bilingual endorsement program. Rebecca had maintained strong relationships with her former students and was also conducting a small research and study group. All of my participants were also in her small study group and agreed to participate in my study because of their connection to and respect for their professor.

This study required research in two different settings: the teacher education program and elementary school classrooms. These two sites help to answer the question of how bilingual and non-bilingual teacher preparation courses—but more specifically, discourse on race within those courses—affect classroom practices. At the university level, I observed several sections of a foundational course on teaching diverse learners that both primary and secondary teacher candidates must take. The structure of this course not only offered students the opportunity to talk about issues of marginalization, oppression, and race, but also provided pedagogical knowledge for how to teach in a culturally responsive manner. In addition to the courses on teaching in diverse classrooms, I also conducted observations in the courses on second language acquisitions theory and theories of teaching and learning. I also observed the courses required only for students seeking a bilingual certification. These courses included a specific class on

language and culture, with Spanish as the emphasis, along with a course on bilingual teaching methods.

Table 1: List of Teacher Educators and Courses

Instructor Name	Courses Taught
Rebecca Carle	Second Language Acquisition and Bilingual Authorization courses
Mike Landers	Teaching and Learning Theory, Teaching Diverse Learners
Ellen Roberts	Early Literacy Methods, Teaching and Learning Theory
Jane Patterson	Teaching Diverse Learners, Teaching and Learning Theory
Alina Tanaka	Teaching Diverse Learners, Teaching and Learning Theory
Mitchell Peters	Teaching Diverse Learners, Teaching and Learning Theory

The other settings were where four former teacher candidates were currently teaching. Three of the four teachers were in bilingual classrooms. Another one was teaching in an English only classroom with a high number of English Language Learner students (ELL). All of their classrooms were at schools with diverse ethnic, socioeconomic, and linguistic student populations. A more in-depth description of their school sites can be found in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

The teachers were all White women who had graduated from the teacher preparation program with a bilingual endorsement within the last five years and had been working as teachers for two to five years. These participants were also selected through a purposeful sampling strategy (Patton, 2003) with the help of Rebecca, their former professor. I chose teachers who had graduated and had been teaching for two to five years because the first year of teaching is a difficult year for teachers. New teachers experience teaching without the support of the university, are still learning the curriculum, and are mastering skills such as lesson planning

and classroom management. I chose not to study student teachers in their practicum because most student teachers do not have enough autonomy at their teaching sites to employ particular strategies.

Table 2: Study Participants and School Contexts

<b>Name</b>	<b>Grade Level, Program, and Demographic</b>	<b>School Name</b>
Danielle Curtis	3rd grade bilingual, 100% native Spanish-speaking Latino students	Kirkham Elementary
Elizabeth Murray	6th grade humanities, 80% Latino ELL, 10% White, 10% African American	George Washington Middle School
Florence Long	4th grade dual immersion, 50% native Spanish-speaking Latino students and 50% native English-speaking students, 60% students of color	New Hope K-8
Jean Ellis	3rd grade bilingual, 100% native Spanish-speaking Latino students	Park Elementary

I chose all White teachers because of the demographic gap (Gay & Howard, 2002) between teachers and students. Working with a homogenous sample (Patton, 2003) of White teachers helped to illuminate how this specific racial group from a particular teacher preparation program understands race. Three of the four teachers taught at the primary levels in grades three and four, while one teacher taught sixth-grade humanities. There was little variation in the grade level they taught, and all taught in diverse schools. I chose to limit the grade level in which the study participants taught in order to facilitate a comparison between teachers. Having teachers instruct at both the primary and secondary levels, while not completely incongruent, can pose challenges for a valid comparison.

At the outset, this study was to be a comparison of White teachers teaching in bilingual and monolingual classrooms, where those teaching in bilingual classrooms had received an additional certification. Although I made contact with several White monolingual teachers, the two who were willing to join my study were in contexts that made it challenging for a valid

comparison. One teacher was in her first year of teaching and in a long-term substitute position, while the other teacher taught math in a Catholic school, and her teaching methods provided too much variation for me to compare her to her bilingual colleagues. As a result, this study changed from a comparison between White bilingual and White monolingual teachers, and the teacher education programs they attended. Instead, this study takes an in-depth look at how race is talked about in bilingual teacher preparation, along with the other contexts that inform White bilingual teachers' understanding about race, and their implementation of culturally responsive teaching methods.

### **Data Collection Strategies and Procedures**

Yin (2014) states that there are six different types of data that can be collected when conducting a case study: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observations, and physical artifacts. During this study I focused on three different data types: observations, interviews (both semi-structured and unstructured), and document review (Patton, 2002; Merriam, 2009). Observations took place within the teacher preparation program and in elementary school classrooms. I attended all eleven class meetings for the bilingual endorsement course—which only meets for the first eleven weeks of the semester—and seven out of the sixteen class sessions on second language acquisition theory and methods, taught by the same instructor. Although it was my hope to attend all class meetings for all sections of the course on teaching in diverse classrooms, I was not able to observe all class meetings for each of the four sections. However, I was able to observe eleven of the fourteen class sessions with Mitchell, beginning in early September through the end of the term. Alina, the other course instructor, was more reluctant to have me observe her classroom. Although she wanted to be sure her students were comfortable with having me there, I had to explain that neither she nor her students were

the focus of the study, but rather the discourse and subject matter. Once Alina had a full understanding of my study, she happily accepted me into her course, although I was able to observe only the last three class sessions in a sixteen-week term.

These courses took place for two and a half hours once per week for the sixteen weeks of fall semester, when the bulk of the data was collected. I later returned for the winter/spring semester, in which I attended two class meetings of the bilingual methods course and one of the meetings of the course on theories of teaching and learning. In the preparation courses, I paid close attention to any discourse on race, racism, and oppression; how the professor approached the subject; and how the teacher candidates spoke about the issues in small groups and in relation to their practicum. I paid special attention to how course instructors taught instructional methods that could be considered culturally relevant.

In addition to the observations of the preparation courses, I also conducted classroom observations of four teachers with two to five years of teaching experience. I usually observed their classes while they were teaching either language arts or social studies lessons because these subjects are more easily integrated with multicultural practices. However, I was able to observe math and science lessons for three of my four participants in order to see how multicultural education strategies were extended across subject areas. In the classrooms, I examined the types of practices the teachers used, their interactions with students, and the physical environment of the classroom. During these observations I collected data using a field note model, writing down most things that I heard, saw, and experienced. I did not do any audio or video recording of the methods or classroom observations. Everything that is observed was written down.

During the fall, I conducted weekly observations, ranging from one hour to two hours in length, depending on the lessons being taught. For two of the three participants, these

observations began during the first week of the school year. However, because I could not find monolingual participants, and consequently changed my study, I began observation with two of the participants in early October, about one month after the school year had started. To make up for the lost time, I tailored my interview questions in order to ascertain data on how my two participants started the school year. During some weeks, I observed twice to ensure an even number of observation hours in all four classrooms. Like the observations in the teacher education program, the bulk of the data were collected during the fall term, before the winter recess. I conducted more observations with three of the four participants during the winter months, visiting their classrooms once per month. This ensured an even number of observations for all participants, about 15-17 hours total. I conducted observations until many of the schools began their standardized test preparation in March.

I also conducted between five and six interviews with each participant. I had hoped that the initial 45- to 60-minute interview would occur before the first observation. However, due to my difficulties in finding participants, the longer interview was conducted toward the end of the fall semester. This interview was designed to help me examine study participants' understanding of institutionalized racism, White privilege, oppression, and marginalization. In order to have a deep discussion, I asked the participants to respond to a brief writing prompt, the responses to which were used to tailor their interview questions:

*There are many disparities between White, middle class people and people of color. Examples of this disparity are graduation rates, college attrition, rates of poverty, prison rates, crime, death, health disparities, etc. Simply put, why do you think that is? What factors lead to these disparities?*

I also asked questions about their teacher preparation courses and how they added to their understanding of race. Initially, I had hoped to conduct this interview before observing in their classrooms. However, I found that seeing their classroom practices prior to assessing their understanding of race helped me view their teaching more objectively. I was better able to answer my research questions by seeing them teach before delving deeply into the contexts that inform their teaching. In addition to this larger interview, it was also important for me to understand how and where my participants learned a particular teaching method. As a result, I conducted four follow-up interviews that lasted about 30 minutes each and discussed observations in their classrooms. These interviews were used to help me understand particular practices observed and connect their preparation to these practices.

In addition to the interviews conducted with teachers, during the semester I conducted a 30- to 60-minute interview with each of the professors who teach the courses on teaching diverse learners, bilingual endorsement and second language acquisition, and theories of learning and teaching. At the outset I was planning to conduct interviews only with professors who taught teaching in diverse classrooms and in the bilingual endorsement program. However, it was clear after my initial interviews with the teachers that interviewing instructors who taught the course on theories of learning and teaching would add another perspective to the study and enhance my understanding of how issues of race are taken up across courses at Northern California University. These interviews helped me to gain a better understanding of how course instructors made curricular and pedagogical choices and how they integrated the themes covered in these classes with the other methods courses they taught. Overall, I conducted seventeen interviews, which were recorded and transcribed.

Other data included class syllabi, teacher responses to the writing prompt, and classroom curricula. By collecting these different forms of data—in addition to the observations and interviews with the use of a previously mentioned writing prompt—I was able to verify and triangulate my data. Triangulation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009) enabled me to determine whether what the participants stated in their interviews was consistent with what was being enacted in practice. Additionally, reviewing syllabi and curricula helped me to understand the practices I that observed.

All of this data helped me generate meaning through the illumination and identification of patterns and themes. Because I conducted research with four teachers all from the same preparation program, I anticipated that there might be some similarities between their responses to my questions and the types of practices they were enacting in their classrooms. This data also helped me make connections between the racial discourse observed in preparation courses and what the teachers said during their interviews and in class.

Table 3: Research Questions, Data Source, Data Analysis, and Conceptual Frame

<b>Research Question</b>	<b>Data Source</b>	<b>Type of Analysis</b>	<b>Conceptual Frame</b>
How and which contexts contribute to a White bilingual teacher's understanding of racial constructs such as institutionalized racism, White privilege, and oppression?	Written response Interviews	Discourse analysis	Habitus
How do racial discourses in bilingual and non-bilingual teacher education courses differ, and how do they	Observation Interviews	Discourse analysis	Habitus and field

contribute to teacher learning?			
How, if at all, does understanding racial constructs such as institutionalized racism, White privilege, and oppression influence White bilingual teachers' use of culturally relevant practices in their classrooms, and to what extent are their practices also affected by the school context?	Observations Interviews	Multicultural and culturally responsive content analysis	Field

### Data Analysis

For a study of this size, more than one method of data analysis was necessary. In my approach to making the data comprehensible, one of the methods I used was what Coffey and Atkinson (1996) consider data reduction. They recommend reducing data into manageable portions through the creation of a conceptual schema, which in this case was my conceptual framework. In the case of this study, there were several conceptual schemata, but because the study investigated the contexts by which teachers learn about race and the extent to which their understanding affected their teaching practice, I categorized the data into three distinct areas: (1) the teacher education program, (2) personal stories of the practicing teachers, and (3) school context and classroom practices. These three areas then became Chapters 5, 6, and 7 of this dissertation.

Within the three distinct areas, there were slightly different methods for analysis. Data from the teacher education program consisted of both observations and interviews. As a result, I

used an open coding scheme through reading and rereading transcripts, coding for particular themes that emerged across all of the professors' interviews. After the codes were created, I then looked over my observation notes from the instructors' courses and coded that particular data according to the scheme created when analyzing the interviews. A similar method was used when analyzing the school context and teacher practices. I started with an analysis of the interviews because many of the interview questions emerged through the observations. After coding that data set, I read over the observation data to ensure I had not missed important practices that were not mentioned during the interviews. When looking at the personal background and stories of the practicing teachers, I used an open coding scheme because all of the data came from interviews and their writing prompts.

Although I created a conceptual framework for this study, I found the categories within the conceptual framework to be too broad to accurately and cohesively describe my findings. As a result, once I used my conceptual framework to organize the data into manageable pieces, I used open coding to better understand the data within the three categories. According to Strauss, open coding

(1) [B]oth follows upon and leads to generative questions; (2) fractures the data, thus freeing the researcher from description and forcing interpretation to higher levels of abstraction; (3) is the pivotal operation for moving toward the discovery of a category or categories; and also (4) moves toward ultimate integration of the entire analysis; as well (5) yields the desired conceptual density (i.e., relationships among the codes and the development of each). (Strauss, 1987, pp. 55-56)

Strauss's description of open coding is consistent with the process I used to organize and conduct preliminary analysis. I chose to read my data in three large chunks, which later became Chapters

5, 6, and 7. I took extensive notes on the interview and observation data, which allowed me to find common themes and create categories across the data set. After setting up an initial series of codes, I read through the data several times looking specifically for data that met my established codes and served as further evidence for each category. Evidence of these codes are in the subsections within each findings chapter and the coding scheme can be found in the Appendix.

The use of open coding was essential to my preliminary analysis because it allowed me to make sense of the data that was there rather than look for specific findings. Khandkar (2009) argues that one of the benefits of open coding is that “concepts emerge from the raw data [which builds] a descriptive, multi-dimensional preliminary framework for later analysis” (p. 8). He states that the process of open coding also “ensures the validity of the work” (p. 8). Despite the fact that there is bias in what each researcher finds in the data, what Khandkar is stating is that using open coding decreases the likelihood that the researcher is looking through the data for findings that fit a particular theory or hypothesis.

Although open coding has its roots in grounded theory, I did not use grounded theory as a method for analysis. Strauss (1987) states that grounded theory “ought to be developed in intimate relationship with the data, with researchers fully aware of themselves as instruments for developing that grounded theory” (p. 6). Instead, as is evident in Chapter 3, I drew upon the theories of Bourdieu (1977, 1992) and created a conceptual framework. This framework was significant in helping me to understand, rather than provide structure or code the data. Chapter 8—my discussion of the findings—was based upon the theories discussed in Chapter 3, along with the literature discussed in Chapter 2. In order to analyze my findings, I looked at the two main theories described in the conceptual orientation, Bourdieu’s habitus and field, and discussed the way in which my findings related to his theories and the framework I created. I

also highlighted similarities between what was found in my study with findings from related studies and work in the field.

### **Limitations and Contributions**

Observations and interviews with practicing teachers bring a much-needed element to the study. However, the extent to which the practicing teachers could distinguish between what they learned in their teacher preparation versus professional development was challenging. During the interviews, the participants were not able to remember specific aspects of their teacher education program. However, what became central to the study were the elements of their teacher education they could remember or that stood out to them. Because I conducted observations in the teacher preparation courses, I was able to remind my participants of specific practices and content they may have learned. These reminders proved to be somewhat helpful. However, other factors contributed to a lack of coherency between the teacher education program and classroom practice, as I explain below.

There is not a lot of faculty turnover at Northern California University. However, two of the professors teaching the required courses were in their first year of teaching and therefore were not present when my participants were in the program. I was not able to observe two other professors who taught the courses during the years my participants were in the program. As a result, I am not attempting to make a direct comparison between the program and my participants' classroom practices. Instead, I focus on the larger context of the teacher education program, how the professors' courses align with the program's mission, and consider the program one of several contexts that might contribute to my participants' learning about race and teaching.

Another limitation was timing. Despite having worked diligently to find participants and line up observations with professors ahead of time, I struggled to find participants and make contact before the school year started. As I described in the subsection on settings and people, I had to make changes to the study early on. Once those changes were made and I was able to get into classrooms and university courses, I was able to craft interview questions that would potentially fill gaps left by my inability to observe earlier on. Although the data set would be more complete with observations earlier on, I was able to make up for lost time at the end of the data collection period and through the interviews I conducted.

When talking about controversial issues such as race, I anticipated there would be some challenges in the study. I believe that one of the reasons I was not able to find White monolingual teachers to join the study was because of the subject matter being studied. However, once I changed the scope of my study, the four bilingual participants had no trouble talking about issues of race with me. This was perhaps due to the numerous conversations the participants had in their BCLAD courses and prior to entering the program. I had hoped to send the written prompt to each participant prior to meeting them. However, because of my difficulty in finding participants, I waited until they met me to ask the question. Although I believe that my position as a researcher is significant, I also believe that my status as a former bilingual teacher—who is also White—contributed to the candid conversations we had about their perceptions and understandings of race.

Despite working within several limitations, I feel that I compensated as much as possible, and have created a study that will be beneficial for many teacher education programs. As you will see in my findings and discussion, the data collected and analyzed helps to inform those interested in the varying contexts in which White teachers learn about race. This study offers a

comparison within a teacher education program, in which I analyze how program extras, like endorsement programs, affect former teacher candidates. This study will hopefully help teacher education programs rethink course requirements, and not just encourage but require candidates to seek additional endorsements prior to starting their teaching careers. Despite a large and exhaustive list of practices that are considered culturally responsive (Ladson-Billings, 2009; Gay, 2010; Irvine, 2010), this study helps to explain how school contexts affect the implementation of culturally relevant teaching practices. This information will not only help to inform the field about culturally relevant teaching and multicultural education more broadly, but will also help teacher educators to better prepare teachers for work in diverse classrooms.

## **Chapter 5: Balancing Historical, Institutional, and Personal Understandings of Race: Pedagogical Approaches at Northern California University**

Research indicates that teacher education programs are often the first place where many candidates, especially White candidates, engage in conversations about race (Frankenberg, 1993; McIntosh, 1989; Cochran-Smith, 1995; Cochran-Smith, 2000; King, 1991; Sleeter, 1993).

However, much of the literature on racial discourse in teacher education focuses primarily on the participation and reactions of White candidates when issues of race arise. This chapter looks to expand upon the literature through an analysis of the differing pedagogies teacher educators use to approach and advance the discourse on race in their courses. My findings suggest that teaching about race from both a historical and personal perspective provides teacher candidates with an opportunity to gain a deep understanding of race and racism in the United States.

Referring back to my conceptual framework, this chapter provides an analysis of one of the fields—the teacher education program—which may affect teaching practice and make the habitus of a teacher candidate visible. Further, this chapter explores the extent to which making a teacher educator’s habitus visible to candidates may provide a learning environment conducive to learning about issues of race.

In this chapter you will find an analysis of the types of pedagogies used to teach about race, how these conversations are taken up by all of the students in the course, and how candidates who graduate from the program are prepared for work in diverse classrooms. I begin the chapter with an overview of the program at Northern California University. I then present the five major themes that emerged from the data: (1) a historical focus on race and racism in the United States; (2) placing teacher educators and candidates at the center of the discourse on race; (3) implicit and consistent integration of race through course readings and assignments; (4)

modeling culturally responsive teaching and addressing race in classroom; and (5) moving from a deficit to an asset perspective: reflections on the overall impact of the program on candidate learning. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of the findings in relation to the literature on bilingual teacher education and racial discourse in teacher education.

### **Overview of the Program at Northern California University**

The program, which I refer to as Northern California University, requires several courses in order to earn a teaching certificate and master's degree. However, in this chapter I will describe only the courses I observed. These courses were required for elementary and secondary certification, along with the courses required to earn an additional certificate to work in bilingual classrooms. The courses I observed focused on theories of teaching and learning, second language acquisition theories and methods, teaching in diverse classrooms, Spanish language and culture, and bilingual teaching methods. While there were some courses that were designed specifically for candidates earning their secondary teaching certificate, many of the courses were composed of a wide range of candidates, from elementary and secondary candidates who may or may not be student teaching, to dual degree students who have little or no classroom experience or contact with children while taking the course. For the bilingual certification courses, however, all of the candidates in that course were engaged in some sort of work in schools with students; they were also a mix of elementary and secondary candidates.

There was a wide range of certificate candidates, and the courses had more diversity among the students than I had anticipated for a small private university. Two instructors mentioned that the majority of the students of color are still undergraduates in the dual degree program because there is more financial aid offered to undergraduates than graduate students. The tuition costs at Northern California University are very high, and it is consequently

prohibitive for many low-income students and students of color. Each of the courses consisted of about 25 candidates; five or six were candidates of color. Despite there being more diversity than I had expected, each of the instructors interviewed stated that during the years since they have been instructors, the majority of their candidates have been White, many of them from middle-class, educated families who live in communities near Northern California University. The only exceptions were the bilingual endorsement courses, which had a larger number of students of color than the other courses, because there was a program requirement that students be able to speak Spanish fluently.

Although there were many sections of the same course along with several instructors, the table below outlines the instructors in the program I was able to observe and interview and the name of the courses they taught.

Table 1: List of Teacher Educators and Courses

Instructor Name	Courses Taught
Rebecca Carle	Second Language Acquisition and Bilingual Authorization courses
Mike Landers	Teaching and Learning Theory, Teaching Diverse Learners
Ellen Roberts	Early Literacy Methods, Teaching and Learning Theory
Jane Patterson	Teaching Diverse Learners, Teaching and Learning Theory
Alina Tanaka	Teaching Diverse Learners, Teaching and Learning Theory
Mitchell Peters	Teaching Diverse Learners, Teaching and Learning Theory

The above courses and instructors had students from the Master's in Teaching program, the Teacher Residency program, and the Dual Degree program. With this large cross-section of students, a variety of pedagogies were observed, as I have described below.

## **A Historical Focus on Race and Racism in the United States**

McLaren (1997) and King (1991) argue that teacher education programs must provide candidates with an understanding of institutionalized racism and the role of economics in the oppression of people of color. It is through this lens that I analyze one of the approaches used at Northern California University. Although I observed a few places where instructors specifically spoke about institutionalized racism, it was through the emphasis on the history of race and racism in the United States that candidates were given the opportunity to learn about institutionalized racism.

At the time of data collection, Mitchell Peters was a first-year instructor at Northern California University who defended his dissertation while teaching sections of the courses on theories of learning and teaching and teaching in diverse classrooms. Mitchell's general approach to teaching about race was from a historical perspective. During the two days when race was the focus in his course on teaching in diverse classrooms, he presented salient events in U.S. history beginning in the 1700s and described how the social construction of race developed around the time of colonization. He also made explicit connections between slavery and the economic profits gained by those in power. This explicit connection was often revealed through his use of a diagram of three overlapping circles that demonstrated the intersection of political, social, and economic factors related to race. Mitchell almost saw framing race historically as a moral imperative. He states:

That's the introduction to me for the political and economic pieces of race, right. It's like, there's this thing that we're going to talk about race in the United States, but let's frame it in a few ways, one of them being the fact that these slave ships, and these were not just simply because they have different color of skin, I'm going to treat them this

way....There is a political economy behind this and this is how it functioned. I found in what makes this course a little bit more robust in terms of how I view my decisions around race. I think this is a good ... I think it gives students something to ... I call it a historical institutional knowledge because the fact is memory is getting lost when we talk about these issues. (M. Peters, personal communication, December 11, 2014)

While Mitchell began the discussion of race from a historical perspective, he also drew in more contemporary history like the civil right era and influential Supreme Court cases centered around racial segregation and integration. He was also careful not to establish a Black/White binary and often spoke to both the model minority myth and the ways in which Asian Americans and Native Americans were made invisible throughout history. I also observed Mitchell's course after a grand jury failed to indict the officer responsible for the death of Michael Brown, a young African American male who was killed by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. During that class session, Mitchell used the death of Michel Brown and the subsequent protests in Ferguson to talk about how African Americans are perceived in the United States. He made connections between the failure to indict the police officer and institutionalized racism. While I was not able to ascertain the overall impact Mitchell's approach had on his students understanding of institutionalized racism, Mitchell's emphasis on the institutional racism during class provided an opportunity for candidates to think more deeply about the issue.

Alina Tanaka was also a first-year instructor at Northern California University and carried a similar load to Mitchell. When observing Alina's class, her students engaged mostly in hands-on work, as she spent very little time lecturing. However, in the moments when she was giving direct instruction, she made many connections to both historical and institutional factors that affect race and racism in the United States.

Like Mitchell, Alina approached teaching about race from a historical perspective. She states:

I pull in history, because I really want them to understand that we have inherited an incredible problem, and I want them to understand the vastness of this situation. I think there's a lot of naiveté in thinking "Oh, I'm going to change the world," but not understanding how long it has existed within our nation ... looking at slavery, and this whole conception and dehumanization and economic and political, really the economics and profiting off of someone else. Then pooling that into our own history and seeing how it's operated. It's before our nation was a nation into now, and how it changes over time, but it still exists, very much exists. (A. Tanaka, personal communication, December 17, 2014)

When I observed her course on teaching in diverse classrooms, Alina talked about the impossibility of separating a child from his/her history, meaning you cannot separate a Japanese child from the internment of his/her grandparents or an African American child from slavery. In these cases, Alina was using a historical perspective to connect race to the current reality of working with students whose ancestors have been interned or exploited and have experienced racism on a daily basis. While this approach did not explicitly talk about institutionalized racism, she emphasized the history of racism in the United States as it connected to the present-day realities of students of color.

Jane Patterson and Mike Landers were two other instructors who taught the courses on teaching in diverse classrooms and on learning and teaching theory. While both stated that they taught about race from a historical perspective, the examples they gave in their interviews

demonstrated that they teach more about the history of racism in education rather than the history of the construction of race.

In her interview, Jane stated that she likes to look at issues from a macro-perspective, which she believes includes a historical perspective on racism in education. For Jane, having students understand racism within education is an important step in creating change. Mike also teaches about instances of racism throughout history. He believes that a goal of teaching about the history of racism is that candidates will learn and understand their own histories. By bringing in their personal stories, students gain a better understanding of inequity and injustice. One of the ways he did this was by teaching a unit on the Rodney King riots, in which African Americans took to the streets to protest the acquittal of police officers in the beating of Rodney King. He also showed the documentary on the Central Park five, which is about five young African Americans convicted of raping and killing a young White woman in Central Park, a crime they did not commit. I believe Jane's and Mike's approach to teaching about the history of racism was helpful in framing issues that students of color may face in today's classrooms as a result of racism. However, Alina's and Mitchell's emphasis on the institutionalized notions of race provide a better overview of the factors that lead to racism, which ultimately affects students of color in and out of schools.

While the conversations on race in Mitchell's course on teaching diverse learners indicated an understanding of institutionalized racism, I noticed that many of the conversations about race were led by candidates of color. When White candidates did speak, however, their comments demonstrated a deep understanding of institutional factors that lead to racism, but not necessarily their own place of privilege within those institutions. For example, a White teacher candidate presented an inquiry assignment on the private school where he taught. While he

attempted to hone in on issues of diversity and equity in his school by presenting the school's demographics and mentioning the disproportionate recommendation of African American students to special education, his major point was that private schools were superior because they allow for innovation. Although his White peers pushed back on his original premise, the discussion following his presentation centered on whether public or private school was most conducive to student learning, rather than a discussion on equal access to private school for low-income students and students of color or a high-quality public school experience. The discussion was led almost entirely by White candidates, and no mention of their racial, economic, or educational privilege was made.

Mitchell offered another example during his interview that resonated and was consistent with my observations. When talking about a conversation about tracking he stated,

Those discussions would cause some tension around I think race for students of color kind of advocating for paying more attention to, "these were my experiences," more anecdotes.... It was a healthy conversation because there were these different experiences that made us trouble and question when it comes to issues of race, tracking and "what are we advocating for, really?" (M. Peters, personal communication, December 11, 2014)

While many of the conversations on race in Mitchell's course were led by students of color, he felt that ultimately the conversations were useful in pushing all of the candidates to think about the varying experiences of students in school. However, the focus on the historic, political, and economic aspects of race and racism in the United States perhaps encouraged White teacher candidates to intellectualize the issue without placing themselves within the discourse.

## **Placing Teacher Educators and Candidates at the Center of the Discourse on Race**

In addition to asking candidates to intellectualize issues of race and racism from a historical perspective, I found that many instructors also explicitly asked candidates to engage in personal reflections about the issues. Ball (2000) and Obidah (2000) argue that requiring candidates—especially White candidates—to be reflective of their own privilege is necessary when talking about race and racism in education. Although I agree with this approach, my findings suggest that self-reflection and conversations on race were often aided by instructors who were willing to talk about their own privilege or experiences with race and racism.

Mike Landers felt strongly that candidates needed to be at the center of the conversations about race. He stated,

The way you do that is you start with spending some time on oneself, “Who am I?” My identity in the world, both kind of how I fit socially but also my unique things about me. We spend some time talking about membership in society and the creation of the other, the whole concept of the creation of the other, insider/outsider, the universe of obligation, who are we obliged to.... We do that, then what you do then is you follow with a series of historical cases or current cases. You could do a unit on Ferguson, you could do a unit on anything and come back to the language of “What’s the universe of obligation this person is seeing. What do you think should be done?” Facing history and ourselves means looking at history and looking at where I fit and what I do. (M. Landers, personal communication, November 11, 2014)

Mike’s emphasis on personal exploration was unique. Many of the instructors approached teaching about race from a personal perspective. However, Mike was the only instructor who

indicated that personal exploration was a central activity, rather than assuming students would personally reflect on their own during his course.

Alina and Jane both described the way in which they talked about their own perspectives and experiences as a starting point for talking about race. Jane states, “From the very first night of class, I’m introducing my own personal experience of learning about race and educational inequities” (J. Patterson, personal communication, September 23, 2014). Jane further explained that it was her experiences seeing the disproportionate referral of African American males to special education that encouraged her to delve deeply into the effects of racism in educational settings. While Jane did not give examples of how she asks students to reflect on their positions within society, she used her own positionality as a starting point:

We read ... articles where the authors are graduate students at Stanford who are grappling with issues of diversity in their own teaching. That’s the occasion for having my students look at their own identities and looking through all those different lenses, and I’m very explicit about how I am a White woman, and so I bring privilege into my own identity, but then also experiences of sexism and anti-Semitism. It’s kind of an entry point for students thinking about how those different markers influence their own experience. (J. Patterson, personal communication, September 23, 2014)

Alina said, “[On the] first day of class ... I [give] my introduction, and I talk about my own experience with my, and my generational experience of internment and racism” (A. Tanaka, personal communication, December 17, 2014). As a Japanese American woman, she uses the experience of her family’s internment as a starting point in the conversation about race. While I was observing her course, she assigned Richert, Donahue, and LaBoskey’s (2008) “Preparing White Teachers to Teach in a Racist Nation: What Do They Need to Know to Be Able to Do?”

While the article was assigned to all students in the class, Alina specifically asked students to pay close attention to the section of the article that addressed how White teachers can best teach in diverse classrooms. The article states that in order for White teachers to teach effectively in diverse classrooms, they must have a deep understanding of their own privilege.

Rebecca Carle, who teaches second language acquisition and bilingual certification courses, consistently integrated a personal perspective when teaching about race and privilege. Rebecca had been at Northern California University for six years when I conducted my study. She heads the bilingual certification program and collaborates with other adjunct instructors who also teach courses on second language acquisition. It was a pleasure to watch Rebecca teach and interact with teacher education candidates. She consistently advocated for students of color to other faculty and met many times with candidates of color who were unsure of their place in the program or their ability to finish. On those occasions, Rebecca both provided academic support for students who needed it, but more importantly helped the candidates of color understand how important it was for them to be there.

Rebecca described her integration of race into her courses as more implicit than explicit because she did not have an explicit focus on race in the syllabus. However, in all of the class sessions I observed, Rebecca brought up issues of race. On her first days of class, she talked about her daughter— a young White school-age girl—for whom the school systems work very well. One of the first assignments in her second language acquisition course asked the students to study their own linguistic heritage. Many White candidates were concerned over completing the assignment and stated that their families had been in the United States for many generations. Rebecca responded by emphasizing that the United States is a country of immigrants and that historically assimilation has caused language loss. Rebecca challenged the commonly held

notions that White people do not have culture and that there is no variation among dialects of English.

In the course required for the bilingual certification, Rebecca's emphasis on understanding your own power and position was even more explicit than in her course on second language acquisition. In that class, she challenged candidates to think about why they wanted to be bilingual teachers and she spoke to the internal struggles she faces as a White woman running a program that trains teachers to work in classrooms where the majority of the population are students of color. Rebecca's consistent and public reflection on her power and privilege was greater than the other White instructors in this study. Although she did not explicitly ask students to articulate their positions of power and privilege, Rebecca modeled for them— especially her White students— what it means to be reflective about your privilege.

Mitchell also did not explicitly require students to delve deeply into their own histories with racism or privilege beyond a written reflection on who they were and where they come from and how their origins affect what they know. However, in his interview he spoke several times about his concern about his own identity as an African American male when talking about issues of race with candidates. He said, "I think it's really easy and I've caught myself doing this presenting a narrative as a black male" (M. Peters, personal communication, December 11, 2014). He spoke at length about wanting to present information more like a journalist by presenting multiple perspectives. His goal was to "present many narratives and to be transparent about what narratives have gotten me to make certain decisions" (M. Peters, personal communication, December 11, 2014). While all of the instructors emphasized the candidates' need to understand their own identities and often used themselves as examples, Mitchell was the only instructor who explicitly talked about the ways in which his identity affected the

perspectives from which he taught. This self-reflection, however, was never modeled for his students.

It appeared that modeling self-reflection was useful in engaging candidates in discussions on race. For example, in Rebecca's courses on second language acquisition and bilingual education the candidates spoke often about the value of knowing a second language, but also the stigma of being a native Spanish speaker. The White candidates and candidates of color usually contributed equally to these conversations. Even with an emphasis on personal rather than institutional understanding of race and privilege, the conversations on race in Rebecca's courses indicated strong understanding of institutional factors that lead to racism. Further, these conversations were happening with high frequency and were well integrated into all aspects of courses.

It is important to note, however, that White candidates in Rebecca's bilingual endorsement course were more self-reflective about their race than in the course on second language acquisitions, where at times, like in Mitchell's courses, some of the White candidates were silent when issues of race were raised. In the bilingual endorsement courses all of the White candidates contributed to the conversation while not dominating, were self-reflective and, for the most part, aware of their privilege. For example, I observed one White candidate stating that being White and bilingual gives her more privilege, looks good on her resume, and can be viewed as cultural appropriation. Other conversation in this course tackled the use of the word "negro" in Spanish, which in many cultures is considered a term of endearment, but in a U.S. context is not. These conversations helped the bilingual candidates to understand the complexity of teaching in bilingual classrooms in the United States. While Rebecca never avoided

conversations about race in either of the classes I observed, deep conversations on racial discrimination and privilege took place in the bilingual endorsement course.

### **Implicit and Consistent Integration of Race into Course Readings and Assignments**

Many of the course instructors described their approach to teaching about race as being more implicit than explicit or integrated into the rest of the course. This course integration was especially true for the courses on learning and teaching theory. For example, Jane stated that in her section of the teaching and learning theory course there is an implicit integration of issues of race into course discussions. She stated that the objective of this course is to “[prepare] excellent teachers to work with students from diverse backgrounds” (J. Patterson, personal communication, September 23, 2014). She assigns readings that address issues such as student motivation and the achievement gap, which when discussed often lead to discussions about race.

Another learning and teaching theory instructor, Ellen Roberts, also spoke about the implicit integration of race in her courses. Ellen is a White instructor with expertise in early literacy and child development who had been teaching for several years at Northern California University when I conducted my study. While her focus was mainly on literacy methods for elementary teachers, she also helped to develop and taught courses on learning and teaching theory. In her interview, Ellen stated that she engages her students in an activity in which they match their skin tones to paint colors. She said,

We mix multi-cultural paints to our skin tone, because I want the teachers, because they are mostly white female teachers, to be comfortable talking about race, and I think through our activity they start to be comfortable about it. I mean, they’re comparing their hand with somebody next to them, and saying you’re darker, lighter, whatever. (E. Roberts, personal communication, November 6, 2014)

In addition to this assignment, Ellen also introduces her teacher candidates to Steele's (2010) stereotype threat concept. She states that it is essential,

Because how children formulate their ideas about race, the fact that the whole conversation about race is going to be different for a child of color versus a white child, we can't really say, "these are the developmental stages of understanding race." Along with stereotype threat for them to understand that children feel that and they know that, especially by second grade they're starting to understand that people hold views, biased views sometimes negative. For children who've experienced those it's even more salient and even earlier. (E. Roberts, personal communication, November 6, 2014)

These conversations on race were not limited to children in their classrooms. Ellen also introduces candidates to Lawrence-Lightfoot's (2003) work on communicating with families, which addresses cultural and racial differences between teachers and families, along with Heath's (2012) work on multiple ways of knowing. Although race is not an explicit focus of Ellen's discussions, issues of race and racism were integrated into her course assignments, which she hoped would positively affect the teacher candidate's vision of teaching.

Mike and Rebecca also used an integrated approach to teaching about issues of race and racism in their classes. In Rebecca's courses, discussions about race often came up because of the connection between language, culture, and race. She also made a point of assessing and addressing the way in which teacher candidates spoke about their students. Through dialogue journals, Rebecca read and responded to statements teacher candidates wrote about English Language Learner (ELL) students in their classrooms. When themes arose across journal entries, or if one or more students began to use deficit language when talking about ELL students, Rebecca would point out the deficit language being used to describe students of color. While

these conversations were not directly addressing race or racism, Rebecca consistently made connections between particular stereotypes made about Latino families' involvement in schools and ELL students' learning capabilities. Rebecca's major objective was to ensure that the candidates viewed both their students' and their parents' ability to speak a language other than English as an asset.

Much of Mike's work was unit based, in which students examine issues such as historic and current immigration, both historically and currently. For him, historic and current issues helped the candidates to better understand the ills of society, the role of institutions, and the effects of racism on communities of color. During our interview, Mike compared a recent event in which a White owner of a professional basketball team called the Los Angeles Clippers made several racist comments and the closing of several schools in Chicago. He wanted students to understand the complexity of racism and that it is not limited only to discriminatory language. He said, "I want my students to understand that what the owner of the Clippers said isn't as racist as closing down ten schools in Chicago" (M. Landers, personal communication, November 11, 2014). Mike hoped that his students would be prepared to address societal inequity as educators by focusing on the resiliency of communities. He encouraged them to view their roles as allies and capitalize on students' strengths, rather than saviors who see students as weak and in need of saving.

Many of these conversations were used to assess what candidates understood about race. Mitchell provided an example of a White male student who was very comfortable positioning himself in a place of privilege, but was also very vocal about his support of a colorblind philosophy when it came to race. These differing perspectives caused him to turn to assignments

as another way to assess how White candidates were engaging with issues of race in their classes, a practice his colleagues also used to assess learning.

Although there were three to four sections of the same course, the state and Northern California University require that each section have one assignment in common. For the course on teaching in diverse classrooms, this was the inquiry project. Jane stated that the inquiry project was one of the main ways she could assess what candidates were learning in her course. I was able to observe the inquiry project in both Mitchell's and Alina's sections. These projects were both group and individually based and candidate centered—meaning they chose the topic they wanted to investigate. In Mitchell's section, candidates explored the model minority concept and the positive characteristics of private schools. Alina also had candidates do an inquiry project. However, the group decided that they wanted to study trauma in schools, and each group studied a different aspect of trauma. In addition to the in-class presentations, as a group they also organized and publicized a professional development session for educators in which they shared their inquiry project with those working with youth. According to Alina, approaching the inquiry project this way was a direct result of the teacher candidates demanding to know more and to educate peers about student trauma in schools.

In addition to the inquiry project, Mitchell asked students to compile and present an annotated bibliography on topics related to teaching in diverse classrooms. I was able to observe when the candidates made their presentations. One presentation that stood out most was one by a White candidate who investigated literature about successful White teachers. Through her presentation, she was able to discuss with her peers the power of understanding yourself and your privilege when talking with your students about race. She asserted that the more you know

about race, the better prepared you are to address race and racism in your classroom. In addition to this presentation, many of the other candidates presented literature on the model minority myth, restorative justice, and resources for working with youth of color.

Although Rebecca did not have students complete an inquiry assignment, she also used one particular assignment as a way to gauge student learning. Because her course on second language acquisition required candidates to understand how students learn a language, Rebecca asked candidates to focus on and assess the linguistic and academic strengths and needs of a focal student. Through this assignment, Rebecca was able to determine whether a candidate had an asset or deficit view of ELL students and to assess whether he or she could adequately address the linguistics needs of students.

### **Addressing Race in Classrooms and Modeling Culturally Responsive Teaching**

Another example of conversations on race and racism took place when discussing and modeling approaches to talking about race with students. These conversations also included modeling strategies that could foster classroom community and create a safe environment for discussion contentious issues. This approach not only provided tools and resources that generated conversations, but also offered opportunities to deepen candidates' understanding of issues of race and racism in education.

Mitchell was one of two instructors I observed who actively asked candidates to think about ways to approach talking about race in their classrooms. He also devoted a significant amount of class time to the racial tension in Ferguson, Missouri, after the death of Michael Brown. Not only did he bring up the media representations of African Americans—which he considered biased—but he also asked teacher candidates to think about what they would say to students who would like to engage in a dialogue regarding what happened in Ferguson. While

challenging them to think for themselves, Mitchell also provided the candidates with several teaching resources to help frame the discussion in current and historic terms.

Alina also taught teacher candidates to address issues of race through the curriculum. Alina stated that many of her candidates asked her how to address race with students, and one of her main ways of responding to their question was to read and to engage in a discussion about the book *Unspoken* (2012) by Henry Cole. This book is about a young White girl who fed a runaway slave and the resulting consequences of her actions. Alina stated:

We go through the picture book, and we talk about that climate and what life was like during that time period ... yet this bravery of this little girl and what she chose, and the harshness of the system in which they're living. The consequences of the choices we make, for good or bad, and the costliness. ... Then I started to open it up and say, "These, even from something as small as a kindergarten picture book, these lessons have to begin," because these children are racialized before they're born. We have to deal with it. There's no way around that. (A. Tanaka, personal communication, December 17, 2014)

Ellen also stated that conversations such as these needed to happen. However, she approached teaching about race to students from a developmental perspective, rather than just teaching them how to facilitate conversations about race with children. Like Alina, she also focuses on literature. She uses Picower's (2012) social justice curriculum, which includes six elements: self-love and knowledge, respect for others, issues of social injustice, social movements and social change, awareness raising, and social action. These elements are designed for elementary students, and encourage teachers to take into account a child's developmental stage when raising racial issues. Ellen stated that when working with young children, asking them to understand issues of racial injustice is hard when they have yet to explore their own

sense of injustice. For Ellen, approaching conversation about racial injustice without taking into account the developmental stage of the child leads to what Banks (2016a) refers to as an additive approach. Ellen believes that talking about race and racism with young children is a challenging process, one that starts with concept formations about injustice and discrimination, rather than with an exclusive focus on civil rights leaders and their achievements.

Mike and Rebecca also spoke about raising issues of race and racism in schools. Although Mike was not specific about how he taught candidates to address issues of race in schools, he wanted his students to recall course readings when a colleague made disparaging or even racist comments regarding students. He hoped to empower students to stand up to their colleagues using the texts as a way to support arguments against deficit thinking. Rebecca also addressed issues of race and racism with colleagues in schools. During her course on second language acquisition, she often mentioned that colleagues will make comments about a bilingual student's inability to speak English proficiently; she encouraged her candidates to realize that bilingualism is an asset. Rebecca also mentioned a situation in her student teaching practicum course in which one of her candidates of color witnessed consistent racist acts among the principal, students, and the student teacher. Her student did his student teaching at an elementary school in a predominantly African American neighborhood. While he was there, the principal made disparaging comments about students of color in front of the student teacher and the students. Rebecca not only helped this candidate identify the ways in which the principal was being racist, but also ways in which the candidate could address the situation in his student teaching.

I was not surprised that Rebecca and Ellen were two of the instructors who during their interviews provided the most concrete examples of how to talk about race with students. In the

observations I conducted in the learning and theory course—taught by Ellen—and second language acquisition course—taught by Rebecca— I noticed that issues of race and racism were brought up during each class session. Much of this occurred because of the emphasis on modeling how to build classroom community. In several courses I was able to observe them facilitating activities that allowed candidates and professors to get to know each other.

According to Ellen, Rebecca, and some of their colleagues, talking about race would not have been possible without the building of community in Northern California University courses. During observations, I saw both Ellen and Rebecca explicitly modeling and teaching candidates how to build community in their classrooms. Each instructor elicited personal information about their students and explained the ways in which the information they learned is helpful in teaching students. While I did not observe Mike, Jane, or Alina engaging in these activities, they spoke about the importance of building community in their own courses as a way to promote dialogues on racial issues. For Jane, building and teaching about classroom community was key to effective dialogue on issues of race and was often a bridge between courses at Northern California University and the schools. She stated:

I actually start off with the importance of dialogue, and we talk about what makes for good classroom dialogue and people's experiences with it. Then we move into talking about classroom and school relationships.... I feel like it sets a really good foundation for our own relationships, building community.... It's a really good entry point for people who may or may not feel comfortable, or who may or may have not had experience talking about issues of diversity and social justice. (J. Patterson, personal communication, September 23, 2014)

Jane's quote provides an important synopsis of the ways in which all of the instructors approached teaching and addressing issues of race in teacher education, however her emphasis on dialogue is one that could be carried into the classroom.

### **Moving from a Deficit to an Asset Perspective: Reflections on the Overall Impact of the Program on Candidate Learning**

Finally, I felt it was important to include not only the perceptions teacher educators have about their teacher candidates, but also their perceptions of the program's influence on candidate learning. When talking with the course instructors, I learned that some of them perceived their White candidates as having a deficit perspective of students and believed that their work as teachers was to save students. Saving students—rather than teaching them—makes students reliant on teachers and assumes they do not possess the strength or resources needed to help themselves. Mike stated,

I would say most teachers, most new teachers. ... Well first of all they've made it through this system. Whether they're black, brown, white, whether they've been poor or rich, they got through. They have a bachelor's degree. They're in graduate school. They're already winners in the game to some degree.... "What I have is very good. These kids are lacking so much, and I am going to bestow this good stuff that I have on them." It's sort of a charity attitude and kind of a deficit notion of the poor communities. (M. Landers, personal communication, November 11, 2014)

Mike was not alone in his perception of the characteristics of teacher candidates when they begin the program. Rebecca also spoke at length about her goal of convincing her candidates to view ELL students as bilingual rather than just as learners of English. She stated:

I feel like [helping them view students as bilingual is] one of the ways that I really want to help teachers in my class see students differently. Instead of seeing that as a problem that needs to be remediated, seeing [students' first language] as an asset that can be built upon, utilized and should be celebrated. (R. Carle, personal communication, December 15, 2014)

While Rebecca and Mike believe that some of the White teacher candidates enter the program with both a savior perspective and a deficit view of students, all of the instructors stated that the teacher candidates start at different places regarding their understanding of issues of race and were unsure about the impact their class had on their understanding. Rebecca said that some of her candidates begin to change their perceptions of ELL students but that “they don't really have ever an ‘Aha’ moment about the ways in which they're talking about kids” (R. Carle, personal communication, December 15, 2014).

Alina was also unsure about the extent of her influence. She framed her influence as causing students to do “a 180°” meaning that she had helped White candidates understand race, racism, and their position within society. Alina taught courses at the undergraduate level and believed her students' thinking was transformed by these course. However, this was not something she believed of the course at Northern California University thus far. She stated:

I have a lot of students who could understand the personal experience of racism, but they couldn't see the bigger picture. They couldn't see how this would fit in policy, how it lived within a very building, and how a building came about. Economics was a part of this, politics was all a part of this machine, and with the timeline, I kept trying to help

them understand and see these links, but some of them, they couldn't get beyond where they were at. (A. Tanaka, personal communication, December 17, 2014)

This quote reveals Alina's concern that she was not able to significantly influence White candidates' understanding of institutionalized racism.

Mitchell was also unsure of his impact. However, during an observation, a White candidate described one of his lectures on the relationship between modern slavery and the history of slavery in the United States as being particularly influential. Despite this student's statement, Mitchell said that he was more confident at the beginning of the course than when the course ended. Consequently, by the end of the term, he was less confident in his candidates' understandings about race.

Jane also examined the impact of her teaching over time. She believed that her influence on candidates' understanding was improving. She stated:

I feel like I have various forms of evidence, of what they're learning, and I feel pretty good that they're taking away a lot. On the other hand, I feel like these issues go so deep. It's one thing for me to feel like, "Yes! They're showing me in their work, and in our discussions, and in our reflections, that they're getting a lot from this." I don't know how it's going to play out in the classroom. I really don't. (J. Patterson, personal communication, September 23, 2014)

The above statements are the instructors' perceptions of how they think they are influencing students at Northern California University. However, the overall impact of their teaching on their students' understanding of race is unknown.

### **Discussion: Benefits and Consequences of Varying Approaches**

The findings from interview and observation data presented in this chapter showed that course instructors explicitly and implicitly taught about race in various ways. In this section, I will review and relate these findings to the relevant literature. This includes (1) emphasizing institutional racism by teaching about race from a historical perspective; (2) using candidates' and teacher educators' personal experiences with racism and privilege to enhance understanding; (3) offering a rationale for modeling and implementing culturally responsive teaching and community building; and (4) developing an asset perspective of students.

In the course on how to teach diverse student populations there was an explicit focus on the history of race and racism in the United States. This focus included an emphasis on institutionalized racism, which King (1991) asserts is vital in ensuring that White candidates understand racism. There is considerable concern that a sole focus on individual acts of racism provides an opportunity for White candidates to avoid conversations about racism if they feel they have not engaged in overt acts of racism or regularly associate with people of color (Lavine-Rasky, 2010; Young, 2001; McLaren, 1997). Although I agree that this approach is vital and offers many opportunities for conversation on race, it was challenging to assess the extent to which White candidates understood institutionalized racism and their positions within society.

There is also substantial literature that advocates for a personal and reflective approach to talking about race (Ball, 2000; Obidah, 2000; White, 2012; McIntyre, 2002). Additionally, conversations on racial microaggressions are becoming an important focus in the discourse on race and racism (Kohli & Solórzano, 2012; Cho, 2016). Although I did not observe any conversations on racial microaggressions, Jane Patterson stated that she often addressed this in

her courses. This new emphasis was of some concern to Jane, who stated that a primary focus on microaggression was distracting attention from understanding the institutional factors that lead to racism. This unfortunately sets up a binary where there is a focus on either individual racism or institutionalized racism. In the case of Rebecca Carle's courses on second language acquisition—and especially in her courses for the bilingual endorsement—conversations on institutionalized and individual racism were approached. Rebecca consistently framed these conversations within her own privilege in institutions such as schools and policies. Jane Patterson and Alina Tanaka were also transparent with their students about their privilege or lack thereof, which they stated facilitated reflective dialogue among candidates.

Rebecca's success in facilitating effective conversations on race and privilege may have been the result of making her privilege visible to students. In addition to this, Rebecca and Ellen also modeled effective strategies for how to learn about students. Literature on culturally responsive teaching considers getting to know students as one of the most effective ways to teach students of color (Gay, 2002, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2009). This literature also focuses on working in schools with youth, but frequently the strategies recommended by Gay and Ladson-Billings are not implemented in teacher education courses. Almost all of the teacher educators stated that building community was essential in creating dialogue on race, however Rebecca and Ellen were the only instructors I observed demonstrate concrete examples of community building. In Rebecca's course especially, conversations on race were deeper, and White candidates were more reflective than in other courses.

The activities Rebecca used to get to know students were also beneficial in assessing her students' level of understanding about second language learners. She and Mike Landers had

concerns over the deficit perspective candidates held of their students. This subtle form of racism allows White candidates to constructively talk about race, but then view home language and culture as deficits (Valenzuela, 1999; Marx, 2004). It is here that the differences between bilingual teacher education and monolingual teacher education become apparent. While bilingual education was, and in some places is, still implemented to aid in learning English (Grinberg & Saavedra, 2000), research on the value of being bilingual indicates that there is an increase in cognitive and intellectual abilities, and that there are benefits of using a student's home language to help them learn another (Lindholm-Leary, 2004; Cummins, 2009; Ovando, Combs & Collier, 2006). White teachers who seek work in bilingual classrooms already see the benefit of being bilingual because they are bilingual themselves. This disposition toward students and bilingual teaching necessitates a unique approach that takes into account the language and culture of students (Bustos-Flores, Sheets & Clark, 2011). White bilingual candidates together with Rebecca's approach of placing herself at the center of the dialogue on privilege served as a starting point for conversations on race and privileged. Additionally, Rebecca consistently pushed the candidates to think about their roles and the power they possessed as teachers. She asked them to think deeply about why they wanted to work in bilingual communities. These consistent messages emphasized Rebecca's desire for bilingual students—specifically Latino students—to be viewed as students with assets, and not as students who are in need of saving.

I must return to my initial research question as to whether or not the teacher education program addressed race and racism from an institutional rather than individual level. I believe the instructors at Northern California University had a strong desire to teach from an institutional perspective; this desire was apparent in the historical approach that several of the instructors took. However, through all of my observations, it was clear that it was the course for the

bilingual endorsement and to some extent the second language acquisition course—both taught by Rebecca—that pushed the candidates’ thinking to a level higher than in other courses. As a result, moving away from teaching about racism from either an individual or institutional perspective to balancing both simultaneously is necessary to ensure candidate learning. Further investigation into what former candidates learned in the program is examined in considerable depth in Chapter 6. There I will describe how graduates from Northern California University understand issues of race and racism and their perceptions of how the program prepared them for work in diverse classrooms.

## Chapter 6: Understanding the Institutional, Struggling with the Personal:

### Learning about Race in Multiple Spaces

This chapter will focus on multiple spaces within which the four participants in this study learned about and engaged with issues of race and privilege. The data used for this chapter come from one long interview with each study participant in which I asked questions about her youth, early schooling, and other life experiences that helped shape her racial ideologies. Additional data also included a writing prompt to assess each study participant's understanding of institutionalized racism, which helped to inform the interview.

Over the course of the study, I got to know and to like each of the study participants. Danielle Curtis and Jean Ellis taught third grade in transitional bilingual education programs in a large urban district. Florence Long taught fourth grade in a dual immersion school in the same district. Elizabeth Murray, though certified as an elementary teacher, taught sixth-grade humanities in a smaller district outside of the urban center. Although she had a bilingual certificate—unlike the other participants—she did not teach in a bilingual or dual language program. Below is a chart that provides an overview of who the participants were, the contexts that influenced their racial ideologies, and the schools where they taught.

Table 4: Study Participants with Background and School Overview

<b>Name</b>	<b>Background and spheres of influence</b>	<b>Teaching context</b>
Jean Ellis	Working to middle class from a small, mostly White town in the Midwest; was active in college, educating peers on issues of oppression. Identifies as being a part of the LGBTQ community.	3rd-grade bilingual program in an urban district.
Florence Long	Middle to upper class from Austin, Texas; attended diverse but tracked schools; attended a progressive liberal arts school; lived abroad in Argentina for two years.	4th-grade dual immersion school in an urban district.
Danielle Curtis	Middle class from a racially diverse suburb of San Francisco. Her parents worked in schools,	3rd-grade bilingual in an urban district.

	and she traveled abroad to learn Spanish after working in immigrant communities in Northern California.	
Elizabeth Murray	Middle class from a small, agricultural town with a high population of immigrant families. Her parents raised her Catholic, though she is not currently practicing. Lived abroad in Honduras for two years.	6th-grade humanities in a suburban district. Classes were taught in English to mostly Latino students, many of whom were English Language Learners.

Studies show that teacher education programs are one of the first places in which White teacher candidates engage with issues of race (Frankenberg, 1993; McIntosh, 1989; Cochran-Smith, 1995, 2000; King, 1991; and Sleeter, 1993). There are also a variety of ways racial discourse occurs in these programs (Sleeter, 2001; Pollock, Deckman, & Shalaby, 2009; Young, 2007; White, 2011; Siraj-Blachford, 1993; Maher & Tetreault, 1997; LaDuke, 2011; King, 1991; Caputo-Pearl, Al-Alim & Martin, 2007; Cochran-Smith, 2000). These studies, however, assume a low level of racial awareness on the part of White candidates and do not necessarily use the assessments of what White candidates already know about race as a bridge to future learning (Phillip, 2011; Lowenstein, 2009). Connelly and Clandinin (1999) argue that how teachers learn and engage in teaching is directly related to their identities, life histories, and the contexts in which they grew up and currently live. As a result, this chapter describes the influential contexts in the lives of the participants, but also their understanding of the institutional factors that lead to racial disparity.

The chapter is divided into four main sections: (1) understanding institutionalized racism; (2) understanding the institutional but struggling with the personal aspects of privilege; (3) learning about racism, privilege, and difference in integrated settings; and (4) creating spaces to deepen understanding about race in teacher education. I conclude the chapter with a

discussion of the findings in relation to the relevant literature. The goal of this chapter is to describe the level of understanding each participant had and the contexts that helped her to understand issues of race and privilege. It is my hope that this chapter will lay the foundation for understanding why and how the teachers were able to engage in particular classroom practices that are described in Chapter 8 of this dissertation.

### **An Analysis of Perspectives on Institutional Racism**

King (1991) and McLaren (1997) state that it is imperative that pre-service teachers have a deep understanding of institutionalized racism in order to develop an asset-based perspective of students. King argues that in the absence of this deep understanding, White teacher candidates often resort to language that negates the many institutional barriers people of color face in the pursuit of success and that their language often falls into a common White discourse on race (Foster, 2009). As a result, the question below was asked and the response analyzed in order to assess the language study participants used to describe racial inequity in the United States.

*There are many disparities between White, middle-class people and people of color. Examples of this disparity are graduation rates, college attrition, rates of poverty, prison rates, crime, death, health disparities, etc. Simply put, why do you think that is? What factors lead to these disparities?*

The four participants in this study demonstrated a deep understanding of the institutional factors that lead to racism and oppression in their written answers. Each participant presented her own perspective, and all of them placed racism and discrimination in a historic context.

From the opening statement in her writing prompt, Jean named institutionalized racism as the cause for disparities. She states,

I think that the disparities that exist between White, middle-class people and people of color exist due to historic and present day institutionalized racism. Racism is a form of oppression, and when one is experiencing oppression, they [*sic*] often have a different level of access to opportunities that impact education, employment, health and prosperity. All of the ways in which racism oppresses people of color hinders their access to these opportunities. (J. Ellis, personal communication, November 14, 2014)

It is clear that Jean has a sophisticated understanding that racism is a form of oppression. However, what I think is most important is her connection between institutionalized racism and the lack of opportunities for oppressed people because it debunks the commonly held notion that there are true equal opportunities for all people.

Florence also states that institutionalized racism is the root of disparities, and like Jean, she also frames her answer within an educational context. In the beginning of her statement, she wrote,

I think that the disparity exists for a variety of factors, which I would call the “opportunity gap” (from Gloria Ladson-Billings, I think) more than the achievement gap. Those factors include: Institutionalized racism, which is caused by our country’s tragic and shameful history of slavery and continued culture of covert racist beliefs, as evidenced by the recent outbreak of police killings of unarmed men of color. (F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

It is important to highlight her connection between past and present acts of racism in her reference to the killing of unarmed men of color. Florence makes a clear connection to racism when media does not state that race was a factor in the police shootings. Instead the media releases the criminal records of the young unarmed men who were shot, essentially blaming the

victim for their own oppression, a common occurrence in White discourse on race (Foster, 2009).

Florence also refers to Ladson-Billings's (2013) term "opportunity gap," which reveals her thinking about the institutional factors that lead specifically to educational disparities. She addresses issues of educational access as a result of our economy and health disparities that result from gentrification and lack of access to healthy foods. Though her response becomes broad in nature, moving away from education specifically, Florence is laying the foundation for a very important point she makes at the end of her statement: "The previous factors thus lead, understandably, to a feeling of powerlessness and frustration amongst disenfranchised folks, which then sometimes leads to violence or negative behaviors which then perpetuate stereotypes that feed institutionalized racism" (F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014). Her quote illustrates her understanding of the factors that lead to violence rather than a focus on the individuals, or simply labeling people of color as being violent in nature.

Danielle's response, however, provided the most in-depth answer to the written question. Like the other study participants, she also began her response with a historical analysis of racism in the United States:

It is my belief that continued racism in U.S. society is at the root of many of the aforementioned disparities. Even though some progress has been made (i.e. end of slavery in its original form, examples of high achievement of people of color, overall increased tolerance for difference from decades past), there are still many left over beliefs, inequalities, and scars that carry into today. Our nation did not, and has not done enough to atone for our wrongdoings, and therefore those who have been mistreated are in a constant state of catching up. (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 28, 2014)

Danielle elaborates on how past racism is problematic because many people still hold stereotypic views of oppressed people today. She states, “Stereotypes and previous examples can be such powerful forces in shaping what we believe in for ourselves and others, and as long as we still believe these racist things, they will continue to prove themselves to be true” (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 28, 2014).

I found Danielle’s use of the phrase “catching up” in the above quote to be particularly significant because it adds a layer of complexity to the notion of disparity. In stating that those who are mistreated are in a constant state of catching up, she is resisting the dominant narrative that states that people of color are not working to improve their positions in society. Danielle does not actively call out institutionalized racism. However, the notion of catching up suggests that there is a system that is holding people back. She further elaborates on this point:

People who believe that success is all bootstraps and elbow grease fail to see that there is a systemic problem of shutting people of color out while ushering others [*sic*], more familiar success stories in. This is evidenced by the programs that have been designed to level the playing field such as Title IX, Welfare, Workfare, Affirmative Action, etc., and how much backlash they receive for trying to free up some of those spaces at the top that whites are so unwilling to let go of. (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 28, 2014)

In this quote, Danielle highlights systemic racism by acknowledging the false narrative that we are all able to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps.

Elizabeth’s initial response to the question was somewhat broad and provided opportunities for further questioning. Her first paragraph stated:

There are numerous factors that lead to the startling disparity between White, middle-class individuals and people of color. First off, the United States is a country that is rooted in racism and to this day is extremely segregated. We can see this segregation in the school system, the work force, the criminal justice system, and other aspects of our society. (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014)

During a follow-up conversation, I asked Elizabeth to elaborate on why the United States was rooted in racism. Her response made it clear that she has a strong sense of the history of racism in the United States:

The United States was established as an independent country by White, wealthy men who were in power. However, in order to establish this power in this new land, the Native Americans were looked upon as “others” who were uncivilized and eventually exterminated, which set a precedent of intolerance and prejudice in our country. Also, during colonial times, Black Slaves were brought over to America and played a major role in the production of cotton, which led to the wealth and privilege that White Americans enjoyed during that time. So, the successful commerce that our country experienced during the founding years was built by slaves. This, along with other factors, strengthened the foundations of racism, prejudice, and segregation. (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014)

This quote illustrates her understanding of the history of the United States and also her ability to connect the exploitation that took place during the colonial era with the current forms of racism that still exist today.

Like her peers, Elizabeth mentioned issues of power in her written response. She wrote, “Our country was founded by White privileged men. Despite the fact that the United States was

established over 200 years ago, the majority of those who possess power in this country are White, privileged men” (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014). In the following quote, Elizabeth demonstrates a strong understanding of how systems were built that purposefully excluded people of color and that resulted in a lack of access to power and opportunity. She wrote,

[T]he founding fathers of the United States were White, wealthy men who played critical roles in establishing the Bill of Rights and ultimately the U.S. Constitution. The racist and intolerant perspectives that many of these men had about others (who were not of white European descent) created a system in which those who were not White men were not given the same access to power, money, education, jobs, etc. While it is 2016 and much has evolved since that time, White men are still the most privileged individuals in the world with the most power. (E. Murray, personal communication, March 22, 2016)

Elizabeth’s answers demonstrated an academic and historical understanding of race, however, there was not much integration of issues of race in education. This demonstrated to me that she was able to intellectualize racism and think about it academically, but did not necessarily think about it within the context of herself or her teaching. While some of the other study participants were able to reflect upon their privilege, they were in various stages of coming to terms with their privilege.

### **Understanding the Institutional but Struggling with the Personal Aspects of Privilege**

When issues of race are raised, oftentimes White people become silent, or avert the conversation (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Mazzei, 2008; Foster, 2009). This was not the case with the four study participants, who openly talked about race with me and stated that they raised issues of race in many spaces in their lives. Despite their willingness to engage in conversations about

race, there were places in which the four study participants either failed to see their privilege in given situations or neglected to place themselves within the discourse on race and privilege.

These findings are similar to what emerged in the previous chapter, where racial discourse was more academic than personal in teacher education courses.

An example of this was an aspect of Jean's written response in which she identifies a cultural gap between White women teachers and students of color. She views this gap as a result of institutionalized racism because many people of color do not have access to the education necessary to become classroom teachers. The end result is that students of color do not have their needs met in many classrooms. Jean provides an example of this when she says,

Some of the gaps in knowledge of how to effectively serve students whose day-to-day reality or background is different from the teacher's reality or background can create learning gaps. These gaps can happen because a well-meaning teacher doesn't see the true needs of her student, or because the teacher has a racist attitude (even if it's subtle, unconscious) towards students or their families. This can manifest in pronouncing a student's name wrong while taking attendance daily, or creating an Anglicized name to make it easier on the teacher. The teacher isn't meeting the student's need to be seen and acknowledged in the most literal sense of their name. (J. Ellis, personal communication, November 14, 2014)

What is interesting about this quote is that Jean is a White woman, teaching a class of all Latino students, many of whom are also low income. Although the cultural gap between her and her students exists, she does not talk in depth about how her identity as a White woman affects the types of practices she employs in her classroom. Here she is able to articulate beautifully one challenge of being a White teacher, but fails to place herself within the discourse.

Unlike Jean, Florence was able to place herself in the center of discourse when talking about her role as a White woman teaching students of color. Although she did not write about being White in her response, our follow-up interview revealed an interesting corollary between her and Danielle. Both participants thought deeply about their role as White teachers, which helps me to assess their levels of understanding of race.

For Florence, being a White teacher of Latino students was not a space she should be filling. On a number of occasions, she talked about her challenges as a classroom teacher and how she felt her shortcomings may affect her students. Florence felt it would be better for her students, especially her students of color, to have a native Spanish-speaking teacher who looks like them. Her feelings were further reinforced by the school where she worked, which was unique in that it placed a heavier emphasis on social justice than other schools in the study. The school's mission was to prepare students of color for leadership roles. The school's goals included motivating young students of color to become teachers. Florence highly supported this goal. However, she said,

It's just such a strange position to be in to be kind of trying to kind of make yourself extinct in a certain sense.... I still haven't resolved that, how to feel like I deserve this job, and you should hire me because ... I do feel like I'm able to connect with my students, but I think that there is a lot to be said for ... being a woman. I am a White woman. I am the most common demographic. (F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

Although Florence demonstrated a strong understanding of institutional factors, she is still grappling with finding her place, and to some extent giving up her space for someone else. It is clear that she thinks a native Spanish-speaking teacher of color could do a better job than she

does; however, it appears that she is still struggling with the idea that she can hold that space as well.

Danielle brings up the notion of “freeing up spaces at the top,” which was something she talked about at length in other parts of her written response that provided some insights into her perceptions of racism in society. In our interview, she spoke more than once about limited spaces at the top. Her perspective is almost a zero-sum orientation toward opportunity, i.e., if there is room at the table for one person, it means that there is no room at the table for someone else. She said,

I think that many of the disparities between White, middle class people and people of color come from an unwillingness to sacrifice one’s own achievement for that of someone else. This simply comes down to logic and math. There is only so much room at the top, so many enrollment spots at a college, so many job openings, so many doctors to provide health care. If a certain group is or was taking all of these spaces, there are none for anyone else. In order for there to be room for others, some of that first group will have to give up their spots. (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 28, 2014)

I think that this perception is a function of her privilege or her acceptance of capitalist notions of society, in which competition prevails, and when there are winners there must also be losers. Her perspective is both ideological and personal, but it is clear that she possesses a partial understanding of that privilege, as illustrated by the following quote:

As someone who grew in a world where I could basically achieve whatever I wanted if I worked hard enough, the notion of stepping aside for someone else who has also worked hard can be a little disheartening. But that’s because this hard work + determination = success formula is all I know, and has been fostered by my family and other middle class

people around me for whom this has been the norm. (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 28, 2014)

Danielle, like Florence, acknowledges her struggle with the idea of giving up her own space. However, the above quote also demonstrates an awareness that her upbringing provides her with a false sense that hard work equals success or that the United States is a meritocracy.

As I mentioned previously, Elizabeth's written response demonstrated a strong historical understanding of racism in the United States, however her response spoke little about education, or her position within society's structures. Despite this, Elizabeth was open and honest about her struggle in the journey toward understanding her privilege.

Elizabeth spent two years teaching in Honduras, and within a month of her arrival had started the program that was geared specifically toward teaching for social justice in urban settings. Stating that she was in a state of culture shock, she struggled with certain aspects of the program, but mainly with what she perceived as the maltreatment of White people in the program. She explained, "I was protective of this culture that I had come from, too. I didn't want it being ... I didn't want White middle-class families to be belittled all of the time in these discussions" (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014). After a frank conversation with the program supervisor, she opted to leave that specific program and enroll in the traditional Master's in Teaching program. She felt that joining the traditional program was good for her because she was not ready for the tough conversations required of her in the program designed specifically for work in urban schools. However, once she left the urban education program and enrolled in the traditional program, she believed she was more ready and able to engage in discussion related race. For Elizabeth, the Master's in Teaching program at Northern California University was integral in bringing a lot of things together. She says,

As a White woman, [who] grew up in a middle class family, I had not realized until this class and until starting this program that I was, despite all of these ideas I had in my head, I was so uncomfortable talking about race. Fearing that I would offend others.... I'm not as uncomfortable talking about it anymore. (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014)

While Elizabeth was no longer uncomfortable engaging in conversations about race, it was clear from our conversations that she was still a work in progress and was actively seeking out colleagues who were willing to engage further in conversations on privilege.

### **Learning About Racism, Privilege, and Difference in Integrated Settings**

Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus states that our beliefs or doxa are created through the environment and habits in which we live and engage. It is through this lens that I present the formative experiences that influenced the study participants' beliefs about race that I described above. These experiences began with parents in their homes, during their K-12 schooling, and during college and living abroad. Although there were many commonalities among the four participants' experiences growing up, the most formative experiences in their learning about race came when they were learning from and in contact with people of color.

**Early years: Learning about race at home and in schools.** Jean grew up in small-town Indiana and Michigan, which were less diverse than urban center where she currently lives. As a result, she referred to her early years as being "whitewashed." Although she attended predominantly White schools, she did seek out friendships with the few students of color in her schools. Her friendships gave her a window into her mother's beliefs around race. Jean explains that when she had an African American friend over from school it was clear to her that:

[The] one or two times having him over was fine, but that anything beyond that wasn't okay. It became this kind of taboo subject and taboo way of being, like mixing with other kids who weren't White. I think to begin to speak about it was like crickets chirping. (J. Ellis, personal communication, November 14, 2014)

Although it was implied that Jean should not mix with students who were not White, what is most interesting about this quote is the fact that her upbringing was largely lacking in conversations about race.

In spite of the lack of dialogue in her home about race, Jean was attracted to conversations about race and wanted to learn more about the world and the diversity of people in it. Having attended a small town high school, she looks back on her experiences with a lack of fervor. However, she described an experience with a couple of teachers that was formative in her development:

I had a couple of teachers in high school that taught contemporary women's literature. They wanted to call it feminist literature or something and the principal wouldn't let them... All women authors, mostly women of color, and that was a huge turning point too. Just we were mostly white women and the teachers were all White, yeah, mostly White teachers. But just like the consciousness-raising around injustice and I think that seed really took hold. (J. Ellis, personal communication, November 14, 2014)

Jean describes her high school course as raising her consciousness. However, even before then, Jean sought out and learned from friendships with individuals racially different from her. She states:

In orchestra, there were three non-White kids. I remember feeling like it was a big deal that I was friends with them, that it was like something that was out of the norm. I was

already kind of casting myself as kind of this alternative kid. (J. Ellis, personal communication, November 14, 2014)

Jean never explained why she cast herself as an alternative child. However, as a member of the LGBTQ community, it is possible that even from a young age, she felt different from her peers and sought community in others who were also different. Consequently, Jean was deliberate in her choice of friends and the courses she took, which resulted in her developing a higher level of consciousness about issues of race once she left the small towns in which she grew up.

For Florence, experiences in her early schooling were also informative in establishing racial consciousness. Florence grew up in Austin, Texas, where she says the schools were racially segregated. When reflecting on her early childhood, she is able to reflect critically on the privileges she was afforded by coming from an upper-middle-class household. She explains,

I think I completely had an experience of complete privilege, middle class. My mom's a lawyer, and my dad's an engineer, middle-upper class. All my friends were going to go to college, always. My parents both went to college, so I just ... I always was kind of told I was gifted and talented, so I just had that. Which wasn't an issue in my elementary school because they were all like me.... I think it definitely was just always like, "I'm special and smart, and I can do whatever I want." (F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

Although her experiences were normalized by her predominantly White elementary school, it was during her middle school years that she became aware of her privilege and recognized the difference between her and her classmates of color.

The middle school she attended was racially diverse, but had both honors and non-honors classes, which segregated the school along racial lines. Florence took classes in both tracks and

recalled major differences between the way students behaved and how teachers managed classrooms in each track. Her recollections of race relations during her middle school years were negative and characterized by fear. However, despite this, I think her experiences in middle school were very formative in helping her understand race. Florence explained:

I just had all this fear, and that was when I was like, “There’s something bigger than me going on here. It doesn’t matter if I’m a nice person. Like there’s something bigger happening where people might just have anger, sometimes justifiable towards me because of our different positions.... [O]h, I can’t just like slip by and do my own thing. I’m in the same world as people that are so different than me and because I’m White, I might just piss them off because of that. I moved up to the magnet classes in the 8th grade because I just felt like I was an odd one out. (F. Long, personal communication, December 2014)

Despite having the privilege to move up to a higher track and attending a much less diverse high school than her middle school, Florence gained a deeper awareness of privilege and race, which she explore later in life.

Danielle was the only participant who grew up in the suburbs. She lived outside of San Francisco in a small suburb that was diverse because of the high cost of living in the city. She later moved to another suburb, which was more affluent and consequently less diverse. Danielle did not speak at length about her experiences growing up in the suburbs, but rather her parents’ attitudes toward social and racial justice. She felt their work and attitudes were impactful in forming her ideas on race. Danielle’s parents were school psychologists in public schools in neighboring districts. She said:

I may have been lacking in chances to showcase, but I really feel that my family taught me tolerance and taught me to be understanding. I think I hold within me many of the same ideas that my parents have about race and equality and just the value of people. They worked... [in] [p]laces that were also diverse, along race and socioeconomic class. They built relationships with people who they worked with and who were their students as well. (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 28, 2014)

It seems clear that Danielle's career choices and attitudes toward race were influenced by her parents' emphasis on building relationships with the diverse population of people with whom they worked. Having witnessed her parents' collegial relationships, Danielle saw the importance of building relationships with people of color in the work place as a pathway to learning more about issues of race.

Elizabeth spoke at length about how her parents influenced her ideas on race. She grew up in a small town located in a largely agricultural part of California. As a result, along with White, middle-class residents, there was also a large population of migrant workers in her community, most of whom were from Latin America. She attended public school for most of her schooling, and recalls having a more diverse group of friends in elementary than in middle school and high school. From her interview, it did not appear that her schooling was as influential on her understanding of racial justice as her home environment.

Elizabeth is the youngest of four children. Her parents are practicing Catholics and ran a home for adults with disabilities. She stated that her parents were determined that she and her siblings understand that they were "born into this family where you have great privilege, but by no means does that give you ... it gives you privilege but ... you're not better than anybody else"

(E. Murray, personal communication, December, 9 2014). She felt that this mindset was helpful, but it also caused her to feel guilty:

As I got older, I think that [the mindset] in some sense turned into White guilt. That kind of mindset that I grew up and my parents taught us, which was a great thing to teach us, but it shifted into White guilt into my late teens and early 20s. I knew a lot about this world was so wrong and couldn't quite pinpoint it. (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014).

Elizabeth's White guilt is a common response when confronted with issues of racism (Sleeter, 1992; Maher & Tetreault, 1997; Cochran-Smith, 1995, 2000; Pollock, Deckman & Shalaby, 2009; Young, 2001; White, 2012; McLaren, 1997). However, she stated that she had turned her guilt into action and it served as a motivator in the choices she made later in her career. Besides her parents' influence, Elizabeth did not describe her early years at school as particularly influential in forming her ideas about race, possibly because where she grew up was segregated and the schools she attended were not diverse. However, her parents' consistent acknowledgment of their privilege inspired her to pursue work that would force her to engage with issues of racial inequality.

**College.** For Florence and Jean, college was a turning point in raising their consciousness about race to new levels. Her middle school years helped Florence to think critically about herself in relation to others. However, she explained that her time at Vassar College was particularly formative in pushing beyond her personal understanding of difference into more systemic understanding of race and oppression. She stated:

I'm ashamed to say...when I first learned about privilege ... [I] was in college. [My English professor] had me write a whole paper about my relationship with race, [and I

took] all sorts of creative writing classes, and that was when I really tried to push myself to think. We read a lot of James Baldwin, and I definitely became a lot more aware of those issues. (F. Long, personal communication, December 2014)

Her professor was a prominent African American scholar on campus, who in addition to pushing her thinking further, also made efforts to get to know students.

Florence acknowledged that the student body at Vassar was predominantly White, and is even critical of the fact that the college actively recruits students of color, but then does little to support students of color once they are there. Despite that, when she looks back on her group of friends there, she recalls, “I definitely feel like that was probably the period of my life where I had the most diverse group of friends, but there still was some divisions” (F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014). It appears that the combination of a diverse group of friends and being academically challenged pushed her to think deeply about systemic racism.

College for Jean was the opportunity to delve more deeply into issues that she was unable to study in high school. During her time at Michigan State University, Jean was deliberate about the type of education she wanted. She explains, “When I was there, [I] got really involved with campus activism and decided that the psychology undergrad degree I was getting was way too male, White-dominant. [I] [a]dded women’s studies and it kind of cracked everything wide open” (J. Ellis, personal communication, December 2014). Choosing another context within the larger university allowed Jean to have formative and enriching experiences related to racial issues.

Jean also recalls a specific professor who pushed her thinking. She says,

The first real course that I had that dealt deeply with race was Freedom, Liberation and Equality in African American Thought and Literature. That was an amazing, amazing

course taught by this woman, Michelle Johnston.... She did a required group challenge experience where we had to do trust falls and the kind of like blindfold one person, one person can't talk, another person, I don't know, has earplugs in or something. Those kind of like consciousness-raising activities for a full day basically.... We [also] had these Socratic seminars, reading these pieces by all these African American authors.... [We] were graded based on our participation in the conversation. Those conversations deepened after we did those trust building exercises with one another. It was incredible, incredible. (J. Ellis, personal communication, December 2014)

Her detailed recollection of this course demonstrates the impact it had on her life. She said later that she returned to that class every year to help facilitate it with her professor, and help newer, younger students grapple with the information they were learning. Although Jean did not mention that her courses were particularly diverse, having taken a course that focused on African American thought was formative in exposing her to perspectives different from her own.

The racial demographics at Michigan State may have been similar to those at Vassar, however, Jean felt that the large working-class population at the state university was influential in shaping her ideas. She states,

I went to school at a pretty working-class, big, big ag university with an incredible showing of activists and liberal arts types, wound up taking all these really amazing courses that I feel prepared me really well for having a deeper understanding of the way that oppression works in our society. (J. Ellis, personal communication, December 2014)

Despite the differences between a small liberal arts college and a large state university, both Jean and Florence found smaller contexts that strongly influenced their perceptions of self, the world, and issues of oppression.

In contrast to Jean and Florence, Danielle and Elizabeth did not talk much about their experiences in college. Danielle went to a large public university in the University of California system and recalls it being moderately diverse. She mentioned that she majored in sociology, but there appeared to be some overlap between what she learned during her undergraduate studies and in her teacher education program. Elizabeth also attended a public university in California that was a part of the California State University system and had a particular focus on technology. While Danielle seemed indifferent to her experiences in college, Elizabeth was more vocal about her experiences there. The town where the university was located was very similar to where she grew up, making her highly motivated to leave, which she did for a year during her time there, and then again as soon as she graduated. Perhaps due to the size and the demographic of the universities Danielle and Elizabeth attended, it appeared that their experiences outside of the country were more formative than the years they spent in college.

**Living abroad.** All four of the participants spent some time living in a Spanish-speaking country. However, only Florence, Danielle, and Elizabeth explained in detail the effect these experiences in other nations had on their awareness of privilege and the challenges their students face as immigrants. Florence spent two years in Argentina after college, hoping to improve her Spanish fluency and live in a place where she had no ties. She says of her experience:

That was amazing, and I think ... it's completely different, but it did give me a slight, slight bit of empathy towards my immigrant students. It's completely different because I was in a completely privileged position being there, but I did kind of have the experience of when everything's hard, and you're always different, and you're always standing out.

(F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

Florence recognizes that she was in a privileged position while traveling, but her feelings of isolation and the challenges of living abroad gave her a perspective with which to understand the struggle her students and their families might face.

Elizabeth also had motivation for living abroad. Although she did want to improve her Spanish after living abroad in Spain, having grown up in a Catholic family, she also wanted to dedicate a part of her life to providing service. She initially set out to live in Honduras for one year, but ended up staying for two. She said:

I didn't want to spend my 20s self-involved. I went off and did that. I stayed two years and I fell in love with the experience and it was just so eye opening and so humbling that is exactly what I needed. I think a lot of it was I was motivated a lot by my privilege and my guilt surrounding that privilege. I think over the years, that has shifted into ... stop being guilty and do something. It doesn't get you anywhere. (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014)

This is where we see Elizabeth working through her feelings of guilt that stemmed from her parents' consistent emphasis on their privilege. The two years Elizabeth spent abroad were formative in allowing her to work through her feelings of guilt and toward a place of action.

Danielle, on the other hand, did not place a lot of emphasis on her experiences abroad. Her travel consisted of multiple short-term trips and was primarily focused on improving her Spanish skills. When asked what she learned from her time abroad, her answer was less about her experiences traveling and more about her privilege as a traveler. "First and foremost, I think that recognizing that I had had and have the luxury to make the decision of 'I'm going to learn another language.' The best way to do that is to immerse myself and so I'm going to go to another place" (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 2014). In identifying the privilege

of choosing to learn another language and using travel to accomplish this goal, I believe Danielle is making a distinction between herself and her students. Many of her students come from families who were refugees or came to the United States for economic reasons. This emphasis on traveling for the purpose of learning a language, likely in conjunction with topics covered in her BCLAD courses, made Danielle keenly aware that she had chosen to be bilingual, unlike her students, who have to learn English because they live in the United States. The concept of being a chosen bilingual was talked about often in Rebecca Carle's courses on second language and in the courses needed for a bilingual certificate. While Rebecca emphasized the privilege that comes with choosing to be bilingual, becoming bilingual may have pushed class members to think about race and privilege more deeply than if they were monolingual.

### **Impact of the Teacher Education Program on Understanding Race**

As I said previously, many teacher educators assume that candidates have no or limited understanding of race (Phillip, 2011; Lowenstein, 2009). For all four participants, the teacher education program was not the first place they began to grapple with issues such as race and privilege. However, all of them stated that the courses they took helped to reinforce previously held beliefs about racial injustice and that some courses were more impactful than others.

Jean and Florence were in the residency program and took the course on teaching in diverse classrooms with Mike Landers. They stated that the course was beneficial because it brought up several issues about racial inequality and provided a forum for them to discuss these issues as they related to education. That said, both mentioned that as the course was taught over two weeks during the summer, they were not able to delve as deeply into the issues as they would have liked. Florence recalls that the class had

fascinating readings just about home language and all these great critical people that I was exposed to, but it was just exposed to.... It was really dynamic and interesting, and we got to know each other really well. It was a great class, but it was so short.... It was just a big reminder of being aware of privilege, being aware of your own background. (F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

For Jean, the course length affected the ability to delve deeply into the issues, and there was not enough time dedicated to issues within the LGBTQ community, of which she is a member. She says, "When that day, that one day, two days of ... I think it was literally one day of LGBT stuff. I felt like I had to teach it" (J. Ellis, personal communication, December 2014). What Jean experienced is common in that often those from oppressed groups are called upon to educate those who are not in the group (Cochran-Smith, 2000). Danielle and Elizabeth took the semester-long course through the traditional Master's in Teaching program, but made no specific mention about what they learned in the course.

All four participants, however, spoke at length about the classes they took with Rebecca Carle, who taught the second language acquisition and bilingual endorsement courses. Danielle recalls dialogue on race:

I think that it happened more in my BCLAD preparation classes, the two that I took for BCLAD, because there was an open dialogue about what it means to be a teacher that is the same race or ethnicity as your students, which many of the students in the program were. Like they were Latino and they were choosing to get their BCLAD and teach other Latino students. Then what it means to be a teacher of a different race than your students, whether you're teaching them in English or not. (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 2014)

Rebecca also pushed the candidates to think about the purpose of different bilingual education models, which for those working in dual immersion programs was a challenge.

Florence states,

I had come into [the class] being like, “I love my school. Dual immersion is the best model. It’s perfect.” She really was like, “Well, is it? Who is it serving? It’s perfect maybe for the white kids who get this like little bonus language, but what about are your English learners really learning what they need to learn? Are they really? Is it really walking the walk?” That was really great for me to kind of take me off my high horse about my school and feel like I’m the best. This school’s the best. (F. Long, personal communication, December 10, 2014)

For Florence and Danielle, a critical aspect of their learning occurred when Rebecca Carle not only asked the candidates to consider their own race as compared to their students, but to also be critical of bilingual education approaches and examine whom the programs are benefiting.

Jean and Elizabeth felt that Rebecca’s courses were influential because they modeled methods for teaching in bilingual and ELL classrooms and discussed how to create a safe space where dialogue on challenging issues could take place. Jean recalled in great detail how Rebecca used dialogue journals to engage in conversations with her students around complex issues such as citizenship and immigration. Jean felt this was useful because “she could begin to address some of [the issues] through readings and lecture where maybe not everyone was brave enough to give their opinions about border issues and citizenship issues, and all the stuff that comes up” (J. Ellis, personal communication, December 2014). Elizabeth also believed that Rebecca held them more accountable. She stated:

That's what I loved about her, is that she was not only like, "I'm going to stand up here and kind of tell you my beliefs and what I think are great teaching practices." I'm actually ... I'm implementing it right now, as we speak and really held us accountable. (E. Murray, personal communication, December 9, 2014)

Rebecca's pedagogical methods in her courses created a safe space for candidates to talk about educating immigrant students, while still holding them accountable for their answers. Safety and accountability were instrumental in the participants' preparation.

Additionally, Rebecca and other peers teaching the BCLAD courses created a specific environment in which the four study participants could more deeply discuss issues such as race. Danielle felt that this environment was unique. She compares conversations between her courses, saying,

I think that relationship was strong because everyone was coming to the table really ready to discuss and get into things [in the BCLAD courses]. I think my [teaching diverse learners] teacher also tried to do those things, but I felt like the group of students that I was working with, they weren't as willing to have those discussions and thus they kind of fell flat a little bit. (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 2014)

Danielle goes to explain that because the BCLAD course was a mixture of primary and secondary teacher candidates and they were all preparing to teach in Spanish, all of the candidates in the BCLAD course were more ready to engage with issues of diversity than students in other courses.

Elizabeth also commented about the differences between candidates in the BCLAD courses as compared to methods and other foundations courses that drew from all programs. She stated that candidates planning to teach kindergarten and first grade were less engaged with

discussions of race. Although I agree to a certain extent with Elizabeth's view, three of the four study participants were elementary candidates and specifically sought out a group of colleagues willing to engage in deep conversations about issues related to race and educational inequity. These conversations were likely productive due to Rebecca Carle's pedagogy, the diversity among the bilingual candidates, and their engagement with issues of race prior to entering the program.

## **Discussion**

Through their written responses and interviews, the four participants in this study demonstrated a deep but academic and intellectual understanding of the institutional and structural factors that lead to racial inequality. However, their awareness of their own privilege was variable, or at times not included in their responses to questions. It was clear that their knowledge of race and awareness of privilege was learned in many aspects of their lives, but was refined and reified through the pedagogy of their BCLAD professor, Rebecca Carle. In this section I will review and relate these findings to the relevant literature. This includes (1) a rationale for why understanding race from an institutional perspective is vital and how the four participants' responses fit within the dominant discourse on race and compares to the literature on White teachers; (2) the impact of life histories on racial ideology formation and their possible effect on teaching practice; and (3) successful teacher education pedagogy that deepens conversations on race.

Omi and Winant (1994) argue that racial formations in the United States permeate all aspects of society and institutions, which includes educational institutions. They, along with Brodtkin (1998), Jacobson (1998), and Horsman (1981), reveal a history of the United States that is often excluded from the dominant discourse about how this nation and its citizens came to be.

These hidden stories are detrimental to progress because they deny that a problem exists in the first place (Loewen, 2009). Understanding the history of the United States is also vital when teaching in communities of color, as the absence of understanding can lead to a deficit perspective of students (King, 1991). Additionally, deficit perspectives of students are often part of the dominant discourse about the successes and challenges people of color face.

Fortunately, the four participants in this study appeared to have a deep understanding of the historical, institutional, and structural factors that lead to racial inequality and did not exhibit signs of deficit thinking about their students. Their responses were in contrast to what Foster (2009) and Van Dijk (1999) assert are common ways discourse describes, categorizes people of color, which attributes lack of success to motivation rather than to a lack of opportunity. Each participant either spoke to the institutional or historical factors that lead to a lack of opportunity.

Even with the participants' understanding of historical and institutional racism, they all either struggled with or omitted their personal position within the discourse. Their levels of awareness were not unique. Florence and Danielle demonstrated a strong understanding of the issues related to race and inequity. Their discussion of giving up a space for a person of color also revealed their struggle giving up privilege. McLaren (1997) asserts that White identity is closely linked to the capitalist structures that keep White people in power. For Florence and Danielle, that aspect of their White identity was still developing.

Elizabeth was clear that she was still a work in progress. While she was able to acknowledge historical racism, she did not place herself within the discourse and never questioned what it meant to be a White bilingual teacher. Her commitment to providing service or taking action as a way to overcome guilt is well intentioned, but still positions her Whiteness

and desire to overcome guilt as a motivator for her actions, rather than true allyship (Margaret, 2010).

Jean was a complex participant. Like her peers, there were parts of her written and verbal responses where she did not acknowledge her position within the structures she was critiquing. However, casting herself as different from her family and peers as a child pushed her to seek out friendships with those who were also different and made it her life's work to be an activist through her teaching. Additionally, her membership within the LGBTQ community meant that she was no stranger to oppression, which for many means a heightened ability to empathize with the oppression of others (Johnson Lachuck & Mosley, 2012). As a result, despite her omissions, Jean appeared to have a deeper understanding of institutional oppression and what it means to be a bilingual teacher.

Although the teacher education program for all four of the participants was not the first place they became aware of their privilege or engaged with conversations about issues of race, conversations in Rebecca Carle's course were influential. Florence's and Danielle's struggle with leaving a space at the top demonstrated that they are actively thinking and reflecting about what it means to be a White bilingual teacher and the impact their race has on their students. Rebecca's use of journals allowed her to assess her students' beliefs about bilingual students, and she used that information to help them either add or augment those beliefs. This strategy is one that Philip (2011) asserts is vital in advancing candidate learning about race. Additionally, making the choice to get a bilingual certification placed them in a smaller context within the larger program that allowed for deeper conversations about race and inequity to take place. Their experiences in the program mirrored what I observed after they left the program. Although many

productive conversations were taking place in courses across the programs, it was the candidates and the instructor in the BCLAD courses that pushed conversations to very deep levels.

The four participants' readiness to engage in these conversations was due to their previously held beliefs on race and racial inequality, which were the products of the environment in which they lived and their life experiences (Bourdieu, 1977; Connelly & Clandinin, 1999). Cochran-Smith (2000) states that conversations on race are more informative for White people when they learn from and with people of color. In learning about the lives of the four participants, it was clear that experiences where they were in conversation with and exposed to the perspectives of people of color were beneficial to their development of racial ideology. By attending integrated schools as a child, Florence was able to think more critically about educational equity when she got to college and learned about structural racism. For Jean, allying herself with others who were different encouraged her to become an activist who helped to broaden the perspectives of her peers in college. Danielle also actively sought out relationships in her work and her personal life with people of color. And due to her upbringing in a Catholic home, Elizabeth viewed her work as a teacher as service and advocacy for underserved communities.

Burridge (2014) and Woollen and Otto (2013) warn that being unaware of your habitus may lead to deficit models of thinking, judgment of students, and/or imposing your own beliefs upon them. The responses the four participants gave did not provide evidence of this type of thinking. This may have been partially due to Rebecca Carle's requirement that her candidates explore and understand what it means to be a bilingual teacher. This emphasis is well placed in that our philosophies and beliefs can affect the way we teach (Alsup, 2006; Noyes, 2008; Woollen & Otto, 2013; Burridge, 2014). As a result, in Chapter 7 I will describe the teaching

practices observed in Jean's, Florence's, and Danielle's classrooms within school contexts that may be in conflict with their beliefs.

## **Chapter 7: The Influence of School Context on the Implementation of Culturally Relevant and Multicultural Teaching Practices**

Chapter 5 presented findings on how the teacher education program addressed issues of race, and how it trained teacher candidates to work in diverse classrooms. Chapter 6 described how the teacher education program affected the racial awareness of the four study participants who attended the program. Chapter 6 also described contexts that were integral in the development of the candidate racial awareness. Chapters 5 and 6 established the multiple contexts in which the candidates learn about issues of race. This chapter describes another context—the schools where the study participants worked—that was either congruent or incongruent with the beliefs and pedagogical knowledge held by the study’s participants and heavily influenced the types of practices they were able to implement in the classroom. This chapter attempts to answer one of my research question: How does racial awareness on the part of White bilingual teachers affect the implementation of culturally responsive practices, and to what extent are their practices also affected by the school context?

While the previous two chapters focused on racial discourse at the teacher education level, and the discourse of the study participants themselves, this chapter focuses less on racial discourse with students and more on the practices used to engage and empower students in bilingual classrooms. Picower (2012) argues that teaching elementary age students about social justice must be done in a way that is appropriate for their developmental stage. This framework, along with that of Banks (2016a) and Gay (2002), encourages teachers to look at ways to engage students in culturally responsive and multicultural activities that are not limited to just engaging in discussions about race and racism.

Multicultural education and culturally responsive teaching scholars provide substantial evidence and examples of how to improve the learning outcomes for students of color using classroom practices that integrate and validate culture and identity of students from diverse groups (Schniedewind & Davidson, 2006; Silver, Strong, & Perini, 1997; Gay, 2002; Bondy & Ross, 2008; Mawhinny & Sagan, 2007; Sapon-Shevin, 2008; Cochran-Smith, 1995; Moll & Arnot-Hopffer, 2005; Banks & Banks, 2016b; Grant & Gillette, 2006; Irvine, 2010; and Ladson-Billings, 2009). Although substantial literature has been published on culturally responsive and multicultural teaching, the environment of high stakes testing has made the implementation of these practices very challenging (Banks, 2016b; Sleeter, 2005; Powell, Cantrell, Malo-Juvera & Correll, 2016). In the districts where the study participants worked, there was either large textbook adoptions or a dearth of materials, which challenged them to create curriculum from scratch if they had autonomy or forced them to use a curriculum that was not entirely appropriate for these students. The teacher education program in which the participants matriculated and their lived experiences provided them with a strong understanding of institutional racism, but they also struggled with being aware of and letting go of privilege. Despite this, I would describe the four participants as ones who believe in the importance of multicultural and culturally responsive teaching. The schools where they taught, however, had varying levels of commitment to multicultural teaching and provided a substantial influence on their teaching practices regardless of whether or not these practices were congruent with their philosophy of teaching.

Across all four classrooms, there was strong evidence that the study participants implemented multicultural and culturally relevant teaching practices as defined by Banks (2016a) and Gay (2002). Using aspects of Banks's and Gay's frameworks, I present a series of examples of how the teachers in this study used student-centered curriculum, demonstrated

cultural caring through the types of students groups they formulated, reduced prejudice, employed equity pedagogy, empowered students and families, integrated multicultural content, and made connections to students' lives. The second half of this chapter is organized by the categories mentioned above. In the first half of this chapter I describe the context of the schools where each participant taught to provide an understanding of how the schools' environment may have influenced the types of practices implemented by the study participants. Because this is the final findings chapter, the discussion will include an analysis of how the four participants' identities—which include their understandings of race and privilege—manifested in their classroom practices, along with how the teacher education program they attended influenced their practices as well.

### **The School Context**

The four schools in which this study's participants worked were unique. Although three of the schools offered bilingual programs, each school was distinct in how it supported the staff and students and influenced teaching practice. The names of the schools have been changed for anonymity. Below is a chart that with the study participants, their grade level and program, and the name of their school.

Table 2: Study Participants and School Contexts

<b>Name</b>	<b>Grade Level, Program, and Demographic</b>	<b>School Name</b>
Danielle Curtis	3rd-grade bilingual, 100% native Spanish-speaking Latino students	Kirkham Elementary
Elizabeth Murray	6th-grade humanities, 80% Latino ELL, 10% White, 10% African American	George Washington Middle School
Florence Long	4th-grade dual immersion, 50% native Spanish-speaking Latino students and 50% native English-speaking students, 60% students of color	New Hope K-8
Jean Ellis	3rd-grade bilingual, 100% native Spanish-speaking Latino students	Park Elementary

**Danielle: Kirkham Elementary.** Danielle taught third grade at a school located in a large urban district that was nestled between two neighborhoods. The first neighborhood consisted of mostly low-income Latino residents, many of whom had recently immigrated to the United States. However, this demographic is changing as the cost of living has increased steeply in the recent years. The second neighborhood has homes for families with higher incomes and is known for having a large population of LGBTQ residents. Although the area is not considered unsafe, safety measures were used to prevent outsiders from entering the school building.

The office was always quiet, with two bilingual secretaries who did not talk with each other, or with me when I signed in. However, when I encountered other staff members in the hall, all were friendly and cordial. The halls were filled with students' work, which included a large wall hanging with student poems. During the Day of the Dead, a large school altar was placed in the hall and filled with items contributed by the school's staff, students, and families. There were also signs in Spanish and English indicating where parents could pick up food that was donated to families in need. Danielle's classroom was located on the second floor, where many flags from around the world hung from the ceiling, and outside of each classroom were large displays of students' work.

Although the school offered a bilingual program from kindergarten through fifth grades, the program was only one strand, which means that out of two third-grade classrooms, one of them was bilingual and one was English only. Danielle stated that this was challenging because the school was committed to consistency across classrooms. Danielle stated that much of her curriculum was chosen by the district, but through grade level planning meetings she and her colleagues established the scope and sequence of teaching particular skills, and at times the types of texts they could use to support the lessons. According to Danielle, this type of collaboration

was helpful, but that she also had a sense of autonomy to create individual lessons.

Unfortunately, however, as a result of the desire for consistency across classrooms, she felt pressure to teach more lessons in English than in Spanish, which was inconsistent with the bilingual approach the school was using.

It was clear from attending their staff meeting that teachers emphasized collaboration. The teachers prioritized and voted on positions such as reading interventionist and playground activity coordinator and supervisor. Their process went beyond simply voting and majority rules. Teachers engaged in respectful debate over how each program and staff member contributed to the learning of students. During these conversations, however, issues of race or educational equity for students of color were not raised. Despite this, when I asked Danielle whether or not these issues came up in staff meetings, she stated that there were not any overt conversations. However, the school's leadership did aggregate test score data along racial lines so that teachers would take into account how students of different races were performing on particular assessments. This information would hopefully allow teachers to make changes to instruction in order to better meet the needs of that population of students.

The overall environment at Kirkham Elementary was influential for Danielle's teaching and helped her to think more deeply about issues of race. She stated that working in a bilingual school allowed her to "[work] where I'm interacting with people, students, and parents, and other teachers, who are of other races. I feel like I'm surrounding myself with those who are having a different experience than me" (D. Curtis, personal communication, October 28, 2014). The physical environment of the school also demonstrated a commitment to making the culture of the large Latino student population visible. Although other cultures may have been excluded, this

outward acknowledgment of student culture outside of the classroom may have influenced how Danielle included culture in her classroom.

**Elizabeth: George Washington Middle School.** Elizabeth was a sixth-grade humanities teacher at a school located in small city south of the urban center where the other three study participants taught. The majority of the student population was low-income and Latino. However, no bilingual programs were offered to students. The school is tucked into a residential neighborhood and located across the street from the local high school many of the students will attend. The school itself was large, and the main hallway featured marble columns, but the architecture at the entry did not match that in the rest of the school. The office rarely had students in it and had two staff members who were friendly and interested in my presence at the school. Outside of the office was a behavior rubric that outlined consequences for particular behaviors.

Elizabeth's classroom was on the second floor. As you walked down the hall to her classroom, there were very few things posted on the walls. There were small corkboards evenly placed—some teachers had put up student work, but most were blank. As you neared Elizabeth's room, the hallway narrowed to just a little wider than five feet. I wondered how students—many of whom who have a wingspan approaching or larger than five feet—might fit through these hallways. The overall environment of the school was odd; it had a unique and troubling character. There was little evidence of student identity and culture or evidence that students were there at all.

According to Elizabeth, the school's physical environment was not much different from how it functioned. The staff meetings typically focused on a school-wide project in which students in all grades tackled an issue, which at the time of the study was the lack of water in the

state of California. In addition to this project, Elizabeth stated that her colleagues often looked to her for leadership despite the fact that she had only been teaching for two years. Elizabeth also explained that those who had been teaching a long time had developed a deficit perspective of students, which often resulted in vocalized complaints about particular students during staff meetings. Although overtly racist remarks were not made, Elizabeth often found herself being the lone advocate for Latino students, who represented the largest student population in the school. Elizabeth stated that very few conversations about race occurred in the school, and that the conversations that occurred were often dominated by negative voices in the school.

Unlike the other schools where this study took place, there was little collaboration among the staff, which allowed Elizabeth a lot of autonomy. However, with this autonomy came a lack of support from her colleagues and the school as a whole. Despite this somewhat negative work environment, Elizabeth took full advantage of her autonomy and created an environment that was conducive to learning. As a result, she was well perceived by her colleagues and respected by her students. She often had success with students who were disruptive in other teachers' classrooms or were considered troublemakers by the school administrators. It was clear to me that despite Elizabeth's passion for the student population, the lack of congruency between her teaching philosophy and the environment where she taught might lead her to find work in another school or district when the school year ended.

**Florence: New Hope K-8.** Florence taught fourth grade in a kindergarten through eighth grade school in the same large urban district as Danielle. This school is located in a neighborhood with primarily Latino residents, but is rapidly becoming gentrified because of the technology boom and high cost of living. The site used to be a middle school, but in the last five years it merged with the elementary school and is now a K-8 school. As I walked into the

building, there was a chalk drawing of Nelson Mandela and just before I headed into the office there was a picture of President Barack Obama. On some mornings, I saw families coming out of the school with bags of produce, which they apparently bought from and sold to one another. The secretary was always busy and had been working at the school for more than 20 years, as had the security guard and one other staff person. I know, because I too attended this school and recognized and was recognized by the school's veteran workers.

Because the school was originally designed as a middle school, the halls were lined with lockers. Despite this, as I walked through the halls, student work and posters covered many of the lockers. On the bottom floor there were paintings of revolutionary Latinos such as Emiliano Zapata and Cesar Chavez. Florence's classroom was on the second floor, and as I walked toward her classroom, I saw pictures of famous women scientists along with other pictures of people of color who have made contributions to society.

Like Danielle's school, the physical environment matched the general environment of the school. The principal at the time held staff meetings that centered around discipline, often bringing up statistics and cases where African American students were disproportionately penalized for behavior. At the time of my study, the deaths of young African American males during altercations with police were dominant in the media. Florence stated these altercations were sometimes discussed in staff meetings as they related to students. Because the school ran a dual language program, about 50% of the student population was native Spanish-speaking Latinos; the other 50% were native English speakers. Most of the native English-speaking students were White. However, students of mixed race and other races also represented that part of the student population. As a result, Florence stated that staff meeting topics often centered around educational equity between the two seemingly disparate cultural groups at the school.

As was the case for Danielle, Florence's district determined the language arts and math curriculum. However, New Hope was not required to purchase or use the district-adopted language arts curriculum, as Danielle and Jean were. There was a strong sense of collaboration among the staff, and Florence worked closely alongside her grade level partners, co-planning all lessons together weekly. Despite this close work relationship, Florence knew that her teaching style was different from her grade level partners, and she often lamented that she could not teach lessons as quickly or efficiently as they could. Much of this was due to her struggle with classroom management, which I will discuss later in this chapter. Florence felt that she received a lot support in her teaching, from helpful feedback from her principal, to frequent professional development that addressed curriculum such as readers' and writers' workshops. There was a lot of congruity between Florence's beliefs about teaching and her practice.

**Jean: Park Elementary.** Jean taught third grade in a bilingual program at an elementary school in the same district where Danielle and Florence taught. The school was located in a diverse area of the city that has had a mixture of White, African American, Asian, and Latino residents for many years. Just across the street was a public housing complex; I was unsure of how many students at the school lived there. As I walked into the building, there were several pictures of students on the wall. They had been taken by a professional photographer and were not typical class pictures. The office was small and usually empty. It was also filled with pictures of students. As I continue to walk down the hall, each classroom exhibited student work while also displaying pictures of African American leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr., and Rosa Parks. The school felt small because the second floor was at street level and the bottom floor was nestled up against the hill, largely invisible from the outside. Park Elementary has the most African American students out of the four schools where I conducted research. However, none of

the African American students were in the bilingual program, which is designated for only Latino Spanish-speaking students. Like Kirkham Elementary, Park's bilingual program is also a strand, in which only one of the third-grade classrooms is designated as bilingual.

During staff meetings, it was apparent that the principal and the school environment were businesslike. Much of the conversation was about events happening in the school, where the principal led the discussion and efficiently moved through items on an agenda. The events, however, focused on parent engagement, which ranged from movie nights at the school to fundraising concerts in a nearby café. There were no conversations about race that came up in meetings, which Jean stated was typical. Not much emphasis was placed on student culture, with little celebration given to diversity. Jean mentioned that she had some colleagues who were interested in celebrating diversity of the school. However, it was paraprofessionals who actually led the effort to create a Black History Month assembly, which was not likely to be repeated during that school year.

The school's atmosphere was not particularly congruent with Jean's teaching, and it was clear from her interview and my observations that her principal had a different idea of how to best meet the needs of students than Jean had. Although the entire district had recently adopted a new language arts curriculum, out of the three elementary classrooms, Jean's school followed the curriculum with the most fidelity. Despite this, she was able to integrate Writer's Workshop—which I describe below—but was also pressured by her principal to use particular components of the reading curriculum. When Jean would make efforts to provide students with more project-based and student-centered reading work, her principal would come in and ask her to make changes to her bulletin boards to reflect usage of the curriculum. Although the school offered

bilingual classes through fifth grade, Jean was pressured to teach more English in order to prepare them for state testing.

Danielle and Florence spoke frequently about the grade level collaboration in planning. Consequently, I expected Jean to also be given time to work with her grade level partners. However, she rarely spoke about this time as being integral in her planning. It was unclear to me whether or not this lack of collaboration led to more autonomy over individual lessons or if the top-down mandate from the principal trumped the ability for the grade levels teachers to work together in planning lessons. What was apparent, however, was Jean's ability to work within the many constraints provided by her principal and continually strive toward providing an environment that was conducive to learning and nurturing for her students' emotional needs. A more detailed description of how Jean and the rest of the participants in this study engaged in culturally responsive and multicultural education is found in the following section.

### **Culturally Relevant and Multicultural Classroom Practices**

During the initial stages of data collection, the four participants' teaching practices seemed disparate and quite different. However, over time, I began to see similarities in how each participant thought about her teaching and her students. The types of practices I observed in their classrooms fit nicely with certain aspects of Banks's (2016a) five dimensions of multicultural education framework and Gay's (2002) framework on culturally responsive teaching. The following subsections describe particular teaching practices that are congruent with the frameworks developed by Banks and Gay.

**Student-centered curriculum.** The district where Jean, Florence, and Danielle taught had adopted the Reader's and Writer's Workshops, created by Lucy Calkins from Teachers College at Columbia University. This curriculum allows for students to work at their own pace,

with structured group meetings with teachers on their work, while working on a particular reading or writing skill. Florence and Danielle were able to implement both Reader's and Writer's Workshops with full fidelity. As a grade level, they decided which skills needed to be taught in reading and writing and taught their students how to find and choose books at their own reading level. Both teachers also met with small groups of students to introduce and reinforce skills. This was challenging for Jean. Despite being able to implement Writer's Workshop fully, her principal required her to use a scripted curriculum for reading, making it hard for her to differentiate reading instruction. Elizabeth, the only middle school teacher, also used Reader's Workshop, but not to the same extent as the other teachers in this study. She provided ample time for students to read silently and held them accountable for their comprehension. However, the skills she taught students were integrated into the social studies units she was teaching.

In addition to the main curriculum used to teach reading and writing, all four teachers used language as a way to make their teaching more student-centered. They had students who spoke Spanish as their first language. I observed all four participants use Spanish as a resource for teaching all subjects to their students. For example, while Elizabeth was the only teacher who did not teach in a designated bilingual classroom, she encouraged students to think about cognates and root words in Spanish to figure out the meaning of English vocabulary. Danielle and Jean used Spanish in less academic ways; instead, they used it ensure students' needs were met. Jean had a student who had recently arrived from Latin America and was still in the beginning stages of learning English. Jean allowed her to speak in Spanish to explain her learning or thinking, even when the particular lesson was supposed to be conducted in English. Assessing what a student knew was more important for Jean than assessing her ability to articulate complex ideas in English. Danielle also used Spanish to assess student learning in

addition to ensuring that her students understood tasks and directions. Although she gave ample waiting time for students to understand when she was speaking in English, she was able to target specific students and to explain concepts and principles in Spanish to ensure that students were learning. Florence, Jean, and Danielle also allowed students to work in whatever language they felt most comfortable once they had completed the required assignment in the designated language. It appeared that all of the students understood the parameters of language use for specific assignments, but felt free to use whichever language they wanted to for recreational activities.

In addition to using the Spanish language as a way to support student learning, all four teachers wanted to provide their students with ample opportunity to learn, speak, and use academic English. Florence, Jean, and Danielle designated time each day for English language development. Florence also used call and response both to engage students and to reinforce their use of English and understand content. Florence used Guided Language Acquisition Design, or GLAD, a widely used set of strategies for teaching content to second language learners. These strategies allowed Florence's students to memorize and understand challenging science and social studies content as well as to have the opportunity to use language in an engaging way. Jean also used call and response more in Spanish than in English. During observations she said the first syllable for a word and the students filled in the last syllable to complete it. This was done primarily to engage her students in the work every step of the way and to ensure that they understood and were listening. These strategies placed students at the center by actively engaging them in learning language.

**Collaborative and collective work.** All four study participants configured their classrooms in small groups. The majority of the assignments given by Danielle, Elizabeth, and

Florence to the students during the observations were not collaborative. The groups served as a way for students to engage in conversation with one another. All four teachers had students share answers with their table partners and with their groups before coming together as a class. The students' home groups were often constructed with classroom management in mind, meaning they sat particular students next to those who would not talk excessively or create trouble. These home groups were academically heterogeneous, and took into account students' strengths and challenges related to speaking, reading, and writing. In addition to their home groups, Danielle, Jean, and Florence created differentiated instructional groups in which they could work with students who were at similar academic levels in reading, writing, and math. These groups were created to provide specific instruction and better meet the academic needs of the students.

In addition to using student groups as a way to improve classroom discourse, Jean asked students to engage in collaborative work. During one observation, she had students play the game charades, in which they acted out vocabulary words. Prior to presenting their word to the class, each group had to agree about what the word meant and the appropriate movements to make in order to demonstrate its meaning. Activities such as charades were not unique in her classroom. During most observations, I saw her students working together to define words and separate words based on spelling patterns. Much of the group work I saw were modifications to the scripted curriculum she was required to use. It was clear that Jean did not think the curriculum she was asked to use was particularly engaging, effective, or relevant. She stated, "In order to prepare them for standardized tests, and also to please my administrator, [I] follow the district-adopted language arts curriculum. It's not really appropriate. It's [actually] not in line with the standardized tests" (J. Ellis, personal communication, December 14, 2014). Given these

constraints, she worked hard to ensure that when she had to use the curriculum, the methods used were engaging for her students.

All four teachers praised students on a group rather than an individual basis. Gay (2002) asserts that demonstrating cultural caring means that you establish a classroom in which the needs of the collective are placed over the needs of the individual, which mirrors the cultural background of many students. Although Danielle and Florence had consequences for individual behavior, they—along with Jean and Elizabeth—kept tallies of group accomplishments through a points system. The teachers also provided incentives for earning the most points. These incentives caused students in each group to hold one another accountable and to respect the classroom norms. In Florence's classroom, points were also given for each group of students and for the entire class. Since classroom management was a challenge for her, she provided as many incentives as possible to keep students disciplined. Because there were a few students who were disruptive, I found it interesting that Florence emphasized the behavior of the whole class as opposed to the few students who were often the root of classroom disruptions.

**Teaching from the heart.** There was a large emphasis on socioemotional teaching and learning in Jean's and Florence's classes. This was evidenced by posters they hung in their classrooms and in the classroom meetings I observed during data collection. Frey and Doyle (2001) and Edward and Mullis (2003) state that classroom meetings are a key component of teaching socioemotional skills to students at all levels. I believe that class meetings also provide opportunities for teachers to teach in a culturally responsive and relevant manner.

During classroom meetings, I observed Jean teaching her students to use I-messages. These messages were a way for students to resolve minor conflicts with other students in which students communicated their feelings through the use of I-statements. Jean taught students to use

I-messages to reduce the number of conflicts she had to resolve during class and recess. However, she also used this strategy to empower students to advocate for themselves and to discuss and resolve issues with their peers. I also observed both Jean and Elizabeth use class meetings or informal class time to praise students. Although both teachers praised their students often, this class time was designated for students to provide each other praise for good classroom citizenship, friendship, or academic work.

Florence also held class meetings. The content of her meetings, however, targeted specific classroom issues, which varied from meeting to meeting. One of the classroom management issues Florence struggled with related to students who often teased and laughed at other students. Rather than punishing individual students, Florence used particular occurrences from class as a way to frame meetings. She held meetings where students discussed what the golden rule meant to them, and what adhering to that rule would look like in class. The goal of these meetings was to encourage what Banks (2016a) refers to as prejudice reduction, where students learn about prejudice and how to reduce it. Florence also had the students outline what it meant to listen from the heart, and asked that they engage in active listening from a place of love rather than duty. The school had also developed a set of values that they wanted students to embody. Consequently, many of the class meetings were devoted to understanding what perseverance and respect looked like in practice. Florence used most class meetings to control negative behavior in her classroom. Her approach, however, provided her students important socioemotional skills that they will retain once they leave her classroom.

Jean exhibited a very supportive classroom compared to the other three teachers. Much of this support was due to Jean's experience with loss. A few years prior to my study, Jean lost her mother suddenly. Her ability to empathize with her students' emotions was noticeable in her

interactions with them. During one observation, a young male student began to cry for no apparent reason. Jean gently directed him toward the back of the room where he began to draw a picture. I later learned that he had recently lost his dog, and Jean was allowing him to both feel and process his grief through the use of art. On another occasion, Jean shared with me that a female student had lost her mother to cancer. Jean was able to offer her space and counsel on her grief. This young girl also sat at the back table, drew pictures, and wrote letters to her mother. Although I expect the other three study participants would provide space for their students to grieve, it was clear that Jean's experience with loss allowed her to be present for her students' emotional needs and was an amazing example of how to both teach from the head, but more importantly in those instances, from the heart.

**Equitable pedagogy.** Cazden (2001) states that in many classrooms there is a three-part sequence for classroom discourse, termed IRE: (1) teacher initiates; (2) students respond; and (3) teacher evaluates. In addition to the ample group work time provided to the students across all four classrooms, when I observed whole group discussion, all four teachers used the IRE sequence. Sadker and Zittleman (2012) remind us that a possible danger of this sequence is related to who the teachers select to speak, and whether or not there is equitable sharing of speaking opportunities. It was clear that all four teachers were cognizant of equitable classroom discourse as was evidenced by the numerous strategies I observed that ensured students were speaking equitably. All four teachers had either popsicle sticks or playing cards that had the names of all of their students written on them. There were times when students raised their hands to share and speak. However, most of the time, all of the study participants randomly called on students during whole group discussions or share-outs. None of the teachers forced students to speak if they were not ready or did not want to, which honored the myriad communication styles

students brought to the classroom. I observed an interesting method in both Florence's and Jean's classes when they would indicate who should speak first during pair shares by asking the person with the longest or the shortest hair to go first. Going back and forth between long and short hair ensured that both students regardless of their pair grouping had the opportunity to speak or listen first.

In addition to their efforts to make classroom discourse equitable, the math curriculum used in Jean's, Florence's, and Danielle's classroom also emphasized and honored multiple ways of arriving at an answer. For example, while observing a math lesson in Jean's class, I noticed that when she put a multiplication problem on the board, students would not immediately raise their hands, but rather put a thumbs up to their chests. Although students were aware that their peers had arrived at an answer, those who took more time were neither rushed nor dominated by those who worked faster. In Danielle's and Jean's classes, I also observed the teachers writing down all answers from students regardless of the method by which they arrived at the answer, or if the answer was incorrect. When I asked about why they chose this method they both explained a district-mandated method called Math Talks. Jean explained,

In Math Talks you're encouraging the students to talk about their understanding of a problem. To come up with multiple ways to solve it, and there's norms around it that I taught before that, so an answer doesn't count without an explanation, errors are gifts, so I take all possible answers. Then when students have found the right answer I ask them to explain their thinking around how they got it and I write down their name and I write down the different ways that they came up with the answer, so that everyone can see that there's more than one way to get there. That math isn't about memorizing facts, it's about

understanding how the numbers work. (J. Ellis, personal communication, September 16, 2014)

The emphasis on the process was evident in the three elementary classrooms, and it was clear that students did not feel nervous about being wrong and were validated by the multiple ways they could share their learning.

I also observed equitable pedagogical strategies in Elizabeth's classes. Because she had more autonomy over her lessons than the other three study participants—especially around reading and writing—she integrated several assignments that allowed her students to show their learning or comprehension in a variety of ways. During several observations I noticed her use art as a medium for building background knowledge and also as a way for her to assess student learning. The majority of her lessons centered around ancient civilizations—mainly Egypt and Greece. In two different lessons, I observed students making comic strips that described the sequence of a key Greek myth, and later emulating ancient Greek art with symbols that demonstrated understanding of daily life in ancient Greece. The use of art was a way to assess student understanding. Although Elizabeth still asked students to read, write, and discuss, she also found other ways to assess their learning.

**Empowering students and families.** At Kirkham and Park elementary schools, where Danielle and Jean taught, a student council was developed for students in grades three through five. Neither Jean nor Danielle had a role in establishing the council because both had been at their schools for only two years, but both of them encouraged their students to participate in it. In one observation in Jean's classroom, students were reading personal statements that reinforced why they should be class representatives. These statements were written in either Spanish or English and focused on positive academic and citizenship characteristics that would make them

effective representatives. Danielle also had students write as a part of the student council process, but rather than focusing on who would be the best representative, her students wrote about issues in the school that they wanted to solve. The issues students wrote about were not severe critiques of the school, but provided a relevant purpose for the writing unit. Their finished products were also going to be shared with the student council, and hopefully positive changes were going to be made.

Another method I saw that was empowering for students was an added dimension to equitable discourse in the classroom. This method consisted of students calling on one another rather than the teacher doing it. Elizabeth often asked students who were struggling to find answers to look to peers rather than to her to find the answers to questions. Jean also had students call on one other, whether in a situation in which they did not understand an idea or if the student herself had been presenting her work and fielding her own questions. I observed Danielle looking at students as a resource for an idea or concept. I noticed that if one student asked a question, instead of answering it herself, she would ask the students if they knew how to help. When I inquired as to why all three teachers encouraged their students to take the lead during classroom discussions, they mentioned that they wanted to talk less and share speaking opportunities with their students. Jean stated, "I feel like it reduces the teacher talk. Puts them in more. ... Makes them more responsible for their own outcomes.... I'd rather hear them talking and sharing their ideas than hearing my own voice" (J. Ellis, personal communication, October 30, 2014).

In two of the classrooms, I also saw student empowerment through classroom jobs. In Danielle's class, students' jobs ranged from feeding the class pet to sharpening all the pencils. The jobs rotated each week, and the list of jobs for the classroom was established by the class.

Students had to make a case for why they were qualified for the work for the initial assignment of jobs, e.g., having a pet at home made you more qualified to take care of the class pet.

Although Elizabeth taught sixth grade, she also assigned students jobs and rotated them weekly. Students in her class were group leaders, paper passers, and in charge of technology. Elizabeth said, “From my experience, they like the responsibility. They like the role...[t]he structure.... I like jobs and they seem to like them. It’s not like ‘oh this is really lightening my load.’ It’s more just to build, in my own way, build community” (E. Murray, personal communication, December 2, 2014). I also observed that students had jobs in Florence’s class, but they were not as consistent. Florence would target students who struggled the most and she gave them tasks to do around the classroom. This approach caused some of her students to complain, but she explained, “It’s just the kids who I have the least relationship with or who I’m hard on a lot, I try to give positive opportunities” (F. Long, personal communication, March 23, 2014). Empowerment was a key method for working with difficult students.

Another instance of empowerment that I observed was related to the role of parents in the school. At New Hope K-8, where Florence taught, there was a strong sense of family involvement. This was evidenced by the number of families I saw at the school when I was there and through the conversations I had with Florence about aspects of her class. She often had unique pieces of art displayed in her room. These pieces of art were created by the students with the help of parents who came into the class to teach an art lesson. The school as a whole also brought parents and teachers together and came up with a set of values they felt were important to focus on throughout the year. Not only did parents have input on the values being taught to their children, but they also played a large role in teaching them about the values through art. Unfortunately, according to Florence, there was not necessarily equitable representation among

families, and the ones who were physically present were often more affluent White families. She stated:

[The] parents don't necessarily know each other, even though the parents do try to make those connections. They're very kind and open to each other as much as they can be not speaking the same language sometimes. (F. Long, personal communication, December 2015)

At Florence's school there was a serious effort to include families in all aspects of the classroom. However, issues such as language barriers, social class, and education prevent equitable representation of all parents at the school.

**Multicultural content integration.** Banks (2016a) states that one of the five dimensions of multicultural education is content integration into the curriculum. Within content integration, there are also four levels: additive, contribution, transformative, and social action. In my observations, I saw very little content integration with the exception of two teachers. In Danielle's classroom I saw students reading a Chinese folktale called *The Empty Pot* (Demi, 1990). This book discussed values such as honesty and the qualities it took to be a leader in ancient China. The story came from the district-adopted language arts curriculum, which she used very selectively. Despite having used a multicultural text, the conversations centered more around values than on the culture of the book's characters. In addition to this book, Danielle had the high ability readers read *Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes* (Coerr, 2004), a story about a young girl who died of leukemia as a result of the atomic bomb that the United States dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Unlike when reading *The Empty Pot*, Danielle engaged her students in a transformative conversation with students about the negative consequences of war and weapons.

Another example of content integration was in Florence's class. I was able to observe a social studies unit that she created as an assignment for her final master's course. This unit covered content on the missions in California. This unit was transformative because she brought together several perspectives, but mostly focused on the perspective of the Native American population that lived in California prior to the arrival of the Spanish and the Catholic Church. She engaged students in developmentally appropriate readings that were critical of the colonization and challenged the story told about Columbus's arrival in the Americas. She asked students to discuss how Spain intimidated the Native Americans, brought disease, and prevented them from farming which caused the Native Americans to be reliant on the Spanish for survival. With this unit, students not only strengthened their critical thinking skills by evaluating the difference between primary and secondary resources, but also learned to question historical facts they had been taught in the past.

Both Elizabeth and Jean mentioned their desire to increase the integration of multicultural education content in their classrooms, but were constrained by either the common core or what the school principal asked of them. Jean stated, "If I had my way, I would be designing culturally responsive curriculum that my kids help inform and that would be what I would do all the time" (J. Ellis, personal communication, December 15, 2015). Instead of thinking about what she would do in a perfect world, Elizabeth worked to make subjects like ancient Egypt and Greece accessible to her students.

**Kid culture and making content relevant.** Elizabeth had the task of teaching ancient civilizations to her sixth-grade students. Unfortunately for her predominantly Latino classroom, this did not mean ancient civilizations of what is now Latin America, but rather a limited focus on Greece and Egypt. Making this content relevant to the lives of her students was a challenge.

However, I did observe Elizabeth making connections between Greek government and democracy to our current government structure, and between social class, slavery, and injustice in Egypt with current and past events in U.S. history. However, it was her approach to teaching Greek mythology that I found most interesting. Instead of having students trudge through facts about gods, goddesses and mythical stories, Elizabeth had her students read a book in a series called *The Lightning Thief* (Riordan, 2005). This series is set in contemporary times, however it incorporates the lore of Greek mythology. The main character is a teenage boy who suffers from ADHD, is misunderstood by his teachers, and has a strained relationship with his parents. Although Elizabeth's students may not have been able to relate to either ancient Greek civilization or mythology, her use of *The Lightning Thief* made seemingly irrelevant content applicable to her students' lives.

I also observed Florence and Danielle capitalizing on what Danielle referred to as kid culture when teaching. As the school year neared Halloween, Florence read the book *The Witches* (Dahl, 2007), a creative and fun story about a young boy captured by a group of witches. Although the book is set in England, the students could relate to both the spooky aspect of the story and the age of the protagonist. Florence, who had a background in theater, also read the story using fun accents and a lot of expression. While she read, the students were more engaged than at other times that I had observed her class. Danielle also read novels out loud to her students, choosing books that were not necessarily relevant to the cultural lives of her students, but relevant to their culture as kids. She chose a book titled *Frindle* (Clements, 1998), about a fifth-grade boy who was bored by his schooling, and over time created his own language to describe objects in his classroom. Her students were able to relate to some of the mundane

aspects of school and were excited to hear how the main character demonstrated his intelligence in different ways.

In addition to looking at kid culture, both Florence and Danielle tried to relate concepts to incidents students already had knowledge and experience with. For example, Danielle used a story about a boy and his grandmother flying around the city. Danielle chose to use this book because:

I felt like it had easily relatable topics. Even though in the story, the boy and the grandma end up kind of. ... It's like imaginative narrative, where they're flying around the city, but they're observing things that I felt like my students had also observed, and that it would be a good way to introduce relating things that happen in your life to things that happen in books. (D. Curtis, personal communication, September 9, 2014)

One of the strategies Danielle also used for reading comprehension was to have students relate the text to themselves. This was the first step in understanding a text before being able to compare it to other texts they had read or to events and occurrences in the world around them.

Because Florence taught a higher grade than Danielle, she was able to choose political topics that students were aware of. In the city where she taught, there was recently a tax imposed on sodas. This was done to address the increasing obesity rate of the city's residents. Because students were writing opinion pieces for Writer's Workshop, Florence challenged them to research the arguments in favor and opposed to the soda tax, and to describe their own opinions. She said,

We just wanted to find an issue that was accessible to them and where they already had some prior knowledge and that would be interesting to them. Soda tax has been really controversial and debated, so we chose that.... The kids just had to come up with a claim,

whether they support it or not, three reasons, and then three pieces of evidence for each reason. (F. Long, personal communication, December 15, 2014)

Although Florence stated that some of her students struggled with the high level of reading the assignment required, it was important to her and her colleagues that they teach the standards but teach them in a way that would provide access to the students and allow them to be successful.

It was more challenging for Jean than for the three other participants to make content from the district-adopted curriculum relevant to the lives of the students. However, I was able to observe her during the English Language Development (ELD) time of the day, and noticed that she modified lessons that were centered around vocabulary acquisition and made them relevant to the lives of students. For example, she was supposed to teach a unit on food vocabulary, but in addition to teaching students words for different kinds of foods, she also invited them to share foods they like to eat at home. In those cases, she did not ask them to try and translate words like *ceviche*, a type of shrimp cocktail, into English. Instead, she had them share out in Spanish before she helped them learn the English names for components or ingredients in their favorite foods.

All four study participants were able to make the content accessible because they knew their students well. Each teacher took surveys and had students engage in activities in which they shared aspects of their lives with their teachers and peers. Florence, Jean, and Elizabeth also stated that they had student-led parent conferences, which allowed them to get to know how students felt about their schooling and other aspects of their lives. These efforts allowed them to find books, curriculum, and to some extent methods that improved student engagement.

## Discussion

Although, like her peers, Jean did not acknowledge all of her points of privilege, she exhibited a deeper understanding of issues of oppression than the rest of the study participants. Her responses to interview questions and her work with students demonstrated a strong sense of empathy. As far as I knew, she did not share her membership in the LGBTQ community with her students, however, her identity as a motherless daughter was evident in her teaching. It made her sensitive to the personal struggles students face, while still holding them accountable for completing academic work like writing. Jean was also critical and frustrated with the constraints under which she worked. While she had many ideas for creating curriculum that was social justice oriented and engaging for her students, the school in which she worked limited her practices only to those around equitable speaking and empowering students. That said, Jean made the most of what she had and created an environment where students—especially those who experienced trauma—could learn.

Observing in Florence's classroom was at times challenging. Her classroom management skills were lacking, which made for an environment that was not necessarily conducive to learning. Florence's difficulty with classroom management may stem from her struggle with her privilege as a White bilingual teacher. Because she believes that a Latino Spanish speaker would be more appropriate for the position, she lacks confidence in her ability to effectively control and teach in a diverse classroom. Despite this, Florence integrated more culturally relevant content than any of the other study participants. This was largely due to the school where she worked, which provided time and support to teachers in order for them to develop units with a social justice focus. It was clear that the school where Florence worked was pushing her thinking about

race to deeper levels while also helping her to think about effective teaching strategies with students.

Although Danielle used a variety of ways to empower students and on a few occasions she used books with characters of color, she approached teaching in a more student centered rather than a culturally responsive way. Her students were 100% Latino, however there were few examples of students' home culture used in the curriculum. It appeared that she took into account the individual interests and needs of students, but did not necessarily integrate their home culture into the classroom. Additionally, beyond small comments about her interests, she did not share much personal information with the students or with me. It was difficult to see where her identity influenced her teaching. However, her focus on the individual and her modest sharing of personal stories are perhaps a reflection of her culture, which does not promote sharing of personal information. Despite this, the school as a whole did focus on Latino culture and students' individual needs and interests were taken into account in Danielle's class.

Elizabeth's disposition toward teaching was much more transparent than Danielle's. She openly discussed the challenges of teaching about Greek and Egyptian civilizations to mostly students of color. While she successfully made this content engaging to her students, her identity was apparent in her interactions with students. Despite the fact that her motivations for helping and working with students may be to assuage her White guilt, it was clear that Elizabeth was a strong advocate. Students often came to her for advice, they ate lunch with her, and the administration placed students who were labeled as challenging in her class. Elizabeth was also highly critical of the school environment in which she worked and was concerned that her colleagues held deficit perspectives of students. While Elizabeth's desire was to provide a

service for her students, her criticism of her colleagues demonstrated that her efforts to help students were done through a recognition of their strengths.

After observing courses at Northern California University, it was clear to me that the program where they were trained helped the study participants to be critical educators. Observing their teaching also demonstrated to me that the study participants understand the need to do their best to make curriculum accessible, relevant, and engaging to students' lives. It was also evident that Rebecca, the BCLAD coordinator and the instructor for the course on second language acquisition, had heavily influenced their specific practices. All four teachers created an environment in which students had ample opportunity to speak to one another, lead the group, and interact with them on a regular basis. Fortunately, these practices were ones that schools also supported, making it easier for them to implement in daily lessons.

As a former bilingual teacher in a district near where the study participants taught, I saw striking similarities to my own experiences. Now that I am teaching at the graduate level, I often hear elementary teachers raise concern over the developmental appropriateness of social justice oriented curriculum for young children. Concern over developmental appropriateness for children and the lack of autonomy over content makes teaching culturally relevant and multicultural curriculum challenging for teachers. In this study, these challenges were most apparent in the lack of multicultural content integration in all four classrooms. Despite this, however, I was able to observe how the study participants did the best with what they had. Instead they focused on *how* they taught and the way students interacted with one another. Given the many challenges and constraints these teachers worked under, I found them to be dedicated and effective instructors for all of their students.

## **Chapter 8: Discussion and Implication for Future Research**

In this final chapter I will draw connections between the theories and literature used for analysis and my findings, and describe the implications my study has for further research. In Chapter 3, I discussed Bourdieu's (1977, 1992) theories of habitus and field. The theory of habitus states that our beliefs and actions are a direct result of the environment in which we have grown up and lived. The theory of field allows us to look at how actions within institutions are the result of and also affected by individual actions. I chose these theories because I felt that they allowed me to create a framework in which the lived experiences of the study participants, the teacher education program they attended, and the schools where they taught all became interconnected contexts that influenced teaching practice to varying degrees.

I would like to refer back to Bourdieu's (1992) three-part analysis of field as a guide for analysis I undertook in this study. His analysis:

1. Analyzes the habitus of the agents; the systems of dispositions they have acquired from a particular life context.
2. Maps the objective of structure of relations between positions in the field.
3. Analyzes the position of the field within the fields; in particular, to those defining the legitimate content of the discourse. (pp. 104-105)

This framework allowed me to analyze these three contexts in isolation as well as to examine the way in which these contexts are interrelated. Analyses such as these were challenging given the social justice orientation of the teacher education programs and the general progressive politics of the region where this study takes place. With contexts having such similar values, discerning which field "[defined] the legitimate content of the discourse" (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 105) was difficult.

My discussion constitutes the first part of this chapter. I explain the differences within the field of teacher education—specifically the differing experiences between the bilingual teacher preparation and the general teacher education programs. I discuss how the two different fields, the schools where the study participants taught, and the teacher education program influenced the study participants’ teaching practice. The interconnected nature of field and habitus also necessitated analysis of the study participants’ habitus as it related to their engagement in racial discourse, as well as its effect on making each of them critical educators.

In the latter part of this chapter, I describe the implications of this study for future research. Over the course of this study, questions about the pedagogy and structure of teacher education arose. In pursuit of answers, my hope is that as teacher educators we get closer to finding more effective pedagogy for engaging all candidates in racial discourse, and find ways of assessing what White candidates already know about race as an entry point for future learning. These assessments will enable teacher educators to provide an environment in which both White candidates and candidates of color learn how to effectively educate students.

## **Discussion**

### **Influence within fields: Bilingual teacher preparation vs. general teacher education.**

Through the process of analysis—and as indicated in Chapter 6—it appeared that teacher candidates seeking a bilingual endorsement at Northern California University had a different experience in their classes than candidates who did not have the bilingual endorsement. It is here that we can see that even within a larger field like the teacher education program, smaller fields—like the bilingual endorsement program—appeared to be influential in candidate learning. All four candidates, who stated that Rebecca Carle’s courses pushed them to think deeply about teaching bilingual students, illustrated this influence. Additionally, during my

observations, Rebecca consistently challenged White students to think about their privilege, either through their writing or directly during class discussions. The process of making White students aware of their privilege was similar to Marx's (2004) interventions when candidates in her study exhibited deficit perspectives toward their students. Through their interventions, both Rebecca Carle and Marx worked to make students' habitus visible to them. This was done by pointing out that their perspectives were unique to them as White teachers, and that their perceptions of students were based on *their* lived experiences, not those of their students.

McLaren (1997) asserts that multicultural education must be framed in a historical and economic context in order for teachers to understand that the education system has been designed largely for economic purposes, rather than liberatory ones. The points made by McLaren were more visible in the bilingual endorsement courses than in the other courses. In those classes, higher levels of conversations about the structure of schooling were observed. I believe that Rebecca Carle pushed candidates to analyze field itself, and as a result, bilingual candidates were becoming more critical about their roles as teachers within a system that does not privilege their students. By having teacher candidates analyze the history of bilingual education in the United States, they were able to recognize who had the most influence on the field of education. This allowed teacher candidates to discover and critique who the system was designed for and to think about the implications for teaching, given that the system was not designed for the majority of their students.

The bilingual endorsement program also consisted of a small number of the candidates who were moving through the program, and as a result the endorsement courses had fewer students, forming a smaller, more intimate group. Because of this environment, and Rebecca's teaching, I found that these students—but especially White students—were more self-reflective

and engaged in more conversations about race than in the general certification courses. It is in this space that we see the interconnected aspects of field and habitus. The White bilingual teacher candidates had lived experiences in which they learned to speak another language, and for some of these candidates, they had also grown up in bilingual communities surrounded by people of color. The bilingual endorsement courses also had a larger number of candidates of color than many of the required courses I observed. This situation is unique because in many teacher education programs, candidates of color are often in the minority (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Gay & Howard, 2002). This lack of diversity can lead to either silencing or making candidates of color responsible for raising issues of race. One of the main differences between the bilingual endorsement courses and those required for general certification was the deep conversations around issues of race led by both White candidates and candidates of color. All of these factors created a separate field of bilingual teacher education within the larger field of the program at Northern California University, which ultimately had greater influence on the study participants.

**Influence of the field on teacher knowledge and practice.** An important finding that indicates the influence of the teacher education program on the study participants was the historical perspective found in the participants' written responses. There was considerable evidence that the College of Education at Northern California University presented a historical perspective on race and racism. Although half of the instructors I observed were not the instructors of record for the study participants' courses during their time at Northern California University, there was consistency among past and present instructors, which resulted in a common message to candidates that race and racism is rooted in the history of the United States. Despite the fact that the study participants did not attribute all of their racial awareness to their teacher education program, all four participants referred to the history of the United States when

addressing why issues of racial disparity exist. It was clear to me that consistency across the program was helpful in both informing my participants, and in expanding upon knowledge they had before starting the program.

Although the teacher education program influenced teacher knowledge, the schools in which each of the study participants taught was a field that seems to have heavily influenced teaching practice. Bourdieu (1992) asserts that this influence, or political capital, is what establishes the rules and structure of the field. The influence and structure in the schools where Florence and Danielle worked was positive. Both teachers were given time to collaborate with grade level partners and create lessons that were relevant to students and addressed academic needs. The environments where Florence and Danielle taught were prime locations for Lave and Wenger's (1991) notion of situated learning because of the collaborative structure put in place by the schools. It was clear that Florence's and Danielle's implementation of culturally relevant and multicultural teaching practices appeared to be the direct result of the collaborative planning their schools required. Even though the program at Northern California University did not teach specific practices, the overall mission of the program was congruent with that of the schools where Florence and Danielle taught. As a result, both fields held equal power over Florence's and Danielle's teaching practices.

I did not see as much evidence of collaborative planning in Jean's and Elizabeth's classrooms. Based on my observations in the schools and the interviews with both participants, the schools where they taught and the teacher education program they attended were not particularly congruent in their approaches to teaching. There was not a lot of autonomy over teaching practices for Jean. What this indicates is that the school context was not only a limitation for Jean and Elizabeth, but also possessed more power, or capital, over their classroom

practices. The lack of congruency between the school contexts and the teacher education program led to a power differential, where ultimately the school context itself proved to have robust influence. These findings are not unusual. Although teacher education programs and the individual habitus of each participant each play a significant role in teaching, district and school policies, along with school environments, play the largest role in filtering what theories and frameworks end up as classroom practices (Feiman-Nemser, 1985; Grossman, Smagorinsky, & Valencia, 1999; Grossman, Valencia, Evans, Thompson, Martin & Place, 2000; Valencia, Martin, Place & Grossman, 2009; Flynn, 2015). The culturally responsive and multicultural practices that I was able to observe in Jean's and Elizabeth's classrooms can be attributed to their habitus and their overall ability to find spaces within the larger structures of their schools and districts to teach in a way they felt was more relevant to the lives of their students.

**Habitus and racial discourse.** Instructors at Northern California University, along with all classroom teachers, are faced with the challenge of assessing the knowledge and perspectives that students bring into the classroom. It was apparent that the instructors at Northern California University were aware of the dominant discourse around race and worked diligently in myriad ways to counter those narratives. From Rebecca Carle's analysis of student perspective through journaling, to Alina Tanaka's persistent emphasis on the institutional factors that lead to oppression, the hope was that teacher candidates, regardless of the perspectives with which they entered, were leaving the classrooms with better language to describe students' successes and struggles. The approaches taken by instructors at Northern California University were done to counter the various ways language is used to reproduce racism in society (Van Dijk, 1992; Foster, 2009). Despite these efforts, however, in many observations, the majority of the teacher candidates engaging in discourse around race were candidates of color. Bourdieu (1977) asserts

that doxa, or a set of beliefs, goes unnoticed until phenomena comes in conflict with those beliefs, rendering them visible. I believe the silence on the part of some White candidates is the direct result of this process of rendering beliefs visible, a process that often requires self-reflection rather than active engagement in conversations about race.

Although many of the White candidates I observed in courses at Northern California University were silent about racial issues, the four participants in this study spoke with ease about the subject. Foster (2009) discusses the role that

contradictions serve in protecting the white racial frame via discourse: first, they provide white respondents with a method to blame nonwhites for societal problems (e.g. racial tensions) while (seemingly) maintaining an image of nonracism; and second, they protect the status quo despite pointing out particular instances of prejudicial and discriminatory behavior. (pp. 689-690)

Foster describes common patterns within racial discourse. However, the written responses submitted by all four participants did not fit his description. When asked why disparities exist between people of color and middle-class White people, all four candidates did not blame people of color, but rather indicated that both historical and institutional factors lead to disparities. All four participants also pointed out continued discrimination by individuals and institutions. Although the study participants did not call themselves racists, they did point out that many stereotypes affect everyone—themselves included. I believe that my participants' attitudes, which run counter to the dominant narratives around race, stem from their past experiences (*habitus*) and the teacher education program (*field*), which I later explain in more depth.

**The making of critical educators: The interaction of habitus and field.** I found that the teacher educators at Northern California University were unsure about the impact they had on

teacher candidates. This lack of knowledge regarding the program's impact on candidate learning can be attributed to the habitus of the candidates prior to entering the program. Although Bourdieu (1992) stated that the relationship between field and habitus are reciprocal, because a person's habitus is so ingrained, it appeared challenging to assess whether or not candidates—but especially White candidates—made significant shifts in their understanding of race. Despite this, I observed that both Rebecca Carle and Mitchell Peters made efforts to understand student habitus through journals and writing assignments, and then used that information as a starting place for teaching. As a result, what I observed overall was that the habitus of the teacher candidates affected actions within the field. However, assessing the influence the field had on candidate habitus was difficult because of the many other factors and contexts that contribute to the formation of racial ideologies.

All four of the study participants stated that the teacher education program at Northern California University supported their previously held ideologies on race. However, I do think the program provided each participant with the historical frame needed to think about the issues of racial disparity deeply. Although the program was influential, the lived experience, or habitus, of the four participants seemed to have been robust in their understanding of race. Because Jean identifies as LGBTQ, she felt a kinship to other minority groups. Not only did this inform her studies as a women's studies major, but it seems to have affected her overall sense of injustice and oppression. In Florence's case, it was attending racially segregated schools, and particularly being the only White person in many of her classes, that appeared to have opened her eyes to educational inequity and enabled her to understand the justifiable anger students of color sometimes feel when they are made powerless by a racist school system. Schooling, rather than

family for Florence and Jean, seems to have contributed most to their formation of racial ideologies.

In the case of Elizabeth and Danielle, it was their families that seemed to have the most impact. Both participants grew up in semi-diverse areas around people of color, some of whom shared the same socioeconomic status as they did. However, the work of their parents as caregivers for people with disabilities and school psychologists served as models for how to work for social justice. The relationships their parents built with those with whom they worked seem to have helped Elizabeth and Danielle break down stereotypical views of people of color. The emphasis Elizabeth's parents placed on their privilege enabled her to understand that inequality existed and that she was a part of a privileged group. Working in diverse places inside and out of the United States allowed Danielle and Elizabeth learn and understand the perspectives of others, which that they were not able to do as much during their childhood.

Instructors at Northern California University made efforts to take candidates' perspectives into account while teaching. The instructors also made their habitus visible to candidates and used their life experiences and beliefs as part of their lessons. Although the contents of these lessons were important, I believe it was the modeling that the instructors engaged in that was impactful, especially in the case of the bilingual endorsement courses with Rebecca Carle. By talking about herself and her family's privilege, she gave other White teacher candidates a model for how to own and recognize privilege and engage in deep conversations about the structures that contributed to the racial hierarchies that exist today. Mitchell Peters's concern over presenting too much of his narrative as a Black male helped students see the importance bias plays in teaching. In a sense, Rebecca and Mitchell made their habitus visible to students, which invited candidates to do the same.

The lived experiences of all four participants helped them engage deeply with the issues presented in their teacher education program, and ultimately led to all four of them being critical educators despite the contexts in which they taught. Flynn (2015) asserts that “teacher habitus is perhaps defined *by* [emphasis in original] the curriculum and expectations of assessment, and it’s difficult to untangle what teachers feel they must do with the curriculum from what teachers might believe is good practice” (p. 24). Although I agree that curriculum and assessment probably heavily influenced the teaching practices I observed, I found that Jean and Elizabeth brought a critical lens to their teaching and were able to distinguish what they felt was good teaching, which was separate from, and often in conflict with, the curriculum they were supposed to use. The schools where Danielle and Florence taught were collaborative and had a focus on culturally relevant and responsive practices. I observed both teachers bring a critical lens to their teaching, which often resulted in subtle changes that made their lessons more accessible to their students.

I think the teacher education program—especially the bilingual endorsement program—at Northern California University was instrumental in providing a framework that the study participants used when they taught. Despite not using specific practices taught at Northern California University, the critical lens the study participants brought to their teaching was the result of many factors, which include the contexts in which the participants grew up, where they attended school, and the program at Northern California University.

### **Implications and Further Research**

Three key findings emerged from this study that I believe fill gaps in the research, but also have implications for future studies. The first is balancing historical and personal perspectives on race in teacher education. As I have mentioned previously, research on racial

discourse in teacher education tends toward a binary of teaching about race and racism either from a historical or institutional perspective (King, 1991; McLaren, 1997; Lavine-Rasky 2001; Young, 2010) or from a personal perspective through candidate self-reflection (Ball, 2000; Obidah, 2000; White, 2012; McIntyre, 2002). Through observations in Rebecca's courses on second language acquisition and bilingual education, along with the recollections of the four study participants, it was evident that identifying institutional racism while also modeling how to locate your privilege within those institutions was effective in deepening conversations on race and consequently candidates' understanding of racism. The fact that many of the instructors made aspects of their identity transparent with teacher candidates created an environment where open discussion on race and privilege could occur. Consequently, I believe that instructors teaching courses in which issues of race, privilege, and language acquisition are raised should acknowledge and integrate their racial identity and their positions into the discourse. As a result, research should be conducted to assess whether or not this acknowledgment and integration encourages candidates, especially White candidates, to join the conversation.

The second is assessing what teacher candidates already know. There are only a few studies that focus on what White candidates know about race prior to entering the program (Phillip, 2011; Levine-Rasky, 2000). My findings support their studies in that it was clear that the study participants entered the program at Northern California University with prior knowledge and experience talking about race and were ready to engage with issues such as race and oppression. Their lived experiences in schools in the United States and their travels abroad set them apart from their peers. This was also evidenced by the teacher candidates in the bilingual endorsement program. However, when the four study participants were asked about the impact the teacher education program had on their understanding of race, they all stated that the

course on teaching diverse learners reinforced what they already knew, rather than pushing them to think more deeply. Consequently, as we saw with all four candidates, there was still a struggle in seeing their privilege in all aspects of their lives. As teacher educators, we stress the need for formal and informal assessing of students, along with strong relationships with students and families as a way to maximize student learning. However, not enough information exists on how we can both assess what teacher candidates know about issues of race and differentiate our teaching in order to meet the needs of all candidates. Additionally, one major complaint of the courses I teach on culturally responsive teaching and multicultural education course is that they are designed for White teacher candidates, to the detriment of preparing candidates of color for the challenging work of teaching in diverse classrooms. This complaint has also come up in the literature on teacher education (Cochran-Smith, 2000). Further investigations into how we can differentiate instruction at the graduate level that will allow White candidates with varying understandings of race to be pushed to think deeply about themselves and the issues, but not at the expense of candidates of color, is needed.

Finally, scholars such as Gay (2000) and Ladson-Billings (2009) have done a thorough job of outlining what culturally responsive teaching looks like in practice, but not much research has been done on the best approaches in teacher education to prepare teachers for how to do this work in their classrooms. Rebecca Carle and Ellen Roberts were two out of several instructors whose pedagogy matched classroom practices and served as examples of methods they thought should be implemented with students. This approach to teacher education is not found in many programs. Although I think that methods courses would be an ideal place for this type of modeling, I believe good pedagogy should be modeled across courses program-wide, but especially in multicultural education courses, where teachers often struggle to bridge the theory

to practice. This is further evidenced in the courses I teach on multicultural and culturally responsive teaching, where I'm often get asked, "But how do I *actually* teach this?" This question implies that there is one way to approach multicultural education, which is in direct opposition to its entire premise. I am not advocating for uniformity among instructors, or even a distillation of practices. Rather, I support modeling and making transparent how to build relationships with students, provide voice and autonomy to students when possible, and be critical of curriculum and policies teachers are often asked to implement. As a result, research on pedagogical practices in multicultural teacher education is necessary.

### **Implications for Policy**

This study also brought to light two implications for policy within teacher education programs. First, the residence program at Northern California University, and in many programs across the country, courses that prepare teachers for work in diverse classrooms are being shortened in order for candidates to receive their degrees in one year. This meant that Florence's and Jean's course met every day for two weeks, as opposed to once per week for the sixteen-week semester. Condensing class sessions has implications for how much information can be covered and processed, and how well students are able to build trust and relationships with one another. Courses focusing on multicultural and culturally responsive teaching are often the courses that are cut short, which has implications for how candidates perceive the overall importance of the work. As a result, it is essential that programs be cohesive and fully integrate the tenets of multicultural education in all courses program-wide, or that these types of courses are given sufficient time for candidates to engage, reflect, and learn.

Another implication for policy is regarding the common assignment varying sections of the same course must share. This shared assignment provides some continuity among the

courses, however, it does not necessarily indicate that all sections of the same course address issues such as race and racism in the same way. While there were many similarities in how instructors talked about race, more can be done. During her interview, Rebecca offered a suggestion for how to ensure cohesiveness, especially around engaging students in racial discourse. She stated that teacher education programs should create a shared conceptual and theoretical framework for what and how candidates learn. She suggested that asking teacher educators to frame all of their courses through the lens of power and privilege would provide multiple opportunities for candidates to deepen their learning especially around issues of race.

### **Conclusion**

This project is very much a manifestation of my own habitus. As a privileged White woman who grew up in a diverse household and attended diverse schools, I found that many of the questions that fueled this study were rooted in my desire to push myself, and others like me, to think and talk about race and privilege deeply, critically, and with frequency. As a White bilingual teacher, these conversations became all the more important as I and other teachers in bilingual classrooms work to provide better educational experiences for students of color. Engaging in this research project has caused me to ask as many questions as have been answered. I have come to view this dissertation as a stepping-stone toward other research and work in teacher education.

Although teacher candidates may have had varying experiences at Northern California University, I was very impressed at the caliber of instructors and the level of racial discourse taking place in courses there. I was especially impressed by Rebecca Carle's work in the bilingual endorsement program, and I believe that her work strongly influenced my participants' teaching and, consequently, their students. I was also impressed by the four study participants.

The level of personal insight and their reflective engagement with teaching merit high praise. Despite the fact that their schools were less than ideal for exploring and implementing practices that were relevant to students' lives, Elizabeth and Jean worked within the structure of their schools to do the best they could for their students. The schools in which Florence and Danielle work give me hope that schools and school leaders can effectively work with districts and teacher education programs to ensure that conversations continue about how to best meet the needs of students of color and low-income students.

Although I was impressed by the programs offered at Northern California University, as indicated in my findings and discussion, the types and depths of the conversations held in the bilingual endorsement courses were not matched by those in the other classes. I do not believe that these types of conversations need to be limited to courses that prepare bilingual teachers. All teacher education courses should ask candidates to take into account the purpose of educating students. We also need to prepare teachers for work in classrooms where teachers are able to help students—regardless of a student's race, social class, or home language—to learn to think critically, and to create social change. We cannot place the burden of transforming our society solely on the education of students of color. White students also must learn to become critical thinkers and allies in the struggle toward a more just society.

Even though incremental progress has been made in education policy, textbook companies and large testing institutions influence how teachers instruct students. Now more than ever, it is vital that we train teachers to be critical educators. I believe that training teachers to become critical educators can and should be done by ensuring that teacher education programs teach about race and racism from an institutional perspective, in an environment in which both teacher educators and teacher candidates are asked to position themselves within the discourse

on racial inequity. By placing themselves within the discourse, teacher educators can begin the process of modeling how to build mutual trust with students, which is a vital aspect in teaching. Being a critical educator means understanding and consistently thinking about how to educate students in ways that will best help them to learn.

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### Appendix: Coding Scheme

<b>Conceptual Framework</b>			
	<b>Racial Discourse in Teacher Education</b>	<b>Contexts for Learning about Race/ Understanding of Race</b>	<b>Culturally and Multicultural Practices</b>
<b>C O D E</b>	Historical approach	BCLAD course	Home language as an asset
	Personal approach	Parents	Student empowerment
	Engagement of candidates (White and of color) in conversations on race	K-12 education	Equity in sharing out
	Assessment of candidate learning	Living abroad	Making content accessible to students
	Assessment of prior knowledge	Historical understanding of racism in the U.S.	Community building
	Teaching/modeling culturally responsive methods	Naming institutionalized racism	Content integration
	Teaching candidates how to talk with students about race	Acknowledgment or awareness of privilege/lack thereof	Collective/ collaborative work
	Congruence with the mission of Northern California University		Characteristics of school context

	Talking about race through readings and assignments		
	Building community		