At the Crossroads:
Pre-service Teachers, Community Mentors, and the Dialectic

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Perennial calls to increase parent engagement in underserved schools often overlook how classroom teachers are prepared for school-family partnerships. Transformative school-family partnerships require transformative teachers, teacher educators, and preparation programs that rise to the occasion. This dissertation, presented in three articles, investigates the following: 1) the literature around family and community based partnerships with teacher education programs, 2) a series of small group discussions in one university-based secondary teacher education program, and 3) the experiences of community mentors partnering with the teacher education program. Using a critical theory of the dialectic as well as a narrative theory of identity, the author found implications for differentiating the development of critical consciousness among pre-service teachers. Findings also highlight both strengths and challenges for community mentors of Color engaged in intimate discussions with a predominantly white cohort of pre-service teachers.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents .............................................. i
List of Figures .................................................. ii
Acknowledgements ............................................. iii
Dedication ........................................................ v
Chapter 1: Introduction ........................................ 1

Chapter 2: Towards Solidarity: Selected literature review of partnerships with
Families and Communities in Pre-service Teacher Education Programs 17

Chapter 3: The Dialectic in Praxis: Examining Small Group Discussions
Between Community Mentors and Pre-service Teachers 52

Chapter 4: Partnering with Teacher Education Programs:
The Community Mentor Experience 91

References ....................................................... 130

Appendix A: Parents, Guardians, and Families: Small Group Planning Documents 146
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Study Distribution Across the Community-based Teacher Education Typology  

Table 2: Settings of Programs

Table 3: Study Distributions Across 1990-2014 and the  

Community-based Teacher Education Typology

Table 4: Overall Demographic of Pre-service Teachers and Community Mentors

Table 5: Demographics of Pre-service Teachers and Community Mentors  

by Regional Meeting

Figure 1: Shelley’s conceptual theory analyzing pre-service teacher behavior

Figure 2: Community mentor experiences partnering with  

Mountain City University TEP
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DEDICATION

For my Mother
Silvia Fraire Rodríguez

My first teacher
Who taught me what it means to be a strong, educated Chicana.

I will always be your secret weapon.
Chapter One
Introduction

The 2012 Metlife survey of the American teacher rated family engagement as one of the most challenging areas facing educators in schools with high percentages of low-income students. Although state policy and teacher evaluation rubrics increasingly call for attention to family and community engagement, teachers, schools, and families continue to face a number of obstacles preventing collaboration on all sides. These challenges range from assumptions about lack of parent interest, to time constraints, distrust of schools, inadequate preparation for partnerships, and more.

In their framework for building family-school partnership capacity, Mapp and Kuttner (2012) note that “without attention to training and capacity building, well-intentioned partnership efforts fall flat.” The default “back to school night,” or “help with homework” are often the only frames we have for family engagement. They argue that rather than building collaborative and equitable partnerships, initiatives to foster family engagement default to “one-way communication and ‘random acts of engagement’ such as poorly attended parent nights” (p. 6).

Recent studies arguing the need for schools and educators to rethink family and community engagement beyond the one-sided back-to-school night and PTA bake-sales reflect a desire for more critical, culturally relevant, and socially just partnerships (Epstein & Sanders, 2006; Warren, et al., 2009; Hong, 2012; Ishimaru, 2014). As the literature suggests, the need to rethink family and community engagement beyond the established hegemonic structures in place is not news for many; communities and scholars of Color have long called for a transformative,

In a longitudinal ethnographic study of one successful school-community partnership, Hong (2012) suggests that models for school-community partnerships are rare; the complexity of such work requires the transformation of relationships at multiple levels. Indeed, our very definitions of family, school, and community often do not reflect the complex multiple, and hybrid identities within each category (Little, 2002; Joseph, 2002; Creed, 2006; Doucet, 2011; Philip, Way, Garcia, Schuler-Brown, & Navarro, 2013). Hong calls for communities to embrace complexity and develop trusting relationships between teachers and families; the results of which can lead to increased student academic success and improved school climate, among others. Yet pressing issues affecting teachers, families, and school climate, beyond communication about student “work,” are rarely regular topics of discussion between classroom teachers and families. Further, opportunities to engage in discussions surrounding equity or social justice in education are generally avoided; often the result of historical distrust on all sides (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978).

We know that schools and teachers partnering with families and communities is complex work; it requires developing trust, shared decision-making, must be mutually beneficial, and it must be culturally relevant as well as responsive (Gay, 2000; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Hong, 2012; Murrell, 2001). Unfortunately, if examples of successful partnerships in K-12 schools are rare, preparing teachers for these kinds of partnerships becomes even more of a challenge for teacher education programs.

Though research on successful school, family, community partnerships exist, teacher education programs continue to struggle modeling as well as embracing research in praxis. In
general, the field of teacher education continues to face a number of enduring challenges and dilemmas surrounding its structure, content, and pedagogy. Crafting experiences that prepare pre-service teachers for culturally responsive, trusting partnerships in their future practice remains a challenge for the majority of university-based teacher education programs (Boyle-Baise & McIntyre, 2008; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Cochran-Smith, Feiman-Nemser, McIntyre, & Demers, 2008; Darling-Hammond & Bransford, 2005). And although preparing for partnerships with families and communities appears one of many topics a program should cover, the complex nature of these relationships have implications for structure, content, and pedagogy, beyond curricular add-ons into transformative, democratic, and increasingly hybrid 3rd spaces in teacher education (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2015; Hyland & Meacham, 2004, Zeichner, 2010).

Research Questions and Definitions of Terms

The following questions guide this research:

Study 1:

a) What does the literature on teacher education programs and partnerships with families and communities, tell us about their distributed across three approaches of involvement, engagement, and in solidarity?

b) What does the mediation of preservice teachers’ experiences and the quality of relationships between the programs and communities look like?

Study 2:

In a university based teacher education program that includes a programmatic strand designed to foster collaboration between a teacher education program and community mentors, what do discussions between pre-service teachers, family, and community mentors reveal about pre-service teacher learning?
Study 3:

How do community mentors experience the work of partnering with one university-based teacher education program?

The first article in this dissertation, co-written with Kate Napolitan, a colleague from the research team on which I also worked as a research assistant, will explore literature from the past 25 years surrounding family- and community-based experiences in teacher education. This article uses a typology created by our research team, intended to distinguish between the nature of community- and family-based experiences housed within university-based teacher education programs according to the following three categories: involvement, engagement, or in solidarity (Zeichner, Bowman, Napolitan, & Guillén, 2016).

The second article in this dissertation will present the findings from a study focused on a series of dialogues between pre-service teachers and community mentors. The dialogues were part of a Community, Family, and Politics (CFP) framework designed to prepare community teachers. Epistemological and ideological differences challenge the very foundations of dialogue, yet many pre-service teachers and all community mentors found these conversations important, expressing the need for increased time, opportunities, and depth in these conversations.

The third article will focus on the community mentor perspectives and experiences in the Community, Family, and Politics strand. As noted above, culturally relevant and responsive teaching is an epistemological and ideological shift from the hegemonic white lens of teaching ‘the other’ previously found in most teacher education programs (Haddix, 2012; Sleeter, 2001). This perspective can marginalize not only the voices of non-dominant pre-service teachers in the program, but the voices of families and communities of Color as well.
The Community Teacher. Reframing and reclaiming partnerships with communities embraces the role of the community teacher as one who takes on the struggles of their school and community. In his work on preparing teachers for urban schools and communities, Murrell (2001) argues for partnerships beyond the traditional university supervisor, cooperating teacher, and student teacher clinical triad. He identifies action teams, or communities of practice, consisting of the clinical triad as well as parents and community-based educators. These communities of practice can be multiple and at different levels within the activity setting between college and school partners in teacher education. Exploring activity theory further is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however it is important to note that Murrell is identifying the circle of practice here to “permit interrogation of practice in professional activity settings” (p. 40). That is, parents and community-based educators are engaged in the activity of interrogating teaching in real school settings.

Murrell’s (2001) work stands out as it focuses not just on new teacher attitudes, but on teacher effectiveness in an urban school, student achievement, and “community affirmation and acknowledgement of their performance” (p. 4). Murrell argues that community teachers in urban schools must be successful according to student achievement, but also by community standards. They “draw on a richly contextualized knowledge of culture, community, and identity in their professional work with children and families in diverse urban communities” (p. 4). This rich knowledge, coupled with their own clear sense of cultural, political, and racial identities in relation to the students and families they hope to serve, allows the community teacher to play a central role in the success of their students. Community teachers are active participants in circles of practice, as well as members in and of their communities.
**Teaching Against the Grain.** In theorizing teacher agency within sociohistorical systems of schooling, Cochran-Smith (1991) argues that “prospective teachers need to know from the start that they are a part of a larger struggle and that they have a responsibility to reform, not just replicate, standard school practices” (p. 280). In studying conversations among experienced teachers and pre-service teachers, she suggests that the preparation of teachers for the complex profession of teaching depends on underlying assumptions about knowledge, power, and language. Teachers must see themselves as “decision-makers and collaborators who must reclaim their roles in the shaping of practice by taking a stand as both educators and activists” (p. 280).

It is the responsibility of teacher education programs to support teachers in their thinking about school practices and in their attempts to discuss and challenge those practice that are not in the best interest of students. As one teacher educator has shared “teachers need to be angry around the edges” in living the same injustices or inequities of our students, families, and communities. Teachers must first learn to listen to students, families, leaders, and elders from the many communities in a given urban area.

**Solidarity.** One final term, solidarity, will be used in this dissertation. My understanding of the term stems from my familiarity growing up hearing the phrase, *en solidaridad*, which is used in Spanish-speaking communities to indicate a stance against injustices and for equity alongside other individuals and communities. Solidarity is twofold in its definition - it is both an abstract idea as well as a process.

Gaztambide-Fernández (2012) writes that “solidarity in relationship to decolonization is about challenging the very idea of what it means to be human, and by extension, the logics of inclusion and exclusion that enforce social boundaries, including notions of social, political, and
civic solidarity. It is about imagining human relations that are premised on the relationship between difference and interdependency, rather than similarity and a rational calculation of self-interests" (p. 49). Prior understandings of the term solidarity, he argues, have ranged from paternalistic to manipulative intentions behind its overuse. A definition of solidarity in relationship to decolonization, therefore, is premised upon horizontal relationships recognizing and understanding the differences and interdependency of human beings.

Understandings of solidarity as a process stems from a theory of the dialectic (Freire, 1970) grounded in trust through dialogue. An overview of the dialectic is provided in following section outlining the theoretical frameworks underlying this dissertation.

Theoretical Frameworks

Schools function as places of both production and reproduction (Apple, 1979, 1995; Shor & Freire, 1987). That is, individuals can reproduce hegemonic structures as much as they can produce new structures through coalitions and movements. Understanding these social contexts can then lead to critical thinking that “distinguishes liberating education from traditional methods” (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 33).

The three studies in this dissertation are, in some form or another, an assigned part of the official curriculum (Apple, 1979). Whether it is listening to a panel or co-investigating student learning, these were requirements of teacher education programs working in partnerships with families and communities.

Theory of the dialectic. In his work on the dialectic, Freire (1970) draws on Hegel to examine ways in which the oppressed and the oppressors engage in dialogue rather than debate to move towards a more just society. A key requirement underlying the dialectic, however, is trust that each side is willing to engage in conversation to move towards a more humanizing world, rather
than trying to win the debate. Therefore, conversation to create new knowledge is dependent upon trust that both parties are actually entering into dialogue with the desire for new knowledge; this is the hybrid moment where a third way is forged. However, historical distrust between schools, families, and communities often stem from perceptions of disengaged parents on the one side, and institutional and historical oppression on the other. These distrusts are not equal. Freire argues that it is the oppressed that must liberate the oppressor, presuming the oppressor is open to dialogue.

Bryk and Schneider (2002) agree that trust is foundational to reciprocal partnerships. In their longitudinal study of interpersonal exchanges in school community, the authors define relational trust as a concept comprised of four components: respect, competence, personal regard, and integrity.

Viewed through a critical lens, however, this definition of relational trust in schools has a variety of epistemological implications for different communities. For example, in the Spanish language, confianza includes ways of learning and knowing based in cultural practice. In their chapter on the historical dimensions and cross-border relations for Mexican Americans, Veléz-Ibáñez and Greenberg (2005) found that “thick” social contexts surrounding Mexican children led to social expectations different from those of non-Mexican populations. Their work is foundational to the funds of knowledge project upon which much of today’s culturally responsive literature is built. They write,

“Such differences, we suggest, may include the internalization of many other significant object relations with more persons, an expectation of more relations with the same persons, and expectations of being attentive to, and investing emotionally in, a variety of
relations. Such psychodynamic and psychosocial processes entailed in cultural expectations of *confianza* (mutual trust) are the cradle from whence anticipations for exchange relations emerge. Such early experiences give substance to cultural expectations for exchange, expectations that are reinforced by ritual and other forms of exchange throughout the life cycle” (Veléz-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 2005, p. 60).

While the two definitions of *relational trust* and *confianza* are not necessarily contradictory, it is useful to compare the two concepts as they differ in important ways. For example, *confianza* does not translate exactly the same in English; it literally translates to “with confidence” but this is not the definition. *Confianza* includes elements of time and ritual that are not evident in a western concept such as relational trust. As the authors describe above, *confianza* emerges from relations with multiple people, as does relational trust. However, *confianza* is understood as relationships developed with the same people over time, through ritual and other forms of exchange, and with the expectation that others share this same notion of obligation to one another in return.

In his work studying talk and its implications for hegemonic, structural change, Erickson (2004) argues that there are certain types of talk for which hegemonic norms are expected. For example, talk at the dinner table often reflects what happens at school. Yet there are a number of possible deviations from the script, often based on anything from cultural norms to local and political socio-historical contexts. Erickson points out that though discussion takes place locally, not all “the production resources are local in origin.” He continues to say, “some of the resources involved in producing talk in social interaction derive in their origins from locations in prior time and across distances in geographic and social space” (p. 13). In reframing and how we talk and
what we talk about, pre-service teachers, families, and communities are engaging in exploratory talk for learning possibilities. Partnering with families and communities also inevitably means addressing histories as well as contemporary politics (Safran, 1979).

**Narrative theory of identity.** Drawing on literature using talk, the third space, and literacy in the English Language Arts classroom (Gutierrez, et al, 1995; Juzwik, et al., 2013; Cazden, 2001), discussions between teacher candidates and community mentors were co-constructed and facilitated by teacher educators and community mentors. Delpit (1995) argues that the university is particularly challenging for students of Color. This presents a problem not only the recruiting and retention of the teachers of Color we need for increasingly diverse classrooms, but also for embracing collaborative partnerships with families and communities of Color. She argues that the university has not historically valued “personal narratives as having a legitimate cognitive function” and that “discourse in the university setting is more valued if it reflects independence of context, analysis, and objectives as having a legitimate cognitive function” (p. 109).

I will employ a narrative theory of identity (Sfard & Prusak, 2005) to analyze the small group discussion transcripts in article two of this dissertation. This theory is a powerful analytical tool through which to analyze these discussions as personal narratives were the primary discourses used, especially by people of Color, in the small group discussions. Through use of this tool, personal narratives are valued as having a “legitimate cognitive function” and as a vehicle for both pre-service and community mentor learning. These discussions were often grounded in questions, or dilemmas of practice or identities. As Flower (2008), writes, “to begin, standing in common cause against something can produce comrades in arms. But dialogue with culturally different others must start in inquiry” (p. 4).

Research Design and Contexts
Data collection and analysis

Article one is a literature review. This article will begin with the collection of literature surrounding communities and families working in partnerships with university-based teacher education programs. The articles will be selected for the purpose of reviewing the research in the field and exploring different types of family and community relationships with teacher education programs. The data will be analyzed according to a typology of an involvement, engagement, or solidarity approach to relationships within each partnership (Zeichner, Bowman, Guillén, & Napolitan, 2016).

Article two is an empirical study of small group discussions between pre-service teachers and partnering community mentors. The small group discussions were recorded over the course of one quarter. Transcripts were coded and analyzed using the theory of narrative as identity as an analytical tool (Sfard & Prusak, 2005).

Article three is an empirical study of the community mentor experience in partnering with the elementary and secondary university-based teacher education programs. The data for this article consisted primarily of interviews with partnering community mentors, but also included observations and documents such as event exit tickets and planning materials. This data was coded analyzed according to a grounded theory approach and a constant comparative method of analysis (Charmaz, 2014; Patton, 2015).

The Community, Family, Politics Strand (CFP)

The Community, Family, Politics strand was a four-quarter series of courses, course-connections, and events located within a post-baccalaureate elementary and secondary teacher education programs at the University of Washington, Seattle. First implemented in 2012, the strand has since undergone a number of changes due to challenges and opportunities afforded
through courses, pre-service teacher placement schools, and partnerships with local community mentors.

Preparing community teachers to partner with families and communities raises questions not only about whose knowledge counts in teacher education, but about the locations or spaces where teachers are best prepared for the work of teaching (Zeichner, Payne, & Brayko, 2015). The community, family, and political themes running throughout the program were embedded within the co-planned, co-facilitated events that took place both on campus and in community-based spaces. Events and experiences included panel and town hall-type discussions, small group conversations, mini-interest conferences, co-planned and co-facilitation of class time, community organization visits, and community-based units/lessons/projects designed for pre-service teacher instructional practice.

**The Teacher Education Program (TEP)**

The CFP strand was embedded throughout a four-quarter graduate program leading to a Masters in Teaching, as well as the state teaching licensure. The elementary and secondary programs varied in type and number of required courses. Elementary included both math and literacy method courses taught at local schools and not on the university campus, while the math, science, and English methods at the secondary level spent some weeks at hosting schools but were primarily based on the university campus. Several courses in the secondary program worked on a cross-curricular core assignment during the first quarter of their program. Both programs required a final capstone project, though only the elementary program required it be planned around the CFP strand. Foundational coursework in each program included courses in multicultural education, history of education, child and adolescent development, and literacy and language acquisition. Both programs included a separate course on students with differing
abilities, though that course was coupled with classroom management in the elementary program. During the course of the project, the elementary program was also in the process of moving away from a distinct multicultural education course and towards creating a culturally responsive teaching strand.

Student teaching, or the clinical practicum, was designed around a co-teaching model in which pre-service teachers take increasing responsibility as lead instructor. Prior to the CFP strand, pre-service teachers were required to complete a number of hours in a community-based organization in addition to their teaching practicum. The secondary program also required a period of service at their schools. For a number of reasons, these experiences presented logistical problems, workload issues, and without mediation, had the tendency to reinforce stereotypes or deficit thinking about students, schools, and communities. The CFP strand was to take the place of these experiences in order to preserve some sort of community-based experience for pre-service teachers in the program.

**The Multicultural Educational Rights Alliance**

A number of local community-based organizations as well as individuals from school administration, local teachers, higher education faculty, P-12 student advocates, and representatives from the local legislature participated in the Community, Family, and Politics partnership. The two original co-founders of the Multicultural Education Rights Alliance (McERA), and later a third co-director, were the primary mentors that co-planned and co-facilitated many of the events and experiences, often taking the lead on various occasions throughout the year. All community mentors were offered compensation, though some didn’t take it.
McERA is a community-based organization that works with family and community mentors primarily from the central and southeast regions of Seattle. With their leadership, over 70 people from outside schools and the UW were involved in working with pre-service teachers in 2013-14. The two leaders of McERA were involved in the planning and debriefings for all of the pre-service teacher, family and community member interactions and because they were present for most of these learning opportunities over the year they were able to establish relationships with many of the pre-service teachers. McERA serves as a vehicle for sharing the essential knowledge and expertise of youth, families and community members with (but not limited to) political and community organizations, individual schools, and districts. The two original leaders of McERA worked as advocates for individuals who connected to their organization. Their desire was to build an educational justice movement to help bridge the cultural and economic gaps between students and schools that lead to significant opportunity gaps and to the school to prison pipeline. Through their work, they challenge Seattle’s area education systems and teacher education programs to ask the question, “Whose voice matters when it comes to educating our children?” Two of McERA’s co-founders were the co-planners of the work described here. They describe their work as, “as connecting the grassroots to the grasstops.”

Researcher Positionality

The research team consisted of one professor and three graduate students. I worked as one of the graduate student researchers, as well as an instructor for the three-quarter field-based seminar in the secondary program. My role as instructor afforded access to all members of the secondary cohort, as well as secondary division meetings of faculty and instructional coaches.
As a former high school teacher as well as an able-bodied, heterosexual, working class, Chicana, I identified with many students and community mentors in a variety of ways. Baca Zinn (1979) adds that field research conducted by minority-scholars has some empirical advantages in easier entry into fieldwork; cautioning that minority researchers still exhibit scientific integrity where data collection and interpretations are concerned. And though one may be tempted to argue that minority insiders may be “better”-suited to understand what it is that is going on or being observed, Baca Zinn notes insider problems as well. Complex power dynamics or relationships are difficult to navigate, and leaving the field can be especially challenging for insider researchers. Ultimately, collecting data from a variety of sources, using interviews, and disciplined observational technique help in guarding against biasness, and also increase the credibility of the research.

I am a former high school English Language Arts teacher in an urban school, an experience that informed my teaching as one of the instructors in the teacher education program. While my own practice and its role in the larger CFP strand is not the focus of the study, I found that it informed, and was informed by our research. It is important to highlight here the complex nature of teaching; itself a form of iterative reflection and research. In their review of ‘practitioner inquiry’ in education research, Cochran-Smith & Donnell (2009) consider the term an encompassing reference to “an array of educational research genres where the practitioner is the researcher, the professional context is the research site, and practice itself is the focus of study” (p. 503). The CFP strand guided practice. The teacher education program, working in partnership with community mentors, also functioned as the research site. A study of pedagogy through practitioner inquiry is beyond the scope of this dissertation, however, a series of small
group discussions included in article two was informed by my knowledge and experiences as a high school teacher.

Significance of the Study

This dissertation will present analysis from a programmatic strand that incorporated expertise from family and community mentors and positioned teaching as a political act. Our research team conducted individual as well as group interviews with pre-service teachers, community mentors, cooperating teachers, and pre-service teacher instructional coaches. We worked as participant observers in our role as both researchers and instructors in the university-based teacher education program. This dissertation highlights the literature surrounding community and family based teacher education program efforts, focuses on one aspect of the CFP strand in taking a closer look at small group discussions, and takes a step back in presenting the voices and perspectives of partnering community mentors.

This work both informs ours and the larger education community’s work around reframing family engagement, and has implications for preparing teacher candidates to work in all settings in authentic ways with family and community members.

There is a need for teacher education programs to programmatically address the preparation of teachers to effectively work with communities, families, and students. This dissertation will discuss the promise as well as the challenges with regards to partnering with families and community mentors in a university-based teacher education program. I hope to dialogue with readers in thinking about the next steps and potential models for the future of this work.
Chapter 2

Towards Solidarity: Selected literature review of partnerships with families and communities in pre-service teacher education programs

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Abstract

In this review of 44 articles, focused on the last 25 years, examples of partnerships between families, communities, and preservice teacher education programs are categorized utilizing a typology that consists of three approaches named: teacher-family-community involvement, teacher-family-community engagement, and teacher-family-community solidarity (Zeichner, Bowman, Napolitan, Guillén, Bennett, Cooley-Stroum, 2015). Additionally the authors examine mediation, quality of relationships, and preservice teacher learning in a selection of studies demonstrative of each approach. This review crosses political and programmatic boundaries—political ones through the inclusion of literature from English speaking communities throughout the world, and programmatic examples from early childhood, bilingual, special education and general education teacher education programs.
Introduction

…it is imperative that universities and colleges recognize they cannot prepare multiculturally competent teachers without help. Communities can and must become integral partners in this effort.

—Barbara Seidl and Gloria Friend, p. 142, 2002

We began our own journey partnering with families and communities in a teacher education program in 2012. We were working as teaching assistants in a small team that also included a faculty member, a research assistant, and mentors from local families and communities in a university-based teacher education program. Our task was deceptively simple; consider ways to bring in voices from families and communities throughout our region to serve as community educators to preservice teachers enrolled in our elementary and secondary teacher education programs.

Given our experiences and perspectives as former public school teachers, working in collaboration with mentors and elders from families and communities in our area was a tremendous honor. However, tensions revealed themselves around hierarchical knowledge structures in the university where this work was situated. In a program already squeezed for time, tensions also arose about the value of collaboration and relationships between teacher educators and community and family partners.

In an effort to further understand this “rub,” as described by one of the community mentors, we researched similar efforts in the teacher education literature, locating 44 articles describing program efforts between communities, families, and teacher educators. We then categorized the articles across the community-based teacher education typology (Zeichner et al, 2015). In the Methods section, we will describe how articles were selected and classified. The typology consists of three approaches named:

**Teacher-Family-Community Involvement** refers to actions teacher education programs take that are largely program centric, usually emphasizing historically school centric goals, like preparing preservice teachers for parent-teacher conferences. Families may be invited as guest speakers about a topic determined by the instructor or faculty member. Relationships are primarily one-sided, largely benefitting the program, and/or the preservice teachers themselves.

**Teacher-Family-Community Engagement** refers to actions teacher education programs take to collaboratively work with people in local communities including family members. Community members might be approached to speak about a common-book experience or to help set an agenda for a meeting, like one for an Advisory Council. Relationships are more beneficial to all involved parties in engagement, but most of the benefits from the work are to the program.

**Teacher-Family-Community Solidarity** refers to teacher education programs, families and communities coming together and making joint decisions about learning goals and experiences of preservice teachers. University-based programs, as the traditional home for preservice teaching, must take the lead in inviting communities and families into teacher education, establishing relationships of “equal status” (Seidl & Friend, 2002) and working together to disrupt dominant narratives and perspectives. Teacher educators and community mentors working in solidarity could co-construct a syllabus and co-teach a course for preservice teachers. The work is determined together in a way that realizes mutually beneficial goals.
We engaged in this review as a way to deepen our own understanding of how teacher education programs have worked with families and communities. As teacher educators who are committed to working in solidarity with families and communities, taking the time to examine how programs have been able to design opportunities for the mediation and infusion of knowledge from families and communities while creating relationships of mutual benefit was an important step in our own work. Research suggests that mediation facilitates learning in community experiences (Sleeter, 2001) and that the quality of relationships matter to all people involved in the work (Zeichner et al, 2015); both can facilitate preservice teacher learning. To that end, we posed these two research questions to orient our examination of the literature:

1. How are teacher education programs distributed across the three approaches of involvement, engagement, and solidarity?

2. What does the mediation of preservice teachers’ experiences and the quality of relationships between the programs and communities look like?

Methods

Data

Our examination of the research surrounding family and community partnerships in teacher education began with a search of the ERIC ProQuest database. ProQuest has a larger selection of studies as compared to ERIC EBSCO, and this allowed for more flexibility in our advanced search. After consulting a research librarian and trying a number of keyword combinations, we settled on a Boolean selection of “preservice” and “community or family” and “partnership or engagement.” We were interested in more recent literature and limited our selection from 1990 to 2015. An initial search for peer reviewed articles yielded 311 articles. For the purposes of
focusing on family and community partnerships, we selected subject filters to exclude articles containing “service learning,” “communities of practice,” “professional development,” “in-service teacher education,” “college faculty” and “faculty development,” narrowing the list to 145 articles.

We would like to add one note on service learning and our decision to exclude it from this literature review. Research has suggested concerns over the reciprocal nature of this work in teacher education (Donahue, Bowyer, & Rosenberg, 2003; Vickers, Harris, & McCarthy, 2004). Although Boyle-Baise and Sleeter (2000) have argued for a community-based service learning experience in teacher education and Zygmunt and Clark (2016) have reasoned for critical service learning (p. 14), this developing body of literature is beyond the scope of our current project. However, we included two articles that contained service learning elements (Abrego, Rubin, & Sutterby, 2006; Munter, 2004), because those elements were only one part of an entire set of experiences included in these programs.

**Coding and Analysis**

An initial reading of the abstracts reduced the number of pertinent studies from 145 to 73 articles. Upon a reading of the literature, we further eliminated 29 articles labeled “disqualified” or “not included” leaving our final count at 44 articles. Articles labeled “not included” were those that included family and community partnerships in their abstracts, but for which we determined that families and communities were not actually included in the study. We felt this was an important distinction to make. For example, Dotger, Harris, Maher, & Hansel (2011), studied one university-based teacher education classroom where preservice teachers were given the opportunity to work with actors hired to portray “standardized parents” (p. 209). The use of
“role play” was substituted for actual relationship that could have been cultivated between students and the families. In this example, relationships with families were only indirectly considered and we therefore categorized this study, and others like it, as ‘not included.’

Our search also yielded five programs we coded as Grow Your Own1 (GYO) (Irizarry, 2007; Kitchen, J., Hodson, J., & Raynor, M., 2013; Pavel, Banks, & Pavel, 2002; Skinner, 2010; White, Bedonie, de Groat, Lockard, & Honani, 2007). In GYO teacher education models, people who live in the communities in which the programs are situated are significant decision makers in the program. GYOs seemed worthy of their own review. Given this, we identified these programs as beyond the scope of this paper.

It is also worth noting many of the studies included in this review, were conducted by teacher educators who studied their own practices. While there is a strong tradition of practitioner inquiry in research on teacher education (Cochran-Smith & Donnell, 2009), the preponderance of self studies points to the need for more variety across research, including more studies conducted by researchers who are not a part of the program being studied.

During our second round of review, the remaining 44 articles were individually coded into the three approaches: involvement, engagement, and solidarity. A third round of coding was completed to ensure inter-rater reliability. Though our approaches were pre-identified, codes were subjected to a constant comparative method of analysis to further define the features of each approach and to ensure greater validity (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2015). In order to further

1 “Grow your own” refers to school districts that partner with an institution of higher education to prepare paraprofessionals, school staff, or other members of the local community for the purposes of having them return as certified teachers in the district. This type of deliberate intervention has been in response to the racial, ethnic, and economic demographic mismatch between teachers and their P-12 students (Albert Shanker Institute, 2015; Bireda & Chait, 2011; US Government Department of Education, 2016).
define each approach, we designated high and low values within them. These values are: a) Low: relatively lower mediation and consideration for what families and communities bring; and b) High: relatively higher mediation and consideration for what families and communities bring. We determined relationships and mediation were part of this high low value based on Sleeter’s (2001) review of experiences for preservice teachers and the importance of relationships when engaging in work involving teacher education programs, families, and communities (Zeichner, et al 2015).

The results of our analysis are organized according to the two research questions posed in the study. After the analysis and coding of articles, the results from our analysis of the first research question were mapped onto a comprehensive chart showing the distribution of articles across the three approaches. In the results related to the second research question, we examined mediation, quality of relationships, and preservice teacher learning.

Results and Discussion

In this section, we discuss the results regarding our research questions. In response to our first research question, we begin by showing the distribution of the 44 articles across the involvement, engagement, and solidarity typology (See Table 1). In categorizing programs, we also noted: 1) the program settings where the 44 studies took place (e.g. elementary, SPED, or secondary teacher education programs) (See Table 2); 2) the range (e.g. higher or lower) in the involvement and engagement approaches; 3) the distribution of studies over the last 25 years (See Table 3); 4) how some experiences (e.g. home visits) occurred across approaches; and 5) the number of studies in involvement, engagement and solidarity including a typical example of each approach.
In response to our second research question, we present our results with respect to the mediation of preservice teacher learning, and the quality of relationships between the families, communities, and selected university-based teacher educators within each approach. We provide two brief examples of each approach. For the *involvement* and *engagement* approaches, we have examples of a low and high value. Within these two approaches, we designate a study as *low* value when relatively lower mediation and consideration was made for what families and communities bring. We designated it as *high* when relatively higher mediation and consideration was made for what families and communities bring. In the case of *solidarity* we also present two studies, but we found that the characteristics that contribute to *solidarity* are quite stable; that is equal-status relationships, are simply equal-status as well as high quality mediation. Therefore, no studies presented in that section are designated as high or low. Additionally we note preservice teacher learning when the article provides information on such outcomes.
1. How are teacher education programs distributed across the three approaches of involvement, engagement, and solidarity?

Table 1

Study Distribution Across the Community-based Teacher Education Typology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Community-based teacher education typology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abrego, M.H., Rubin, R., &amp; Sutterby, J. (2006). They call me maestra:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preservice teachers’ interactions with parents in a reading tutoring program.</td>
<td>Involvement: √, Engagement: , Solidarity:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Action in Teacher Education, 28</em>(1), 3-12.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study</td>
<td>Community-based teacher education typology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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(continued)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Community-based teacher education typology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Involvement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Community-based teacher education typology</th>
</tr>
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<td>Community-based teacher education typology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McDonald, M., Tyson, K., Brayko, K., Bowman, M., Delport, J., &amp; Shimomura, F. (2011). Innovation and impact in teacher education: Community-based organizations as field placements for preservice teachers. <em>Teachers College Record, 113</em>(8), 1668-1700.</td>
<td>![Checkmark]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Community-based teacher education typology</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(continued)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study</th>
<th>Involvement</th>
<th>Engagement</th>
<th>Solidarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The articles in this review were categorized by matching design features to the definitions in our typology. Categorizing according to the typology helped us better understand the various ways that teacher education programs involved families and/or communities. In the following paragraphs, the five trends we saw are briefly discussed: 1) the program settings; 2) the range within approaches; 3) the time of publication; 4) how experiences (e.g. home visits) could occur across approaches (e.g. engagement or solidarity); and 5) the number of studies in each approach including typical examples of involvement, engagement, and solidarity.

Setting

Almost half of the reported partnerships, 20 of 44 articles, were in elementary or early childhood settings; eight were in elementary special education settings. Four out of the eight special education studies were also cross-listed in early elementary preservice teaching programs. By contrast, only three of the 44 studies were grounded in a middle or secondary school setting. Seven studies included both elementary and secondary preservice teacher education programs. Finally, a portion of the programs were subject specific: one focused on preservice art education, one was preservice music education, and five were located in either an English as a second language, bilingual, or bi-national preservice program context.

Table 2

Settings of Programs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Setting</th>
<th>Number of Studies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elementary or Early Education</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle/Secondary Education</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combined</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special Education*</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The range within each approach

Studies could not always be easily categorized by singular approaches because some programs included elements that reflected both lower and higher level values in an approach. This was true for the involvement and engagement approaches. An example of this range within one study came from Pohan and Adams (2007), where they studied “mock” math nights aimed at providing opportunities for preservice teachers to learn how to involve families in the education of their children. Preservice teachers learned about the goals and purposes of math nights by first participating in a mock family night activity led by their instructor. They later worked alongside clinical professors to develop an activity for an actual math night developed for the hosting school. Although, the ultimate math night was attended by real families and students, family and community members were not involved in the planning. In summary, part of the experience did not involve real families and part of it did, thus it provided an example of a mixed situation within a single study.

Year of publication

There were very few studies about family and community based partnerships in teacher education in the 1980s and 1990s (see Table 2). However, there appeared a steady trend of growth in these studies since 2002 including 2010, where we saw the largest number of these studies (5). We can only speculate as to reasons for this, though we noticed that 2002 is coincidently the year that the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) was signed into law. NCLB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ESL/Bilingual/Bi-national</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: This number includes four studies also identified as early or elementary education published 2015.
stipulated that 100% of students must be proficient in math and science by 2014, along with a focus on communication to families about school performance (NCLB, 2002). Epstein and Sanders (2006) also noted that groups like the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (InTASC) began to incorporate standards for preservice teachers that require “a comprehensive and practical” understanding and knowledge of families, communities and schools. These policy shifts, and others not noted here, may have contributed to the number of studies seen in the last 10 years.

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publication range</th>
<th>Involvement</th>
<th>Engagement</th>
<th>Solidarity</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2014-2010</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2005</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004-2000</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999-1995</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-1990</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>21</strong></td>
<td><strong>9</strong></td>
<td><strong>14</strong></td>
<td><strong>44</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: As the selection of articles was completed in early 2015, our search results did not yield any studies published 2015.*

Types of experiences across approaches

The kind of experiences preservice teachers had with families and communities were not related to the approach. For example, we found that cross-cultural experiences (e.g. placements
in community-based organizations) were employed by programs categorized as involvement, engagement, and solidarity. Home visits were also found in the involvement, engagement, and solidarity categories. And guest speakers were found in the involvement and engagement categories. That is, simply because a program included a particular kind of experience such as cross-cultural opportunity, home visit, or guest speaker, it did not predict the kind of approach.

Number of studies in each approach

In terms of the community-based teacher education typology, 21 of the 44 articles were categorized as an involvement approach. An example of a typical program in the involvement category was described by New Zealand researchers/teacher educators. This program supported early childhood educators through cross-cultural experiences in home-based education settings, early childhood education settings, teenage parenting services and new entrant classrooms (Hedges & Lee, 2010). The placements were mediated through a seminar led by a faculty member and the preservice teachers discussed their journals, where they kept reflections of their experiences. Preservice teachers in this study reported a better understanding of the complexities of diversity and the importance of partnering with families.

Nine articles were categorized as engagement. An example of a typical engagement approach is a study where home visits were part of a practicum course (Johnson, 2014). The course was part of an English-as-a-Second Language and bilingual teacher education program, in rural Washington State. Class time was devoted to preparing preservice teachers in “parental communication techniques, different strategies for setting up the home visits, and culturally appropriate interactions with culturally diverse families” (p. 366). Before, during, and after a home visit, students were asked to write a detailed reflection paper in response to a series of prompts. Course time was used for mediated reflection and remained consistent throughout the
experience. After analyzing the preservice teachers’ reflections, the researcher found that: 1) preservice teachers were still anxious and nervous, and often chose students who had experienced difficulties at school for their home visits despite discussions during the course to avoid focusing on children experiencing difficulties, 2) preservice-parent discussion topics began with academics, and 3) preservice teachers still reported home language was an obstacle, but suggested that bringing gifts or learning phrases in the home language helped to connect with families.

What categorized this study as *engagement* was the recognition by teacher educators that families have valuable things to teach preservice teachers in unscripted scenarios, where families were “the teacher” and preservice teachers were “the learners.” Johnson (2014) reflected that, “[i]n addition to alleviating pressure on parents, home visits simultaneously demonstrate the educators’ willingness to relinquish authority and learn from their students’ families and communities” (p. 363). This study, and others in *engagement*, also recognized that teacher educators partnering with families and communities is a way to erode “educational inequities” that have been institutionalized through schooling and society (p. 379).

Fourteen of the studies out of 44 were categorized as programs that operated *in solidarity* with families and/or communities. A typical example of *solidarity* was Bennett’s (2006) description of an Eastern Illinois University preparation program for teachers of early childhood students with special needs. Preparation for home visits first began with an in-class role-play, followed by instruction devoted to learning about listening, paraphrasing, and other communication strategies. Instead of one home visit, preservice teachers were required to complete 10 hours of family or community visits as part of a 16 week course on supporting families of children with special needs. The course was co-taught with a parent of a special needs
student. Both instructors prioritized establishing trust when conducting home visits. As part of
the course, preservice students were required to complete a journal as well as create a family
map for the student of their hosting family, a practice they were introduced to through the social
work department. Finally, the instructional team offered guided learning, mentoring, and
coaching throughout the 16-week course. The author reported that some families continued to be
resources for preservice teachers after the semester was complete. After completing the program,
PSTs reported, “A family may have a solution you have not considered. That is the beauty of a
partnership” (p. 27).

II. What does the mediation of preservice teachers’ experiences and the quality of relationships
between the programs and communities look like in selected programs?

The kind of mediation of preservice teacher learning and quality of relationships between
preservice teachers and partnering family and community members (or between teacher
educators and partnering family and community members) delineated the approach taken by the
teacher education programs. The following studies highlight aspects of the three approaches
(involvement, engagement, and solidarity) with respect to the mediation of preservice teacher
learning, the quality of relationships between preservice teachers and partnering family and/or
community members and ultimately to what preservice teachers learned when the authors
included it. We describe two studies representing the involvement and engagement approaches
that were selected to represent the range between the lower and higher ends of each approach.
These values are: a) Low: relatively lower mediation and consideration for what families and
communities bring; and b) High: relatively higher mediation and consideration for what families
and communities bring. As stated earlier, studies categorized in the solidarity approach did not
include such a range.
In this approach, knowledge is program-centered and mainly of benefit to those who are part of the teacher education program. When families and communities are included, it is for informing teachers, rather than engaging in a relationship defined by mutual benefit, and trust. In examples of programs that were categorized as involvement, families and topics about families, were considered in the hopes of better preparing preservice teachers for working with families. However, families and topics about them were considered in ways that were defined by the teacher education programs, with little or no involvement from families themselves.

In a low involvement example, Norris’s (2010) study of in-class panels as part of a brown bag lunch series is an example of a lower involvement approach to working with families and communities. Though the series was a forum open for all of the university to attend, the primary audience for this program was a mandated course for early childhood education majors. In focusing on ways preservice teachers can understand families, a panel of five parents who represented different types of family structures were introduced as a way of moving “beyond the textbook” and bringing “families and preservice students face-to-face” (p. 48). The panel began with a powerpoint presentation and was followed by a moderated Q&A in which panelists answered a set of questions. The questions were determined by the teacher educator as a way to keep the panelists “on task” (p. 49).

After the panel, preservice teachers were asked to complete a questionnaire providing feedback to the program and to study the effects of the panel on preservice teacher learning. Norris found that the PSTs overwhelmingly enjoyed the experience and felt they benefitted from

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2 It is not mentioned in the article if the author, who was a faculty member at West Chester University, was also the instructor of the course where this panel took place. Norris (2010) described the attendees on the panel: “The primary audience for this particular program consisted of students in a class entitled Families, Community, and School, a mandatory class for early childhood education majors” (p. 49). There were also students in attendance who voluntarily attended the panel.
hearing from the perspectives of those with firsthand knowledge. Though the panel was deemed valuable, preservice teachers also noted the need for more discussion time. Preservice teacher journals, though reflective, were not used to deepen understanding through class conversation, nor did the structure allow for more time to interact with the panelists. There were no opportunities for dialog or strengthened relationships beyond the singular brown bag lunch.

In a high involvement example of the involvement approach, this study centered around an English Language Arts methods field practicum at a school located on a Native American reservation (Klug & Hall, 2002). The school was one of nine involved in a state-wide initiative to teach native cultures to both in-service and preservice teachers. Community elders were invited to speak to both in-service and pre-service teachers. The program also included opportunities to take an optional native language course. And preservice teachers completed their practicum in the reservation school. The authors specifically mentioned trust and mutual benefit with community as goals for the program, though much of the work was planned and directed by school administrators and university-based educators.

University-based instructors mediated many of these experiences with preservice teacher through in-class discussions. In addition, university-based instructors/authors provided professional development in culturally responsive teaching to preservice teachers and to non-native in-service teachers at the school. In this way, the relationships between the school and the teacher education program were strengthened, though there was “still much tension between the schools and the Native community in this area” (p. 38)(Klug & Hall, 2002).

The fact that the planning was done by the university-based faculty in both of these examples exemplifies the definition of involvement: relatively less equal status relationships between teacher education programs, families and communities and work that is primarily in
benefit of the institution. Norris (2010) was lower in involvement given the attention (or lack thereof) to the knowledge families were seen to have—people who seemingly needed to be kept on task while visiting the class. For Klug and Hall (2002), although their work was based in the university, this study had more examples of efforts they made towards the inclusion of community knowledge through examples like the optional language course and the inclusion of community elders.

Engagement

Engagement between teacher education programs and families and communities involves a flipping of the traditional involvement script. Authors who described programs that we categorized as engagement also embraced the political positioning of teacher education programs that engage with families and communities, asserting, “that an empowered citizenry requires a new definition of education that combines community development, formal schools, and social change…” (de la Piedra, Munter, & Girón, 2006, p. 58). Another characteristic that led us to categorize a study as engagement was when families and communities had some control over what they shared with preservice teachers.

An example of a study at the lower end of engagement was a Special Education certification program for preservice teachers in Western Australia. In this study, a mother with a child who had special needs was asked to write up her story and share it with a group of preservice teachers (Forlin & Hopewell, 2006). The authors (it is unclear if they were the instructors) argued that families should have an “equal voice” and that it was essential for teachers to gain a “fuller understanding” of the experiences and contributions every parent can make (p. 59). The visiting mother was part of an elective class for primary and secondary preservice teachers. In studying the written reflections of participating preservice teachers, the
authors found that listening to story built empathy and increased preservice teachers’ knowledge of what families with special needs children face. However, the authors focused on the value this experience to preservice teachers, with a lack of attention paid to the relationship between preservice teachers and the parent who shared her story.

Hampton, Ligouri, & Rippberger (2003) provide an example of engagement at the higher end of the approach. The authors reported on a bi-national, border collaboration that functioned as a type of cross-cultural experience for preservice teachers studying at the University of Texas, El Paso and the Anapra School in Juárez, México. Anapra School teachers shared their lesson plans and participated in discussions, even providing food for the visiting preservice teachers. The local school principal gave tours and highlighted the cultural assets of the school and community. Meanwhile, visiting preservice teachers taught as guest instructors in classrooms and interviewed partnering teachers and local families. The partnership was intentionally aimed at preservice teachers’ learning from and honoring local knowledge, and seeing multicultural education through a global lens. In this example, preservice teacher learning was mediated by both their university-based and Anapra-based instructors, through coursework and discussions. This type of shared mediation was a result of the trusting and respectful relationship between the school and university-based educators.

Solidarity

This approach shares many of the same elements as programs using the engagement approach, however, we further defined solidarity as sustained engagement and mutually beneficial work for preservice teachers and families and communities — emphasizing “equal status” (Seidl & Friend, 2002) relationships. Partnerships working in solidarity not only transform the curriculum but sometimes the learning environment of preservice teachers. In this
category, families and communities participate as equal partners with faculty and instructors in determining the content and the experiences in which preservice teachers take part.

We found little, if any range, in the degree to which *solidarity* was evidenced in programs within this category. Generally, features of these programs included clearly positioning of family and community members as knowledgeable, and in some instances these members officially taught or co-taught courses with university instructors (Capone & Divenere, 1996; Cianca & Wischnowski, 2012; Kidd, Sánchez, & Thorp, 2005; Winton & DiVenere, 1995). Teacher educators using this approach also talked with the community, listened to what they wanted and worked to co-construct opportunities that involved preservice teachers (Staikidis, Rex, Aulisa, & Lim, 2009; Zygmunt-Fillwalk, Malaby & Clausen, 2010).

A partnership between the teacher education program at Ohio State University and Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, and African American church in Columbus Ohio, provides an excellent example of the quality of relationships between university and their partnering families and communities (Seidl & Friend, 2002). This study was co-authored by both university and community based partners. In describing the nature of their partnership, they emphasized: “…commitments we have to building a mutually beneficial relationship, and the challenges and promises in nurturing trust and attempting reciprocity” (p. 142). Community wisdom specifically regarding antiracist teaching was shared in co-planning meetings. The idea of reciprocity was very important for researchers, university-based faculty, and community leaders at Mt. Olivet. For example, it was recognized that the community provided “invaluable learning experiences” as well as helped to “mediate those experiences” (p. 147), while preservice teachers provided assistance in the operation of Mt. Olivet programs. Part of the mediation included regular response journals completed by preservice teachers. In addition, the Mt. Olivet community and
OSU faculty regularly met with preservice teachers to discuss issues and to help mediate their experiences during the internship. Preservice teachers also committed two to three hours a week for the entire academic year completing an “equal status, long-term, cross-cultural” (p. 148) community-based internship. They worked alongside Mt. Olivet adults to plan and implement programs for children within the community.

An important feature of this program was how the university understood they had to build trust in their relationship with Mt. Olivet church. Teacher educators entered the partnership knowing they were entering a space where the “constant demands of negotiation within a racist society [were] held at bay” (p. 145). This required the university teacher education program representatives to nurture a relationship that worked to “transform damaging social relations” (p. 145). A key finding in this work was the importance of equal status relationships between preservice teachers and the adults at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church. Seidl and Friend (2002) explained:

Equal-status, cross-cultural experiences place students not as helpers within a context but as learners and participants in a community that is not essentially dependent on their service. Within our partnership, this experience is embedded within an equal-status relationship between the university and the community. As partners, we come together in a mutual dependency, each with different needs and contributions to pursue particular and common goals. No one partner holds the monopoly on knowledge, and no one partner is placed in the role of receiving charity from the other—each brings an expertise that enriches the other (p. 149).

The University of Vermont’s Early Childhood Special Education graduate program and “Parent to Parent of Vermont” (a community-based organization [CBO]) provides another example of relationships grounded in solidarity (Capone & Divenere, 1996). The authors of this
study are a university-based faculty member and a parent from the CBO. This program at the University of Vermont featured co-taught courses with faculty and parent instructors, families who mentored students during home visits (20 hours of contact over a semester), and families who supported practica, served on advisory boards for the teacher education program, and recruited and mentored new families to support preservice teachers in the program.

Consideration about the quality of the partnership appears to be at the forefront. In addition to an equal status relationship, the program included a practicum course that met every two weeks and was devoted to preservice teacher reflection and mediation.

Capone and Divenere (1996) stated their goal for preservice teachers was to “…prepare family-centered practitioners by providing students with opportunities to learn with and from families” (p. 223). The authors continued: “…if we expect students to believe that families are valued consumers of and competent partners in the design, implementation, and evaluation of early intervention services, it is essential that the program model this belief by establishing true partnerships with families” (p. 225). The authors found preservice teachers felt that inviting parents to guest lecture was essential. The authors further elaborated: “In addition to having parents tell their stories, however, interns report that having parents co-teach certain sections of the course content provides a critical perspective” (p. 229).

Summary

Ultimately partnering with families and communities in university-based teacher education led us to a number of takeaways. Attention to the nature and quality of the mediation for preservice teachers and to developing trusting relationships with family and community partners, was related to preservice teacher learning. The addition of reported mediation, whether through, debriefs, journals or class discussion, led not only to positive experiences for preservice
teachers, but also to an appreciation of the experience, relationships, and the people who were engaged in the partnership.

When looking at articles that were categorized as involvement, we found that studies tended to focus solely upon communicating or connecting with families and communities within the pre-existing structures. In this approach, teacher educators primarily defined the parameters of the relationship between the program and the families and communities, rather than entering a mutually beneficial relationship. Mentors from families and communities were engaged as a service to teacher education programs, preservice teachers or teacher educators. The missing care and effort in building relationships also provided an interesting wrinkle in looking at involvement. Many of the programs in this category clearly recognized the importance of teachers partnering with families and communities by virtue of inviting families and communities to participate, yet teacher educators remained in the involvement category themselves as the relationship between the program and the families and communities was one-sided.

Programs using an engagement approach in partnerships, worked to incorporate the knowledge of families and communities into their programs. Though the parameters of relationships in the engagement approach were still primarily defined by programs, these programs attributed value to the knowledge of partnering families and communities. Preservice teachers were instructed or supported in listening to and honoring this knowledge through critical debriefings, reflections, or course assignments. Families and communities who were engaged in partnerships with teacher education programs at this level worked within the traditional public school framework, but were given choices or had more of a voice within the partnership.
Finally, partnerships were coded as working *in solidarity* if they worked toward mutually beneficial goals, made room for authentic experiences, and valued developing trusting partnerships with families and communities. These partnerships often included an orientation in teacher education programs to prepare preservice teachers to challenge inequity in family and P-12 school relationships. In these partnerships, families and communities were involved in the decision-making process about teacher education programs or the partnership work. Teacher education programs working towards solidarity sometimes began with prioritizing the needs or goals of partnering families and communities.

We hope this article informs teacher educators who are interested in developing partnerships of trust and mutual benefit with local communities in which their programs exist. We also hope this review provides valuable insights for teacher educators simply considering their options in doing this work. We believe that despite very practical programmatic limitations of time and funding, decisions about the mediation of preservice teacher learning, space for building quality relationships, and the overall design of programs, matter very much. It is our stance that when teacher education programs work *in solidarity*, they work for the benefit of communities and families. As programs work towards solidarity with families and communities, they not only consider preservice teacher learning, but also the experiences and wisdom of those outside of the university structure who support preservice teacher learning. For those considering working towards *solidarity* in family and community based teacher education, we offer the following implications for future research.

Implications
In considering partnerships with families and communities, our findings suggest the following implications for family and community based teacher education programs and research on these partnerships.

First, most of the studies were self-studies conducted by the teacher educators whose programs were the subject of the research. As the majority of studies in our review were self-studies, we would have expected the programs to model community and family based practice in the classroom. The field would benefit with more studies from researchers who were not personally involved in the programs of focus. Also, many have called for research on the effects of family and community based teacher education beyond preservice teacher education programs into P-12 classrooms. For example, in their study of preservice teachers’ perceptions of parental involvement, Jacobbe, Ross, and Hensberr (2012), found that the planning and implementation of a family math night had no lasting effects on positive perceptions of families one year after the program ended. There is a lack of studies on the long-term effects on pre-service teacher learning once they graduate from their preservice program.

Second, our analysis revealed a tendency for more early education and special education-focused projects to engage or work in solidarity with families and communities. Evans (2013) also found this to be true, and this indicates a need for studies on secondary and general teacher education programs that work in solidarity with the families and communities.

Third, some of the ways in which teacher educators choose to take up this work was concerning to us. Seven of the 29 studies that we initially identified as part of our review and then coded as “not included,” included programmatic elements that disregarded the knowledge, hopes, and dreams of families and communities. Upon closer examination, these studies did not involve families and communities, despite claiming an interest in doing so or stating the
importance in working with them. These claims, paired with experiences like role plays or hiring actors to portray parents, were concerning especially if these were the only ‘exchanges’ in a program between preservice teachers and ‘families.’ It is critical for teacher educators to model for preservice teachers how they partner with families and communities in mutually engaging and authentic work.

Fourth, while pre-service teacher learning is important, programs working towards solidarity with families and communities must acknowledge that the experiences and learning of the family and community members matter. In working towards preservice teacher learning, teacher educators must avoid taking advantage of partnering families and communities. Concrete ways to work in solidarity with families and communities include attention to spaces for critical mediation of preservice teachers’ learning experiences, as well as mutually beneficial and trusting relationships.

Finally, creating partnerships between teacher education programs working in solidarity with families and communities remains a challenge. Given the small number of studies our search yielded about teacher education programs working with families and communities, it is evident that this type of work is not prevalent in teacher education programs in the United States.

Limitations

We have categorized the literature based solely upon the information in published, peer-reviewed articles and cannot know completely the full depth beyond what is presented. Some of the indicators for which we were looking may have been missed as some articles provided in-depth descriptions, while others focused on particular elements over others.
Another limitation was in our keyword search. We recognize that our selected keywords may not have matched the keywords chosen by researchers to identify their respective work in educational database.

Our analysis was intentionally limited to peer-reviewed, published research, and as such we recognize that much of the research in teacher education is written from a predominantly White academic perspective (Sleeter, 2001).

This review was intentionally limited to university-based programs that often work within constraints, both logistical and socio-historical, of the university structure. Each of the 44 studies in this review is situated within a college or university teacher education program. Although roughly one-third of new teachers come through non-university routes, most of those pathways as well as the traditional university-based programs are still affiliated with schools of education where preservice teachers still take coursework (Feistritzer, 2011). In the shifting contexts of teacher education programs, the study the family and community partnerships will remain a challenge to the field.
Chapter 3

The Dialectic in Praxis: Examining Small Group Discussions

Between Community Mentors and Pre-service Teachers

Lorena Guillén

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Abstract

In the 2012 Metlife Teacher survey, family engagement was rated as one of the most challenging areas facing educators in schools with high percentages of low-income students. This revelation highlights an ongoing challenge facing teachers and the pre-service programs that prepare them for our nation’s schools. Although state policy and teacher evaluation rubrics increasingly call for attention to family and community engagement, teachers, schools, and families continue to face a number of obstacles preventing collaboration on all sides. Research on culturally responsive teaching, student funds of knowledge, and community teaching (Gay, 2000; González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005; Murrell, 2001) have identified a number of concrete principals and practices for educators to partner with families and communities. However, teacher education programs continue to struggle with modeling as well as embracing praxis in crafting field experiences for pre-service teachers. This paper will present the findings from a series of dialogues between pre-service teachers and community mentors designed to prepare community teachers for diverse, urban schools (Murrell, 2001). Using an identity as narrative framework (Sfard & Prusak, 2005), analysis of these discussions revealed a sense of developing trust between pre-service teachers and community mentors as well as the foundations for positive relationships between the two. Findings also uncovered tensions surrounding differing perspectives on social justice, specifically between urban and suburban school placements.
The Dialectic in Praxis: Examining Small Group Discussions
Between Community Mentors and Pre-service Teachers

“Functionally, oppression is domesticating. To no longer be prey to its force, one must emerge from it and turn upon it. This can be done only by means of the praxis: reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it” (p. 51).

—Pedagogy of the Oppressed

In his seminal work on oppression in education, Paulo Freire (1970) argued against a manner of schooling that relies solely upon imposing one’s knowledge and silencing others. Education has the often contradictory purposes of both reproducing knowledge, while simultaneously revolutionizing through knowledge-creation. Freire argues that an oppressive education is one that simply requires students to replicate without question or analysis, and that rejects student-generated knowledge. In order to combat this “domestication,” we must emerge from an oppressive education and “turn upon it” to transform the world through reflection and action; praxis.

The work of teacher education, therefore, must include the preparation of teachers to enact transformative educational practices that “turn upon” the oppression of historically underserved communities. To emerge from an oppressive educational model, I argue that teacher education must both partner with and learn from, the students, families, and communities it is supposed to serve.

This study is part of a larger partnership between one teacher education program in the Pacific Northwest and community mentors from the surrounding geographic, economic, and cultural communities (Zeichner, Bowman, Guillén, & Napolitan, 2016). The partnership began
with opportunities for pre-service teachers to deeply examine what is at the root of families’ hopes and dreams for their children in connection to schools. The focus of the following study is on the small group, regionally-based conversations that took place during the teaching practicum of the 2014-2015 academic year.

Throughout the time of this study, family and community mentors from around the region joined the elementary and secondary cohorts at multiple events, courses, and activities throughout the year. Many of these mentors were part of the Family and Community Mentor Network (FCMN), a self-described network of people from all walks of life, advocating for improving the experiences of kids in public schools. The two co-founders of the FCMN were the primary partners in co-planning these small group discussions, though all mentors assumed the role of co-facilitator of their respective groups during each session.

The small group conversations between community mentors and pre-service teachers were grounded in an understanding of the partnership as mutually beneficial to families, communities, and pre-service teachers. These conversations were difficult; sometimes uncovering deep-seated issues rooted in control, power, race, privilege, and knowledge, both in and outside of the P-12 classroom. Ultimately, community mentors and many pre-service teachers found them valuable, suggesting the need for more frequent and in-depth conversations of this type in the future.

As a teacher educator, it is my hope to understand not only how to better support pre-service teachers, but also the students, families, and communities we are supposed to serve. In studying these conversations, I asked the following question: In a university based teacher education program designed to foster collaboration between a teacher education program and
community mentors, what do discussions between pre-service teachers, family, and community mentors reveal about pre-service teacher learning?

Methods

The small group discussions between pre-service teachers and community mentors described here were part of a programmatic strand in which I participated as an instructor and a graduate student researcher. As a Latina, heterosexual, female, from a working class background and with six years of 9-12th grade classroom teaching experience, I identified with many of the pre-service teachers and community mentors in a variety of ways. Baca Zinn (1979) suggests that field research conducted by minority-scholars has some empirical advantages in easier entry into fieldwork; cautioning that minority researchers must still exhibit scientific integrity where data collection and interpretations are concerned. Baca Zinn also notes that power dynamics or relationships are difficult to navigate, and that leaving the field can be especially challenging for insider researchers. Ultimately, collecting data from a variety of sources, conducting balanced interviews, and using disciplined observational techniques, helped guard my biases and increase the credibility of this research.

Contexts

The yearlong “Community Teaching” strand was developed by the Mountain City university-based teacher education program working in partnership with local family and community mentors. The population of Mountain City within city limits is estimated at 640,500 (“Department of Planning and Development,” 2010). The larger metropolitan area, which includes smaller cities and unincorporated areas, is around two million (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). The racial and class geographies of Mountain City and its suburbs, like all metropolitan regions in the United States, have been shaped by generations of racialized federal policies and
local practices such as mortgage insurance policies, restrictive covenants, exclusive zoning, gentrification, and real estate steering. As a result, most Title 1 schools today are concentrated in the central, southwest and southeast sections of the city and in districts south of the city. The family and community mentors described in this work, and the places in which some of this work took place, did not represent the dominant demographic in Mountain City or at Mountain City University. Nor did they represent the communities that many of the predominantly white, middle-class pre-service teachers had previously experienced.

Mountain City University Secondary Teacher Education Program (STEP). Though the strand was located in both elementary and secondary teacher education programs at Mountain City University over the course of two years, the small group discussions in the current study are limited to the secondary cohort during the 2014-2015 year.

The secondary teacher education program at Mountain City University is a four-quarter graduate program leading to a Master’s Degree in Teaching, as well as a state teaching license. The teaching practicum takes place during the fall and winter quarters as the program endeavors to balance university-based coursework with substantial time in classroom-based teaching and learning. Using a co-teaching model, pre-service teachers take increasing responsibility as lead instructor in hosting classrooms. During the fourth quarter of their program, secondary pre-service teachers are responsible for ten weeks as lead instructor for four out of the five courses taught by their mentor teacher, with no more than two different preps.

In the first quarter of the program and prior to the implementation of the Community Teaching strand, secondary pre-service teachers were required to complete two hours per week at a community-based organization in addition to the required one day a week observing a partnering middle school classroom. Prior to the Community Teaching strand, secondary pre-
service teachers were also required to complete an additional period of service at their placement schools during the third quarter of their program. For a number of reasons, these experiences presented logistical problems, workload issues, and without mediation, could reinforce stereotypes or deficit thinking about students, schools, and communities (McDonald, et al., 2011). The Community Teaching strand was developed in part, to replace the community-based organization and period of service, experiences. Through the new strand, the community based experience remained a component of pre-service teacher learning in the program.

The Community Teaching (CT) Strand. The Community Teaching strand was a four-quarter series of courses, course-connections, and events. Events woven throughout the year included for example, town-hall style panels and discussions, community-led visits or walks in the community, conference-style events based around co-designed thematic topics, and the small regionally-based discussions in the current study. First implemented in 2012, the strand experienced a number of changes due to challenges and opportunities afforded through courses, pre-service teacher placement schools, and partnerships with local community mentors. At the time of this writing, the strand was no longer in place at Mountain City University.

The Community Teaching strand was primarily based upon the work of Dr. Peter Murrell (2001) and his vision of a community teacher as one who has the ability to “draw on richly contextualized knowledge of culture, community, and identity in their professional work with children and families in diverse urban communities” (p. 4). The program’s commitment to social justice and urban schooling is stated in programmatic materials and communicated to students during the admissions process, during orientation, and across classes. The desire to help pre-service teachers develop a ‘richly contextualized’ knowledge in urban communities was one of the primary reasons that the program partnered with local community mentors.
The Community Teaching strand was also guided by Dr. Marilyn Cochran-Smith (1991) and an understanding of teaching as political. In promoting a stance ‘teaching against the grain,’ Cochran-Smith argues, “Prospective teachers need to know from the start that they are a part of a larger struggle and that they have a responsibility to reform, not just replicate, standard school practices” (p. 280).

**Partnering Middle and High Schools.** For the purposes of holding a regionally-based discussion with community mentors, secondary pre-service teachers were grouped into four school sites located at one middle school and three high schools, each respectively situated in the southeast, east, northern, and central geographic areas around Mountain City. Discussion sites were chosen based on the number of pre-service teachers placed in each school. These discussions occurred during the third quarter of the four-quarter program, roughly two months into the P-12 academic school year.

The intention of the program was to place pre-service teachers at schools that included ethnic heterogeneity, often in communities with a higher concentration of lower socioeconomic levels. It remained a challenge to find 46 mentor teachers and classrooms that met the criteria to meet that goal. As a result, many pre-service teachers completed their teaching practicum in suburban areas with less ethnic heterogeneity.

During the 2014-2015 year, the year this study took place, the cohort of 46 secondary pre-service teachers were placed at 20 different schools around the greater Mountain City area. Only six of the 20 placement schools met the goal of having student populations with greater concentrations of middle or secondary students from low-socioeconomic backgrounds, as evidenced by 50% or more of the school population eligible for free and reduced lunch. The middle and high school students of Color at the six hosting schools ranged from 53% to 93%. Of
the 46 pre-service teachers, 14, or 30% of the cohort, were placed in one of these six schools. The remaining 14 placement school sites hosted the remaining 32 pre-service teachers. These schools contained school-wide free and reduced lunch percentages of between 20% and 40% of the enrolled middle and high school students.

In preparing pre-service teachers for urban contexts, Matsko and Hammerness (2013) argue that there is a need for programs to deconstruct and define layers of contextual knowledge for pre-service teachers. They suggest that “specific features of the classroom, school, community, district, and federal contexts all influence teaching and learning” (p. 137). A focus on urban schools therefore requires a study of local contexts and the many histories in an urban center. However, attention to contextual knowledge proved challenging for pre-service teachers, community mentors, and university-based educators, in suburban placement schools. Much of the course readings, programmatic materials, and thinking by community mentors focused on urban schooling. Consequently, some pre-service teachers felt that there was a disconnection between the urban focus and their suburban school placements.

Admittedly, our contextually-driven pedagogy was particular to ethnically diverse families and communities in the southeastern region of Mountain City. As some placement schools were located to the east or to the north of Mountain City, a focus on urban and ethnically diverse schools appeared irrelevant or not inclusive enough to some pre-service teachers.

Participants

Reflecting a common trend in teacher demographics in the United States, the cohort consisted of a white, female majority. During the 2014-15 academic year there were 46 pre-service teachers enrolled in the secondary teacher education program. The cohort during that
year included 24% pre-service students of Color and 76% white pre-service teachers. 67% were female and 33% were male pre-service teachers (See Table 4).

Participating community mentors represented a different demographic trend. Only one community mentor, or 9% of the 11 participating mentors, identified as white, while the other 10, or 91%, were mentors of Color, including those identified as having a mixed background. Six community mentors were female, and five were male. The Family and Community Mentor Network asked for community mentor participation based on those they knew were involved in working with multiple ethnic communities, specifically in working with youth, around the city. All names that appear in this study are pseudonyms.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Pre-service Teachers (n=46)</th>
<th>Community Mentors (n=11)</th>
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<tr>
<td>Self Identified Race</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People of Color</td>
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<td>91%</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Small Group Conversations

The Community Teaching strand had several dimensions but for the purposes of this paper I will focus on the small group conversations between pre-service teachers, teacher educators, and family and community mentors during small group regional meetings. The teacher education program placed pre-service teachers in schools throughout the city as well as in several nearby districts. Recognizing that school and teacher-family-community relationships differ depending on context, instructors and co-investigators organized small group discussions
for each of our four school placement regions (See Table 5). The team sought to create opportunities for pre-service teachers to engage in conversations surrounding their teaching, as well as creating opportunities to develop relationships with families and communities who lived in that region. Unfortunately, this was not always possible due to a number of logistical factors.

Two broad goals for the purposes of these small group discussions emerged from the transcripts: 1) how to best educate our youth in ways that are socially just, and 2) how to do so while simultaneously engaging in conversation about the broader challenges in education today. For example, one topic that arose from small regional discussions was: should/can all students go to college? This question became increasingly important for partnering community mentors working with the secondary cohort during the time of this study. Some mentors were shocked to hear one pre-service teacher, placed in a suburban school setting in the northern region, argue that not all students need to go to college. The community mentors challenged this line of thinking as problematic for students of Color who have traditionally had lower college-going rates, often tied to a larger systemic gap between class and ethnicity. The question emerging from the disagreement became the guiding question for the subsequent session at a school located in a more densely populated and diverse community. The new question pushed the discussion further by asking: what is student success, and what does that look like?

A few cases for discussion in regional meetings were about specific students with whom pre-service teachers were struggling. In one instance, the visiting community mentor knew the student and family of specific students in the classes of a pre-service teacher. This pre-service teacher, close to tears, felt relieved, as evidenced in her exit ticket and informal discussion after the session, learning that a particular student had a history of struggling to engage in class. After
leaving this discussion, the community mentor quite literally became a mentor and resource for this pre-service teacher during the rest of her teaching practicum at Olympus High School.

A defining feature of this part of the work was that it was co-planned and co-facilitated with the two co-founders, and later a third co-director, of the Family and Community Mentor Network. Co-planning involved: collaborating on a loose plan or agenda for the session; providing guiding questions for discussion; communicating with and inviting community mentors; logistically finding space in buildings and snacks for the participants; and then communicating these plans to pre-service teachers, program administration, and partnering community mentors. Co-instruction involved: sharing discussion leader roles, though community mentors often took on the role of lead instructor during the session; taking notes; rotating among small groups to help facilitate discussion; collecting participant exit reflections and debriefing each session in order to prepare for or follow up with university-based coursework, or to prepare for the next discussion session (See Appendix A for materials). Community mentors were also monetarily compensated for their time co-planning and co-facilitating the small group discussions as well as other events throughout the four-quarter masters program. Some chose to opt out of accepting the funds.

Table 5

*Demographics of Pre-service Teachers and Community Mentors by Regional Meetings*

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<td>N</td>
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<td>Southeast Cluster</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latino/a</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<th>Eastside Cluster</th>
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<td>Female</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Data Collection

For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on analyzing six recorded discussions between community mentors and pre-service teachers. Each of the four regional discussions was host to anywhere from 8 to 15 pre-service teachers. Pre-service teachers were then asked to join small groups of four to five pre-service teachers in conversations with anywhere from one to three community mentors per group. Of the 10 small group discussions two from three of the four regional sites, or six in total, were recorded, transcribed and coded. Pre-service teachers and community mentors provided their consent to participate in the current study, as stipulated by Institutional Review Board approval.
In addition to the transcriptions of small group discussions, the larger research team conducted interviews with community mentors, pre-service teachers, university-based instructional coaches, hosting mentor teachers, and alumni in order to ascertain their experiences. Other data used for the current study included documents such as exit tickets collected after each group discussion, and programmatic course materials.

Analysis

In thinking about ways to analyze the discussions, I realized that much of the conversations were initial meetings between strangers. Though the mentors and pre-service teachers had prior knowledge of their respective peers, each conversation represented an initial meeting between community mentors and pre-service teachers. Though community mentors were very consistent from one regional meeting to another, the pre-service teachers were required to attend only one meeting during their fall quarter. Each group discussion was a complex and rich encounter in which all parties were simultaneously asked to get to know one another as well as to engage in deep discussion.

Another complicating factor, as many pre-service teachers observed in reflective exit tickets, was that participating community mentors weren’t necessarily family members of specific students in the pre-service teachers’ classrooms. This raised a number of pedagogical as well as philosophical dilemmas. This unique situation also presented challenges in how I chose to analyze the discussions. The conversations between pre-service teachers and community mentors were intentionally uncommon conversations between families and teachers; they were generative and we, the co-planning team, intended them to differ from the dominant hegemonic scripts of parent-teacher talk.
Inspired by recent work employing an identity as narrative framework, I coded discussions according to three broad categories (Sfard & Prusak, 2005; Philip & Benin, 2014).

1.) narratives that one tells about oneself
   a. actual identities
   b. designated identities

2.) narratives that one tells about others

3.) narratives that one thinks that others tell about him or her

According to Sfard and Prusak (2005), narratives we tell about ourselves can be divided into two subcategories: actual identities are “stories about the actual state of affairs,” while designated identities are “narratives presenting a state of affairs which, for one reason or another, is expected to be the case, if not now then in the future” (p. 18). Actual identities are told in the present tense, such as for example “I am a teacher.” While designated identities are told in the future tense, such as “I want to be a teacher,” indicating stories we tell that we believe can potentially become part of our identities.

The narrative theory of identity proved a powerful framework through which to analyze discussion between pre-service teachers and community mentors. In their discussions about students, the educational system, and their respective roles and identities, the community mentors and pre-service teachers told stories to illustrate an idea, give examples, provide anecdotal evidence, and build common ground through offering affirming stories in response to other stories. Ultimately, as Sfard and Prusak suggest, “identities are likely to play a critical role in determining whether the process of learning will end with what counts as success or with what is regarded as failure” (p. 19). A narrative theory of identity is therefore connected to learning
and helpful in analyzing small group discussions. I will now turn to a similar argument made by a theory of the dialectic in which learning defines, and is defined by communication.

**Framing the Dialectic**

“Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication there can be no true education … preoccupation with the content of dialogue is really preoccupation with the program content of education” (p. 93).

— *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*

In articulating a theory of the dialectic, Freire builds upon Hegel (1967) in distinguishing the notion of debate from dialogue (Freire, p. 49), as well as upon Marx and Engels (1968) in distinguishing the “dialectical relation between the subjective and the objective” (Freire, p. 51). I will here focus on the strand of the dialectic having to do with the personal according to Hegel. Hegel argues that while in dialogue, one is concerned with learning; while in debate, one is concerned with winning. In debate, either one or both parties are motivated to win the discussion. In dialogue, both parties are interested in seeking the truth through reasoned arguments. The difficulty, and a critique of Hegel as well as Freire, is the dangerous optimism and underlying assumption that both parties can authentically engage in a dialogue that supersedes hidden agendas (Au, 2011).

Freire anticipates this critique and insists that “faith in humankind is an *a priori* requirement for dialogue” before continuing to suggest that “trust is established by dialogue” (p. 91). In this manner, dialogue, and therefore education itself is grounded in hope. Given the mutual concern with educational success, teacher educators and partnering FCMN organizers coordinated small group discussions between pre-service teachers and community mentors that were grounded in an assumed “faith in humankind.”
For the purposes of this analysis, there are two guiding ideas that frame an understanding of the dialectic according to Freire: 1) dialogue moves towards a new combined knowledge for both parties, and 2) the actual act or process of dialogue is what establishes trust, and ultimately solidarity.\(^3\)

With respect to the first notion in understanding knowledge in a theory of the dialectic, Freire argues that the act of knowing is sealed through dialogue. The small group conversations between pre-service teachers and community mentors resulted in a “mutual creation and recreation of knowledge” (Freire, p. 8). This is often unsettling for many as each party must be prepared to change their position, or be open to new ideas they previously may not have considered. Ultimately, knowledge can only be established when students, in this case pre-service teachers, exercise power in contributing to the dialogue.

With respect to the second idea guiding a theory of the dialectic, if dialogue establishes trust, then addressing historical distrust on all sides begins with dialogue. Freire suggests that the process of establishing trust through dialogue is dependent upon creating new knowledge and that it leads to solidarity: “Solidarity requires that one enter into the situation of those with whom one is solidary: it is a radical posture” (p. 49). Trust and solidarity, however, were not always the result of every conversation. There were a number of factors preventing the establishment of trust during these conversations. Some pre-service teachers remained unmoved by conversations with community mentors. A closer examination of these occasions provided insight surrounding the disconnection that may have hindered or supported the development of solidarity between pre-service teachers and partnering community mentors.

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\(^3\) See Gaztambide-Fernández (2012) for a definition of solidarity in relationship to decolonization. Gaztambide-Fernández argues that solidarity “is about imagining human relations that are premised on the relationship between difference and interdependency, rather than similarity and a rational calculation of self-interests” (p. 49).
Findings

The small group discussions took place after school, usually around 4:30pm, to accommodate pre-service teachers staying after school while also accommodating community mentors as they were getting off of work. The two co-founders, Jovonna and Faith, met with university-based teacher educators ahead of each discussion to figure out logistics and to reflect on pre-service teacher learning. They would call each community mentor in order to give directions, parking information, and to prepare them with some background information on where pre-service teachers were in terms of their experiences with coursework and length of time in their teaching practicum. Teacher educators contacted the local parent teacher association as well as school administrators or offices to ensure school personnel were invited and made aware of the event. Pre-service teachers, with approval of their cooperating mentor teachers, would volunteer their classrooms to host these discussions. Before the event, Jovonna, Faith, and teacher educators would meet and help arrange the hosting classroom into small groups, providing snacks at each table or at the door, posting an agenda somewhere around the classroom, and providing a handout with guiding questions and/or exit ticket questions. Faith, Jovonna, and teacher educators greeted pre-service teachers (anywhere from eight to 15 per region), and community mentors (usually six to eight per meeting), as they arrived.

Faith and Jovonna would check in with each community mentor, assigning them to a group of three to five pre-service teachers depending on the level of experience the mentor already had with these types of discussions or with the community teaching strand in general. Jovonna, Faith, or teacher educators would then facilitate a warm-up activity for the whole group. After the first 15 to 20 minutes, the co-facilitators would transition the group into their small group discussions. Co-facilitation continued as Jovonna, Faith, and teacher educators
rotated among the small groups for the next 30 – 45 minutes. After a quick reminder to wrap up conversations, the small group discussions would then end with 10 – 15 minute share-outs. During the share out, a representative from each group would summarize or comment on a highlight or question from each small group discussion. These thoughts were sometimes recorded on the board, on poster paper, or in notebooks. The entire group was then given five to ten minutes to write on exit tickets.

This format of these discussions was the result of an evolution and emerged from the previous two years of working together. Though teacher educators were cautious about imposing the lesson plan format when co-planning with Jovonna and Faith, the inclusion of, for example, a warm up or a whole group share out were suggestions with which Jovonna and Faith thought helpful in facilitating discussions. For example, the community mentors enjoyed the conocimiento warm up and shared, in either exit tickets or during informal discussions after sessions, their desire to keep that activity to assist in creating a sense of community.

The following findings are drawn from data collected across six small group discussions, located at three different schools around the central, southeast, and eastern areas of the city. All discussions took place during the fall of the 2014-2015 cohort teaching practicum. Pre-service teachers began the school year spending three days a week in classrooms with their cooperating hosting teachers. They would gradually take over more responsibility in the winter. The following findings are presented according to a narrative theory of identity. Grouping data according to themes surrounding narratives one tells about oneself, narratives one tells about others, and narratives one thinks others tell about them, facilitated an understanding of pre-service and community mentor learning. These findings and their relation to a theory of the
dialectic focused on building trust and in solidarity with one another, will be discussed in the subsequent Discussions and Implications sections.

**Narratives one tells about oneself**

The *Conocimiento* is a warm up activity designed to build community and trust, to get strangers to share something substantive, and to have those narratives honored in a community space, originally developed by the Puente Project. This warm up, in essence, asks participants to share narratives about themselves in order to create space where participants truly begin to know or understand one another. For example, one question classified in the category of an *actual identity* was: “Tell us your favorite food and why.” A more *designated identity*-focused question was: “If you could go anywhere in the world where would you want to go and why?” Narratives told in response to the first question were based on concrete experiences, whereas narratives responding to the latter required telling of a place one hoped to go in the future. Narratives more often than not, were coded as both sharing of actual identity narratives as well as designated identity narratives. For example, the sole Black male in the cohort began his introduction to the group with this statement in response to the prompt, “if you could have dinner with a historical figure, who would it be and why?”:

John (Pre-service Teacher): My name is John, I'm at Franklin Middle School and the person or people I'd like to have dinner with are my great grandparents; I've never met them. They passed away before I was born but they were all from different countries and

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4 The Puente Project is designed to bridge the transition from high school and community college to a four-year college going experience. The program is open to all students with a particular emphasis on supporting LatinX students through curriculum, instruction, mentoring, and advising based in ethnic heritage, commitment to community, and with the goal of succeeding in higher education (A National Model for Student Success, 2016).
they each married someone who was outside of their race. They just seem like interesting people so I'd love to have met them.

All participants were given a choice of what narratives they wanted to tell from a selection of prompts (see Appendix A). Some chose to respond with simple actual identity narratives, while others, like John, chose the more complex multi-layered actual and designated identity response. Community mentors across the groups chose to use this first introduction as both a space to share narrative about their own identity, but to also include designated identities, or projected identities they hoped to shape for themselves, and for others to see. Sharing designated identities functioned as a step towards creating trust among the group by sharing a personal hope, dream, or even insecurity or wondering about the self.

In this case, John shared that he had never met his grandparents but that if he could, he would have wanted to discuss with them their thoughts on marrying someone outside of their respective race. In previous encounters with community mentors during in-class panels, John engaged in number of conversations with one mentor who identified herself as a Black woman who had gone to school in a predominantly affluent white community. In subsequent events, John sought out this community member as one who had shared similar experiences to him. For example, he also attended school in a predominantly white community and felt self-conscious that his Black students were judging him. In this case, he was taking a risk in adding narrative about mixed-race identities in his family. John shared that he not only had a mixed-race family, but that he wanted to know more about why that was. In offering a designated narrative, John was complicating his own identity and putting that forward for others to see.
In another striking example, one mentor, noticing silence and slouching postures from pre-service teachers during their small group conversation, took the time to break what might have been a familiar script by simply asking, “Why are you here?”

In this example, the community mentor, Donald, along with Ms. McDonald, an award-winning teacher and respected elder in the Black community, were co-facilitating a conversation among pre-service teachers. Donald, a Black man, was the dean of students at a local high school in the southern region at the time, and had also worked with a number of youth organizations supporting students outside of school. The four pre-service teachers included two white men, both in their twenties, one white woman also in her twenties, and one Chinese American male, a second-career student in his 50s.

When Donald asked this question, the younger male pre-service teachers presented a noticeable change in attitude, as evidenced by body language in sitting up, nodding in agreement with others, and participating more in the conversation. The narrative that Paul told about his own identity proved to be a more engaging topic than previous dialogues about secondary students or school.

Donald (Community Mentor): Can I break this for a minute and just ask a question around the table, and you guys can take whatever. Why are you doing this? Why teaching? I mean, it's really for all you guys, but I'm just curious as to why.

Paul (Pre-service Teacher): Well, I mean, I've worked in other jobs before and I've found them to be … like I worked in marketing for a while. I just felt like it lacked meaning and lacked purpose … At the end of the day, I felt like I was just working to make money and
not necessarily to do anything that made me feel good. I had worked in education as well.

I said, well, education … at least I feel like I'm doing something that I can be proud of.

Donald (Community Mentor): I asked that for most of the reasons … but just because
like to be real with you guys, you guys all lit up in a very different way when I asked you
why you teach, as opposed to any other parts of the conversation.

Narratives that pre-service teachers told about themselves were the focus of much of the
talk in these discussions. Much of the time, a focus on narratives about the self was the only way
to then shift the focus to middle and high school students and the classroom. In response to
Donald’s questioning why they wanted to teach, the narrative that Paul shared was about the lack
of fulfillment he found in other jobs like marketing. Teaching, for Paul, was about feeling better
by doing something of which he could be proud.

During this discussion, Paul shared his struggle with differentiation in the classroom. He
was completing his teaching practicum at a school in a typically suburban community that had
been experiencing an increasing influx of immigrants and low-income students from a variety of
ethnic backgrounds. Paul felt that the difference between students from more affluent families
and those from lower income or from immigrant backgrounds was a matter of organizational
skills. As opposed to a cultural disconnect, Paul felt that he needed to teach the basic skills
necessary for school, that some students in his class needed these explicit lessons, and that he
would hope that the more advanced students would also benefit, or at least be more
understanding or patient when he took time to teach these basic lessons. During this
conversation, Donald shared that he had led some professional development workshops at his
school around developing academic and organizational skills in students. In his exit ticket collected after the session, Paul asked for Donald’s contact information, perhaps in the hopes of connecting with him as a resource, and shared that he found the session valuable.

Besides providing possible resources, Donald was able to hold Paul accountable to the conversation as well as to the role he was assuming as teacher in the community. In entering the teaching profession, Paul was looking for meaning and to take pride in his work. In this example, the shift in focusing on the identities and narratives of pre-service teachers resulted in a noticeable shift from disengagement to engagement, or investment in the conversation about students in the classroom. The two younger, white, male, pre-service teachers were able to join the discussion around topics surrounding students and schools only when their identities were connected to the narrative about others, in this case the middle and high school students in their classrooms.

**Narratives one tells about others**

There were many examples where community mentors took on the role of the imaginary teacher. They would tell a story as a hypothetical example in which they spoke as if they were the teacher. Though they were telling narratives about imagined or real teachers, or the P-12 students in the classroom, the turn in using first person to tell the story became a way to mitigate “othering” others. The transcriptions demonstrate that community mentors made consistent efforts to put themselves in the shoes of the pre-service teachers, to tell the story from either the pre-service teacher or the cooperating teacher’s point of view, and to empathize with the perspective of the pre-service teachers. This was true for narratives from the pre-service teacher perspective, as well as imagined cooperating mentor teachers or other teachers with whom the pre-service teachers had encountered during their practicum.
Mentors often illustrated a point by taking on an imaginary role in a story. They were able to present problems of practice through this type of imagined narrative as well as to illustrate, through story, suggestions for interactions in and outside of school. They often wanted to tell the story of how they see others, and in the following example, to express how they understood the real dilemmas that teachers were facing. These imagined narratives about others included imaginary P-12 students.

Often, as in the following example, the community mentor would add another layered dimension to the conversation by including narratives about multiple others, such as parallel experiences they’d had that they would then use as a teaching moment to illustrate the point.

In this example, Sarah tells the story of students that transition from the “newcomer’s school” to one of the local comprehensive schools. Global Village is a school that functions as a bridge for international students that are transitioning to schools in the city. This school provides support in the many home languages of the P-12 students in its school, as well as culturally responsive teaching practices to create a welcoming environment for students, families, and community. As Sarah observes, students who transitioned to other schools often returned due to feelings of loneliness, being bullied, or because they felt singled out for any number of cultural markers.

Luis was a Latino community mentor who through his job as an academic support coordinator working out of a local community-based organization, specialized in working with Latina/o students. The larger societal problem of discriminating against immigrants was one he affirmed and acknowledged, and his narration offered a type of solution for Sarah. This mentor chose to focus on solutions a teacher might use to support an English Language Learner needing to navigate the unjust world in which they found themselves. Mentors would often play out
scenarios by taking on the role of teachers and students by imagining discussions in which they might or might have engaged.

Sarah (Pre-service Teacher): My students are all ELL and it's been interesting to ... They can graduate from this school. A lot of them would like to try to transfer to their neighborhood schools. Jefferson is a big one, Adams is a big one. A lot of them end up coming back because they transfer to their school and then their language level is a different issue, like if they just academically can't handle the workload. A lot of them just say the kids are mean to them because they have accents [they say] … "People just make fun of me when I try to learn a new word or sound it out or something," that sort of experience. I don't know how as a Mountain City-wide community to change that or help that?

Luis (Community Mentor): I'll jump in to that. What I've noticed is that the way I work with students is I'm really up front and really real with them. I've had an instance, actually a couple days ago, where one student was trying to say a couple words in English, a new word, and somebody laughed at him. He was like, "Why are they laughing?"

… There's a couple things that play out. One, bullying; that's something that it never ... People tend to forget about bullying as far as language and how that, in itself, really does affect ELL students; but it's going to happen too. That's one thing that I tell my students
that, ‘This is going to happen. Some words you're not going to say perfect but that's fine because that's just that accent.’

Eventually the discussion involved the two other community mentors at the table engaging in narrative solutions as well. For example, one mentor, Wendy, who also worked as a parent liaison for the school district, cautioned against using students as translators by instead seeking cultural brokers to translate or facilitate communication with families.

At other times mentors would step into the role of the pre-service teachers and propose solutions about navigating relationships with their cooperating teachers. Many of the mentors were in their second year participating in these discussions during the time of this study. They had experience listening to pre-service teachers talk about dilemmas in working with cooperating teachers. For example, some pre-service teachers found it difficult to confront or challenge the deficit language about P-12 students they heard from some veteran teachers. During these occasions, mentors often took on the role of the pre-service teacher, imagining a conversation or scenario between pre-service teacher and their cooperating teachers to help model the kinds of things one might say or ask. In a sense, mentors were scaffolding ways for pre-service teachers to feel some agency in engaging with issues, even during their teaching practicum.

In one example, three community mentors suggested negotiating with cooperating teachers when it came to classroom management. Darius shared his experience apprenticing as a photography teacher and the kinds of discussions he thought facilitated the relationship with his mentor teacher. He suggested that conversations about expectations were places where pre-service teachers could negotiate by asking “how can I support you going forward, and how can we make this a better class environment?” Darius and another mentor, Wendy, recommended
that the pre-service teacher visit other classrooms, indeed other schools, to gain other perspectives and insight as to how different teachers in different schools organized their classrooms.

In addition to this type of solidarity in problem-solving dilemmas, there also existed tensions in the narratives pre-service teachers told about their middle or high school students. During one of the conversations in the eastern region, a narrative presented by one pre-service teacher about a student choosing not to engage during class proved a challenge for both pre-service teachers and community mentors. In this story, the pre-service teacher felt she had done all that she and her cooperating teacher could do but that the student was still misbehaving, not engaging, or not doing what they needed to do in order to pass the class. This pre-service teacher appeared to challenge the community mentors to come up with solutions that she or the mentor teacher hadn’t already tried.

In one sense, the narrative was told to prove it wasn’t the fault of the pre-service teacher. This was a type of narrative the pre-service teacher told about herself that was an actual identity, or based on true events and experiences. Two mentors responded in the form of questions to understand how the student was behaving, and to figure out what exactly the pre-service teacher said, did, or perhaps didn’t do. These questions were an attempt to ascertain whether these narratives could be interpreted in another way. Both mentors validated the experience the pre-service teacher was having, but also added an imagined narrative solution that broadened the scope to other possibilities besides blaming the one student with which the pre-service teacher seemed to be struggling.

Saba, one of the mentors who transitioned the conversation to focus on solutions, added a narrative she’d heard on NPR. This story was one of a teacher figuring out her identity and
realizing the issues she’d been having in the classroom were things she’d been taking personally. The lesson the teacher in that story had learned, was to let students vent first and to understand that students were being over-disciplined for these quite natural feelings. In response to one of the exit ticket prompts about what was heard and what topics or questions pre-service teachers might like to explore further after this session, the pre-service teacher that had challenged mentors to come up with a solution wrote that she wanted to know more about “reaching out to systems and organizations for support.”

**Narratives one thinks others tell about them**

There were only a few examples of narratives one thinks others tell about them. Both pre-service teachers and mentors were careful to speak from their experiences or those they perceived in their classrooms. There were some examples from mentors sharing narratives they think others tell about them during the warm up *conocimiento*, but no pre-service teachers took the opportunity to do so as well. In this excerpt, Lanisha, a community mentor, related a story about a former district superintendent with whom she had worked. As an elder in the African-American community, she shared a story that she knew the former superintendent told others about things she had said to him.

Lanisha (Community Mentor): When he [the former superintendent] came to Thorncrest Public Schools, he did not know a lot about education. He was a general in the service. He gathered about, it was about 10 of us at the table and he asked the question: ‘what do I need to know? What do I need to know?’ I told him that African-American students do not learn from people that they don’t perceive that love them. That’s why they start acting out and rebelling because they can’t feel.
… As you teach, know that it’s important not only to African-American kids, but specifically African-American kids. If you connect with them emotionally and let them know you care about them, and you believe in them, and you know they can succeed, you will give them a belief that they may not have in themselves.

Lanisha was not only sharing a piece of Thorncrest School District’s history, she was also, and perhaps unintentionally, letting the group know that these words of wisdom about loving African-American students were those of the African-American elders gathered in that room with the superintendent that day. This is the narrative she wished others would understand about her culture and its young people. It is unclear whether the superintendent credited the group of 10 African-American leaders he gathered when he spoke of showing care and love for students around the community. Lanisha felt it was important for pre-service teachers to hear this story from her, though, so that the pre-service teachers might understand that this wisdom originated from elders in the community.

**Discussion**

As these were open and unscripted conversations, pre-service teachers and community mentors were continuously in the process of negotiating their roles and identities. The very title Community Mentor positioned partnering family and community members in the role of guide or knowledgeable teacher. The conversation transcripts and the exit tickets illustrate that ultimately, the majority of secondary pre-service teachers appreciated, valued, and honored the discussion spaces as well as the wisdom of partnering community mentors. A few of the pre-service teachers felt that these discussions were not helpful. And though some conversations could at
times become challenging or draining for community mentors, they overwhelming appreciated the small group discussions and understood these conversations as necessary to preparing teachers for their future classrooms.

As Freire (1970) argues, engaging in dialogue with one another is foundational to building trust through a theory of the dialectic. And entering into that dialogue depends upon both parties embracing a belief in humanity while exchanging knowledge to in order to create new knowledge.

Unscripted utterances such as body language also function as contributions to conversation (Gutiérrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995). Some pre-service teachers chose to contribute by remaining silent; using silence as a tool of resistance. In a similar type of opposition, some pre-service teachers engaged in discussion but ultimately left these conversations feeling unmoved or resolved to previous opinions. For example, invitations to questions or suggestions posed by community mentors were not always taken up by pre-service teachers. This was most evident in conversations that took place in the eastern region. Both groups in the eastern discussions had difficulty getting the discussion started as well as finding a topic that seemed relevant or engaging to all in the group.

Silences or smaller pauses in the discussion could be attributed to other factors as well. The transcripts indicate that both pre-service teachers and community mentors sometimes missed cues for uptake. On one occasion, a community mentor misunderstood a pre-service teacher and her question about culturally appropriate classroom behaviors and norms. The pre-service teacher wasn’t sure what to do next as the response from the community mentor indicated a different topic being introduced. Silence also occurred while pre-service teachers or community mentors were reflecting or meditating on an idea. Finally, silence, sometimes more of a pause,
occurred when individuals in the group were contemplating ways to either pivot the conversation to a new topic, or to further explore an idea presented to the group.

Conversely, many pre-service teachers and community mentors also embraced the opportunity to ask questions about their particular teaching contexts or to explore mutually agreed upon topics for discussion. Though both mentors and pre-service teachers asked questions of one another, overall, community mentors asked more questions of pre-service teachers than the reverse. In their role as co-facilitators, community mentors often used questioning techniques to feel out the topic or to find common ground from which to begin a conversation.

The transcripts show, however, an easier flow of discussion, with more group members participating, when pre-service teachers asked more questions. Through sharing a problem from the classroom or by asking a question of the group, discussions took the form of joint inquiry into problems of practice or into dilemmas in teaching. Successful conversations following a theory of the dialectic were those in which both parties were invested in an unpredictable outcome. For example, during one conversation that took place in the central region, pre-service teachers were curious about a pattern of tracking they noticed in the district. Some of the family members shared their experiences with the honors and advanced classes that segregated many of the P-12 students in the district. This conversation did not end in an action plan or concrete outcomes, but rather provided a space for conscientization and the possibility of questioning or understanding the contradictory student tracking system.

Both community mentors and pre-service teachers often used narratives about others to illustrate their understanding, as well as to give examples or to suggest solutions. Community mentors used remembered narratives about others, as in Darius and his experiences learning to teach photography, to add a variety of contextual situations, scenarios, and perspectives. These
remembered narratives about others, or stories told by community mentors, amounted to a collection of teaching moments.

A pattern more specific to community mentors rather than pre-service teachers was the tendency to build upon the narratives of others in order to affirm or deepen the conversation. For example, during a discussion in the southern regional meeting, Donald shared his experiences changing the narrative others told about him as a Black male athlete in a predominantly white school. After a season-ending injury, one teacher had encouraged him to explore his identity as a student and scholar. After asking questions and gathering more details, another community mentor, Saba, added her thoughts on the complex role of athletes and scholars in the Black community. She went on to share the story of a current student of which the story reminded her, wondering aloud if this was a similar situation in order to affirm a pattern in our society while simultaneously affirming Donald’s experience.

**Pre-service teachers: contexts, content, and whose knowledge counts**

One of the challenges for community mentors, pre-service teachers, and university-based educators alike proved to be the variety of placement school contexts around the region and its affect on pre-service teacher learning. The majority of the exit tickets and feedback on small group discussion were positive and encouraging. Individual pre-service teachers were excited about the connections they were making to community mentors and the conversations they were having, across both urban and suburban settings and from multiple cultural communities across the city. However, some pre-service teachers also noted that some sessions seemed irrelevant to them.

For example, one of the small groups in the eastern regional conversation struggled with the discrepancy between the middle and high school student demographics, and the community
mentors present in their small group discussion. These pre-service teachers questioned whether certain community mentors from the south and west areas of the city, were able to speak to particular schools and communities where they were teaching in the north and to the east. In their discussion, these pre-service teachers noted that the middle and high school students at their school were largely compliant; their students were normal or non-problematic because they behaved and followed rules. These comments suggested that pre-service teachers thought conversations about race, equity, and social justice were specific to urban, low income schools, where students were perceived to be misbehaving or struggling academically.

At one point in a conversation, one of the co-founders, Faith, shared the story of her son and his experience learning about slavery in school. She was disappointed to hear that her son’s teacher hadn’t allowed more space and time for students to discuss, process, and reflect upon such a complex and important part of our history. She felt that her son, as a young white man, needed to understand white privilege as much as the continued legacy of slavery on society today. This topic, however, was not taken up by the rest of the group. Instead, the group eventually found common ground in discussing one student, labeled as a special needs student, who was consistently being sent out of the classroom. This conversation was about the individual student and the point at which the needs of one are sacrificed for the needs of the rest of the class. It missed a number of opportunities to discuss educational structures as well as curriculum and instruction with respect to social justice in a classroom of predominantly white students, or in a suburban classroom.

The other small group conversation that took place in the eastern region, also involved a missed opportunity to challenge problematic assumptions about social justice. In this case, the community mentors and the pre-service teacher Paul, agreed that middle and high school
students of Color, immigrants, and those in low-income communities, needed to learn organizational skills in order to succeed academically. However, Paul’s understanding of his suburban school placement was that the underlying problem was socioeconomic, and did not have to do with racial or ethnic issues of inequity. This notion was left largely unchallenged, though both Paul and Donald worried about a system of schooling that rewards students for being compliant and not for what they have learned.

It is important here to ask the rationale for pre-service teachers being placed in either urban or suburban schools during their clinical practicum. In recent years, the number of teachers reporting a feeling of being under-prepared for the realities of the classroom, particularly in urban schools, as well as the call for teacher education programs to support struggling schools in urban areas, has prompted teacher education programs to focus the teaching practicum around urban schools. This history raises a number of questions: If a program is focused on social justice, should urban schools be the primary location for the student teaching practicum? If the practicum is completed in a suburban setting, what does social justice look like given the different context? How do conversations about ethnicity, equity, and access, in urban communities differ from those in suburban communities? Is the priority to find mentor teachers no matter where the school is located? Is there a benefit to having both suburban and urban school placements? How is the content related to context in a community-based experience?

Ultimately, context should influence content. There were legitimate concerns raised by some of our pre-service teachers involved in small group discussions. It is necessary to shift the focus of the conversation to reflect the context of a suburban school practicum. Though this dilemma was surfaced through regionally-based small group discussions, it is reflective of a larger challenge to the field of teacher education. These small group discussions uncovered the
need for more research on contextually-based teaching practicum focused on equity and social justice in teacher education. Ultimately, the discussion of equity and social justice in urban schools is also part of the suburban school context, especially when the two exist within the same school district. This discussion is part of an ongoing debate in Mountain City, as well as in other urban cities across the country, as evidenced by continued division over the school busing policies intended to integrate communities.

There were two big ideas that were missed in conversations based in suburban contexts with majority white communities, that point to future directions for research and practice in teacher education: 1) contexts, and therefore the content of community-based experiences, are complicated and intersectional, and 2) so too are the individuals in those contexts.

In this case we did not respond to different contexts by changing our urban-based community mentors of Color. Was the disconnection due to the same community mentors, limiting the scope of discussion? No. This would imply that mentors are static content, or that they are contextually-bound. Community mentors were both part of the urban contexts as well as sources of content learning for pre-service teachers, and were able to change the content of the conversation to reflect the suburban context. The question regarding whether or not some community mentors should be involved in conversations about equity and access in different settings implies that urban communities are unable to comment on suburban contexts. The ongoing challenge stemmed from pre-service teachers and a program that was not prepared to rethink social justice or equity in suburban schools.

Ultimately, although community mentors from suburban contexts can and should also be involved in regionally-based discussion, this does not mean that mentors from urban, low income, and/or communities of Color are somehow not qualified for suburban context-based
discussion in predominantly white communities. If anything, they are essential for pushing conversations and pre-service teacher understanding that social justice is for white people too.

**Conclusion**

The tension between the stated social justice goals of the program and the differing experiences of pre-service teachers and their placement schools, had ramifications for all involved, and on many different levels. Not all pre-service teachers were involved in the commitment to dialogue, building trust or any kind of relationship through dialogue, perhaps due to the short length of conversations. They chose to remain silent and refrained from engaging in conversation.

The narratives told about oneself were essential to establishing pre-service teacher identities before they were able to move beyond themselves into focusing on others. The narratives told about the middle and high school students in the classroom, whether by pre-service teachers or community mentors, proved to be the bulk of the topics of more productive or robust conversations in small group discussions.

Pedagogically, I consistently questioned whether or not we were building trust, solidarity, or increasing conscientization among pre-service teachers and community mentors. Trust and solidarity were built for many. As in the example of John and the complex narrative he chose to share. John took a risk in sharing a narrative about his identity as a Black male teacher, in doing so he took a step towards building a trusting relationship with community mentors and pre-service teachers in small group discussions. The resulting positive relationship with one community mentor throughout the year of this program continued into his first year of teaching, when they often ran into each other at various school and community events.
Some pre-service teachers took up the commitment to solidarity, while others did not feel that same responsibility. Meanwhile, partnering community mentors felt a responsibility for the P-12 students in their communities but did not always feel that same sense of commitment to students from some pre-service teachers. As one mentor shared, she was shocked to hear that one pre-service teacher thought multicultural teaching should be optional; that students cannot appreciate something, or do not put enough effort if something is a requirement. Despite this, through consistent efforts to imagine scenarios where mentors put themselves in the position of the pre-service teacher or the cooperating teacher, community mentors were able to sympathize with the pre-service teachers who were resistant or reluctant to embrace the work of community teaching.

Conscientization is the first step towards praxis; reflection upon the world that then informs action. We must first model praxis in order for us to teach pre-service teachers the same. The solid articulation and execution of a teacher education program that ‘walks the road’ (Cochran-Smith, 2004), is essential in the appropriate and respectful engagement of community mentors, as well as the thoughtful and scaffolding support for its pre-service teachers. These aspects deserve focused attention by any program considering this type of dialectical education. In moving knowledge into action, I was reminded of the importance of the delicate balance between our knowledge as teacher educators and the knowledge held by community mentors. The importance of considering how to support pre-service teachers in appropriate ways, while also equally supporting community mentors, is essential.

Preparing for small group discussions requires a thoughtful and respectful approach from teacher educators—a way to lesson plan, without lesson planning too much—and careful attention to mediation. The two co-founding community mentors, Jovonna and Faith, and later a
third-co-director, Shelley, embraced their role as co-instructors and co-facilitators, studying exit
tickets and feedback forms, and engaging in debrief discussions that resulted in integrated
feedback in subsequent planning. The multiple levels of this work point to the need for attention
to providing resources and support for partnering community mentors as well.

In this teacher education program, the central vision included social justice and
placement in urban schools. In fact, these elements were somewhat problematic; definitions of
social justice were inconsistent for pre-service teachers. The majority of pre-service teachers
placed in suburban schools found value in conversations with community mentors. However,
some questions surrounding partnerships with communities in predominantly suburban rather
than urban schools serving low-income students, became persistent ones for particular pre-
service teachers —and they were questions for which we were not well prepared.

In the case of the Mountain City University teacher education program, dilemmas over the
content and instruction of a contextually-based experience are invariably connected to the
identities of the community mentors and the pre-service teachers involved. These discussions
were ongoing during our planning meetings. They highlight the need for future research on the
content, contexts, and perspectives included in community-based experiences intended to prepare
future teachers to work with(in) our diverse communities.
Chapter 4

Partnering with Teacher Education Programs:

The Community Mentor Experience

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Abstract

School and community partnerships begin with teacher education programs that honor and are accountable to the local families, and communities they are supposed to serve (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Mahan, 1983; Murrell, 2001; Seidl & Friend, 2002; Zeichner, 2010). However, teacher educators that work to re-center their programs around families and communities often focus on teacher learning, rarely presenting the perspectives of those with whom they partner. This paper will present findings, both promising and problematic, surrounding the experiences of community mentors partnering with one university-based teacher education program in the Pacific Northwest.
Partnering with Teacher Education Programs:

The Community Mentor Experience

Preparing teachers is a complex endeavor. Teacher education programs dive head-first into confronting the challenges that face public schooling in a democracy. Do we prepare teachers for schools as they are? Or do we prepare them for what they could or should be? These questions are fundamental to the ongoing debate over the very nature and purpose of schooling. The challenge to teacher educators is not to find definitive answers to these ongoing questions, but to consistently question how best to prepare teachers for a P-12 public school system that exists within a democratic society, a capitalistic structure, and one that has historically exercised discriminatory policies against entire groups of students (Apple, 1979, 1995; Dewey, 1990, 1997; Giroux & McLaren, 1986; Labaree, 1997; Willis, 1977).

Questions of how to best prepare teachers, and for what purposes, necessarily confront the question of who is best suited to prepare them (Crittendon, 1973). In their work understanding teacher educators and the work of preparing teachers, Zeichner, Payne, and Brayko (2015) have called for more democratic, less hierarchical teacher education programs that include the knowledge and perspectives of families and communities. They push the field further by asking the fundamental question: whose knowledge counts in teacher education?

Unfortunately, P-12 schools have historically underserved large portions of our nation’s children, families, and communities (Anderson, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Lawrence-Lightfoot, 1978; Valenzuela, 1999). The history of schooling in the U.S. reflects a desire to move towards a more equitable and just world, yet it is a history that is also rife with contradictory purposes and policies. This complicated, often conflicting history has influenced the multiple
ways that teachers have been prepared to instruct P-12 students over time. At various points in
the nation’s history, teachers have been contracted by local families to educate the children in
their town, educated in normal schools run by local teachers and administrators, trained in
laboratory schools, and have seen extensive apprenticeship models, only to move towards the
opposite end in quick internship and emergency credentialing models (Kaestle, 1983; Fraser,
2007). And though families and communities have participated in the education of teachers in
the past, the ongoing efforts of the professionalization movement, for better or worse, has pushed
the field towards a school- and university-centered model, with recurring calls towards practice-
based teaching (Zeichner, 2012).

The familiar triad of university instructor, in-service mentor teacher, and pre-service
teacher, does not seem adequate enough, however, in addressing the problem of preparing
teachers for a just system of schooling. University-based researchers offer social, historical,
developmental, and disciplinary knowledge theories. In-service teachers offer practical
knowledge in designing, instructing, and assessing in P-12 classroom contexts. And although
school and university based teacher education have moved towards hybrid spaces and hybrid
educators that cross these boundaries (Zeichner, 2010), the two world pitfall divide (Feiman-
Nemser & Buchmann, 1985) remains. Knowledge from non-school and non-university-based
settings is often missing from teacher education programs (Murrell, 1998). In order to challenge
the historical inequities in our schools, the voices of the families and communities surrounding
our schools must be a central part of our teacher education programs.

Partnerships between teacher education programs and the families and communities they
are supposed to serve have seen various waves, iterations, and innovations over the years. One of
the ongoing challenges to teacher education programs is to re-center community, family, and

students in the preparation of teachers for socially, historically, and contextually situated schools (Boyle-Baise & McIntyre, 2008; Broussard, 2000; Hyland & Meacham, 2004; Murrell, 2001; Seidl & Friend, 2002; Zeichner & Melnick, 1996). Specifically, as our communities become increasingly diverse, and the teaching force remains predominantly White, the voices of families and communities of Color are more relevant than ever.

**Current innovation under study**

The larger programmatic innovation, of which the current study was one part, began by partnering with families and communities to create a more democratic, less hierarchical teacher education program (Zeichner, Bowman, Guillén, & Napolitan, 2016). This innovation included an expanded definition of teacher educators as having hybrid identities and roles (Zeichner, 2010). Its goals were to prepare teachers to honor the students, families, and communities they would serve, as well as to become critical thinkers and transformative agents of change.

As the current move towards family and community based teacher education evolves, it is necessary to first establish a definition of community from which to proceed. The use of community in education can create a false binary between schools and anything outside of school. This binary can also lead to a dangerous romanticizing of culture. For the purposes of this study, I follow Philip, Way, Garcia, Schuler-Brown, & Navarro’s (2013) definition of community through the construct of race that is determined by: member mutual investment, member diversity, situated membership, and self-determined purpose.

The current study is focused on how local family and community mentors experienced their work in partnering with one university-based teacher education program located in the Pacific Northwest. Following Philip, et al.’s (2013) definitions, community mentors were a diverse group of people, often with a variety of roles in educational institutions, community
organizations, the private sector, and advocacy groups from around the region, to name a few. The members came together for the shared purpose of improving the conditions, situations, and opportunities for youth in their communities. Previous studies on communities and families working alongside programs have only briefly included the voices of those with whom they have partnered. This, unfortunately, leaves us with a one-sided view of these innovations. Thus, the question guiding this research was: How do community mentors experience the work of partnering with one university-based teacher education program in the preparation of teachers for their schools and communities?

**Methods**

This is the case of a group of local community mentors seeking to work in solidarity\(^5\) with their local, university-based teacher education program. During this partnership the research team observed, interviewed, and collected data on pre-service teachers and community mentors from a number of sources. The collection of data took place over the course of two years (2013-2014 and 2014-2015) and included group interviews, individual interviews, observations recorded through field notes, documents, and surveys of pre-service teachers. For the purposes of this study, I will draw upon field observations as well as individual and group interviews with community mentors. Documents related to community mentor co-planning and co-teaching with university teacher educators were also reviewed.

The current study was part of a larger project on which I worked as one member of the research team. During the time of this study, I also taught the field-based seminar course in the secondary teacher education program. As instructor, I had the opportunity to observe and get to

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\(^5\) Solidarity is used here to refer to human relations that are based in difference rather than similarity. See Gaztambide-Fernández (2012) for a thorough discussion of historical uses of the term, as well as an argument for a pedagogy of solidarity committed to decolonization.
know all pre-service teachers in the secondary cohort, as well as many in the elementary cohort. I worked alongside colleagues and community mentors to co-design, co-plan, co-instruct, and collectively reflect on events and activities associated with the Community Teaching (CT) strand, a yearlong curricular and experienced based partnership.

**Contexts**

**The Community Teaching Strand.** The Community Teaching strand was one part of the four-quarter elementary and secondary Masters in Teaching programs at Mountain City University, a research one institution in the Pacific Northwest. The strand was primarily housed in the field-based seminars in both elementary and secondary programs, with some events connected to one of the alternative pathways developed as a residency model. Stemming from efforts to include some form of community-based experiences outside of the classroom, the strand evolved into a yearlong series of events and curricular links to foundations and other courses in the teacher education programs.

The community teaching strand initially began with some curricular changes, a few guest speakers, and in-class small group discussions during the 2011-2012 year. Over the next two years the strand grew to include panels, small group discussions, a mini-interest conference, guest speakers, community walks, home visit training, and visits to local community-based organizations; some involving both elementary and secondary cohorts, others tailored specifically to the needs of the respective levels of teaching practice. Due to a number of logistical challenges, programmatic tensions, and challenges to the development of trusting relationships between university-based educators and partnering family and community mentors, the strand was considerably reduced during the 2014-2015 academic year. At the time of the writing of this paper, the Community Teaching strand was no longer operating in the elementary
and secondary teacher education programs at Mountain City University, although it was minimally operating in the teacher residency program.

**Community Mentor Roles and Responsibilities.** The initial goal was simple: bring together local families and communities to share their hopes and dreams for their children with pre-service teachers in the program. Beginning with family panels and Q&As during the field-based seminar courses, community mentors explained experiences with schooling that included their own stories, those of their children, and/or of youth in their communities. The goal, both of university-based teacher educators and partnering community mentors, was to develop a shared understanding of the realities in local schools and communities, in order to better prepare and support teachers for their future classrooms.

Mentors also participated in university-based courses through specific curricular connections to the community teaching strand. For example, the intersection between classroom management, culturally responsive teaching, and special education was the subject of a powerful panel and discussion during one class session. Other examples included co-planning and reflecting on a privilege walk, as well as another panel on talking with elementary school children about difference.

In addition to these classroom-based experiences, the three lead organizers of the Family and Community Mentor Network (FCMN), as well as a number of community and school based organizational leaders, devoted many hours to co-designing, co-planning, co-facilitating, and reflecting upon town-hall style panels and discussions. These events took place in the evenings to accommodate the work schedules of local families, communities, and educators. The co-founders of the FCMN, along with university-based teacher educators, co-developed, organized,

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6 See Peggy McIntosh (1988)
and executed the events to reflect current topics and debates in education such as: the school to prison pipeline; the civil rights legacy and ongoing struggles in the city; a screening of a documentary on growing up African American, co-hosted with the local African American League; a discussion with local educators on the struggles of teaching for social justice in the current local and national contexts; and an entire mini-interest conference where pre-service teachers had the opportunity to choose and rotate among sessions focused on policies connecting classrooms, schools, communities, and state offices. These events included panels followed by group discussions in which community mentors either rotated or remained among smaller groups of pre-service teachers. To be clear, these were not topics that the university-based educators would have envisioned or engaged had it not been for the partnering family and community mentors.

Another major development in the partnership was the co-planning, co-facilitating, and reflective sessions surrounding small group discussions that took place at centrally-located school sites around the region. These regionally-based discussions were in response to the diversity and variety of placement schools during the pre-service teaching practicum for both elementary and secondary cohorts. Though these discussions were loosely constructed around race and social justice, they also included suggested agendas and/or guiding questions co-constructed by university-based teacher educators, community mentors, and pre-service teachers. The discussions often connected topics from coursework to the dilemmas pre-service teachers were experiencing in their practice. Topics included for example, issues surrounding privilege and identities of pre-service teachers and P-12 students; historical and contemporary issues of equity and access; classroom management and discipline; and social justice teaching in the different content areas.
**Community Contexts.** During the time of this study, much of our collective work revolved around happenings in Ferguson, MO, longstanding injustices in Black and Brown communities across the country, and the increasing spotlight on police brutality against Black bodies. The rallies and protests across the nation would later evolve into the current Black Lives Matter movement. Coursework in both the elementary and secondary programs reflected similar concerns through assigned readings and discussions surrounding, for example Michelle Alexander’s *The New Jim Crow* (2010) in secondary, and an editorial on the school to prison pipeline published in the Rethinking Schools magazine ((Re)thinking Schools, 2011-2012). Community mentors were very concerned about the school-to-prison pipeline and saw it as being connected to the ongoing discussions of civil rights with respect to education. This is most evident when looking at the topics the community mentors chose for the first two collaborative events: Civil Rights and Education, and the School to Prison Pipeline.

There were also a number of articles in the local newspaper highlighting the rates of suspensions and disciplinary actions in schools at the time. Of particular interest to communities were findings from local studies attempting to disaggregate the test scores of African-American and newly immigrated East African students; previously student test scores were combined under one category labeled Black.

Another hot topic among a number of schools in the district publicized both locally and nationally, was the organized boycott of the state standardized tests. Also of note, was the passage of the first ever legislation allowing charter schools in the state. Both policies have since experienced ongoing shifts in policy and public debate, often dividing communities.

Finally, the addition of an alternative pathway program also presented a number challenges and possibilities to the existing elementary and secondary teacher education programs
at Mountain City University. During the time of this study the state passed legislation mandating
the inclusion of alternative pathways into teaching for each of the state-approved teacher
education programs. The addition of Teach for America into the Department of Education was
welcomed by some faculty, community and district administrators, while challenged by other
faculty, students, community members, and in-service teachers.

Participants

Over 70 community mentors participated in various events over the two years; some
often attending, participating, or facilitating multiple times. Most community mentors were
affiliated with a collective group known as The Family and Community Mentor Network
(FCMN), a self–described group of community advocates connecting the “grassroots to grass
tops” (FCMN, 2014). Other mentors included various ethnically and community based
organizations, PTSA members, members of advocacy organizations like the NAACP, or local
educators, sometimes administrators or cooperating teachers.

All community mentors were invited to participate in the initial focus group, however
scheduling and timing limited the number of participants. The two co-founders of the Family and
Community Mentor Network, Jovonna and Faith, organized the time and location of the
interview, securing a room at the district central office following another meeting. The eight
community mentors in the initial focus group had each attended several events and discussions
over the course of the two years.

The original focus group, field notes, and observations guided an emerging theory that
then influenced the subsequent sample selection of community mentors for individual interviews
(Charmaz, 2014; Patton, 2015; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Following the focus group, individual
interviews were conducted with four key informants. Three of the four key informants were also
in the original focus group. These key informants were added as the analysis unfolded, providing illuminating, confirming, and/or disconfirming experiences for the present study of community mentors as a group (Charmaz, 2014; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2015; Yin, 2014).

The theory emerging from initial coding influenced the selection of these four key informants for various reasons including: variety of perspectives on the work; themes that emerged from the focus group upon which they had particular insight, experience, or knowledge; and was based upon observations of levels of engagement in the work (Patton, 2015). Two of the key informants interviewed were also the original co-founders of the Family and Community Mentor Network. As the co-founders of the FCMN, Jovonna and Faith had more interactions with program administration and faculty and thus were able to speak to relationships with the teacher education program administration more than other mentors involved in the partnership. The other two key informants shared specific experiences to highlight or deepen knowledge surrounding emerging themes in the data. All key informants were female and self-identified as one Latina, one White, and two Black women. Of the four key informants, one self-identified as a recent immigrant and one as Lesbian. Three self-identified as being of a working class background and one identified as middle class.

Data

For the purposes of this study, I will focus on the individual and group interviews with community mentors, field observations, and a review of documents.

Participant observation guided the collection of field notes and jottings throughout the two-year study of this partnership (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Geertz, 1973; Merriam, 2009). The present study included field notes taken during eight small group regional meetings.
for the secondary cohort during the fall quarter of 2013 and of 2014. Participant observations were also recorded over email, text messages, and in research team meeting notes.

Interviews were conducted using an open-ended questioning technique broad enough to allow for non-directed responses, but also narrow enough to elicit specific participant experiences (Charmaz, 2014; Weiss, 1994). Intensive interviewing focused on the bounded topic through “gently guided, one-sided conversation” that explored mentors’ “substantial experience with the research topic” (Charmaz, p. 56) (See Appendices A and B).

I shared control of the group interview through highlighting and discussing attending to gender, ethnicity, age, and education within the group. Problems of difference, access, and acceptance were balanced by observations as an involved participant, but also by sharing control of the interview with the members present at the interview. In the case of the group interview, participants added their own probing questions and helped facilitate responses among the group.

Collected documents included, among others, event exit tickets from pre-service teachers and community mentors during the 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 academic years (See Appendix C). The events were collaborative spaces created for both elementary and secondary pre-service teachers and included reflections from both pre-service teachers and community mentors. Exit tickets were collected from 12 of the 14 collaborative events, as well as from one secondary end-of-quarter community visit reflection in the spring of 2014. The documents reviewed also included two letters to the teacher education program administration, one from a group of concerned pre-service teachers and one from a concerned community mentor.

Analysis

The analysis of interviews, field observations, and documents was guided by grounded theory and its focus on open-coding through a constant, comparative method (Charmaz, 2014;
Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Interviews were coded and then analyzed through a search for patterns. Subsequent phases of coding focused on the most significant or frequent codes to compare data for similarities and differences, thereby deepening and enhancing the initial analysis.

Emergent claims were checked against the field observations and collected documents. Interviews also served as member checks for each other (Patton, 2015; Weiss, 1994). Rival explanations were addressed by comparing inferences and claims, to negative or disconfirming evidence (Charmaz, 2014; Patton, 2015; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A draft report will be reviewed by those selected as key informants, as well as key participants in the group interview (Patton, 2015; Yin, 2014).

The emerging theory (see Figure 2) resulted from an analysis of data investigating the experiences of community mentors partnering with the elementary and secondary teacher education programs. These patterns reflect community mentors’ respective expectations and understandings of the work of both raising a child and of teaching. The expectations and understandings with which they entered the partnership, coupled with their hopes and dreams for their children and communities, informed their experiences during the partnership. For example, the ways in which community mentors experienced the program were often based on community mentors’ previous experiences with schools, whether as parents or students themselves, either positive or negative, and their respective expectations for teachers and schooling stemming from these previous experiences.

In focusing on partnering community mentors, this study is in part a representation of perspectives as well as the experiences as a form of testimonio. In their work mapping testimonio as an evolving genre, Delgado Bernal, Burciaga, and Flores Carmona (2012) review testimonio
as it is related to “methodology, pedagogy, research and reflection within a social justice framework” (p. 363). They argue an understanding of testimonio that “engages the reader to understand and establish a sense of solidarity as a first step toward social change” (p. 364). Testimonio is therefore a step towards social change through an understanding of solidarity as human relationships, here between families, communities, and pre-service teachers, that are “premised on the relationships between difference and interdependency, rather than on similarity and a rational calculation of self-interest” (p. 49, Gaztambide-Fernández, 2012).

The resulting community mentors’ feelings of, for example, disappointment, frustration, disrespect, hopefulness, encouragement, and new learning were generally based upon how their experiences matched with their respective initial expectations and understandings (See Figure 2). Mentors were complex, hybrid beings. Many were surprised or unprepared for experiences or treatment that challenged or differed from their previous understandings or expectations of teachers and teacher educators. Some experiences were simply unexpected and surprising in this manner. Other mentors expected challenges in discussions with pre-service teachers and experienced either no surprises, or felt that their initial suspicions were confirmed. Community mentors often took on the role of facilitator in mediating or attempting to address problematic thinking; embracing challenging conversations and pushing towards shared understandings. These conversations did not always end with a sense of resolution or conclusion.

In addition to experiences with pre-service teachers and fellow teacher educators, community mentors also challenged existing teacher education programmatic pedagogies that tended to focus on a white, suburban, hegemonic model. This was evident in the learning goals or objectives set by community mentors. These goals, often categorized as ethnic studies in mainstream classrooms, included processes for instruction such as oral history or narration, and
were influenced by their understandings of the work of raising a child and of teaching according to their ethnic or cultural backgrounds. These pedagogies also varied among mentors. Finally, mentors engaged in troubleshooting and contributing suggestions or ideas for future teacher education program design, structure, and curriculum.

Any given discussion and/or activity is complex and can vary depending on the lenses and perspectives of those involved (Erickson, 2004; Engeström, 2001; Gee, 2014; Gutiérrez Rymes, & Larson, 1995). The experiences, crudely defined as either positive or negative in figure 2, are representations of experiences that were much more complex for community mentors, pre-service teachers, and university-based teacher educators. This research sought to represent the experiences that left community mentors feeling either frustrated and offended, or hopeful and respected. These experiences will be discussed in the Findings and Discussions section.

Limitations

This study relied upon information and data surrounding key informants in order to illuminate and provide evidence of their respective experiences (Charmaz, 2014; Patton, 2015). Not all mentors were able to speak about interactions with teacher education program administration. The two co-founding members of the FCMN were most often representatives during that type of programmatic planning and had a unique perspective on those relationships. As the intention of this study is to explore the experiences of community mentors, the focus of this study is on the perspectives of community mentors on relationships with pre-service teachers, with faculty, and with administration in the teacher education program.

My role as both insider/outsider and participant-observer also presented a challenge to the study (Baca Zinn, 1979; Geertz, 1973). To mitigate my role as an instructor as well as a
researcher in the program I checked observations against those of colleagues on the research team and triangulated against other data. I also began my observations as a researcher, and my curricular decisions as an instructor, from the standpoint of a Chicana, former high school teacher, heterosexual, working class woman (Anzaldúa, 1987; Freire, 1970; Harding, 1993).

The limitations of the focus group interview included a restricted number of questions due to the larger number of participants, the risk of some participants dominating discussion, and a risk of respondents influencing the responses of others in the group. It is up to the skill of the moderator to prevent any one respondent from dominating the conversation and to challenge group-think through probing questions (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2015), however many in the group helped monitor and facilitate the interviews. The cross-cultural inquiry between researcher and participants, also proved challenging. This limitation was mitigated by creating relationships built over time and through our collaborative work. These relationships also benefitted from the sharing of our cultural, socio-economic, and job-related backgrounds.

Though English was the language used during the group interview, two participants as well as the author also spoke Spanish. There were occasional phrases or contributions that were translated into English by either the author or one of the two other Spanish-speaking participants. There was one Kenyan participant who had been educated in English-speaking schools in Kenya and for whom translation into English was not necessary.

**Findings**

This section will present the findings from research on community mentors who sought to work in solidarity with one university-based teacher education program. Initially, community mentors shared common reasons and goals for partnering with the program. Among those were: preparing teachers to be more successful with their children and the children in their
communities; improving relationships between teachers, families, and communities; sharing their hopes and dreams for their children and communities; and supporting teachers instead of blaming or putting them down.

Though mentors shared these common goals, motivations for their participation, and subsequently their respective experiences in the program, varied widely. The following section will highlight five community mentors to illustrate the patterns of positive and negative experiences that emerged from working in partnership with the Mountain City University teacher education program. These experiences primarily reflect interactions with pre-service teachers in the program. Interactions among fellow community mentors with program faculty and administration, and by extension with program pedagogies, are also briefly discussed. Findings resulting from the analysis of data will be presented as overarching themes in the subsequent Discussion section.

Shelley
Shelley frequently attended events. She joined sessions during the second year of the strand and primarily experienced sessions with the secondary teaching cohort. Shelley identified as a Black woman and the primary guardian for her younger sister. At the time of this study, she was a local artist in addition to working as a lawyer in the criminal justice system. She often spoke of her experiences witnessing first-hand the school to prison pipeline and the damage it was doing in her community. Her memories of school, particularly of high school were mostly negative ones that she hoped to prevent from happening to her sister. One of the former teachers with whom she had a positive and transformative education, a white, male, history teacher, happened to be one of the cooperating teachers working with pre-service teachers. Both she and her former teacher were surprised and glad see one another again; they were a unique pairing of perspectives in small group discussions.
In the following excerpt, Shelley expressed extreme frustration and anger after one discussion in which she felt a lack of awareness and sense of responsibility from pre-service teachers. She spoke of having to detox after discussing a privilege walk\textsuperscript{7} with pre-service teachers because she felt the pre-service teachers were not taking it seriously.

After the exercise, Shelly was frustrated by what she perceived as a lack of investment in the conversation on the part of some pre-service teachers. During the following excerpt, Shelley took out a pen and notebook to illustrate what she’d been thinking ever since the privilege walk.

“There’s this box. And the box is called White Privilege. And the privilege walk happened inside of this box, to move people towards this imaginary opening… So, what I was thinking about was when we were in that, the table top conversation, the last one that we had, the students, well the pre-service teachers, excuse me, they were right at the door. And some of them were grappling with, okay, now that I know that this box exists, and I didn’t know it existed before, okay now what? Do I stay? There’s options. You can stay in the box, but once you, if you stay in the box, you are fully aware that you are benefitting from a system that steps on the backs of other people so that you can have benefits. Or, you can go outside the box, and once you’re outside the box … what it looks like to be outside the box is, you take your awareness and you take that energy. So maybe it was you experienced guilt or whatever. That’s fine. You take that and you transfer it, or transform it into something else. Something that says, you know, this is not

\textsuperscript{7} Based on McIntosh’s (1988) work understanding privilege, the privilege walk has become a familiar exercise across college courses. There are many versions of the privilege walk with the goal of making visible the concrete ways in which people unconsciously benefit from privileges. In this case, students listened to statements read aloud such as “I have never been followed around a store,” then cross a line, usually a long piece of tape across the floor, if this statement applies to them.
fair, you know, I’m an ally now, I’m going to champion, you know, take this flag and change it to something else. You want to start change.

But what I witnessed when we were in those circles was people being comfortable staying inside of the box. I heard comments like, ‘you know, well, I guess I’m lucky.’ And to me it’s like, okay, if white privilege was the lottery, right? Then it would be a lotto where some people were given tickets … no, everyone’s given a ticket, whether you paid for the ticket or not, everyone is given a ticket. But the winners are already pre-determined.”

Figure 1: Shelley’s conceptual theory analyzing pre-service teacher behavior. These were behaviors that she observed during the privilege walk.

This classroom-based experience, similar to Saba’s experience with pre-service teachers in small group discussion, left Shelley feeling used. Shelley acknowledged that the pre-service teachers were perhaps protecting themselves and described taking on the role of facilitator to
help students process the meaning of white privilege. Later interviews indicated others felt the same need to detox, or the need for self-care, at various points during the partnership.

Shelley’s drawing illustrates what she saw as pre-service teachers who live with privilege, specifically white privilege, but are unaware of it. She describes the privilege walk activity as moving pre-service teachers towards a door, or opening, as an awakening of sorts. Those that chose to walk through could see the box and either stay outside or relapse back into the box. Those that were forever changed experienced a type of death of their old self, a funeral, to see the world differently from what they’d known previously. Others might relapse into the box, often unknowingly. These relapses were signaled by one of three indicators: 1. Language use, 2. Silence, and/or 3. Disciplinary practices used in the classroom. Shelley’s line of analysis was insightful and highlights an entire field of research on white studies (Leonardo, 2009).

Some pre-service teachers, Shelley explained, might use deficit language when talking or referring to students, families, or communities, indicating a relapse. Another indicator would be silence, or the decision and choice to simply not engage with difficulties when it came to complex intersections of privilege. The final indicator of relapse was most evident in classroom discipline procedures and practices. Teachers might express an understanding and awareness of privilege, but might continue to over-discipline specifically Black and Brown boys. Shelley gave the example of the “wiggly boy syndrome” where some boys found it difficult to sit still. They were often disciplined for not being able to sit still and pay attention. In these cases, teachers might discipline the boys and use the excuse that it was for their own good or in the best interest of the child to learn to follow the rules.

Shelley expressed feelings of frustration with one pre-service teacher in particular, Candice, and her fear of calling home; this, in Shelley’s view, was simply unacceptable. She
compared this frustration to other instances where teachers were dismissive of cultural awareness or culturally responsive teaching as a requirement. Some pre-service teachers in a small group conversation expressed that they would rather it be a choice to have a multicultural curriculum, in order to have more authentic social justice teaching. Making culturally responsive teaching or cultural awareness a requirement, it seemed to Shelley, was treating it as an add-on for some pre-service teachers. Shelley observed that it appeared one more thing to do; a “huge task” or burden for pre-service teachers.

Mentors generally struggled with expecting pre-service teachers to be at a certain level, and then trying to help them get there. Some, like Shelley, felt impatient, yet at the same time, literally simultaneously, also took the time to patiently listen and ask questions; to help pre-service teachers articulate or think through problematic assumptions. This only went so far. In a sense, Shelley was prepared for difficult conversations, and was frustrated by those pre-service teachers that weren’t ready or willing to engage as well.

**Juana**

Juana, like Saba, primarily attended elementary cohort events. She identified as a Latina who had emigrated from Mexico to the United States 13 years before this study. Juana was the president of the Parent Teacher Student Association (PTSA) at one of the local partnering elementary schools during the time of this study. She was one of the parents that took up the invitation to join regional conversations between communities, families, and the pre-service teachers that were placed at her school during their teaching practicum. It happened that one of Juana’s children was in the classroom of one of the elementary pre-service teachers that year. The pre-service teacher was also Latino, of Equadorian descent, and one who identified as a community teacher (Napolitan, 2016).
Juana was very involved in her son’s classroom through partnering with Mario, the preservice teacher placed in her school. She was also a regular at the many Community Teaching collaborative events throughout the year. Much of her involvement stemmed from her experiences organizing families and communities at her school, to help give voice to the perspectives of the growing Latino/a families surrounding the school. The feeling was that the teachers and administration were not in touch with families, particularly Spanish speaking families. This was most evident to her in observations that teachers were reluctant to even smile and greet visiting family and community members in the school building.

“When I went to Mountain City University and I saw all of them trying their best, working hard, asking those questions I was like, ‘Oh my God. Thank you for giving us this opportunity to come and share and talk to them and let them know what we need as a parent and that we’re always going to be there to support them. Just the fact that they’re talking, they’re asking … their curiosity is going to take them. And [thank you] to the people who have been helping them to be a great teacher.

“For me as a parent the way I see it is, ‘Oh, my … I think we’re getting the best for our children.’ Maybe they’re not going to be my children’s teacher but someone will …”

Juana felt it rewarding to volunteer her time, even though she was already working, raising her children, and running the PTSA, because it was an “opportunity to go and talk, not just for me but to represent the community.”
Unfortunately, later interactions with the 2014-2015 cohort of pre-service teachers were disappointing and frustrating for her. The Community Teaching strand was greatly reduced in the elementary program during that second year, and Juana noticed a considerable difference between pre-service teachers from the first cohort to the second cohort. Juana felt that pre-service teachers in the first cohort were eager to greet her as well as the many families around the school, and to ask questions of the families they met. To Juana, asking questions signaled an investment and interest on the part of the pre-service teachers. She shared that there was a noticeable difference in the second cohort, observing an increased dependence on mentor teachers as opposed to the openness to community she felt from the first cohort. Juana noticed that these pre-service teachers were hard-pressed to greet families or to independently seek out conversations or relationships outside of their mentor teachers. She worried about what this would mean for their future teaching practice when pre-service teachers didn’t have the safety or security of a mentor teacher.

Juana lamented that she had knowledge she was able to share to the first cohort but that she could not share with the new one. She gave the example of her son’s current teacher and an email she’d received advising her to make time to read with her son. She explained that this teacher had no knowledge of how much she already encouraged and supported her son in reading at home. She also explained her frustration that this teacher as well as many English-speaking families on the PTSA at her daughter’s new middle school, did not understand just how long it took for her to write a reply email.

Though the Community Teaching strand in the elementary program was considerably scaled back during the second year, Juana found that university-based faculty still called upon her to represent families on other ongoing research projects. Juana shared that she didn’t see
many of those members helping out at the school, nor did she see the concrete benefits of one ongoing grant\textsuperscript{8} aimed at supporting a community-school collaborative. She was provided with some reading as part of her participation with the collaborative but was not comfortable with the direction and role of community in the collaborative. Through that work and her increasing visibility, she’d been invited to join a larger board overseeing youth in sports around the city. She found herself continuously questioning whether or not she should continue with these invitations. She wondered if she was being used to represent the low-income families after seeing a picture of herself along with the board. Juana decided that ultimately she did represent her community but that she wanted to focus her future involvement where she saw change was the most needed, which she determined to be at the local school where her children attended.

When asked whether or not she would continue talking to pre-service teachers, despite what she described as hypocrisy, Juana replied:

“Absolutely. Because I want them to be … as the first teacher candidates [were during the first cohort]. For that reason I will continue to go… So I’m not saying that I go there for Janice [faculty member working with the ongoing collaborative grant]. No, no, no, no. I go there because I know the importance, you know, and I know that’s why I go. Not because I want to read, I make somebody happy. I want to make actually hundreds happy! Families, kids, not just one.”

\textbf{Faith}

\textsuperscript{8} The grant provided funding for a comprehensive approach to student and teacher learning in one elementary school in a low income community school. University-based researchers were tasked with implementing as well as studying the project intended to “increase student achievement, better prepare teacher candidates to serve in underperforming schools, and increase the effectiveness of current teachers” (Community Schools Pilot, 2014)
Faith, as one of the co-founders of the Family and Community Mentor Network, was also very optimistic and enthusiastic about the partnership between families, communities, and the teacher education program. Her role in the organization lent itself to more interactions with administrative levels in the teacher education program. However, the majority of Faith’s work, along with the co-founder Jovonna, revolved around co-planning, co-facilitating, and reflecting on the many events throughout the year. Faith also worked as liaison between the many community mentors, developing and strengthening relationships, and keeping lines of communication open through mostly phone or in-person conversations.

Faith self-identified as a white woman and parent of a student at one of the public high schools located in the central area of the city. On top of her work with the PTSA at her son’s high school, Faith worked as an educational and community activist, and on several local educational and political campaigns. Before her work in the city, Faith had worked as a talent agent in Los Angeles, where she shares that she had her eyes opened to the double-standards for Black artists in the business. Through her many conversations, Faith came to understand her own white privilege and decided to spend her time as a white ally, working in solidarity with communities of Color.

In the following excerpt, Faith explains why she decided to work to support teachers through this partnership and what she felt she got out of the work.

“Learning that being a teacher, even a community teacher, is a joy. As much as we tell those teachers that there's such joy in connecting with their students and their families and what that can do for them, it is for us too as teachers. Thinking about them going into the world, and meeting all the secondaries and elementaries and how, generally speaking,
optimistic and open-hearted they are, they may not know a lot about race and social justice yet but by virtue of wanting to be teachers, that's wonderful…”

“… we're going to have to have solid teams of people who get it because it's going to be a fight no matter where you go, because that's where we are again in this country with race and social justice. It's not just about academics and curriculum, how the university views teaching and learning; it's how universities honor the communities in which they send their teachers.”

In reflecting her work with pre-service teachers, Faith connected the joy she saw in pre-service teachers and compared it to the same joy she felt being a teacher educator. Faith, as did Juana and Shelley, understood her role as a teacher educator, stating that “it is for us too as teachers” as she embraced the role and the responsibility of educating future teachers for the communities where they will teach. What’s more, she connected the classroom, the teacher education program, and the need to honor communities to the fight for race and social justice in the country. This is the type of connection both co-founders consistently made when speaking to pre-service teachers about why the Family and Community Mentor Network was so invested in partnering with them. Here, Faith is also speaking to the movement towards more democratic teacher education programs, but also challenging university-based teacher preparation to honor the history, wisdom, and values of the “communities in which they send their teachers.”

Thoughtful and passionate in conversation, Faith was also sympathetic to the struggles of pre-service teachers. For example, she spoke of the same pre-service teacher Shelley mentioned, Candice, the one that admitted to feeling nervous about making phone calls home. Faith shared
that she understood how difficult it must have been for Candice to admit, and that she wanted to support her in making positive phone calls home.

Faith was also careful to challenge white pre-service teachers when necessary. After one small group discussion in the northern region, she engaged a pre-service teacher who had shared his thoughts about how college wasn’t for everyone. This disturbed a number of mentors who had been talking with one another around the room after the session. It didn’t appear to bother this pre-service teacher when a mix of mentors from a variety of ethnicities, challenged his statement.

On other occasions, according to Jovonna, Faith would work to mediate, translate, or talk to white pre-service teachers and/or administrators. Though this was an apparent unspoken negotiation, Faith was not entirely comfortable about this role. There was one instance, however, where she felt compelled to speak specifically to white privilege, being a white parent, and to respond to pre-service teacher questions about social justice in a predominantly white classroom. She shared with pre-service teachers that as a parent, she would hope her white son would have the opportunity to learn about and reflect upon the complex and painful history of slavery and racism in this country.

As the partnership progressed, Faith spoke of specific examples where she was asked to represent, or work as translator, with program administration. This idea of the need for a translator or translation appeared in a number of interviews. To community mentors, a translator was a type of cultural broker, a person who could help facilitate discussion or communication with some pre-service teachers or program administrators that did not “get it,” or did not understand the intentions or the meaning of what was said by community mentors or people of
Color. This role was in part delegated to her by her co-founder, Jovonna, and in part a request from program administration during one particularly challenging situation.

**Jovonna**

Jovonna was also an original co-founder of the Family and Community Mentor Network. She was a longtime resident, respected member of the African American community in Mountain City, and also involved in activist work, having held leadership positions in a number of community organizations around the city. At the time of this study, Jovonna was primarily working with youth in an after school programs through the Parks and Recreation department. Though her work was primarily in the African American community, Jovonna had many connections to multicultural communities of Color across the city. She was always meeting new people and, as was true of Faith as well, collaborated and worked in solidarity with a number of ethnic community organizations on a myriad of social justice issues across the city.

One of the most heartbreaking memories for Jovonna, was remembering one evening during the 1990s when she had witnessed a police raid in her community. She recalled watching young Black men running, scattering up hillsides and jumping fences for fear of police brutality and targeted arrests. What most motivated her in this work was supporting teachers in their understanding and valuing of the knowledge and wisdom of communities of Color. In the following excerpt from transcripts, Jovonna explains that many teachers have it all wrong. The popular narrative is that the problem, or the gap, rests upon the shoulders of low-income students of Color. The real problem, she argues, is with this particular narrative and the way students and communities of Color are framed by the majority culture.

“Well, I think that when young people do privilege walks … they, they’re not understanding that this is about them. It’s not about the other … it’s not about people of
Color. It’s about people of Color have taken care of themselves through this. This one is about you. People of Color can take care of themselves. We just need you to stop, get outside that dage-gone box. So, the deflection, like what would you do … you know, no. It’s about you. It’s about whiteness. It’s about white people. Don’t ask about us. We’re fine, but we need you to do better.

And so I think, communication hasn’t been, in our nation, it has not been communicated that people of Color are getting down. Which is why in front of them, I call people of Color “genius” all the time. The only reason why we’re here is because we’re genius. Only. Including our babies. And that’s not talked about enough. It’s not talked about a lot. And when you talk about whiteness and how some of that is causing problems, they then want to talk about the problem. N, n, n, no! We got the problem. We’re trying to make the problem better by helping you come along, come along with us. They don’t get that. They don’t understand that part. “Tell us about your marginalization.” No, no, no! There’s no need to keep talking about that. We’re not beating that dead horse, I’ve lived it. We’re talking about how you can come along with us in our genius. That’s what’s not talked about.”

At the beginning of this quote, Jovonna is referring to a reflective discussion that occurred after the privilege walk described earlier. During this discussion, a few pre-service teachers in Jovonna’s small group shared their discomfort with the activity and asked Jovonna what she thought about going through the exercise as a woman of Color, implying that they thought she might feel “de-privileged” by the exercise. She identified this question as a
deflection, a way for white pre-service teachers to protest the exercise as inappropriate or disrespectful to people of Color. As Jovonna explains, this country has not been able to have conversations or discussions that honor the knowledge of people of Color or that questions whiteness as the real problem. The solution to the problem, in Jovonna’s eyes, is to help white people do better, and to start working “along with us in our genius.”

Jovonna also talked about the need to meet with community mentors as a place for pre-service teachers to practice talking to families and community members. Jovonna explained in interviews as well as to pre-service teachers during various events over the year, that she would rather have these conversations now, rather than have them become problems in future teaching practice. Through these structured events and discussions, pre-service teachers could develop relationships with families and communities across the city. She and Faith consistently told pre-service teachers that supporting teachers was why they, the Family and Community Mentor Network, were there.

Through the many connections of the FCMN, pre-service teachers met multiple ethnic community leaders from all over the city. These connections often resulted not only in connections, but possible resources, supportive places, and introductions to communities that then might become partners in classroom planning and instruction or resources for future community-based teaching. A number of exit tickets and reflective writings indicate that many pre-service teachers, particularly pre-service teachers of Color, gravitated towards Jovonna.

As co-founder, Jovonna also met with university-based programmatic administrators in working out the logistics of events, discussions, and classes over the years. Towards the end of the partnership, Jovonna explained feeling that she was being treated like a child by some university-based program administrators. These discussions became increasingly difficult when
it came to talks about budgeting and what was felt as disrespectful ways in which some faculty
treated partnering community mentors.

**Discussion**

Community mentors expected that pre-service teachers and university-based teacher
educators were prepared, ready, and willing to engage in difficult conversations. Some
community mentors expected that pre-service teachers and/or university-based educators were
not “getting it;” citing it as one of the reasons why this partnership was necessary. Some
community mentors were ready when they needed to challenge pre-service teachers, while others
expressed frustration at having to repeat the same conversations, with different pre-service
teachers. They would have preferred to dig deeper into the issues of race and injustice in society
as connected to our schools. The differences between meeting the initial expectations or
understandings or not, had to do with what community mentors expected or initially understood
about pre-service teachers and university-based educators. In this section, I will discuss the
tensions that resulted in either positive or negative experiences for partnering community
mentors. As discussed in the next section, these experiences are here grouped into broad
categories in order to facilitate discussion but reflect much complicated and nuanced
experiences.
Figure 1. Community mentor experiences partnering with Mountain City University TEP.
Expectations that Differed, the Unexpected, and Not “Getting It”

The data revealed that negative experiences of community mentors (see Figure 1) resulting in feelings of frustration, disappointment, insult, or just feeling bad, arose from three rationales: 1) experiences that differed from their previous expectations and understandings, 2) experiences which were unexpected, or 3) situations where people did not appear to understand or “get it” during conversations. These three reasons could be applied to expectations and/or understandings about pre-service teachers or teacher education program faculty or administration.

With respect to the first rationale, community mentors had different understandings of the two types of work at the heart of this partnership. Unless pre-service teachers were parents or the primary caregiver of a child, understandings of the work of raising a child and what that means at different stages of development varied greatly. And unless the community mentor had some experience in the classroom setting or working in schools, they often had a different understanding of the work of teaching, especially between elementary and secondary levels. For example, most pre-service teachers didn’t have much experience as classroom teachers or in communities of Color, resulting in different ideas about social justice teaching that often were at the heart of negative experiences for community mentors.

Unexpected experiences, such as Shelley’s surprise at some pre-service teachers’ willingness to return to a bubble of privilege, were discouraging and disappointing. In some cases unexpected experiences could also be positive, though this only occurred when community mentors were surprised by the enlightened or thoughtful responses of pre-service teachers. These positive experiences are highlighted in the next section.
With respect to the third rationale, negative experiences were the result of situations in which either the pre-service teacher or partnering teacher educators didn’t “get” that issues of injustice in school were connected to larger injustices in society. Community mentors felt frustrated or impatient when they encountered pre-service teachers or teacher educators that appeared to not “get it;” didn’t understand that the narrative wasn’t always the truth of the situation for marginalized P-12 students and their respective communities. Mentors wanted to continue to support pre-service teachers in becoming strong, confident, and prepared teachers, but they also felt frustrated when pre-service teachers or university-based educators were not there already.

Instances where pre-service teachers did not seem to “get it” were usually occasions for mentors to teach or explain. Sometimes they could explain and pre-service teachers would get it, and sometimes they needed a translator. If a pre-service teacher wasn’t getting it, a translator, usually a fellow community mentor or another pre-service teacher, could help. Sometimes a pre-service teacher walked away not getting it; they remained unmoved or left with a bad experience as evidenced in exit tickets collected at the end of events. The data revealed that these instances occurred when the press for time prevented a dialogue or more discussion between mentors and pre-service teachers. This press could be attributed to the structure of the event, or to the lack of openness with which pre-service teachers came to the conversations. Community mentors expected all pre-service teachers were ready and willing to engage in difficult conversations, and were disappointed when this did not occur.

**Expectations that Aligned, the Unexpected, and Solidarity**

Positive experiences defined as complex, intense, or powerful, led to community mentors feeling more committed to the work and hopeful for the future. This mostly happened when: 1)
experiences with pre-service teachers or university-based teacher educators were aligned with community mentor understandings and expectations, 2) community mentors felt that pre-service teachers or teacher educators were invested in the conversation, even if there was disagreement or a need for translation, or 3) situations in which pre-service teachers or university-based teacher educators surprised mentors with something unexpected or that differed from their previously held expectations.

In the example of Shelley and Faith, both understood that Candice found it difficult to make phone calls home. However, these two community mentors were conflicted about whether or not this was acceptable. In Shelley’s case, she expressed feeling impatient and frustrated as it appeared to her no big deal to pick up the phone. For Shelley, getting to know families and communities meant consistently communicating and building relationships. Positive phone calls and communication with families was already assumed; it was not an option, it was a given. For Shelley, there were more pressing matters at hand. Faith, on the other hand, felt more sympathetic and moved by Candice and her honesty. Candice had shared her fear, taking a risk by revealing her vulnerability, and then taking action by rising to the challenge in changing her practice.

Many pre-service teachers, like Mario, aligned exactly with community mentor understandings and expectations of strong, culturally responsive or socially just teaching, even going so far as to identify himself as a Community Teacher. Juana developed a trusting relationship with Mario and supported him through co-planning and coordinating a powerful curricular unit involving students interviewing elders for a writing project. The class later shared their projects with their families during a special evening celebration. Though Juana was
frustrated by seeing the difference when the Community Teaching strand was scaled back, through her work with Mario, Juana’s experience was one of the most positive in the partnership.

Finally, another positive experience, and one that was initially unexpected and then realized as a given, was the impact on pre-service teachers of Color. Teachers of Color often reported feeling supported and affirmed in their vision of teaching because of the Community Teaching strand. Community mentors of Color took great pride in seeing pre-service teachers of Color, often connecting on different levels and in different types of conversations about what it means to be Community Teachers.

**Conclusion**

Ultimately, community mentors partnering with the Mountain City University teacher education program wanted to continue working, often despite, or because of, both positive and negative experiences with pre-service teachers and university-based teacher educators. They felt that these events, conversations, and relationships were valuable and important. They also expressed feeling that this was not enough and that they saw a need for more frequent (quantity) and in-depth (quality) discussions and experiences.

The community mentors felt that finding people who “get it” was essential to addressing historical and current injustices in schooling. They also understood their role as a community mentor to be one that embraced the responsibility to help pre-service teachers understand, to teach them so that they might begin to “get it” and to work in solidarity with families and communities.

Partnering community mentors felt that this work was important, not only for their own children, but for those in their communities. Mentors had either positive or negative experiences in their own schooling and were thereby invested in either continuing or disrupting experiences
for P-12 students in their communities. These experiences often influenced their expectations for the partnership. And these expectations and understandings, in turn, influenced the type of experiences they had working in partnership with the Mountain City University teacher education program.

Community mentors brought knowledge and wisdom about their children and the youth in their communities, and they shared it freely with pre-service teachers and university-based teacher educators. They also brought multicultural approaches to teaching through their knowledge of different curriculum and culturally-responsive ways of delivering instruction. Mentors were entrusting this knowledge to pre-service teachers and university-based teacher educators in the hopes that they might better help prepare and support teachers for schools in their communities. These approaches suggest the need for future research on community and family based teacher education grounded in culturally responsive instruction and in critical pedagogies.

Because community mentors were asked to give so much of their time and energy, it became apparent that part of the work of the teacher education program, was to attend to supporting them in this work. Care and respect were necessary to begin working in solidarity. Spaces for community mentors to reflect, support, and encourage one another became an important part of the partnership as well. Mentors took risks in sharing, explaining, or putting aside their own feelings in order to attend to those of the pre-service teachers or university-based educators. These experiences left some feeling exhausted and questioning whether or not to continue. On these occasions, fellow community mentors provided spaces for reflection and support for one another, either immediately following the experience, or through ongoing check-ins over the phone or in person. Because of their position of power, it is the responsibility of
teacher education programs engaging in family and community based partnerships to support, to listen, to value, to honor family and community knowledge and work as colleagues.

Though the Community Teaching strand is currently on hiatus, all community mentors expressed feeling the need and urgency, now more than ever, to better prepare teachers to teach in schools and communities through this type of a partnership. They felt a responsibility in returning to conversations with pre-service teachers who were unmoved or that didn’t get it. Rather than walk away, they saw these experiences as places where they needed to dig deeper and were reluctant to leave pre-service teachers despite the tensions with some program faculty and administration.

Finally, community mentors felt connected to and invested in the future of the pre-service teachers they met. Positive experiences with pre-service teachers were seen as places where they were just getting started with the possibilities. Community mentors had many ideas for curricular units that could be introduced in the classroom, including experiential learning connected to relevant and current issues in the community. They were willing to share resources, connections, as well as to listen, support, and to champion the work of teachers in their communities. If teacher education programs wish to remain responsive and relevant while simultaneously challenging pre-service teachers to become the best our society has to offer to our children, we must continue to work towards solidarity by honoring the students, families, and communities we are supposed to serve.
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Appendix A

Parents, Guardians, and Families
Small group regional discussions

Proposed Agenda (4:00 - 5:30pm)
1.) Introductions: choose one of the following and share with your table group:
   a. Favorite book and why …
   b. If you could have dinner with a historical person, who would you choose and why …
   c. Place you would want to travel and why …
2.) Small groups (see guiding questions below)
3.) Share out highlights from each group
4.) Exit tickets

Parents, Guardians, and Families
Exit ticket reflections

Exit ticket Questions:
1.) What did you hear in your table group?
2.) Is there something you heard/discussed that you would like to take up in instruction or relationship building in your own practice?
3.) Do you have any other questions or comments?

Small group discussion guiding questions (based on questions from pre-service):

1.) Tell us about your favorite teacher for your child. What do you want from teachers of your student? What don’t you want?
2.) What do you want teachers to know about your child(ren)/student(s)?
3.) How can educators help families feel more connected to their schools?
4.) Why do you think there is this continuing academic gap between students (of color, low socioeconomic status) and their peers?

Proposed agenda (4:00 - 5:30pm)
1.) Introductions: choose one of the following and share with your table group:
   a. Favorite book and why …
   b. Person you would have dinner with and why …
   c. Place you would want to travel and why …
2.) Small groups (some guiding questions I’ve been thinking about):
   a. How can teachers, parents, and community members, work together to create more student success?
   b. How can we better work together cross-culturally? Especially given the history and context of this community?
   ** use list of questions from class

146
3.) Share out highlights from each group
4.) Exit tickets

Planning Notes for Session I:
- there are only 8 candidates (remember, we only have 46 STEPpers this year!). With just 4 community mentors, though FCMN said they might be thinking of more, we'll be a nice small number.
- we can do either two groups with 2 family members and 4 TCs, or 3 groups with 2 or 3 TCs and 1 or 2 community mentors.
- working on combining the main themes of the TC questions down to 3 big questions for the groups
- working on a statement of purpose to help guide the goal of these small discussions.

Small group discussion guiding questions (based on questions from TCs below):
1.) Why are you here today? What do you hope to learn from today’s sessions?
2.) What do you want teachers to care about? What do you expect from teachers?
3.) What kind of communication styles work best for you? How can educators help families feel more connected to their schools?
4.) Why do you think there is this continuing academic gap between students (of color, low socioeconomic status) and their peers?

Revised Questions (10/20/14):
1.) Tell us about your favorite teacher for your child. What do you want from teachers of your student? What don’t you want?

2.) What do you want teachers to know about your child(ren)/student(s)?

3.) How can educators help families feel more connected to their schools?

4.) Why do you think there is this continuing academic gap between students (of color, low socioeconomic status) and their peers?

Questions from pre-service teachers from class (9/29/14) (need to be categorized)
1.) What is an effective approach to classroom management/discipline that does not disproportionately harm kids/alienate them?
2.) What are some ways you want (that you think your children would also want) to be involved in your school besides just money-making through PTSA?
3.) What’s the best way to motivate your students? What can I do, as a teacher, to best involve the community?
4.) What do you want teachers to care about? what do you expect from teachers? Where have teachers failed you? Or you’ve seen teachers fail?
5.) What do you expect out of school and teachers? How can teachers support parents? What do you care about most?
6.) What do you see as manifestations of racism in schools? Substitute classism, sexism, etc.. And/or What is the most important thing in education for you?
7.) What are your expectations for students after school? What are your hopes for your children? How involved are you in students' homework/life? What do you care about in terms of my role/school's
role in student life? What do you expect out of school? What do you expect from me? How can I help?

8.) How effective is restorative justice? This sounds like an awesome idea, but is this realistic? Is there a push for social justice education in privileged schools? If so, what does that look like? If not, are there plans to make incorporate social justice in the curriculum?

9.) How do we inform more affluent, homogenous groups of students about diversity in an organic way? What ways would you like to see teachers more involved in the community?

10.) What are ways we can help students who have parents who are overcoming addictions and are spending more time working on themselves and less on their kids? What can we do as teachers to be the most supportive and helpful that we can be?

11.) How can teachers better meet the needs of their black and Latino men and women? How can we best make them feel represented (see themselves at/in school curriculum) and supported?

12.) What do you think about school discipline procedures? Level of communication with guardians?

13.) Effectiveness of early start times? Feelings on disconnect between short passing periods (3 minutes) and harsh tardy policies?

14.) What kind of communication styles work best for you?

15.) How can educators help families feel more connected to their schools? What do you want your child to be learning?

16.) What is your opinion of tracking? Who was your child’s best teacher and what were the teachers’ qualities? “” worst teacher?

17.) What’s your biggest complaint about your children’s school?

18.) What ideas do you have to help engage students in science and motivate them? How can we better support ELL students?

19.) How do you honor diversity of cultures if they are at odds with each other or at odds with classroom goals?

20.) I need ideas for student engagement and motivation for science:
   a) a lot are consistently late to class, don’t do HW, and get poor scores on tests. I know they can do better, but am having a hard time getting them to know that I have a lot of students with great positive energy and want to make room for that in my classroom, how do I?

21.) In a class/school with very little diversity, what suggestions do you have to help the few minority students feel welcomed, acknowledged, cared for, without feeling singled out?

22.) How would you like the teachers in your community to best support students? (In and out of the classroom). What do you see as the biggest problem/struggle in the community?

23.) Saturday tutoring?

24.) What do you wish more teachers would do? (e.g. to connect with families, assist students better, communicate, etc.)

25.) (For parents/guardians) What is the #1 need that you need from the school to feel good about your student learning?

26.) (For parents/guardians) What is your #1 concern for your student(s) in schools and how can a teacher help alleviate that concern?

27.) How can we help parents get more involved in their students’ education?

28.) What made you get so involved in the community?

29.) What has worked in the past, and what did not make a difference?

30.) How can I help students make an impact in the community?

31.) What can we do as teachers to help parents feel like they can reach out to us at any time?
32.) What actions from teachers have been helpful in supporting the needs of ELL students?
33.) What actions have been *unhelpful*, and why?
34.) How can we as teachers help?