CHANGE AGENTS:

EMPOWERING WHITE FEMALE PRESERVICE TEACHERS

THROUGH DIALOGUE AND COUNTER-NARRATIVE

By

Judson Crandall Laughter

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Approved:

Dr. H. Richard Milner, Teaching and Learning

Dr. Marcy Singer-Gabella, Teaching and Learning

Dr. Robert Jiménez, Teaching and Learning

Dr. Lucius Outlaw, Jr., Philosophy

DEDICATION

A thumbnail sketch, a jeweler's stone, a main idea to call my own.

This dissertation is dedicated to the shoulders on which I stand
and to those who will stand on mine:

Rich–An academic father, a professional big brother, a personal friend

Laura–My support, my helpmate, my constant companion

Nugget–The human twin to this textual child;
I pray my work will make your world a better place

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA   Critical Discourse Analysis
CLS   Critical Legal Studies
CRT   Critical Race Theory
MTE   Multicultural Teacher Education
PRJ   Personal Reflection Journal
RDA   Racial Development Autobiography
SCDE   Schools, Colleges, and Departments of Education
WFPT   White Female Preservice Teacher

A LESSON FROM DEUTERONOMY

Deuteronomy 1:3-5, 24:14-22, 34:1-9

In the fortieth year, on the first day of the eleventh month, Moses proclaimed to the Israelites all that the LORD had commanded him concerning them. This was after he had defeated Sihon king of the Amorites, who reigned in Heshbon, and at Edrei had defeated Og king of Bashan, who reigned in Ashtaroth. East of the Jordan in the territory of Moab, Moses began to expound this law, saying:

Do not take advantage of a hired man who is poor and needy, whether he is a brother Israelite or an alien living in one of your towns. Pay him his wages each day before sunset, because he is poor and is counting on it. Otherwise he may cry to the LORD against you, and you will be guilty of sin.

Fathers shall not be put to death for their children, nor children put to death for their fathers; each is to die for his own sin.

Do not deprive the alien or the fatherless of justice, or take the cloak of the widow as a pledge. Remember that you were slaves in Egypt and the LORD your God redeemed you from there. That is why I command you to do this.

When you are harvesting in your field and you overlook a sheaf, do not go back to get it. Leave it for the alien, the fatherless and the widow, so that the LORD your God may bless you in all the work of your hands. When you beat the olives from your trees, do not go over the branches a second time. Leave what remains for the alien, the fatherless and the widow. When you harvest the grapes in your vineyard, do not go over the vines again. Leave what remains for the alien, the fatherless and the widow. Remember that you were slaves in Egypt. That is why I command you to do this.

Then Moses climbed Mount Nebo from the plains of Moab to the top of Pisgah, across from Jericho. There the LORD showed him the whole land–from Gilead to Dan, all of Naphtali, the territory of Ephraim and Manasseh, all the land of Judah as far as the western sea, the Negev and the whole region from the Valley of Jericho, the City of Palms, as far as Zoar. Then the LORD said to him, "This is the land I promised on oath to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when I said, 'I will give it to your descendants.' I have let you see it with your eyes, but you will not cross over into it.

And Moses the servant of the LORD died there in Moab, as the LORD had said. He buried him in Moab, in the valley opposite Beth Peor, but to this day no one knows where his grave is. Moses was a hundred and twenty years old when he died, yet his eyes were not weak nor his strength gone. The Israelites grieved for Moses in the plains of Moab thirty days, until the time of weeping and mourning was over.

Now Joshua son of Nun was filled with spirit of wisdom because Moses had laid his hand on him. So the Israelites listened to him and did what the LORD had commanded Moses.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To report on research is to tell a story. No matter the methodology or means of

analysis, to communicate what was, what is, or what seemed to be over the course of a

research study is to tell a story. I believe, in research and in the world, there are two

primary types of stories. There are what I and other researchers label Master Narratives

(Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lyotard, 1984; Stanley, 2007), those stories that represent

accepted truths, *facts*, and assumed paradigms; I provide a more detailed definition

below. There are also what I and other researchers label counter-narratives (Ladson-

Billings, 1998; Milner, 2007b; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), stories that in their telling

communicate alternative truths, problematize facts, shift paradigms, and cause one to take

a step back, to re-evaluate, to consider the world from another point of view[1].

In Chapters 6 and 7 of this report, I recount the findings of this study through a

counter-narrative; Chapters 1 through 5 define several Master Narratives against which

this report runs counter. In this chapter, I provide two research questions addressed by

my counter-narrative. In Chapter 2, I outline the Social Context of this project to

describe a Master Narrative of individual merit. In Chapter 3, I outline the Theoretical

Context of this project to describe a Master Narrative of Whiteness. In Chapter 4, I

examine ways these Master Narratives have been defined, or have failed to be defined, in

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[1] I do not mean to suggest there is only one Master Narrative or only one counter-
narrative; all narratives are complex and multiple in their construction, just as are those
who use narratives as an analytical tool.

the field of Multicultural Teacher Education. In Chapter 5, I outline the Methodological Context of this project to describe a Master Narrative of monologue. In Chapters 6 and 7, I recount a narrative that runs counter to these Master Narratives, a counter-narrative that is relational, critical of Whiteness, and dialogic. In Chapter 8, I conclude with the implications I believe this counter-narrative holds in the areas of theory, practice, and research and the limitations of this study.

<center>Master Narrative and Counter-Narrative</center>

A Master Narrative, first introduced by Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) as a *Grand Narrative*, is a story that tells a member of a society how to act; Christine Stanley (2007) defined a Master Narrative as "a script that specifies and controls how some social processes are carried out" (p. 14). The first five chapters of this dissertation define several Master Narratives present in the United States, particularly in education.

A counter-narrative is a story that critiques and deconstructs a Master Narrative by giving voice to alternative points of view (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Milner, 2007b, Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). The core of this dissertation, Chapters 6 and 7, is a counter-narrative composed in two halves: The first half comprises six individual stories, one each for the five participants and me. The second half relates a single story of all six of us in a dialogue circle. Before recounting this counter-narrative, I present its contexts so as to define fully several Master Narratives against which it runs counter. These contexts include, in succeeding chapters, the Social, the Theoretical, the Academic, and the Methodological. I begin with a brief Historical Context to provide a metaphor I find useful in defining the primary research questions of this project.

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On 4 November 2008, the people of the United States of America elected Barack Obama to the office of the President. This election was historic for several reasons, primarily because President Obama is Black[2]. The election of a Black man to the highest office in the land represented a strong counter-narrative to a political Master Narrative in which only White males were electable. The election, inauguration, and first months of Obama's presidency were the background for this dissertation.

While the election of Obama marked a great leap forward for our national psyche, the tendency to view the 44th President as a validation of an equal chance for all people might prove dangerous, as confirmed by several of President Obama's speeches. In particular, his metaphorical references to the *Joshua Generation* (e.g. Obama, 2007) delineate a very different way to read this election than simply the fulfillment of a Master Narrative in which all men are created equal.

In the 34th chapter of *Deuteronomy*, as reproduced above, Moses climbed Mount Nebo, which sat opposite Jericho across the Jordan River. The LORD of Israel gave Moses a vision of the land of Canaan, the land promised to the Israelites on oath through the Hebrew patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. While Moses, the leader of the Israelites, was allowed to see the Promised Land, he was not allowed to enter the Promised Land. The book of *Deuteronomy* represents Moses's last words to the Israelites before they entered Canaan without him; from these words, a particular vision of social justice emerged.

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[2] I use the terms Black and White (both capitalized) to define races. Race is a concept that describes a power relationship; I offer a fuller definition below. I do not use, for example, African-American and Black interchangeably.

In Chapter 24, Moses described to the Israelites how they should treat the immigrant, the orphan, and the widow. In short, the Israelites may have farms, orchards, and vineyards in which they work hard to produce a crop, but they were not to collect everything they raised. Instead, some should be left behind for the immigrant, the orphan, and the widow. Doing this, providing food for someone else who did not work for it, was to be a reminder that the Israelites once had been enslaved in Egypt. I adopted this vision of social justice for my own project, a vision in which everyone is included and in which the powerless are protected. This vision is not based on fairness or equal pay for equal work or earned merit but on a communal vision of success. Likewise, I do not believe education should be a field based on *quid pro quo* meritocracy.

The story of Moses leading the Israelites out of slavery has been adopted throughout history as a counter-narrative to communicate the emotions and desires of enslaved people, including the *de jure* slaves of the 19th century American South and the *de facto* slaves of 20th century Jim Crow. In Memphis, Tennessee, in 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968/1992) made a comparison between himself and Moses on the night before he was assassinated:

> I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land. (p. 203)

But the metaphor Obama recalls is not Moses but Joshua. When Moses died, his aide Joshua began to lead the Israelites on a conquest of the Promised Land that was supposed to be guided by a vision of communal social justice. In fact, when Moses spoke the words of *Deuteronomy*, the Israelites were themselves immigrants. Chapter 24 promised the Israelites that things would not always be as they had been under Moses.

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The election of President Obama signaled for some a similar shift in power. By standing on the shoulders of the Civil Rights Movement, the Joshua Generation seeks to continue the legacy of that struggle to create a society where

> All of God's children–black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants–will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last, free at last; thank God Almighty, we are free at last." (King, 1963/1992, pp. 105-106)

However, the struggle of the Joshua Generation does not occur in the same world as the Movement of the 1960s; the counter-narrative of the present struggle does not combat the same Master Narratives of the 1960s. Racism's power and structure has shifted to take account of and undermine the success of the Moses Generation's counter-narratives. These shifts must be uncovered and unmade before the Joshua Generation will succeed in reaching the Promised Land, before today's teachers will be empowered to use the classroom as a site for social change.

Primary Research Questions

The counter-narrative at the center of this dissertation is an attempt to uncover, understand, and unmake some small piece of the present structure of racism and its place in Master Narratives of education. As a White male researcher, theorist, and practitioner of teacher education, this project's counter-narrative centers on the education of preservice teachers; my personal demographics and their impact on my research are more fully defined in Chapter 6. There are two primary research questions I seek to address with my counter-narrative:

- The first question considers outcomes: What might dialogic teacher education[3] that prepares a teacher to see the classroom as a site for social change look like?

- The second question considers process: How might I, as a teacher educator and dialogue facilitator, develop teachers to see the classroom as a site for social change?

I continue defining the context of this project's counter-narrative through an analysis of President Obama's election; this analysis and critique provides a Social Context (Chapter 2) for this counter-narrative. This social context begins to define some of racism's power in Master Narratives. I continue with a Theoretical Context (Chapter 3) for this counter-narrative that defines methods and tools for fighting racism. Included in this theoretical context is a discussion of how the examination of race, racism, and power can provide an important foundation for social change. I then recount the Academic Context (Chapter 4) of this counter-narrative, describing what other researchers in the field of Multicultural Teacher Education are doing to combat racism, so as to situate this project in a larger field. I continue with the Methodological Context (Chapter 5) of this counter-narrative, a detailed description of how this counter-narrative came to be through the creation of a dialogue circle with five preservice teachers.

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[3] By "teacher education" I do not mean a programmatic view of teacher education; this study does not address findings or implications to a program-wide level of teacher education. By "teacher education" I mean the preparation of teachers.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL CONTEXT

In the days following Barack Obama's election, I heard several stories of people personally touched by the rise of a Black man to the nation's highest office. Many of these stories focused on a new conversation happening around the country, a conversation in which a child of any race or ethnicity stating a desire to grow up and become President of the United States was met with affirmative possibility ("Yes we can") instead of stunned silence ("Why not think of something more reasonable?"). If Barack Obama can be elected President, so the logic follows, anyone can be elected President, even if he or she is not an upper class White male.

For many, President Obama represents the validity of a Master Narrative of Meritocracy. A meritocracy is a state governed by the fair and equal application of earned merit to all its citizens; an accompanying Master Narrative claims that I live in a country where anyone can succeed if he or she is willing to work hard. The supposed realization of this Master Narrative is not, in my opinion, a positive development but instead represents an evolution in a racist Master Narrative meant to maintain deep hegemonic roots.

The critique of merit is well defined in the literature, for example by Daniel Farber and Suzanna Sherry (2000):

> Radical constructivists contend that standards of merit are socially constructed to maintain the power of dominant groups. In other words, "merit" has no meaning, except as a way for those in power to perpetuate the existing hierarchy. (p. 579)

This critique of merit often refers to the myth of meritocracy (McIntosh, 1989), which I define more fully below. Understanding the myth of meritocracy may be an important step to countering a Master Narrative. However, there may also be a fallacy of meritocracy that might be examined and understood if the Joshua Generation hopes to succeed. Defining both the myth and the fallacy of meritocracy, I describe a large piece of the social context in which my dissertation was written and begin to explore a Master Narrative against which the narrative of this project runs counter.

The Myth of Meritocracy

In my own experiences preparing teachers for the diverse[4] classroom, the belief in merit is one of the most resistant pieces of a Master Narrative to which preservice teachers cling. The hardest discussion I have with preservice teachers is trying to convince them that there is more than individual effort at play when a student fails to succeed. It is a foundational contention of this Master Narrative that, in the United States, if a man or woman works hard he or she will succeed. To support this contention, a litany of rags-to-riches stories are recited and celebrated during even the earliest years of schooling. Perhaps President Obama will be added to that list and celebrated as proof that the United States are no longer racist in their institutions or citizens' personal beliefs.

However, meritocracy is part of a Master Narrative created to benefit those in power and maintain invisible methods of oppression. I came to understand the myth of meritocracy through my studies in the field of Critical Race theory (CRT, Delgado &

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[4] I do not use the word *diverse* as a synonym for non-White. I believe diversity occurs in infinite ways both between people and within people. A diverse classroom is thus a recognition that each member of the classroom is an individual.

Stefancic, 2001), which has played a large role in uncovering and unmaking several Master Narratives; I define CRT more completely in Chapter 3. The critique of meritocracy is imbedded specifically in CRT's challenge to ideas like neutrality, objectivity, and color-blindness (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). For a system of earned merit to exist, all people must begin on a level playing field with equal opportunity and equal possibility. CRT reveals this ideal to instead be camouflage "for the self-interest of powerful entities of society" (Tate, 1997, p. 235).

That is, one who believes in a Master Narrative of Meritocracy believes that the poor are poor because they are lazy and do not have a drive to succeed. Upending that half of the myth of meritocracy is the easier piece of exploring merit with preservice teachers. It is not too difficult for preservice teachers to admit that students face factors outside of their control; after all, it would be heartless to blame a six-year old for not making it to school on time. The displacement of meritocratic blame from student to parent offers a way to begin disrupting a meritocratic Master Narrative. However, this disruption often becomes personal when exploring the corollary.

My academic institution is a medium-sized private Southern tier one university. As such, many of the preservice teachers whom I have taught come from wealthy, privileged backgrounds. Exposing as a myth the idea that the rich have not necessarily worked hard for their economic success can be volatile. Yet, one cannot accept the myth of the poor without accepting the myth of the rich. Many of the preservice teachers in my own classes, if they are honest with themselves, have to admit that they have done little to earn the privileges they enjoy. They may be correct in assigning some measure of success to the difficult classes they took in high school or the long hours they have

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committed to their extra-curricular activities. However, they often ignore their

matriculation to elite preparatory schools or even the constant fulfillment of their basic

human needs as factors to their success, factors that they did not merit on their own. To

come to the conclusion that an elite position in society is not the result of hard work

might be a hard conclusion for those who are in that elite position.

It may be to support the myth of meritocracy that some will read the election of

Barack Obama. The election of a Black man to the presidency, matched by the story of

his own lifelong struggles, empowers a meritocratic Master Narrative. Preservice

teachers might even more deeply believe that anyone can succeed if he or she works hard,

squarely placing the blame for failure on the shoulders of the individual, rather than

admitting larger social factors that lift some people up and hold other people down.

There is little doubt that Barack Obama's election marked a new chapter in American

history and his life story should be applauded. However, I do not believe that even

President Obama would claim he alone earned all the he has attained. From his own

words, which I cite below, I do not believe he insists on a colorblind, neutral, and

objective meritocracy. In order to forestall the sublimation of Obama's story to a

meritocratic Master Narrative, one might also understand that a Fallacy of Meritocracy.

The Fallacy of Meritocracy

Perhaps society is moving in the right direction. Maybe the United States, with

time and evolution, are becoming a more meritocratic place where anyone (as opposed to

everyone) can succeed. However, even this desire for meritocracy might be

problematized: Is meritocracy an ideal toward which to strive? Does society really want

to provide everyone an equal opportunity to succeed? These questions may appear easily

answered in the affirmative, but perhaps a deeper consideration and critique may prevent

a Master Narrative from continuing to define merit and success. If the myth of

meritocracy refers to the belief that the United States are meritocratic when they are not,

then the fallacy of meritocracy refers to the belief that social justice means working to

make the United States more meritocratic. This Fallacy might be problematized lest

teacher educators attempt to prepare teachers who equate social justice with meritocracy.

The United States would look different if every citizen had equal opportunity and

access. Adequate healthcare might be universal. Education might be free to all who

desired it. Human needs for food, clothing, and shelter might be met. But is that all that

the country wants? The fallacy of meritocracy is problematic because equating social

justice with meritocracy defines success and failure as the results of individual work; this

focus on success and failure in individual terms might only help the hegemony of a

meritocratic Master Narratives. That is, even an actual meritocracy defines success and

failure in terms of individual responsibility and blame.

There was a constant to the speeches President Obama offered on the campaign

trail. That constant was a validation of community and an implicit contradiction of

individual merit. In his speeches, President Obama explained the sacrifices made by his

single mother so that he would be clothed and fed. In his speeches, President Obama

described the sacrifices of his grandparents so that he would be well educated. In his

speeches, President Obama (2008a) described the sacrifices of his immediate family, of

his wife and daughters, so that he might rise to the office of the presidency:

> In the faces of those young veterans who come back from Iraq and Afghanistan, I
> see my grandfather, who signed up after Pearl Harbor, marched in Patton's Army,

and was rewarded by a grateful nation with the chance to go to college on the GI Bill. In the face of that young student who sleeps just three hours before working the night shift, I think about my mom, who raised my sister and me on her own while she worked and earned her degree; who once turned to food stamps but was still able to send us to the best schools in the country with the help of student loans and scholarships.

A Master Narrative's meritocracy would prefer Obama to claim the meritocratic rights of his hard work and individual success. However, he locates his success in the shoulders on which he stands. It was not the meritocracy of his individual labor that made him President but the communal sacrifices of others.

The fallacy of meritocracy is maintaining a belief in success as something that happens to an individual. The Moses Generation did not believe in merit as a defining goal of society. One year before he died, Dr. King (1967/1992) broke his silence on the war in Vietnam with a call to a genuine revolution:

> A genuine revolution of values means in the final analysis that our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies. This call for a world-wide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all men. (p. 150)

Dr. King's genuine revolution was not a call for individual opportunity but for neighborly concern, for commitment to community. Even Dr. King's (1968/1992) selection of heroes reflected the rejection of meritocracy in favor of the relational: "Jesus ended up saying, this was the good man, this was the great man, because he had the capacity to project the "I" into the "thou," and to be concerned about his brother" (p. 200).

As the now spokesman of the Joshua Generation, President Obama continues this call. In his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention, then Candidate Obama (2008a) specifically denounced a meritocratic social vision:

> For over two decades, he's [President George W. Bush] subscribed to that old, discredited Republican philosophy–give more and more to those with the most and hope that prosperity trickles down to everyone else. In Washington, they call this the Ownership Society, but what it really means is–you're on your own. Out of work? Tough luck. No health care? The market will fix it. Born into poverty? Pull yourself up by your own bootstraps - even if you don't have boots. You're on your own.

His acceptance speech did not only condemn the myth of meritocracy but also the fallacy of meritocracy in relational terms:

> It's a promise that says each of us has the freedom to make of our own lives what we will, but that we also have the obligation to treat each other with dignity and respect… That's the promise of America–the idea that we are responsible for ourselves, but that we also rise or fall as one nation; the fundamental belief that I am my brother's keeper; I am my sister's keeper.

This one statement, that I am my brother's and sister's keeper, may be understood to upend over two-hundred years of a Master Narrative founded on success and failure as individual responsibility. President Obama's story is a counter-narrative and an example for teachers who want to feel empowered to use the classroom as a site for social change.

It may be easy to believe that everyone in the United States does not have an equal opportunity of success. A large portion of education research is dedicated to describing the many ways in which equal opportunity does not exist (e.g. Kozol, 1992, 2006). However, meritocracy is not necessarily an ideal toward which I must work if I want to make the United States a better place through the preparation of teachers for the diverse classroom. Instead, the success of one might be seen as the success of all; likewise, the failure of one might be the failure of all. Teacher educators might root out the words "Yes I Can" and replace them with the words of a counter-narrative:

> This is our chance to answer that call. This is our moment. This is our time - to put our people back to work and open doors of opportunity for our kids; to restore prosperity and promote the cause of peace; to reclaim the American Dream and reaffirm that fundamental truth–that out of many, we are one; that while we breathe, we hope, and where we are met with cynicism, and doubt, and those who

tell us that we can't, we will respond with that timeless creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes We Can. (Obama, 2008b)

The social context in which this dissertation was situated changed through a counter-narrative espoused by President Obama. From this social context, I draw the social ideal toward which this project's counter-narrative runs, an ideal that exposes both the myth and fallacy of meritocracy, the ideal of Relational Pluralism.

Relational Pluralism

What is the purpose of teacher education and to what end should it be directed? If teachers are to be agents of social change, how should they direct their work? In this project's counter-narrative, the purpose of teacher education is to prepare teachers who are willing to use the classroom as a site for social struggle against oppressive Master Narratives. A successful counter-narrative critiques a Master Narrative by providing another focus toward which society can progress; that is, this project's counter-narrative might provide an alternative to meritocracy.

The focus of this project's counter-narrative is *relational pluralism*. I define relational pluralism as an ideal in which "we acknowledge, affirm, and find strength in our singularities while at the same time maintaining connections with others in intersecting circles of community" (American Commitments, 1995, p. xxi). Relational pluralism runs counter to a Master Narrative of Meritocracy by lifting up the individual as a member of a community, an individual who might succeed or fail only as the community succeeds or fails.

Operationalizing relational pluralism in the classroom, whether the teacher education or the P-12 classroom, might look very different from what is expected in more

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traditional versions of education. Primarily, issues of social justice might take precedence over academic content concerns; in short, it would be more important to develop relationships and the ability to dialogue effectively than to be able to complete an equation or analyze a poem. However, as described below in Chapter 8, this ideal classroom need not lack sufficient academic content.

I provide here a Utopian perspective; the point of this discussion is not to address whether or not this ideal is possible but to provide a description of the ideal toward which this project moves. The complexities of an individual classroom do not allow for more than an artificial ideal that might be adapted to each context. An ideal relational classroom would blur the line between teacher and student so that each was simultaneously engaged in learning from and teaching the other; Freire (1970) used the terms Teacher-Student and Student-Teachers to try to describe this ideal. In an ideal relational classroom, the most important subject, presented in both content and method, is the building of relationships with others; academic content is bent solely toward the aim of building relationships.

In learning to initiate, build, and maintain relationships, the teachers and students in an ideal relational classroom learn to see the human in themselves and in others. This double recognition is key to promoting social change because in recognizing one's own humanity in the humanity of others, the objectifying processes that lead to discord and conflict are obviated. I do not mean to imply that conflict does not arise, but to suggest that when conflict does arise, the members of the classroom are able to resolve conflict without dehumanizing the other.

The use of the term relational also moves beyond more typical definitions. For example, it might be argued that even the dehumanizing interactions between a master and slave is some sort of relationship. In this project, however, the use of a term like *relationship* is more specific. In this project, a relationship describes an interaction in which each party is both humanized within and actively engaged in humanizing the other. Freire (1970) goes to great lengths to describe this distinction when discussing the necessary place of cooperation in dialogue:

> Cooperation, as a characteristic of dialogical action–which occurs only among Subjects (who may, however, have diverse levels of functions and thus of responsibility)–can only be achieved through communication. (p. 149)

Likewise, *relationship* as a term used in this study only occurs among subjects. Subjects interacting with one another do not objectify the other. An interaction between a master and a slave would not be considered a relationship because it involves objectification. As such, the word *relationship* when used in this study does not refer to all interactions between two people but to an interaction that is mutually and actively humanizing.

A commitment to relational pluralism may prove important for a change agent who wants to disrupt a Master Narrative of Meritocracy. Thus, the social context of this project's counter-narrative provides an alternative to this Master Narrative; the social context provides the end toward which this project's counter-narrative is told. The means of reaching that end arise from a related context, a theoretical context.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL CONTEXT

The theoretical context of this project's counter-narrative results from exploring several fields and disciplines over the course of the last five years. What I present here is a selection of those fields that most directly relates to the telling of this project's counter-narrative. I have chosen a theoretical context of three primary pieces to define oppressive Master Narratives and the ways in which I believe teacher education, and this project's counter-narrative in particular, might be used to disrupt notions of meritocracy in favor of relational pluralism. I present these three pieces individually and then describe how they work together in praxis to form a unified framework.

I begin with Critical Race Theory; CRT provides both the context in which I understand race and racism and the reason why race has such a prominent place in this counter-narrative. I continue with theoretical work on beliefs and how beliefs change; this work provides information on the methods by which Master Narratives control internal knowledge and beliefs. I continue with the introduction of Dialogic Pedagogy; dialogic pedagogy provides the general means by which an ideal like relational pluralism can be used to upend Master Narratives. I close with a description of two praxes, one individual and one communal, that demonstrate the connections I have made among these three fields and how they come to bear on this project's counter-narrative.

Critical Race Theory

People have always noticed differences in each other. Different skin tones, facial features, and hair textures appear in the earliest art work. However, the concept of race may be seen as something different, a product of the European Enlightenment's mythologies, as defined by Ashley Montagu (1997):

> The myth of race refers not to the fact that physically distinguishable populations of humans exist, but rather to the belief that races are populations or peoples whose physical differences are innately linked with significant differences in mental capacities, and that these innate hierarchical differences are measurable by the cultural achievements of such populations. (p. 44)

Race delineates a power relationship, not just a collection of phenotypic features. During the period of the Enlightenment, the theory and practice of universal human rights created a contradiction between utopian desires and economic realities. The concept of race represents a rationalization, and not transcendence, of that contradiction.

The understanding and definition of race presented in this study collates several sources but is not unproblematic. That is, the definition of race presented in this study includes information and histories from sources that are themselves conflicting. As described below, from the dialogue circle in this study emerged three primary themes that became the focus of much conversation and that helped form a deeper definition of race as operationalized in this study. These three themes are that race is not biological, that racism is a systemic disease, and that the history of race originated with the abolitionist movements of the mid eighteenth century. I address each of these in turn.

To claim that race is not biological may run the risk of appearing to claim that race is not real (e.g. Montagu, 1997). Evidence from this study suggests that race is indeed real and operates in multiple lived experiences in multiple ways. To claim that

race is not biological is to dissociate the characteristics placed on a race from biological

traits. For example, there are light- and dark-skinned people in the world, but the

phenotypic marker of skin color should not be linked in any way to intelligence or ability

to succeed. This is the *myth of race* to which Montagu's (1997) title refers. The myth is

not that all human beings are the same but the connection between phenotype and

intelligence and ability.

To claim that racism is a systemic disease is also problematic in that such a

definition might encourage some to claim innocence when acting out in racist ways. That

is, one might claim, "It's not my fault I'm racist; the system made me this way." To

claim that racism is a social disease is not used, in this study, to attempt to assign guilt

but to attempt to attack the problem of racism at a deeper point. As such, evidence from

this study suggests that understanding racism as a systemic disease and individual actions

as symptoms of that disease might be useful in developing anti-racist White identities.

Left to the individual, being a non-racist simply becomes a matter of not saying or

thinking certain things. Carried into the systemic, being a non-racist becomes a matter of

fighting a system and not a matter of attacking individuals.

Finally, the history of race presented here is situated around a definition of race

along a Black versus White paradigm as developed from the historical reality of the

Atlantic slave trade, but this, too, is problematic. People have always noticed differences.

The earliest recorded history makes distinctions among various groups. However, these

groups do not constitute separate *races* in the parlance of this study. While the history of

slavery is many millennia long, most societies with slaves did not see those slaves as less

than human; they were slaves because the masters were more powerful, more educated,

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more godly. However, the Enlightenment's search for universal human rights posed a

problem to 18th century Europe; simply put, their economic system would not stand if

slaves were granted the rights of all humans. As such, when abolitionists began to call

for the freeing of slaves, the Master Narratives of slavery were rewritten to claim that

slaves were, in fact, less than human and so universal human rights did not apply. It is

from this history that this study takes its understanding of race as a dehumanizing

definition of those oppressed by those who are in power. Thus, the difference between

Black and White is not simply one of skin color or privilege but primarily a distinction

between human and made-less-than-human.

The presence of race in current society maintains these and other contradictions.

Thus, the vocabulary and method of critique via a dialectic becomes important, as

adapted by Omi and Winant (1994):

> There is a continuous temptation to think of race as an *essence*, as something
> fixed, concrete, and objective. And there is also an opposite temptation: to
> imagine race as a mere *illusion*, a purely ideological construct which some ideal
> non-racist social order would eliminate. It is necessary to challenge both these
> positions, to disrupt and reframe the rigid and bipolar manner in which they are
> posed and debated, and to transcend the presumably irreconcilable relationship
> between them. (p. 54)

Critical Race Theory represents a school of thought descendent from and citing work as

varied as that of W.E.B. Du Bois, Paulo Freire, and Antonio Gramsci, among others

(Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), in an attempt to engage this dialectic between essence and

illusion, most recently in the field of education.

A History of CRT

Traditional legal discourse viewed the law as a finite set of rules from which judges made decisions (White, 1972). If the law did not provide precedent for a particular situation, then that situation did not fall under the purview of the law; until laws were passed to address the situation, the court would remain silent. In addition, social forces and historical distance made no difference to the application of the law. In the 1920s and 1930s, realism came to place a strong philosophical influence on the law (Livingston, 1982) as its proponents contended that "the application of behavioral sciences and statistical method to legal analysis would lead to better and more creative forms of legal thought and, ultimately, social policy" (Tate, 1997, p. 207). In short, arguing a law case came to be seen as two sides telling two stories based on the same set of established facts. In this way, the use of narrative and counter-narrative became integral methods of the law and, later, of CRT.

From this critique, a movement now known as Critical Legal Studies (CLS, Unger, 1983) maintained that the ideology inherent in traditional legal discourse only served the hegemony, with the caveat, via Gramsci, that even the dominated classes offered their support. Therefore, legal doctrine could be situated in its own historical and material moment, giving birth to internal contradictions and external inconsistencies; the transcendence of these would drive the development of legal theory (Unger, 1983).

Just as critical theory should regularly critique itself, the dialectical contradiction harbored within CLS attacked formal structures in the law while avoiding the material lives of the oppressed (Delgado, 1987). A particular critic of CLS brought the presence of race full into the discourse of the law. Derrick Bell took the *Brown v. Board* decision

of 1954, the "crown jewel of U.S. Supreme Court jurisprudence" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 18), as the preeminent site of legal critique in the United States. *Brown* seemed to overturn centuries of racial oppression, but Bell's investigation revealed how the U.S. legal system remained firmly in the hands of the ruling class. A new understanding of the law was necessary before racial oppression would end and Bell's work served as the source of the critical theory now known as Critical Race Theory.

In successive years, two of Bell's students, Richard Delgado (1987) and Kimberlé Crenshaw (1988), laid out what they felt were the shortcomings of CLS: race seemed to play a supporting role to class in the examination of society. As presented by Delgado and Stefancic (2001), "A movement that has no theory of race and class is apt to seem increasingly irrelevant" (p. 95). Delgado (1987) felt CLS equated racism and classism unfairly, rejected the possibilities of incremental change, and relied on logic and reason too heavily as human directors. Crenshaw (1988) thought that CLS did not analyze society through the reality of those being oppressed, failed to understand the hegemonic power of racism, and minimized the transformative power of an active social theory.

The work of Bell and his students maintained the importance of the dialectic by addressing inherent contradictions within the law. Bell's (1987) book *And We Are Not Saved* demonstrated several contradictions through the medium of narrative by telling the story of Geneva, a NAACP lawyer who suffers a mental breakdown from the workload and pressure of fighting for civil rights. After twenty years of hospitalization, she is again healthy and engages the narrator of the book in a series of dialogues so as to come up to speed with the Movement. These "chronicles" ranged on topics from the Constitution to the form and legacy of the *Brown* decision, laying out three primary

dialectical contradictions: the Constitutional contradiction, interest convergence, and threat to social status.

In the Unites States Constitution, the rationalization of race, as described above, created a foundational legacy, a Master Narrative, out of the contradiction between human rights and property rights: "When confronted with the decision between White racism and justice, the framers of the Constitution chose racism and the rewards of property" (Tate, 1997, p. 214). The Constitution not only allowed private property, but laid out specific measures to protect it, primarily in granting the franchise only to White land owners.

Interest Convergence (Bell, 1980; 2005) represented the contradiction between the interests of humanization and the interests of hegemony. In short, the rights of the racially oppressed were only supported when consistent with the needs of those in power (Bell, 1980; Ladson-Billings, 1998). The contradiction maintained the distinction between the needs of the oppressed and the needs of the oppressor, thereby maintaining the existence of the oppressor and his defining power over the oppressed. In practical terms, the existence of the Fourteenth Amendment or the Civil Rights Act will come to nothing if they diverge from the interests of the oppressor.

A corollary defining the limits of Interest Convergence is the Threat to Social Status, which represented the contradiction between the proclamation of liberation with the rejection of the necessary means. To achieve solidarity with the oppressed, a solidarity based on trust and love, the socially-conscious oppressor had to relinquish privileges. As Bell demonstrated, this was very hard to do.

The transcendence of any of these contradictions required a critical theory imbued

with the theoretical, active, and reflective critique of race. As a systemic and endemic

reality (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001), the contradictions of

race in the United States represented a structure of privilege and oppression correlated to

socially-created differences that appeared normal and natural to many, a universal set of

truths to remain unquestioned (Ladson-Billings, 1998). This system was reproduced

everywhere. It was present in the unspoken benefits offered to people with light skin

(McIntosh, 1989). It created the systems used to practice science (Scheurich & Young,

1997). It defined everyone, even those fighting against it in the field of education.

CRT in Education

In the years following *Brown* and the dissolution of the *Public School Way Back

When* (Ladson-Billings, 1999), teachers and teacher-education programs faced a diversity

for which they were not prepared. The 1960s saw several sociologists and educators

defining this new diversity in terms of "culturally deprived" and "culturally

disadvantaged": "The school's role was to *compensate* for the children's presumed lack

of socialization and cultural resources" (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 216, emphasis in

original). Subtly, the desegregation of the 1950s and 1960s shifted the form of

oppression from one of force to one of coercion using the school system as a means of

social reproduction. New theories and new applications became necessary to undo this

damage, to fight the new forms that racism was taking on. The work of CRT in the

courts caught the attention of theorists who saw connections between the law and

education. In 1995, Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate proposed the adoption of

CRT as an analytical tool for critiquing educational theory, policy, and practice.

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) numbered three primary propositions whose development argued for "a critical race theoretical perspective in education analogous to that of critical race theory in legal scholarship" (p. 47):

Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States. The 2008 presidential contest brought the issue of race to the forefront of American consciousness like few things have in the past decade. The presence of race as a significant factor in measuring and understanding inequity seemed undeniable in the face of condemnatory statistical data concerning "high school dropout rates, suspension rates, and incarceration rates" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 48). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) saw the binary between race as illusion and race as essence as indicative of the questions theorists posed. One might address the use of a concept like race if it failed to make sense, if one could not provide clear definitions of useful distinctions.

U.S. Society is based on property rights. In one of his fundamental critiques, Derrick Bell (1987) laid out the Constitutional Contradiction as the inequitable confusion of universal human rights and landed property rights present in America's founding documents. It was on this legal basis that Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) staked a claim and also based later work laying out America's confusion between capitalism and democracy (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Master Narratives maneuvered even supposed advances in human rights to their own benefit.

The intersection of race and property creates an analytical tool through which we can understand social inequity. Race was still significant for defining inequity in the United States, and in education in particular. If society defined itself through a fundamental confusion of human rights and property rights, then the intersection of these

promoted "the construction of whiteness as the ultimate property" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 58). An American mythology of possessing human rights was tied to the possession of property, of which being White was the most important. Even the Constitution maintained a difference between free and slave based on racial characteristics, a precedent followed throughout judicial and legislative history.

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) laid out these three contentions as a rubric for CRT, a list of tenets defining the movement. Several other scholars have also created lists of CRT's tenets, as collated below in Table 3.1. Where CRT became important in this project's counter-narrative was in its distinction of the relationship of race, racism, and power as an important site for social change.

A primary focus of this project's counter-narrative was race and racism because they provide a specifically salient topic from which social change can emanate; likewise, the strong narrative focus of CRT offered instruction for the method of creating and using a counter-narrative. The intersection of race and education in the form of White preservice teachers presents four interrelated problems (Sleeter, 2008) that might prevent social change and help maintain Master Narratives:

- White preservice teachers are often "dysconscious" of how racism works, not as individual acts but as a larger systemic force. Dysconscious racism (King, 1991) does not refer to inequalities of which one is unconscious but inequalities to which one is taught to ignore through acceptance of Master Narratives;
- White preservice teachers often have lower expectations for students of color, misunderstanding inequalities produced by racism (Marx & Pennington, 2003);
- White preservice teachers often have little experience with communities of color

and so come to fear both people from those communities and talking about race

and racism (Martin & Williams-Dixon, 1994);

- White preservice teachers often do not understand themselves as racial beings,

taught by Master Narratives to see themselves as normal (Valli, 1995).

Through the deep theoretical understanding of race developed by CRT, practical steps to

fight the racism inherent to Master Narratives become apparent in education.

General Theme	Milner (2007b)	Delgado & Stefancic (2001)	Solórzano & Yosso (2001)	Ladson-Billings (1998)	Tate (1997)	Ladson-Billings & Tate (1995)
Racism is systemic	Race and racism are endemic, pervasive, widespread, and ingrained	Racism is ordinary, not aberrational	The centrality & intersectionality of race and racism	Racism is normal in American society	Racism is endemic	Racism as endemic and deeply ingrained
Rebuke of the system		Race and racism are products of social thought; differential racialization; anti-essentialism	The Challenge to dominant ideology	Critique of liberalism	Portrays dominant legal claims of neutrality as camouflage	Challenging claims of neutrality and meritocracy
Activist Theory	Interest Convergence	Interest Convergence or material determinism and "Color-blind" conceptions of equality	The commitment to social justice	Interest Convergence	Reinterprets civil rights law in light of its limitations	Reinterpretation of ineffective civil rights law
Use of Voice	Centrality of narrative and counter-narratives	Unique voice of color	The centrality of experiential knowledge	Sometimes employs storytelling to analyze culture	Insists on a contextual/historical examination	Naming one's own reality
Not just in a single field			Interdisciplinary perspective		Racism crosses epistemological boundaries	

Table 3.1: Tenets of Critical Race Theory

A primary voice turning a deeper understanding of race and racism into classroom practice is Beverly Tatum (1992, 1994, 2007). Tatum (2007) offers a broad vision for schools that prepare students counter to Master Narratives:

> What must we do? In particular, White children will need to be in schools that are intentional about helping them understand social justice issues like prejudice, discrimination, and racism, empowering them to think critically about the stereotypes to which they are exposed in the culture. Such tools will be needed to help them acquire the social skills necessary to function in a diverse world. These tools will also be essential to foster continued progress in a society still struggling to disentangle the racism woven into the fabric of its founding. (p. 20)

If White children need to be in schools like those described by Tatum, they might also need teachers who have also been intentionally helped to understand these social justice issues. This project's counter-narrative is a story of helping some preservice teachers to understand these social justice issues and to develop a commitment to social change.

<div align="center">Knowledge and Beliefs</div>

In developing a counter-narrative wherein preservice teachers might come to understand some of the social justice issues that arise from deeper understandings of race and racism provided through CRT, I reviewed theoretical literature that examined the ways teachers come to know and believe. This literature further defines the theoretical context of this project's counter-narrative by providing a vision of how the knowledge and beliefs taught by Master Narratives can be influenced. In exploring the literature on teacher beliefs, I discuss early research in the field via the work of Green (1971) and Rokeach (1972). In this early work, the psychology of the individual was under investigation; beliefs were personal and could not be observed, only inferred from actions and words. I also discuss more recent research, represented in the work of Nespor (1987)

and Pajares (1992). In the more recent research, beliefs are considered as constructed through complex interactions with outside influences.

One primary puzzle with which this work has wrestled is the distinction between knowledge and beliefs. Many in the field seem to use the terms synonymously (e.g. Kagan, 1992). However, both Green (1971) and Nespor (1987) see them as distinct, though not necessarily discrete, categories. The importance of this discussion to this project is in the axiom that knowledge and belief operate in different kinds of situations; in fact, belief operates where knowledge is insufficient, and vice versa. In this project's counter-narrative with a focus on race, this distinction became key to understanding why certain beliefs can exist when established knowledge would seem to run contrary. Likewise, this work began to explain why familiarity with another person might be a successful method for lowering internal and external barriers to relationship.

The stratification of different types of beliefs was an early project of the researchers listed above and current work continues to build on the foundations of Green (1971) and Rokeach (1972). In synthesizing the work on belief systems as presented by Green (1971), Rokeach (1972), Nespor (1987), and Pajares (1992), I understand beliefs as fitting into four categories, as represented below in Figure 3.1:

- Core Beliefs, sometimes called Primitive Beliefs, are the most strongly held beliefs and therefore the least likely to change. These beliefs define paradigms, the ways one views reality, and even make up significant portions of personal identities. These beliefs are developed through direct interaction with the world and others. A Core Belief would include, "I believe my mom loves me."

- Authority Beliefs are also not likely to change because they provide us with information on which authorities should be believed and which should be dismissed. While one can recognize that others may favor different authorities, authority beliefs are tightly held because of personal interaction with authority. An Authority Belief would include the statement, "I believe the Bible is true."

- Derived Beliefs are connected to Authority Beliefs because they are not the product of personal interaction but derived from outside authorities in which we believe. These make up a great number of our beliefs, everything from religion to ideology to politics. A Derived Belief would include the statement, "I believe America is a place where anyone can succeed."

- Inconsequential Beliefs are related to personal taste. If someone disagrees with these beliefs, it is not significant; one is able to change these beliefs often with new information or experiences. An Inconsequential Belief would include the statement, "I believe Jameson's is my favorite whiskey."

By examining beliefs within a hierarchical system, the relationships among different types of beliefs began to become apparent, allowing the imagination of ways to influence these beliefs. Beliefs about race and racism are particularly influenced by the ways in which they are systematically classified.

Beliefs about Race

I define beliefs about race and racism as Derived Beliefs; that is, I have learned most of what I believe about race and racism from outside authorities, social structures, and systems that I trust. However, the power of a Master Narrative might be that it

disguises these Derived Beliefs as Core Beliefs. This might be why an anthropologist

and race theorist like Ashley Montagu (1997) goes on for hundreds of pages to debunk

the scientific myths used to establish races as natural categories. The "science" of race

tries to teach that distinct phenotypic characteristics can be associated with intelligence

and with the ability to succeed. If this becomes scientific "fact," as it did throughout the

19th and 20th centuries, then one believes these facts without recourse to the possibility of

change; they are natural and incontrovertible, like a core belief in mother's love.
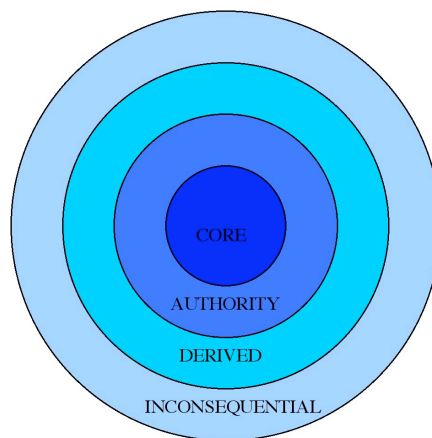
Figure 3.1: A Belief System

Viewing beliefs about race as Derived Beliefs disguised as Core Beliefs led to

some interesting conjectures on how to influence beliefs about race and racism, both

within an individual and within a society. If a preservice teacher believed that what he or

she believed about race was a Core Belief, he or she might be very unwilling to change

that Core Belief; these beliefs would be a foundation of identity and would appear self-

evident. In developing a counter-narrative, I might first approach a preservice teacher

with the conjecture that maybe these Core Beliefs were in fact Derived Beliefs. This might open up these beliefs to the possibility of change.

Influencing Derived Beliefs may be mostly a matter of addressing the Authority Beliefs from which those Derived Beliefs derived. If trust in Authority could be problematized, then beliefs derived from that authority might also be problematized. In the case of the participants in this project's counter-narrative, I began with the conjecture that they have not spent large amounts of time considering and reflecting on their beliefs about race (McIntyre, 1997; Sleeter, 2008); this assumption prevented me from assuming previous knowledge. Not having reflected on their personal beliefs about race meant that the participants may have had beliefs about race that they believe to be Core Beliefs. Montagu (1997) addressed these beliefs by trying to undermine trust in the scientific authorities fundamental to establishing these beliefs. In presenting this information to the participants in this project's counter-narrative, I opened up a space in which they could question both their beliefs about race and the authorities on which those beliefs are based.

If these individual beliefs could be opened to examination, then new understandings and definitions of race and racism might be introduced. If I supported preservice teachers in questioning the nature of race, the topic of race might become open for conversation. If such conversations began to occur in sufficient numbers, if such individual counter-narratives began to be told, then the Master Narratives might lose the power to define the authority on which individuals draw those beliefs (Laughter, Baker, Williams, & Milner, 2006).

Even in these general terms, this process sounds violent, and it is. I hold no platitudes that this type of work is always happy, enlightening, enjoyable work. This

work can attack established identities and can cause fundamental upheaval in an individual and in a community. I believe this violence might be mitigated most if the process were made as explicit and consistent as possible, lest a belief system throw up defensive measures to protect itself. In attempting to create a counter-narrative, the use of dialogue became an important tool, a way to evade a Master Narrative's defenses.

<div align="center">Dialogic Pedagogy</div>

Attempting social change by influencing beliefs would not, as I said above, be an easy and lighthearted process. To see success in any such method, I believe a safe, consistent, and honest arena is necessary; dialogic pedagogy provides such a space. My understanding of Dialogic pedagogy was rooted primarily in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (2004) and Paulo Freire (1970, 1985). These two pedagogues are often compared, despite Freire's allegiance to the political left and Bakhtin's to the right (Matusov, 2004). In each case, dialogic pedagogy was presented as the opposite of the current model of pedagogy, what Freire (1970) called the Banking Model of Education and what Bakhtin (2004) called monologic pedagogy. For a concise definition, I refer to Eugene Matusov's (2004) discussion of Bakhtin:

> Dialogic pedagogy is based on colliding and testing diverse ideas presented by different voices, by different members of a community. It involves genuine interest in each other. In dialogic pedagogy, the teacher does not look for a student's errors but rather learns from the student how the student sees the world and him/herself. Disagreements between the student and the teacher are valued, respected, and expected. Bakhtin argued that truth has an inherently dialogic nature. (p. 7; see also Morrell, 2004)

If dialogic pedagogy provides an arena in which diverse ideas are presented by different voices in a community, then this arena can be used to present diverse ideas about race

and racism, ideas that run counter to oppressive Master Narratives. Such a possibility

was present in the work of Freire (1970), where dialogue became an important tool for

the liberation of the oppressed: "Dialogue is never an end in itself but a means to develop

a better comprehension about the object of knowledge" (p. 18). Two assumptions made

by Freire underscored his use of dialogue: (1) There is no such thing as neutral education

and (2) every human being is capable of critique and entering into dialogue with others.

This project's counter-narrative drew much from Freire's (1970) use of dialogue

circles to educate illiterate Brazilian farmers. For Freire, dialogue only existed when the

partners in a dialogue were critical thinkers. That is, in this project's counter-narrative,

no dialogue existed if the definitions of race and racism from a Master Narrative remain

unchallenged. The dialogue circle was, therefore, a safe place in which to critique a

Master Narrative and what it taught about race and racism.[5]

To further develop my own use of the dialogue circle, I turned to two more recent

sources, one theoretical and one practical. In this project's counter-narrative, I built on

the theory of Nicholas Burbules (1993) from his book *Dialogue in Teaching* and on the

practice espoused by the organization *Everyday Democracy* (Abdullah & McCormack,

2008) and their training of dialogic facilitators. While Burbules talked about dialogue in

generalities, Abdullah and McCormack addressed dialogic pedagogy specifically as a

tool for unmasking and unmaking racism.

Burbules (1993) presented a theoretical model of dialogue tending toward social

change, particularly in the realm of education:

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[5] By describing a dialogue circle as safe, I do not mean to communicate that a dialogue
circle is always comfortable or pleasant. In fact, progress through dialogue often requires
periods of chaos and discomfort (Abdullah & McCormack, 2008).

> Our fundamental educational problem today is not one of turning schools into better engines of increased economic productivity and growth, or of finding more and more directive ways to inculcate students with a body of "basic facts" that we presume they need to know. It is in finding ways to involve schools in creating and maintaining conditions in which inclusive, democratic, and open-ended dialogue can thrive. (p. 151)

Dialogue is not the same thing as two people talking. As Burbules presented, a teacher should not assume that his or her students inherently know how to dialogue just because they know how to talk. Likewise, I could not assume that the participants in this study knew how to dialogue simply because they talked to other people every day. Dialogue is a different form of communication, "an activity directed toward discovery and new understanding" (Burbules, 1993, p. 8). Thus, the common use of the word dialogue to describe any interaction between two people is a misnomer.

Burbules's (1993) model of dialogue was based on two fundamental distinctions. The first revolved around the relationship between dialogue and knowledge. A dialogue might tend toward either a concluding endpoint or a cacophony of multiple voices (see Bakhtin, 1981, and "heteroglossia"); the former Burbules labeled Convergent Dialogue while the latter was Divergent Dialogue.

The other distinction revolved around the relationship between dialogue and the partner. A dialogue partner might tend toward either belief or doubt (Elbow, 1986) in what the other communicates; the former Burbles labeled Inclusive Dialogue while the latter was Critical Dialogue. These two distinctions can be arranged in a table to define four types of dialogue, as arranged in Figure 3.2. Over the course of a dialogue, each one of these types may be engaged at different times and to different effect.

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		Attitude to Partner	
		Inclusive	*Critical*
Attitude to Purpose	*Convergent*	**Inquiry**	**Instruction**
	Divergent	**Conversation**	**Debate**

Figure 3.2: Adapted from Burbules's (1993) Four Types of Dialogue

Conversation has a cooperative spirit and tends toward mutual understanding; that is, the partners do not feel it is necessary to convince the other of something. *Inquiry* maintains this cooperative spirit but wants resolution for a specific problem or question. *Debate* forgoes the cooperative spirit and views the partner with skepticism while trying to convince the partner of one's own position. *Instruction* uses critical questions and statements to move toward a defined aim; this form of dialogue is often referred to as the Socratic Method.

In describing these four types of dialogue, Burbules (1993) was quick to point out that this was intended as neither an exhaustive list nor a series of discrete categories. A single dialogue may exhibit characteristics of each of these types. The utility in such a system was to allow reflection on the effect and purpose of a dialogue. In this project's counter-narrative, each of these dialogue types appeared; this system then became an analytical tool for understanding what was happening and why.

To these dialogue types, Burbules (1993) added three primary rules used to shape dialogue. Rules were necessary to provide a sense of safety and to allow the dialogue to proceed. Burbules collated his rules from several lists of general communication rules, including Benhabib (1989), Grice (1989), Habermas (1976), and Mecke (1990). These

rules were necessary if a dialogue were to be pedagogical, communicative, and relational:

- The Rule of Participation requires active participation from everyone, though this participation should be voluntary and open. Both monologue and forced participation should be discouraged;

- The Rule of Commitment requires dialogue participants to remain engaged across multiple topics, even those that may be difficult or taboo, like race and racism. Manipulation or disingenuousness should be discouraged;

- The Rule of Reciprocity requires the pursuit of dialogue with mutual respect and concern. One partner must be willing to share in the same manner he or she asks of the other.

In this project's counter-narrative, these types and rules were presented to the participants multiple times; in this method of modeling dialogue as method and discussing it explicitly as content, I wanted the participants to feel prepared to take this dialogic pedagogy into their own classrooms. I also created a series of analytical rubrics from the combination of these types and rules so as to gauge the success of the dialogue; these are provided in Appendix B and discussed in Chapter 5.

While Burbules (1993) presented a theoretical discussion of dialogue, his design began with an ontological drive that may or may not accurately describe the participants in this project's counter-narrative. Burbules seemed to indicate that dialogue participants experienced change because of the dialogue and, thus, focused on the dialogue itself as what he found interesting. In this project's counter-narrative, dialogue was an act of communal reflection and was necessary to social change but it was not the sole instrument of social change. Likewise, Burbules did not provide a practical methodology

for the implementation of dialogue. To this end, *Everyday Democracy* was helpful.

Everyday Democracy is a national organization that uses dialogue to help people think, talk, and work together to solve social problems. A particular focus of their work is using dialogue to overcome racism. To this end, they have developed a curriculum guide, *Facing Racism in a Diverse Nation* (Abdullah & McCormack, 2008), that described a dialogue circle useful to engage participants in open discussion of race and racism that critiques the beliefs of race received from Master Narratives; their method is described in detail in Chapter 5. I have been trained as a facilitator in this dialogic method and have facilitated dialogue circles using it. In developing the methodological context for this project's counter-narrative, the general method of developing a dialogue circle was most useful, which I describe in more in Chapter 5.

Connecting the Theoretical Contexts

I have presented the theoretical context of my counter-narrative in three primary pieces: CRT, knowledge and beliefs, and dialogic pedagogy. While these have been presented as discrete theoretical fields, in providing the theoretical framework for this project's counter-narrative they are all connected. These connections are derived from the application of Freire's (1970) praxis.

Praxis describes learning and development as an evolving process of knowledge, action, and reflection. Figure 3.3 offers a simple rendition of the Praxis. *Knowledge* represents an understanding developed by an individual through the appropriation and synthesis of various semiotic codes. *Action* represents the work accomplished by an individual in the world. *Reflection* represents the evaluation of action used to define or

amend knowledge. In other words, there is knowledge about some piece of the world. This knowledge is put into action in the world. Then, reflection assesses how successful or unsuccessful that action was in the world. This reflection thus impacts knowledge and the cycle begins again. In this way, people develop understandings of the world.
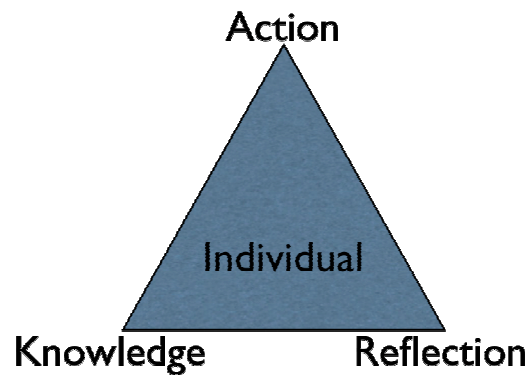
Figure 3.3: The Freirean (1970) Praxis

In this particular counter-narrative, the three theoretical contexts described above each represent a point on the triangle. CRT represents a body of theory and knowledge that I found important. The use of that knowledge, its action, is in the influence of beliefs toward the critique of a Master Narrative. Reflection through dialogue allowed me to gauge the level of success I have in influencing beliefs. Thus, the entire theoretical framework for my counter-narrative can be represented as a praxis triangle, each point driving the next, as in Figure 3.4.

There is something particular about race in the United States that makes it a beneficial place to start when trying to create change agents. Oppressive understandings of race and racism are foundational to Master Narratives, as described above. The

development of a counter-narrative helps both to disrupt racism and to develop methods

and understanding for disrupting other oppressive Narratives.[6]
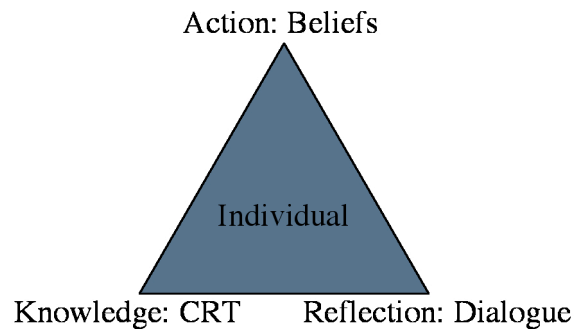
Figure 3.4: Theoretical Framework as Praxis

Within this individual praxis focused on race, Knowledge of Race begins with a

complex understanding of race that accounts for biological, linguistic, historical, political,

spiritual, and ideological differences among people (Du Bois, 2003/1897). This

knowledge of race creates the basis for the Action of Beliefs, which recognizes and

examines multiple beliefs about race, for example as property (Ladson-Billings & Tate,

1995), socially-created privilege (Ignatiev, 1997), or psychological identity (Helms,

1990). Dialogic Reflection (Howard, 2001; Milner, 2003) offers a space in which these

beliefs about race can be evaluated so as to amend knowledge.

In Figures 3.3 and 3.4, the world *Individual* appears in the middle of each triangle.

These are individual praxes at work within individual preservice teachers to stimulate an

evolving praxis, an important part of this project's counter-narrative. However, basing a

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[6] While I have chosen race as the Knowledge of my praxis, I believe any counter-narrative of oppressor and oppressed (Freire, 1970) would be able to stimulate similar change; sexism, classism, heterosexism, ageism, or any societal definition of In and Out would be a viable medium for creating a counter-narrative.

counter-narrative only in the context of individuals might be insufficient if I want to

problematize meritocracy; change in an individual does not necessarily mean change in

society. This counter-narrative also includes a Communal Praxis, represented in Figure

3.5, as method for moving individuals toward relational pluralism together.
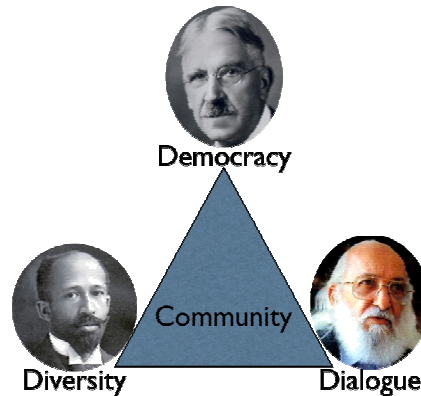
Figure 3.5: A Communal Praxis

In order to move toward relational pluralism[7], a communal praxis was necessary.

Developed within a community, a Communal Praxis describes the ways a community

learns, just as an individual praxis describes the learning of an individual. With

Relational Pluralism as the ideal toward which this project defined progress, I defined the

Knowledge, Action, and Reflection of the Communal. In this Communal Praxis, I chose

Diversity (represented by W. E. B. Du Bois, 2003/1903) as communal knowledge.

Diversity is the idea and the ideal that all individuals are equally valuable, equally worthy

of respect, and equally deserving of the opportunity to participate in community; I

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[7] To repeat from above: An ideal in which "we acknowledge, affirm, and find strength in
our singularities while at the same time maintaining connections with others in
intersecting circles of community" (American Commitments, 1995, p. xxi).

connected diversity to knowledge because relational pluralism is built on the recognition of multiple knowledges from multiple sources. Diversity interacts with the communal action of Democracy (represented by John Dewey, 1916); Democracy does not describe a state of being but a process of creating variety in the ways of making meaning, as influenced by varied beliefs about the world. Communal theory and action are evaluated through the communal reflection of Dialogue (represented by Paulo Freire, 1970).[8]

Before describing the methodological context of this project's counter-narrative, I provide the Academic Context of other researchers doing similar work, examples of multiple praxes. The field of teacher education research in which I situate this project is Multicultural Teacher Education (MTE). Many working in the field of MTE seem to share my ideal of relational pluralism and might agree that the investigation of race is necessary for achieving that ideal. I define MTE as the preparation of teachers to teach students of various cultures; some researchers (e.g. Cochran-Smith and Zeichner, 2005) refer to this as "preparing teachers for diverse populations" (p. 20). When using the term MTE, I am not referring to the preparation of diverse teachers; I see MTE as a field interested in the pedagogies and methods of multicultural education (Banks, 2003; Nieto, 1999). As stated above, I do not use the word *diverse* as a synonym for *non-White*, an idea I explore further in subsequent chapters. MTE prepares teachers to engage a community of all students while supporting each student as an individual.

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[8] In connecting to the Individual Praxis above, I think any individual praxis exploring an Oppressed/Oppressor counter-narrative could connect with this Communal Praxis. That is, an individual praxis exploring the Knowledge/Action/Reflection of Sexism might also connect to a Communal Praxis of Diversity/Democracy/Dialogue.

CHAPTER IV

ACADEMIC CONTEXT

Many researchers in the field of Multicultural Teacher Education center their

work on the Demographic Divide; that is, the majority of preservice teachers are White

females but the majority of students are not White females (Cochran-Smith & Zeichner,

2005; Sleeter, 2001, 2008). The demographic divide leads several researchers to the

conclusion that teacher education privileges White females to the detriment of preservice

teachers of color (Dixson & Dingus, 2007; Milner, 2007a; Sleeter 2001, 2008). I believe

this conclusion might be problematized. Master Narratives may benefit from this focus

on the privileging of White females because it ignores a larger system of Whiteness.

White female preservice teachers (WFPTs) do benefit in several ways from a system that

privileges Whiteness, but this project's counter-narrative demonstrates several ways in

which the WFPT participants in this study have not been served by teacher education.

I define Whiteness as an evolving and socially constructed system of privilege

associated with those who manifest certain characteristics labeled as White. Included in

these privileges are the privilege to exclude (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas,

1995) and the privilege to define, possess, and own property (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In

exploring the academic context of this project's counter-narrative, it became apparent that

Master Narratives are often White Narratives that hold up Whiteness as a standard for all.

In presenting the academic context of this project's counter-narrative, I define the

ways in which Master Narratives may have turned the field of MTE to their own

advantage by directing the focus of many researchers onto symptoms of a larger social disease. Thus, this section is more than a literature review; it is also a critique of the process of reviewing MTE literature. In short, there are many MTE researchers using their work to tell counter-narratives that challenge a wide variety of Master Narratives. However, when this work is subjected to the machinations of a literature review, the power of those counter-narratives may be lost in the processes of summation and generalization. A danger in this process may be that many researchers and practitioners do not have the time and resources to do their own literature reviews and so come to see the field of MTE only as it is presented in major literature reviews.

In developing the academic context of this project, I begin by presenting two chapters from the 1990s that defined MTE in a way that might challenge Master Narratives: Martin Haberman's (1996) chapter on preparing culturally competent teachers and Gloria Ladson-Billings's (1999) chapter on preparing teachers for diverse student populations. This work imagined MTE as preparation for social change, as problematizing the use of demographic data, and as opening up the definition of what counted as research. I do not go deeper into the research and programs reviewed in these chapters; these chapters are presented as foregrounding and contrast for the deeper review of the more current literature.

I then summarize and critique the most current and prominent literature reviews from the field of MTE that concern the preparation of White teachers for the diverse classroom (Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2004; Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Sleeter, 2001, 2008). The processes followed to develop these reviews seemed to have undone much of the work foreshadowed by Haberman and Ladson-Billings. If one were to read

only these defining reviews, MTE might become a field designed to prepare for but not change the diverse classroom, to see diversity only in terms of demographic data, and to limit what counts as research.

I conclude this chapter by moving beyond these reviews and considering both the body of literature collated by these reviews and by uncovering research overlooked by these reviews. In so doing, a strong tradition of research that seeks to counter Master Narratives can be found in the field of MTE. Throughout this chapter, I use three characteristics to analyze and critique the literature, as drawn from my theoretical framework based on the praxis triangle. Under the sub-heading *Definitions of Diversity*, I examine the racial knowledge foundational to MTE. Under *Images of Preparation*, I examine the ways MTE attempts to influence the beliefs and practice of preservice teachers. Under *View of Research*, I examine how MTE research reflects on its knowledge and action.

<div align="center">Foundational MTE Literature of the 1990s</div>

Overview of Haberman (1996)

Haberman (1996) opened his handbook chapter on culturally competent teachers with a critique of universal teacher education, positing a model of contextual teacher education. In describing the history and context of the debate between universal and contextual, Haberman presented consequences of this debate in its impact on teacher education programs and its focus on preparing teachers to work with "individual abnormality on an individual basis" (p. 750). That is, deviation from a White Master

Narrative was an abnormality and failure resided within an individual child and not within a larger social context.

Haberman continued with an overview of how preservice teachers are selected for teacher education programs, presenting a more complete demographic profile than those offered in other reviews. For example, most preservice teachers expressed two primary fears about becoming teachers: "relating to pupils with special needs and managing discipline problems" (p. 751). Haberman saw these two as interrelated consequences of a system promoting the idea that urban schools represent deficient students, that diversity equals deficiency. He described the most popular criteria used for selecting preservice teachers, as well as alternative criteria he used to select teachers he felt were more likely to succeed in urban schools. On this step, I think Haberman required some critique; he appeared to argue that better selection criteria will necessarily lead to better preparation and that "the best and the brightest teachers are not 25-year-old white females from small towns or suburbs with high GPAs who 'always wanted to teach'" (p. 755). However, as stated above, the majority of preservice teachers meet this demographic description; their elimination from consideration would severely curtail the number of available teachers.

The lessons Haberman drew from the preparation of teachers for urban schools were useful in the broader category of preparing teachers for diverse schools because they were both examples of preparing for context and not preparing for an imagined universal. Haberman closed with eight examples of teacher education programs he saw as models of urban teacher education: the Pennsylvania Academy for the Profession of Teaching; Alverno College; the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fellowship at Memphis State University; Teachers for Chicago; Baltimore public schools and the preparation of

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military retirees and Teach for America corps members; the Northwest Indiana Consortium; the Career Ladder for Teacher Aides in the Milwaukee public school system; and the new teacher support system of the Houston Independent School District.

Definitions of Diversity. The rooting of teacher education in psychology meant, to Haberman (1996), that psychological constructs still defined the field; he saw this particularly in teacher education's focus on three distinguishing foci: (1) the age of the child, (2) the subject matter to be taught, and (3) children with special needs. Within this conceptual model, the only room for defining diversity was as a special need, a deficiency falling outside the norm. Thus, words like *urban*, *minority*, and *diverse* became euphemisms for "an adverse condition that intrudes on an *individual's* development and learning" (p. 750, emphasis in original).

Haberman (1996) specifically addressed this issue in his definition of the word urban as not just "a catchall category and euphemism for denoting conditions perceived as undesirable" (p. 747). Instead, he defined diversity through the terms *urban* and *cultural diversity* to denote a specific context with racial, religious, ethnic, linguistic, gendered, sexual, age-based, and class-based differences.

Images of Preparation.   Haberman (1996) saw the Universal and Contextual models of teacher education as unable to interact, each participating in a "nondialog" (p. 749) between the view that a well-trained teacher can teach anywhere and the view that a well-trained teacher is only being trained in one methodology that may be insufficient in specific contexts.

Haberman described, through a synthesis of current programs he posited as exemplary, "A whole new form of contextual urban teacher education" (p. 759) that did

not look like mainstream teacher education. This contextual urban teacher education

began with specific practical questions, like How can we reduce violence in this school?

It included interdisciplinary approaches to such problems. It required specific teacher

training on how to access a range of services students or families may require. By

extension, MTE should not be restricted to individual courses in a general teacher

education program. According to Haberman, MTE included methods of uncovering and

addressing the needs of students and families and problem-solving skills for needs arising

in specific contexts. Preparing a teacher to work for social change included the skills to

help students and families with extra-scholastic difficulties, difficulties that directly and

indirectly impact the classroom, difficulties like bankruptcy, forced moving, chemical

dependency, lack of transportation, poor nutrition, and a lack of preventive medicine.

View of Research. More recent work in the field of MTE, as described below, has

called for research to work backwards from successful models of teaching to inform and

develop successful models of teacher preparation, a method Haberman problematized.

Haberman described how the structure of Schools, Colleges, and Departments of

Education (SCDEs) prevented the inclusion of successful practitioners by viewing them

only as adjuncts or guest lecturers rather than fully active instructors sharing the same

level of respect offered to PhD-vetted professors. This institutional devaluing

undervalued the knowledge and wisdom of practitioners based on personal narrative.

Overview of Ladson-Billings (1999)

Ladson-Billings was one of the theorists most cited in the MTE reviews discussed

below; three works of Ladson-Billings were cited by Sleeter (2001), six by Cochran-

Smith, Davies, and Fries (2004), and four by Hollins and Guzman (2005). The only authors cited more often are the review authors themselves (e.g. Cochran-Smith cites eighteen different references to her own work).

Ladson-Billings (1999) offered a concise review of MTE programs and used a CRT perspective to critique them; with this move to critical multiculturalism (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; Kincheloe, 2008), Ladson-Billings sought to advance the field of MTE, particularly along the lines of her primary objective: "Almost none of the empirical studies point to a view of multicultural education that supports a transformative vision of society" (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 211). This "transformative vision" was what many critical multiculturalists (e.g. May, 1999; McLaren & Torres, 1999; Nieto, 1999) have claimed was missing from MTE, the "inability… to address adequately the structural inequalities faced by minority students, most notably racism" (May, 1999, p. 11).

In only using CRT as a critical lens, I think Ladson-Billings missed an important opportunity. The programs she reviewed are not themselves grounded in CRT; Ladson-Billings merely employed CRT as a means of critiquing the programs. I would find it more interesting to hear of programs that were developed from and grounded in CRT. If such a program did not exist, perhaps Ladson-Billings could provide a theoretical description of what such a program might look like.

Definitions of Diversity. Ladson-Billings (1999) provided a historical context for CRT and, via the application of CRT tenets to teacher education, launched a critique of how MTE was conceived as an appendage to larger teacher education programs. Most often, these add-ons were developed to deal with the problem of diversity, casting the entire enterprise as one maintaining White standards of normalcy and definitions of

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deficiency. The institutional critique was one that recognized how historical teacher education programs helped to establish segregated public schools and so to countermand their curriculum would be to call into question the effect of the schools themselves: "These schools had helped to construct [Public School Way Back When], and any real attention to the education needs of all students would expose the mythology of PSWBW" (p. 220). Thus, understanding diversity as deficiency invaded the very foundations of education, which required an entirely new system to uproot. MTE could not be just about preparing teachers for a diverse classroom but, instead, must be about critiquing and dismantling the systems in which these classrooms existed.

Images of Preparation. In presenting her view of MTE, Ladson-Billings recalled the demographic imperative (Banks, 2003): "Predominantly White faculty members are preparing predominantly White students to teach a growing population of public school students who are very different from them" (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 226). However, this demographic divide was not a reason in itself for MTE; instead, Ladson-Billings saw this situation as demanding a challenge to "dysconscious racism" (p. 226), recalling the work of Joyce King (1991) examining the tendencies of White preservice teachers to have an impaired understanding of race and, in particular, White privilege. That is, if White preservice teachers were subject to a Master Narrative's definitions of race and had no one to teach them a critical counter-narrative, one could not expect those teachers to succeed in using the classroom as a site for social change. Ladson-Billings sought teacher preparation for social change, "a force for freeing students of their parochialism" (p. 226, citing Zimpher & Ashburn, 1992).

To develop this challenging voice, Ladson-Billings also anticipated the call of the

more recent literature reviews to backtrack from successful models. She described four

researchers and two teacher education programs, images of preparation reflecting features

of CRT in their work. In synthesizing the work of these researchers and programs,

Ladson-Billings (1999) extrapolated four overarching similarities: (1) most of this work

was done in small cohorts, (2) external accreditation had little influence in promoting

preparation for diversity, (3) CRT could be a lens that moves us beyond superficial

treatments and liberalized guilt, and (4) a CRT perspective could effect changes through

programs that challenge generic models of both teacher education and teaching. Again,

at this point I would have preferred to see Ladson-Billings use CRT as more than a

critical lens and go on to describe programs grounded in CRT from their inception.

    View of Research. Ladson-Billings (1999) opened with a specific conceptual

model she used to critique MTE research: Critical Race Theory. She collated differing

definitions of CRT to arrive at four features: (1) normalized racism, (2) storytelling, (3) a

critique of liberalism, and (4) interest convergence. To these features, she added two

common interests: (1) to understand the "regime of white supremacy" (p. 214) and (2) to

change "the bond that exists between law and racial power" (p. 214). The power she

found in CRT as a critique of the MTE field was in its ability to provide a new vision, a

critique of the current research, "A different vision to our notions of school failure for

diverse students" (p. 215).

Defining MTE with Haberman and Ladson-Billings

    In analyzing the field of MTE as defined in the work of Haberman (1996) and

Ladson-Billings (1999), three generalities emerge. Firstly, as derived from the analysis

of knowledge, MTE was a field that looked at the demographic divide between White teachers and non-White students as the symptom of a larger problem and not as a problem in and of itself; the problem was not the White teachers but Whiteness. Focusing on a symptom as if it were the disease overshadowed real discrepancies that research could address, maintaining notions of Whiteness and the idea of White as a standard to which the Other must compare. The field of MTE was about unmasking and unmaking oppressive systems, not of describing the outcomes of those systems.

Secondly, as derived from the analysis of action, MTE was a field determined to change the classroom and not a field merely preparing teachers for the classroom. Preparing teachers for a static classroom, even if the classroom were diverse, told teachers that they must work within a system and did not give them tools to change a system. This lack of tools maintained White notions of school success, teacher effectiveness, and the goal of education. The field of MTE was one of changing the system, not one of preparing for a system (Milner, 2005).

Finally, as derived from the analysis of reflection, MTE was a field that opened itself to all manner of research. Narrowing research with calls for generalizeability restricted the valuing of multiple stories and contexts. Scientifically-based research inhibited reflection by offering only a limited vocabulary in which individual stories could be told. The research of MTE was a process of inviting in as many stories as possible and then learning from each in dialogue.

These three generalities describe MTE as a field that would challenge Master Narratives of Whiteness by demolishing demographic barriers, preparing teachers as change agents, and telling the stories of everyone. However, the codification of MTE as

a field in the 2000s through a series of prominent literature reviews allowed Whiteness

Narratives to reassert dominance.

MTE Literature Reviews of the 2000s

Overview of Sleeter (2001)[9]

Christine Sleeter's (2001) review stepped well outside the norm established by the

earliest review in the field, that of Grant and Secada (1990); where Grant and Secada

employed positivist criteria for inclusion (e.g. the use of a control group), Sleeter (2001)

opened her review to research that included qualitative methodologies, narrative inquiry,

and small-scale case studies. The other reviews discussed below followed Sleeter's lead

somewhat, but also began to restrict what counted as research.

As became standard in the 2000s, Sleeter framed the need for her review through

statistics demonstrating a demographic divide between the current teaching force and

current students. For Sleeter, the problem at the center of these statistics was that most

White preservice teachers expected to work with students who looked like them and

shared their culture. She saw this expectation as a problem mirrored also in institutions

of teacher education, which she described as overwhelmingly White and slow in

responding to the divide. Sleeter found two answers to this divide at work in the

literature: (1) recruit more preservice teachers from culturally diverse communities and

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[9] I do not directly review Sleeter's 2008 handbook chapter at this point because I do not
think it added sufficient new information to the other reviews discussed. For example,
she reviewed only seven articles published in 2005 or later. However, in both the deeper
review described below and the pedagogical design in the following chapter, the 2008
chapter was included.

(2) lead teacher education programs to develop the attitudes and multicultural knowledge base of White preservice teachers.

Definitions of Diversity. Sleeter (2001) described an overwhelming presence of Whiteness in the field of MTE. However, for Sleeter, this Whiteness appeared to be only a demographic designation. It is in these terms, *Whiteness* versus *Otherness*, that Sleeter seemed to define diversity; that is, diversity meant non-light-colored-skin, merely a phenotypic description. This left several questions unanswered: Is being White a definition of privilege and power or simply a description of preservice teachers with certain phenotypic characteristics? How can Whiteness be an overarching and monolithic term when there are multiple definitions of what it means? While I agree that, "Working with White prospective teachers is also essential" (p. 102), what is meant by the word *White* might be examined.

Sleeter (2001) indicated that she found the experiences of White preservice teachers lacking: "Students of color tend to bring richer experiences and perspectives to multicultural teaching than do most White students" (p. 94). There are several people who could be labeled White whom the systems of schooling and teacher education are not built to empower, and I believe that all, even White, preservice teachers have rich experiences and perspectives to add to a dialogue; Sleeter deserved the same critique as Haberman (1996) on this point. Sleeter seemed to assume that preservice teachers identified as White were, consciously or unconsciously, supportive of this overwhelming presence of Whiteness because it was of personal benefit; Sleeter seemed to overlook how the demographic divide affected the lives and education of all preservice teachers.

Images of Preparation. In decrying the overwhelming presence of Whiteness,

Sleeter found more failure than success at trying to get White preservice teachers to *get it*. White preservice teachers were willing to accept social change if that change did not involve addressing structural or institutional inequalities. That is, MTE was acceptable if it was individual and theoretical and, therefore, personally distant because preservice teachers could recognize someone else as the locus of the problem; programs that pushed a social change agenda were seen as discriminating against Whites (Su, 1996, 1997).

View of Research. Sleeter (2001) seemed to present working with White preservice teachers as a placeholder until there was more diversity in the teaching force. The ontological belief that education will improve with the recruitment of preservice teachers of color amplified the problem of defining Whiteness as a demographic phenotype. Additionally, if an overwhelming focus of MTE is getting White preservice teachers to *get it*, then why do they not? The *it* was often defined poorly and included some kind of preparation aimed at making White preservice teachers more comfortable with students of color. Sleeter seemed to see MTE as preparing teachers for a certain type of classrooms that existed within unseen, larger oppressive forces; her definition of MTE did not appear to use the classroom as a site for addressing those larger forces.

Overview of Cochran-Smith, Davis, and Fries (2004)

While Sleeter's (2001) review seemed to build directly on the foundations of the 1990s, shifts away from these foundations became more apparent as the decade continued. The 2004 review by Cochran-Smith, Davis, and Fries was by far the most extensive of any analyzed in this chapter, addressing everything from current teacher education practice and policy, to changing patterns in research and scholarship, to current

trends and issues with a framework for analyzing literature. In defining this project's

academic context, I focused on sections addressing conceptual and empirical work.

After establishing the demographic divide as a problem to be solved, Cochran-

Smith and her colleagues (2004) provided an overview of the political and educational

contexts in which they were writing. This then shifted into a synthesis of syntheses on

multicultural education standing on three key assertions made by the first Commission on

Multicultural Education:

> (1) Cultural diversity is a valuable resource, (2) multicultural education preserves
> and extends the resource of culture diversity rather than merely tolerating it or
> making it "melt away," and (3) a commitment to cultural pluralism ought to
> permeate all aspects of teacher preparation programs. (p. 936; cf. Baptiste &
> Baptiste, 1980)

Despite the statement of these ideals and the increase in the attention being paid to these

ideals, the reviewers found few changes in implications being derived from the field.

To critique both the conceptual and the empirical work in MTE, the reviewers

relied on Cochran-Smith's (2002) own framework for understanding multiple meanings

of MTE based around answers to eight questions and interaction with four external

forces: (1) the Diversity Question, (2) the Ideology Question, (3) the Knowledge

Question, (4) the Teacher Learning Question, (5) the Practice Question, (6) the Outcomes

Question, (7) the Recruitment and Selection Question, (8) the Coherence Question, (A)

Institutional Capacity, (B) Relationship with Local Communities, (C) Governmental and

Nongovernmental Regulations, and (D) Larger Societal Contexts. The answers to these

questions differed wildly between conceptual and empirical work, demonstrating how

theoretical work had not yet permeated practical work, and vice-versa.

Definitions of Diversity. Cochran-Smith and colleagues (2004) defined diversity

primarily along the lines of the demographic divide. In addressing the "diversity

question" (p. 949), they asked how researchers structured the demographic divide as a

problem in the field of MTE and what constituted desirable solutions. The conceptual

literature examined how historical definitions of diversity had been cast in terms of

deficiency. The empirical work confirmed, finding most versions of MTE sought to

respond to a field of teacher education that saw Whiteness as normative and status quo.

Although appearing critical, the empirical did not define Whiteness as a proper arena for

social change; this work seemed to assume that the Whiteness of teacher education or

MTE was monolithic (Agee, 1998; Guyton, Saxton, & Wesche, 1995; Meacham, 2000).

They focused on methods for and inquiry into recruiting more non-White teachers; the

terms *diverse* and *White* remained unproblematized opposites.

　　　Images of Preparation. Cochran-Smith and her colleagues (2004) found many

descriptions of the preparation of preservice teachers but defined a disconnect between

theory and practice. Their call for work that mapped backward from effective P-12

teaching to inform teacher preparation has since become prevalent in the literature (e.g.

Hollins & Guzman, 2005). They found the growth of self-study in the field a good step;

they cast self-study as a healthy and productive development pushing more people to

focus on teacher preparation in multiple contexts. However, they continued to see the

field of MTE as one of preparing teachers for diverse classrooms without seeing those

classrooms as a site for struggle against the larger Master Narratives that perpetuate the

demographic divide.

　　　View of Research. Cochran-Smith and colleagues (2004) defined the overall field

of MTE as an unresolved disconnect between conceptual work and empirical research.

There was a common thread in both the conceptual and empirical work:

> None of the conceptualizations of outcomes mentioned so far directly include social activism and participation in larger community and professional movements for social change. These are vital to teaching for diversity. (p. 967)

Their review critiqued the conceptual work for ignoring the effect of external forces, like high-stakes testing and competing reform agendas, and critiqued the empirical research for ignoring the P-12 classroom as a site for potential social activism.

Overview of Hollins and Guzman (2005)

Hollins and Guzman's (2005) chapter on preparing teachers for diverse populations also opened with demographic information on students versus teachers. They found that, while most teacher candidates were open to the idea of cultural diversity in general, "they lacked confidence in their ability to do well in diverse settings, and many preferred not to be placed in situations where they felt uncomfortable or inadequate" (p. 483). In reviewing literature in the field of MTE, Hollins and Guzman defined MTE as the preparation of teachers for diverse populations.

Hollins and Guzman (2005) reviewed qualitative and quantitative literature that clearly presented outcomes addressing four aspects of preparing teachers for diverse populations: (1) candidates' predispositions, (2) preservice preparation, (3) the experiences of candidates of color, and (4) evaluations of entire programs. In addressing relevant literature, I was interested particularly in item number two, which the authors subdivided into four more categories: (a) work in prejudice reduction, (b) work in equity pedagogy, (c) field experiences, and (d) work with preservice candidates of color.

To Hollins and Guzman (2005), MTE included two primary teacher preparation

methods: Prejudice Reduction and Equity Pedagogy, both of which the reviewers defined via the work of Banks (2003). These methods were not discrete; researchers and practitioners employed both, in the classroom or the field, with White and non-White participants. Prejudice Reduction (Banks, 2003), examined prior experiences and attitudes of teachers and asked teachers to get to know diverse students and communities personally, making the teachers less likely to engage in deficit models or to rely on stereotypes for information by providing personal experience. Equity Pedagogy (Banks, 2003) was any attempt to instruct teachers in how to include students' cultures and experiences in the facilitation of learning; equity pedagogy was equitable because it approached every student where he or she was, refusing to *equally* apply a single recipe.

Definitions of Diversity. The clearest indication of how Hollins and Guzman (2005) defined diversity was in their definition of MTE as a benefit to people who are not White. They failed to question what it meant for a preservice teacher or teacher education program to be White, seeming to assume monolithic impact and privilege. Their review and critique of the literature maintained this distinction of White communities as separate from *diverse* communities, as well as the idea that MTE did not benefit White teachers or students. This definition of diversity seemed to deny both the presence of White allies (Helms, 1990; Tatum, 1992, 1994) in teacher education and the presence of White preservice teachers whom the system did not benefit.

Images of Preparation. Hollins and Guzman (2005) found positive, mixed, and negative results in the preparation of preservice teachers. For example, they found reports on prejudice reduction were inconclusive because there was insufficient basis to make comparisons across several small studies. As regarded equity pedagogy, Hollins

and Guzman (2005) reported, but left unquestioned, researchers' assertions that negative results arose from preservice teachers whose thinking, assumptions, or dispositions acted as barriers to the implementation of equity pedagogy. Likewise, they investigated factors that interfered with a preservice teacher's ability to practice equity pedagogy. Hollins and Guzman denounced the historically deficit image of MTE but maintained deficit notions of preservice teachers, seeming to assume that the failure for preservice teachers to progress was located only within the preservice teacher.

View of Research. Hollins and Guzman's (2005) focus on looking for outcomes disallowed the investigation of processes; for them, MTE research did not appear to include investigations of process, as does, for example, the work of McAllister and Irvine (2000). While they concluded that outcome measures were underdeveloped, their focus may have caused them to misconstrue preservice teachers as static. According to Hollins and Guzman, MTE required longitudinal research investigating the impact of MTE on student learning and teaching practice. Their primary critique of MTE was on methodology and their primary drive in this review was to move the field forward through more rigorous methodological attention to multiple sites, the contexts of teacher education programs, detailed description of theoretical frameworks driving inquiry, and validation procedures for the various instruments employed. By making such a critique, they implicitly limited what counted as research, denying some MTE researchers a voice.

Defining MTE in the 2000s

The three reviews discussed above likely define the field of MTE for many educators, particularly those outside MTE, because of their high-profile placement in

popular handbooks and journals. However, seeing these reviews as speaking for the field of MTE may do a disservice to much MTE research and moves away from the foundations provided by Haberman (1996) and Ladson-Billings (1999). Using the three analysis points used above, I now expand on each and critique how these MTE reviews from the 2000s maintained invisible notions of Whiteness, turning the potential counter-narrative of MTE into support for Master Narratives of Whiteness.

Definitions of Diversity. As demonstrated, many MTE literature reviews began with the demographic divide between teachers and students; Cochran-Smith, Davis, and Fries (2004) even connected this divide to a demographic imperative (Banks, 2003) as a method for defining the field. However, MTE reviews in the 2000s offered this demographic divide as sufficient reason for why research must be conducted; the simple existence of a White and an Other was itself the problem. There was no questioning this demographic imperative. Diversity was held up for its own sake, without deeper conceptualizations of how and why it could and should be defined in MTE; the existence of an Other had to be addressed, but the definition of this Other only in White and non-White terms reinforced the power of Whiteness to work as a definition of all that is not deficient. This elevation of the demographic imperative as a problem in itself led to definitions, or a lack of definitions, of diversity that hindered social change because it obscured the real disease responsible for creating symptomatic divide.

MTE might benefit from deeper and more critical approaches to what is meant by diversity and why it is an important ideal. Such an approach is already present in education literature, particularly in the work of John Dewey (1916) and his definition of diversity as the moral compass of democracy. MTE reviews in the 2000s did not include

a process for recognizing different and varied understandings of diversity. Instead, descriptors like diverse, urban, under-privileged, and free/reduced lunch were used, sometimes synonymously, as if one knew tacitly what was being discussing.

These terms can be defined in multiple ways across time and space. Does urban mean Black or located in a city with a certain number of residents? Under-privileged is used in comparison to whom? What are at-risk students at risk of? Are they at-risk of not meeting predetermined measure of success or are they at-risk of being oppressed systemically? Too often, researchers have used these terms as if there were a general consensus about what they mean. Any such silence around definitions and populations only allowed Master Narratives to fill in the blanks. Likewise, any move to define diversity only as non-White limited understandings of who should be the beneficiaries of this work and who was allowed to do this work, leaving structures of comparison to a White norm in place.

Images of Preparation. In the 2000s, MTE research seemed to revolve around finding ways for White preservice teachers to *get it*. What this "it" represented specifically varied but the overall images of preparation were similar. Focusing on having White preservice teachers *get it* maintained the idea that this "it" was in addition to primary studies in teacher education and that this "it" was simply a disposition or knowledge that came as the result of individual effort. MTE may see more success as a field if there were an explicit focus on the relational and the communal. It does not make sense to conceive of anything *multicultural* as an individual exercise; the prefix *multi-* in any sense assumes more than one. Likewise, MTE as defined by these reviews imagined a diverse P-12 classroom and then prepared teachers to be effective in that classroom; it

did not imagine teachers entering that classroom as social activists. This unwillingness to promote change within the classroom locked teachers in to maintaining White models of schooling and success (Ladson-Billings, 1999).

View of Research. As codified by the reviews from the 2000s, MTE research was defined by repeated calls to more rigorous and scientific research. Whereas Sleeter (2001) took a large step out of the then mainstream in her definition of what counted as research, reviews since then have regressed with calls for standardization of definitions and generalizations to broader contexts (Hollins & Guzman, 2005); in her 2008 chapter, in fact, Sleeter offers very little description of how she chose literature to include in the review. Why social sciences are following this trend is an important question too large to be addressed adequately here; however, this positivist leaning results in calls for research that maintain Master Narratives by erasing contextual truths that are not White (Stanley, 2007). In seeking to fit all lines of inquiry into a similar form, alternative voices were silenced, as found by Sleeter (2001) in her investigation of teacher preparation. How can researchers see this White tendency to universalize as a negative in the teacher preparation classroom but then call for a similar universalization in research as a field? The desire to provide evidence of accountability and effectiveness was current in the broader field of teacher education (Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2004) and MTE appeared to be moving in similar directions when it could provide a critical response. For example, instead of allowing the trend of *scientifically-based research* to drive the field, MTE might develop and promote other methods of using evidence to describe desirable outcomes, outcomes like social justice. Evaluating research on its success at addressing a particular outcome like social justice might provide a goal toward which this

standardization could progress; as it is, MTE research seems to be following this path just because other scientific fields are doing the same (Ball, 2008).

MTE could fight the tendency to restrict research lest the field lose the context-specific focus most relevant to questions of diversity and democracy. If MTE research moves toward more standardization and methods of generalizeable outcomes, the field will lose the individual counter-narratives of researchers and participants so important to effecting social change; the generalization of these stories only reinforces the power of Master Narratives. I do not think the field can resist this move if it continues to see itself as a subset of the larger field of teacher education. Instead, MTE might move forward with the idea that MTE could be the entirety of teacher education; that is, issues of diversity and culture could be the foundation of all teacher education.

Beyond the Reviews of MTE

The three reviews discussed above seemed to define MTE as a field moving away from the foundations laid by Haberman (1996) and Ladson-Billings (1999). However, there are several researchers who continue to see MTE as a field dedicated to social change, researchers obscured or ignored by the MTE reviews of the 2000s. I uncovered such research in two ways. First, I personally investigated the research reviewed by the four MTE reviews from the 2000s to see if the reviewers had lost something in the process of synthesizing the literature. Second, I looked at research citing the Haberman (1996) and Ladson-Billings (1999) chapters. There was some overlap in these research lists; after sorting the lists for first-hand reports of research, as opposed to other literature reviews or theoretical pieces, I read 170 research articles. Of these, I felt 44 specifically

used the posture of research to provide a counter-narrative to a Master Narrative of Whiteness. Four of these articles were written with Cynthia Lewis, whom I found exemplary in her reports of research, with participants similar to those in this project's counter-narrative, as a vehicle for social change; I continue this chapter with a review of her work, work ignored by the reviews of the 2000s despite calls to backtrack from successful models of inservice teacher education. I conclude with a synthesis of the other research collated as described above. I analyze and critique this literature using the same categories above: *Definitions of Diversity*, *Images of Preparation*, and *View of Research*.

Overview of Lewis (2001, 2003, 2004, 2008)

In four articles, Lewis and her colleagues followed ten White female teachers over the four-year life of a book group centered on reading and discussing multicultural literature (Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos, 2001; Lewis & Moje, 2003; Lewis & Ketter, 2004; Lewis & Ketter, 2008). These articles reported different findings and implications drawn from the same data set; as such, I analyzed these articles as a single tetralogy.

Lewis, Ketter, and Fabos (2001) reported on a book group using multicultural literature as a way to learn how to interrogate White privilege and power. Participants and researchers wanted to understand how they were "implicated in particular norms of whiteness even as [they] attempted to disrupt them" (p. 318). The second article in this series (Lewis & Moje, 2003) critiqued perceived limits of sociocultural research as focusing primarily on individual identities belonging to a community rather than on conflicts and tensions in community.

The next piece (Lewis & Ketter, 2004) expanded the findings of the first two by using Gee's (1999) framework of socially-situated identities to investigate dialogic discourse and develop a critical multiculturalism. Over the course of the book group, the members became aware not just of the things they said but also of *how* they were saying these things. The final piece (Lewis & Ketter, 2008) trended away from the first three to investigate the construction of adolescence by popular culture; while this piece varied from the first three, it provided a coda describing Lewis's departure from the book group, which continued without her.

Definitions of Diversity. In defining diversity, Lewis implied a critique of the MTE reviews discussed above. She defined diversity in similar ways as the 2000s reviews, as a differentiation between White and Other. However, this definition was established as an argument against which Lewis sought out a more complicated vision of Whiteness as a powerful force bent on self-preservation. For example, the participants in the book group often tried to make universal comparisons between themselves and the non-White characters about which they were reading; that is, they developed explanations of how the circumstances surrounding these non-White characters were something everyone experienced. Lewis felt this tendency of the participants to universalize multicultural experiences was based in the ideological drive always to be normalizing their own experience, to reaffirm a White Master Narrative as normal.

Uncovering these latent tendencies of Whiteness thus became a focus of Lewis's work, making the assumption that multicultural literature was a useful tool for leading White teachers into an investigation of White as a race, an investigation they may not have considered previously. Throughout the book group's process of investigation and

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reflection, assumed monolithic understandings of Whiteness became insufficient, with the implicit recommendation that research in the field of MTE should explicitly question and problematize the assumptions and definitions of researchers and participants.

Lewis also commented on ways she may have failed to examine her own assumptions and definitions of Whiteness. In fact, she repeated the following quotation almost verbatim in each article: Participants and researchers were "implicated in sustaining particular norms of whiteness even as [they] attempted to disrupt them" (Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos, 2001, p. 318), demonstrating how the invisibleness of Whiteness was always a concern. Lewis cast this tendency in terms of Fine, Weiss, Powell, and Wong's (1997) warning of Whiteness becoming a new intellectual fetish. Thus, even in critiquing definitions of Whiteness, Whiteness had a power to normalize itself as a standard to which the Other must be compared.

Images of Preparation. While the book group's participants were already active teachers, the images of their interaction were useful to the preparation of teachers. Lewis's particular use of Critical White Studies included an important factor missing from MTE as defined by the reviews of the 2000s: a self-referential awareness of Whiteness at work in the investigation of Whiteness. Lewis's use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a tool for asking and answering questions about identity, agency, and power provided an important example of investigating micro-level interactions instead of only looking at more macro concepts like demographic statistics or generalizeability. Lewis and Moje (2003) sought to connect these macro concepts to individual creation of identity so as to propose a broader focus connecting the "dynamic and dialogic power relationships between the social and individual, the global and the local, the institutional

and the everyday" (p. 1992). Citing the work of Bruno Latour, Lewis and Moje (2003) introduced a critical multiculturalist discourse useful to understand participants as subjects produced through social, cultural, and historical processes; their work offered a method for defining and analyzing a participant as existing in and as the product of multiple contexts.

View of Research. I can only infer Lewis's view of MTE research from her work. She demonstrated the insufficiency of the demographic imperative as a rationale for research through her use of the demographic divide as a referent against which to cast her own work that questioned the White/Other dichotomy. Likewise, her research methodology critiqued the trend toward generalization by the use of critical and qualitative methods of analysis and the inclusion of herself as an active participant in the process. In fact, her work may stand as a primer of qualitative work described in sufficient depth so as to be adaptable to other contexts; that is, Lewis sufficiently contextualized the participants so that others, including myself, could build on her work in other contexts. Her focus on practicing teachers also provided examples from which MTE might backtrack in the development of preparation for preservice teachers.

Overview of Additional MTE Literature

As described to above, I sought MTE literature embodying social change by reading the work reviewed by the MTE reviews of the 2000s and the work citing Haberman (1996) and Ladson-Billings (1999). In addition to the work of Cynthia Lewis, I found 40 articles that saw MTE as a field bent toward social change. I now synthesize

this body of literature; for more complete descriptions, see Appendix A. Several of these

reviewed articles also appear in Chapter 5.

Definitions of Diversity. The demographic imperative made several appearances

in this literature; however, it was presented as a symptom of a larger problem, not as a

problem in itself. For example, McDonald (2007) described the demographic divide and

its attendant achievement gap as symbols of social injustice in education; thus, it was not

something to be addressed directly but an indicator used to measure effect.

This literature did appear to define diversity along primarily racial lines, but

assumptions were not made that everyone implicitly understood what was being

discussed. For example, Marx and Pennington (2003) spent four pages describing their

own definition of Whiteness as a "highly privileged social construction, rather than a

neutral racial category" (p. 91). They went on to define what a positive White identity

might look like, establishing a goal toward which they hoped they and the participants

would move over time. These definitions of Whiteness led them to consider several

factors that proved important in approaching the participants, for example, the

expectation that most White preservice teachers would have never had practice talking

about racial issues or the workings of White colorblindness. This deconstruction of terms

like *Whiteness* also defined other research obscured or ignored by the reviews of the

2000s (e.g. Aveling, 2006, 2004; St. Maurice, 2002; Cochran-Smith, 2003; Friedman &

Wallace, 2006).

This literature also questioned definitions of diversity as they were employed,

following the example of the Lewis tetralogy; specific distinction was made between

definitions employed by participants and those employed by the researchers. This

opening of the researcher to critique often manifested as accounts of the researchers' own autobiographies leading up to the studies on which they reported.

Images of Preparation. This literature took seriously Haberman's (1996) and Ladson-Billings's (1999) calls for research as a means for social change. For example, the work of McDonald (2005, 2007) injected a *Theory of Justice* from Iris Marion Young (1990) in order to evaluate the effectiveness of her work with two teacher preparation programs. This theory of justice was itself a critique, as presented by McDonald (2005), for expanding on more "traditional theories of justice [that] argue that the equal distribution of goods to individuals is a primary avenue for achieving social justice" (p. 421). McDonald reported how it was insufficient to prepare teachers only as redistribution agents; she felt preservice teachers should learn to recognize the social relations and communities involved in seeking justice, to attend to group differences rather than negate them.

McDonald (2005) followed the evolution of her participants' understandings of justice as related to individual, organizational, and institutional oppression. The framework she developed around these three dimensions offered a framework that could be used to define both conceptual and practical tools for working toward social justice. The conceptualizations of social change in several of these examples of MTE research focused on the necessity of involving the community (e.g. Quartz, 2003; Hines, Murphy, Pezone, Singer, & Stacki, 2003; Davis, 2006; Proweller & Mitchener, 2004).

View of the Research. This body of literature often seemed disappointed in the research models and methodologies presented by the MTE reviews of the 2000s; to this end, it also used models and methods from other disciplines. For example, Marx and

Pennington (2003) turned to intervention ethnography and "cultural therapy" (p. 102) to uncover the invisible aspects of participants' and their own Whiteness. Such models not only offered methodological tools but also provided examples of where researchers should look for evidence of growth.

In the theory and method of this literature, the participant and researcher were often seen as contextualized individuals, members of multiple communities and the embodiments of multiple identities. Thus, data sources often included unique artifacts that could not be generalized, like cultural autobiographies and reflections (e.g. Lazar, 2007; Moore, 2006), thick descriptions of personal narratives in the act of research (e.g. Aveling, 2006; Cochran-Smith, 2003), exemplars of teacher education programs depicted as successful at preparing teachers to teach in diverse classrooms (e.g. Goldstein & Onore, 2006; Lane, Lacefield-Parachini, & Isken, 2003), and work that backtracked from classroom exemplars as a way to inform MTE (e.g. McKinney, Berry, Dickerson, & Campbell-Whately, 2007). This literature responded negatively to mainstream calls for generalizeability, instead promoting contextualization. This stance, however, did place a larger burden on researchers because they must be diligent to provide as complete a contextual picture as possible to the reader.

Finally, there was within this literature a deep concern with a focus on having White preservice teachers *get it*, often citing the work of Sleeter (2001) and her decrying of the overwhelming presence of Whiteness. However, this literature did not simply make the case that such a presence existed but also investigated ways to overcome this perceived hindrance. For example, Dixson and Dingus (2007) questioned at length the impact of this Whiteness on MTE. They described how White students may sometimes

be receptive to the content presented but be resistant to the messenger if he or she is not also White, perceiving them as pursuing a personal agenda; such incidents demonstrated that despite multicultural content, the overwhelming presence of Whiteness may include a system that demeans professors of color (Milner, 2007a). The promotion of a critical stance by which researchers constantly investigated their own definitions and contexts could push MTE researchers to grapple with these impediments to social change and may also prevent researchers from simply blaming White participants when they do not *get it*.

Critical MTE Research

To differentiate the definition of MTE as offered in the reviews of the 2000s from that which emerged in a deeper investigation of more recent literature, I use the adjective *Critical*. Critical MTE research may provide three important counter-narratives to a Master Narrative of Whiteness and the preparation of teachers for the diverse classroom.

Definitions of Diversity: Critical MTE Research wrestles with definitions and terms that are imperfect, recognizing those imperfections and working to transcend them. Thus, the demographic divide is not a problem to be bridged but a way to measure effectiveness in promoting social change, particularly when attached to constructions like the gap between Black and White students' standardized test scores. In this project's counter-narrative, I would like to see the effective teacher as one who narrows divides and gaps through her or his work as an agent of social change.

Images of Preparation: Critical MTE Research takes an active social activist stance as the driving force and purpose behind MTE. Thus, the preparation of teachers for diverse classrooms focuses on preparing agents of social change. The goal of Critical

MTE is not to produce teachers who succeed in ways previously defined by a Master Narrative but who succeed at disrupting these definitions and bringing voice to the diversity of the classroom, diversity that includes students and teachers who define themselves or are defined by others as White.

View of Research: Critical MTE Research looks across disciplines for theoretical and methodological models, contextualizes participants within unique situations, and questions what may appear as clashes between content and method. While researchers in different contexts may be able to communicate their findings to each other, the goal of this communication is not the exportation of generalizations to a wider community; the goal of this communication becomes supporting a dialogue that advances social change in these multiple contexts by building on and with each other.

As I move on to describe the Pedagogical Context of my own counter-narrative built on the Academic Context of Critical MTE Research, it is this list of characteristics to which I aspire. That is, I want to tell a story that addresses divides in the demographics, not merely describes them. I want to tell a story bent on challenging a Master Narrative of Whiteness, not merely on working within it. I want to tell a story that is inclusive of others, even of those with whom I disagree.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXT

In this chapter, I provide the local context of this project's counter-narrative,

having established a larger historical context in Chapter 2, the theoretical context in

Chapter 3, and the academic context in Chapter 4. In each of the previous chapters, I

have defined Master Narratives against which my narrative runs counter. This project's

narrative runs counter to ideas of individual merit and meritocracy. This project's

narrative runs counter to received notions of race and racism. This project's narrative

runs counter to the force of Whiteness.

I open this chapter with a description of the participants and why I chose to work

with White female preservice teachers (WFPTs). I continue with a description of the

project itself and of my interactions with the participants. I conclude with a description

of the data sources developed over the course of the project and the methods by which I

analyzed that data. This project was conducted with the approval of the Vanderbilt

University Institutional Review Board, IRB# 080703, approved 23 July 2008.

Participants

In addressing WFPTs, the MTE literature appears to fall into two fallacies readily

recognized when the focus is on non-White populations (Stanfield, 1993). Firstly, there

is a *fallacy of monolithic identity*: to be a White Female is the extent of identity and other

identities cannot exist alongside and within identity as a White Female. Secondly, there

is a *fallacy of homogeneity*: all WFPTs are White in the same way and Whiteness means the same thing to each of them. Upending these fallacies by uncovering the individualities of this project's participants strikes at a Master Narrative of Whiteness. By giving each of the participants her own voice, I might be able to problematize the idea that they are served by a system merely because they represent a demographic majority; I might also be able to problematize this concept of the majority by disrupting characteristics used to create demographic distinctions.

I enrolled six participants in this project chosen from the second year master's students at a medium-sized tier-one research private university located in a medium-sized Southern city; five participants continued to completion while one participant removed herself due to scheduling conflicts. These participants were purposively selected from among the students I had taught in previous semesters; they each had indicated a desire for a deeper exploration of their preparation for diverse classrooms. Five participants allowed me to explore the complexities of working toward communal dialogue while also thickly describing each participant as an individual; a larger number may have allowed some participants to not fully participate in the communal praxis (Vella, 2008).

I chose participants for this study from the second year master's students studying secondary education at my own academic institution. The participants had all taken one or two teacher education courses with me previous to the study. The participants were chosen from among all of those potential participants who matched the WFPT demographic, described in more detail below, because they had each indicated an interest in pursuing deeper preparation for the diverse classroom; as such, there was a level of self selection among the participants that likely impacted the dialogic success experienced in

the dialogue circle. In short, the participants who volunteered for this study self-selected based on some personal desire to investigate issues of race and social justice. The limitations of this self selection are discussed in Chapter 8.

I chose to work with White females for several reasons. The latest statistics available from the National Center for Education Statistics's *School and Staffing Survey* (Strizek, Pittsonberger, Riordan, Lyter, & Orlofsky, 2006) indicate that teachers in the United States are 75% female and 83.1% White. Thus, it might be assumed that WFPTs represent a majority of preservice teachers; I chose to work with participants who might be described as WFPTs because WFPTs may require pedagogy that specifically counteracts the tendency to assume that teacher education benefits this majority. That is, teacher education under a Master Narrative of Whiteness might not serve WFPTs in ways that promote the ideal of relational pluralism or prepares them to be change agents.

I chose master's students because I found they were more likely to enter the teaching force at the completion of their program. They had removed themselves from the workforce to return to graduate school for a career in education; master's students may thus provide the opportunity to continue beyond the scope of this project into a longitudinal relationship based in their own P-12 classrooms. Likewise, the shorter length of the graduate program left less room for variation in course work; the master's students were more likely to have taken the same classes and often together, which might benefit a dialogue circle by starting with some level of comfort and previous relationship. Finally, these students had in common a desire to teach, represented by the fact that they were pursuing education through a professional graduate degree.

Project Methodology

In describing this project's methodology, I include several methods of pedagogy, data investigation, and analysis. I use the word *method* when referring to such processes. The word *methodology* refers to a system defining these methods. In this project, the methodology might be labeled broadly as *qualitative research*, a designation that limits and defines available methods of data collection and analysis, as well as appropriate research questions. More specifically, the methodology of this project might be labeled *dialogic narrative research*, a designation that limits the methods described below to interactions that value the individual narrative of each participant and that investigate those narratives through dialogic processes.

The project began with an initial interview with each participant. I then engaged the participants in a series of five meetings designed to develop a dialogue circle. I then observed a purposive selection of the participants in their student teaching classrooms. Finally, I conducted a second interview with each participant. Table 5.1 offers a snapshot view of the project methods. I now describe each of these pieces.

Interview I

My first encounter with the participants was individual qualitative interviews (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) to record the participants' working understandings of relational pluralism and dialogue, data useful in designing the subsequent meetings and in demonstrating growth. These interviews recorded the initial understandings of the

participants' contexts in terms of their ideologies, attitudes toward diversity, and their

goals for the project. The guide I developed for Interview I, with primary and follow-up

questions, can be found in Appendix B. The opening question for each interview was

"What do I need to know about you so that I can tell your story?" I chose to meet the

participants in on-campus conference rooms because that location was convenient to

them and offered a quiet environment in which to audio- and video-record the interviews.

Date	Action	People Included	Location	Length
8-12 December	Open Interview I	PI one-on-one with each participant	University Conference Room	1 hour
14 December	Meeting I	PI and all participants	University Classroom	1.5 hours
11 January	Meeting II	PI and all participants	University Classroom	2.5 hours
25 January	Meeting III	PI and all participants	University Classroom	2.5 hours
31 January	Meeting IV	PI and all participants	University Classroom	3 hours
20 February	Meeting V	PI and all participants	University Classroom	2.5 hours
17-27 March	Observations	PI and purposively selected participants	Student teaching classroom	One class period for each observation
17-29 March	Open Interview II	PI one-on-one with each participant	Student teaching classroom/University Classroom	0.5 to 1 hour

Table 5.1: Project Outline

As qualitative interviews, I followed the direction of Rubin and Rubin (1995) on

the *Art of Hearing Data*. While the interviews varied with each individual, they all

displayed three primary characteristics: (1) the interviews followed the progression of a

conversation rather than an *a priori* set of questions; (2) the interviews focused on

bringing to light the individual life story of the participant rather than on categorization;

and (3) each interview responded to the individual experiences of each participant.

The design of these interviews was flexible, iterative, and continuous: They were flexible to allow adjustment both among participants and with a single participant who was ever growing and changing. They were iterative to allow each interview to explore growth through an ongoing process of development. They were continuous to allow each interview to inform each successive interview. Both interviews, with my aim of developing thick descriptions of each participant, created data that were deep, detailed, vivid, and nuanced.

Interviews are used in both qualitative and quantitative methodologies; the flexible, iterative, and continuous design of the interviews in this project adhered to a qualitative methodology, wanting to capture qualities of each individual participant rather than quantifying a larger number of participants. The use of interviews in teacher education research with a social justice focus is widespread (Friedman & Wallace, 2006; Hines, Murphy, Pezone, Singer, & Stacki, 2003; Lawrence, 1997; McCray, Sinclair, Kilgor, & Neal, 2002; McDonald, 2005, 2007). Interviews open a space for one-on-one interaction with each participant and might provide more direct access to what a participant thinks or know; however, this method is also problematic because interviews rely on self-reporting from each participant. Other methods, like observations or group meetings, might be useful in triangulating data that emerge from an interview.

Dialogue Circle Meetings

The main body of this project was a series of five group meetings building on the dialogue theory of Burbules (1993) and the dialogue circle methodology of *Everyday Democracy* (Abdullah & McCormack, 2008). The methodology of *Everyday Democracy*

is intended specifically to address issues of race and racism and consists of a series of six meetings on which I based my own dialogue circle methods; this project had only five meetings because the inclusion of two individual interviews and the classroom observations allowed me to compress sessions five and six. An outline of this method is provided in Table 5.2.

The overall process of the *Everyday Democracy* method is one of moving from individual praxis to social action in the area of race and racism. This method begins with a series of exercises to introduce all the participants to each other and to begin to hear the individual stories of each person. When a sufficient level of trust has been laid as a foundation, the program then offers a series of activities to reveal racial inequities still present in the United States. From the realization of these inequities, questions are posed about why these inequities exist and what can be done about them, both as an individual and as a community. The program concludes with a push to action in the community.

There were two primary adaptations I made in bringing the dialogic method of *Everyday Democracy* into the context of this project. First, *Everyday Democracy* requires groups that are racially and ethnically diverse. In my project working with WFPTs, I had to expand this definition of diversity to include more than just racial and ethnic diversity. As described above under *Academic Context*, seeing the diversity within populations labeled White was a move I felt the field of MTE might make as a whole. Second, *Everyday Democracy* asks the facilitator to be a neutral presence in the dialogue circle. In my project, I was an active participant, presenting myself as one who also has much to learn about the issues under discussion.

Session	Part I	Part II	Part III	Part IV	Part V	Part VI
I: Making Connections	Introduction	Overview of the Process	Hopes and Concerns	Guidelines for Dialogue	Making Connections	Closing
II: Our Ethnic Backgrounds and Racism	Making Connections	Case Studies	Key Words	Closing		
III: Our Unequal Nation	Making Connections	Deepening Our Understanding	Looking at Inequity in Our Country	Closing		
IV: Why Do Inequities Exist?	Making Connections	Why Do Inequities Continue?	Community Fact Sheet	Closing		
V: Looking at Our Community	Making Connections	Creating a Community Report Card	Approaches to Change	Imagining Our Community's Future	Closing	
VI: Moving to Action	Making Connections	Brainstorm Action Ideas	Listening to Our Community Strengths	Setting Our Priorities for Action	Closing	

Table 5.2: Everyday Democracy's *Facing Racism in a Diverse Nation*

In the first meeting, I introduced the project and presented the participants with the Freirean (1970) praxis model presented in Chapter 3, with information on methods of dialogic pedagogy, and with a presentation of my personal Racial Development Autobiography (RDA). The RDA was a way to create an identity artifact, a way to make implicit understandings of race explicit so that they can be shared in a dialogic community (Clark & Medina, 2000; Dillard, 1996; Florio-Ruane, 1994; Milner, 2007b; Rubin, 1995; Xu, 2000). I chose to present my own RDA first to build trust between the participants and me. I first wrote my own RDA during a seminar taught by my Committee Chair, Dr. Rich Milner, and found it a personally eye-opening experience that posed many questions I had not previously considered, like "When did I first recognize that I was White?" Since that seminar, I have revisited my RDA several times and have found the writing and rewriting of such an artifact is useful in tracking the development of myself as a racial being. A description of the RDA can be found in Appendix B.

In the time intervening between Meeting I and Meeting II, I asked each participant to write her own RDA. This exercise was a way to spark the participants' individual praxes of race. I chose to include the RDA writing at this point because the semester break allowed the participants time to focus on writing their RDAs without the pressures of semester coursework; also, as they all wrote these autobiographies while visiting family, they had access to information and lore that might assist in the writing.

In Meeting II, I asked each participant to share her own RDA. Investigating an individual understanding of something like race and how it has made a participant who she is, and then offering that information to another person, might be a dangerous space to enter. It was my responsibility to create an environment in which this happened safely, which is not the same thing as comfortably. There was no guarantee of peace or serenity, but the rules of dialogue laid out above provided a safe foundation. The sharing of the individual RDAs served as a basis for the development of a dialogue circle, a place where each individual was shaped and taught through interaction with the other.

At the end of Meeting II, I presented the Personal Reflection Journal (PRJ) as a way to reflect on what happened during subsequent meetings. These journals took the form of an electronic document passed between each participant and me individually via email; I began the process with an entry about where I saw each participant as a teacher and they responded. Such journaling proved valuable in prompting guided reflection (Garmon, 1998; Milner, 2003; Pewewardy, 2005). I chose to use electronic PRJs because this seemed the least intrusive way to exchange words, as the participants only came to campus one day per week during their student teaching placements.

In Meeting III, I presented a condensed form of a broad array of views about race.

This information provided topics for discussion that both challenged each participant's individual definitions of race and also propelled our communal dialogue. I presented multiple definitions of race and racism as if in dialogue with each other (Bowser & Hunt, 1981; Ignatiev, 1997; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Montagu, 1997; Omi & Winant, 1994). The variety among these definitions is present below in Chapter 7.

In Meeting IV, I presented a series of racial artifacts to the participants; these included clips from television programs and movies as well as newspaper stories, all dealing with some aspect of race in the United States:

- To address the dialectic of race as essence versus race as illusion, I showed the participants a clip from *The Chappelle Show* (Chappelle, 2004) in which there is a fictional (and satirical) racial draft to decide to which race several celebrities will belong. Paired with this was an article from the *New York Times* (Staples, 2007) about the ways in which the U.S. Census characterizes the population. Each of these problematized the view of race as essence and as illusion, pushing the viewer/reader to look for a third, transcendent option.

- To address colorblindness, I showed the participants a clip from *The Colbert Report* (Colbert, 2009) that included an interview with Newark mayor Cory Booker that addressed several of his previous comments made about celebrating the multicultural nature of his city without trying to make everyone assimilate. Paired with this was an article from the *New York Times* (Sack, 2008) about the ways in which the colorblind practice of medicine might lead doctors to overlook the cultural needs and realities of patients. Each of these demonstrated ways in which purporting to be colorblind actually harms people.

- To address stereotype threat, I showed the participants a clip from the movie *O* (Nelson, 2001) in which a teenage Othello tries to explain the reason behind his anger and possession of a firearm, acknowledging that his White audience is only going to see and remember an angry Black man with a gun. Paired with this was an article from the *New York Times* (Dillon, 2009) on the *Obama Effect* recently noticed in testing, where Black test takers performed better if first shown pictures of President Obama. Each of these demonstrated ways in which individuals might be consciously and unconsciously aware of stereotypes even as they may be perceived to be acting them out.

- To address White privilege, I showed the participants a clip from the show *Countdown with Keith Olbermann* (Olbermann, 2008) in which Olbermann lists several gaffes made by Senator John McCain during the 2008 presidential campaign and then asks if Candidate Obama would have been allowed to get away with them. Paired with this was an article from the *New York Times* (Carey, 2008) detailing the findings of a study in which racial tolerance spread through personal interaction. Each of these makes explicit the often implicit assumptions about privilege attached to people who are labeled White.

A more detailed presentation of these artifacts in the context of Meeting IV is included below in Chapter 7. I presented these artifacts to the participants as topics for dialogue. As described below, these artifacts were chosen in pairs representing four primary topics developed during the discussion in Meeting III. I was looking for how the participants might apply the information presented in Meeting III.

In Meeting V, we brainstormed ways to make social activism around issues of

racism practical in the classroom. I presented another racial artifact from an education

setting, a *key event* described in the work of Lewis, Ketter, and Fabos (2001). In this

meeting, I wanted observe how our communal praxis had developed as the focus of the

group turned to a problem with no readily available answers.

The progression of these meetings mirrored the progression I conjectured the

participants would follow:

- In sparking an individual praxis of race with Interview I and the RDA, I believed
  each participant would begin to question a Master Narrative that they have been
  taught to see as normal and natural.

- The presentation of a variety of voices on the issues of race and racism revealed
  the Whiteness in a Master Narrative's silence on such issues.

- The viewing of social artifacts developed within and counter to a Master
  Narrative provided the chance to develop the critical thinking skills necessary for
  unmasking and unmaking a Master Narrative.

- Finally, a period of communal brainstorming provided the space to begin applying
  new understandings to the process of teaching.

Through observations in the participants' classrooms and a second set of individual

interviews, I sought ways in which the dialogue circle impacted the participants

individually and in the classroom.

Observations

I observed participants in three different school settings. I purposively chose

settings that ran counter to the urban, non-White schools discussed in much of the MTE

literature. I chose to observe in schools where the diversity was more than just racial or ethnic. I wanted to address the question, What does one of the participants look like when teaching at [this location]? I observed poetry lessons and reading in a Public Suburban Middle School. I observed short story lessons in a Public Rural High School. I observed non-White literature lessons in an Urban Parochial Middle School.

Observing the participants in the act of teaching was an attempt to uncover ways that our dialogue circle might impact the classroom. Observations are often included in qualitative inquiry on preservice teachers (Lane, Lacefield-Parachini, & Isken, 2003; Leeman & Ledoux, 2003; Marx & Pennington, 2003; McDonald, 2005, 2007; Mcintyre, 2006; Proweller & Mitchener, 2004). The desire to make connections between teacher education and the practice of teaching is both called for (Ladson-Billings, 1999) and problematized (Haberman, 1996) in the literature. While the observations in this project were insufficient for making such claims, they provided a knowledge base for further research with these participants beyond this project.

Interview II

The project closed with a final set of one-on-one interviews. These interviews reflected the characteristics of qualitative interviewing described above. The focus of these interviews was two-fold. First, I asked a series of questions to ascertain whether or not individual understandings of race, racism, and change agency had developed over the course of the project. Second, I asked a series of questions about the project itself, focusing on both the outcomes of the project for each participant and the view of the

process of the project from each participant. An interview guide can be found in Appendix B.

Data Sources and Analysis

Data were developed from several sources: All (1) meetings and (2) interviews were audio- and video-recorded for transcription and analysis. To these were added (3) observation field notes of participants in the practice of student teaching. Other data sources included written artifacts like (4) Racial Development Autobiographies, (5) Personal Reflection Journals, and (6) Project Rubrics. Finally, my own (7) Data Analysis Memos also included data emergent during the process of data analysis. All of these data sources were analyzed using the constant comparative method. As I have already discussed the RDAs and PRJs, I continue here with a description of the Project Rubrics. I then describe the process of data analysis.

Project Rubrics

By applying the theoretical context of this project's counter-narrative, I developed a series of rubrics to capture ongoing development of the participants and of myself through the synthesis of the Freirean (1970) praxis with Burbules's (1993) rules of dialogue and dialogic attitudes. An overview of these rubrics, described in more detail below, is provided in Table 5.3. The actual rubrics are reproduced in Appendix B.

The first two rubrics were designed to evaluate the individual praxis of the participants and our communal praxis as a dialogue group. The individual praxis on racial diversity followed a continuum between Categorical Absolutes and Situated

Identities; evaluating this praxis helped me gauge the individual development of each

participant. The communal praxis on racial diversity also followed a continuum between

Categorical Absolutes and Situated identities but asked the participant to evaluate the

communal praxis being developed in the dialogic circle.

Rubric Name	Continuum	Markers	Where Used	Used By Whom/What Purpose
Individual Praxis on Racial Diversity	Categorical Absolutes ←→ Situated Identities	Knowledge of Race, Action of Race, Reflection of Race	In discussion with participants or in reflection journals	This rubric will be used by investigator and participants to evaluate their individual praxes on racial diversity as tending toward relational pluralism
Communal Praxis on Racial Diversity	Categorical Absolutes ←→ Situated Identities	Knowledge of Race, Action of Race, Reflection of Race	In discussion with participants or in reflection journals	This rubric will be used by investigator and participants to evaluate the dialogue group's communal praxis as tending toward relational pluralism
Attitude to Partner	Critical ←→ Inclusive	Participation, Commitment, Reciprocity	In discussion with participants or in reflection journals	This rubric will be used by investigator and participants to evaluate individual responses to the other dialogue partners
Attitude to Purpose	Divergent ←→ Convergent	Participation, Commitment, Reciprocity	In discussion with participants or in reflection journals	This rubric will be used by investigator and participants to evaluate individual responses to the purpose of the dialogue
Evidence of Success	Individual Universalism ←→ Relational Pluralism	Emergence and Enduring Consequence, Practice and Practicing, Plural Ways of Knowing, Relational Practice, Significance	In investigator's analysis	This rubric will be used by the investigator to evaluate to what extent the project is meeting the objective of the project

Table 5.3: Overview of Project Rubrics

The second two rubrics were designed to qualify the dialogic pedagogy using

Burbules's dialogic attitudes and rules. The attitude to partner followed Burbules's

(1993) continuum between Critical and Inclusive; evaluating this attitude helped me gauge an individual participant's development toward her dialogic partners over the course of the project. The attitude to purpose followed Burbules's (1993) continuum between Divergent and Convergent; evaluating this attitude helped me gauge an individual participant's development toward the purpose of the dialogue circle.

These rubrics were useful for capturing growth in the participants and in myself. The rubrics were presented to the participants as a series of worksheets at the end of each meeting. Despite the Likert-style format, these worksheets were not used for quantitative analysis of the praxes or individual development. Like the RDA, these worksheets provided a snapshot, an artifact representing a participant in a specific time and place that provided distance for reflection. I also used these worksheets to detail what I thought of the group's progress.

As an active participant in the proposed dialogic pedagogy, I also required a way to understand development in myself and to qualify the adaptations and changes I made to further the development of the dialogue. To this end, I adapted the methodology of Action Research (AR, Reason & Bradbury, 2001), a methodology, descendant from Freire (Hinchey, 2008), and centered on the ideal of relational pluralism. AR is based on the idea that research should be located in actual teaching contexts. AR works through the systematic study of what does or does not work to inform ongoing adjustments.

The roots of AR include the work of Kurt Lewin in the 1940s, a critique of positivist science engaged by thinkers like those from the Frankfurt School, and even Karl Marx and his descendants in the field of critical pedagogy like Antonio Gramsci and Paulo Freire. For a definition of AR, I cite Reason and Bradbury (2001):

> [AR is] a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes, grounded in a participatory worldview which we believe is emerging at this historical moment. It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities. (p. 2)

The above references to knowledge, action, and reflection are embodied in the Freirean (1970) praxis of this project's Theoretical Context, as are the inclusion of participation with others and the flourishing of individuals and communities.

Reason and Bradbury (2001) have developed five primary principles I adapted to describe my own development and dialogic project: (1) *AR Starts with Everyday Experience*: My project began with my and the participants' understandings and sought to redefine and enhance these understandings through dialogue. (2) *AR Develops Living Knowledge*: The process of dialogue moving toward relational pluralism is an example of living knowledge. Little was established *a priori* that the participants must come to believe to determine success. Instead, dialogue as a means of knowledge production relied on the living, dynamic nature of the participants. (3) *AR Emerges Over Time*: This project engaged myself and the participants over time and sought to explore and explain the changes we experienced. The iterative and responsive nature of the interviews and meetings supported this mindset. (4) *AR Is Emancipatory*: Emancipatory refers not just to terms of new knowledge but also to new abilities to create knowledge. This project sought to develop new knowledge but also sought to offer new ways of developing knowledge through dialogue and counter-narrative. (5) *AR Cannot be Programmatic or Defined by Static Methodology*: This project used several methods of data creation and analysis. I could not predict beforehand which methods would provide trustworthy

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findings, but in combination they triangulated a picture of each participant and the interactions of all the participants.

I used the rubrics presented above to measure my own development and view of the dialogic pedagogy. In addition, AR provided a method for measuring my development of a pedagogy preparing teachers to be change agents. As described in the *Evidence of Success* rubric, evidence of success in my pedagogical design addressed five primary kinds of questions (Reason & Bradbury, 2001) central to AR on a continuum between Individual Universalism and Relational Pluralism: (1) *Questions about Emergence and Enduring Consequence*; (2) Q*uestions of Practice and Practicing*; (3) *Questions about Plural Ways of Knowing*; (4) *Questions of Relational Practice*; and (5) *Questions about Significance*.

Analyzing Interview I

Instead of describing the general process of data analysis for the entire project, I have chosen to present here a detailed description of how I analyzed data developed during the initial interviews as an example of how data were analyzed throughout the entire project; this level of depth may provide a more complete picture than would a shallower survey of the entire process. When each initial interview was complete, I produced rough transcripts of each from the digitized video. On the first viewing, I captured general ideas and the flow of the interview. With successive viewing, I added more detail and some word-for-word transcribing. These transcripts repeatedly were subjected to the constant comparative method of data analysis (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I read and reread, and relistened and rewatched, each interview several times, looking and

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listening for themes and important concepts; I found it quite effective to put an interview on my iPod and listen while I rode my bicycle.

When I thought I had found an important theme or concept, I developed codes to define those themes and concepts; this first step is often called open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The development of these codes allowed the beginning of *comparative analysis*. That is, the coding allowed me to compare and contrast similar themes and concepts from multiple interviews. When sufficient codes were developed in this first step of open coding, the codes themselves became important, and I began the process of *microanalysis* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The process of microanalysis allowed me to group the coded concepts and themes under more abstract, higher order terms; this is often called *axial coding* (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) because the themes and concepts are organized around the axis of a category. Appendix C provides the final coding scheme developed and definitions for each code.

Axial coding involved several steps, described below, and was central to the later development of implications. From the beginning of open coding, I laid out the properties of the categories I used to group important themes and concepts. This led me to identify the interactions and conditions associated with these categories. For instance, by relating a larger category to smaller subcategories, I began to explore the relationships among the concepts and themes. This led me to look for ways in which major categories related to each other. This process of analysis attempted to make connections between structure and process, between contextual circumstances and the events and activities of those circumstances. As Strauss and Corbin (1998) remind us, both of these were necessary: "If one studies *structure* only, then one learns *why* but not *how* certain events

occur. If one studies *process* only, then one understands *how* persons act/interact but not why" (p. 127, emphases in original). Both process and structure are necessary when exploring the dynamism of interpersonal interaction.

This entire process is referred to as *constant comparative* because the coding, categorizing, and comparing repeats continuously. In analyzing the interviews, I coded on a line-by-line basis, on a topic-by-topic basis, and even on an interview-by-interview basis. Each level of coding brought new concepts and themes to the forefront, which in turn affected the developing organization of codes and categories. I now provide more specific information of what this looked like with the Interview I data.

After conducting and transcribing all five individual interviews, I read through the interviews looking for important themes and concepts. Some of the first themes and concepts I defined were things like *Definition of Diversity* (description of what diversity means in a specific or general setting) and *Trajectory* (where a participant sees her life or career heading). These codes were guided by my research questions and organized using my theoretical framework. With each successive transcript, these codes were expanded.

After initial coding, I grouped every line or topic by code; for example, I looked at every piece of each transcript where I had marked DOD (Definition of Diversity). In reading through these pieces at the same time, I began to develop ideas about how the participants defined diversity in multiple or similar ways. When I had defined and explored several of these codes, I began to group the codes into larger categories.

Some early categorization of the data involved descriptions of different types of the WFPT. Admittedly, these developing types were problematic. Participants fitting one be very different from each other or may seem similar along a certain characteristic

but for very different reasons. I offer the genesis of three archetypes that developed over time as an example of ongoing data analysis. These descriptions are quoted directly from a Data Analysis Memo; as such, I reproduce them here uncorrected for style or content:

> *The Mainstream WFPT* is the WFPT assumed to populate teacher education. She grew up in a comfortably middle-class background and has pursued education for some time; often, she has always wanted to be a teacher. The back-stories attached to this archetype often differ when surface impressions are removed. For example, Meredith has lived her entire life excepting one year in the South and plans to remain in the South. She grew up in a mid-sized Southern town and identifies as a White Southerner. She is very similar in outward appearance to Allison, but Allison's father is from South America and came to the Southern United States to pursue his college education. When applying for university admittance, Allison's father encouraged her to label herself as South American so as to gain a leg up in the process.

> *The Accidental WFPT* fell into teacher education through a series of unplanned events. There was no desire to teach from a young age, nor is there some missionary drive to become a teacher now. Teaching is a profession, one of many that could have been chosen. Teaching represents a stable field with promising job prospects and, as such, is to be preferred in times of social or economic stress. The path followed to arrive at this archetype is varied, even in view of the perceived career trajectory. For example, Meredith fell into teaching after trying out architecture for graduate school and is now excited about teaching next year, possibly in a local charter school.

> *The Proto-Freirean WFPT* is a designation that I believe will become more prevalent in teacher education as the current generation of high school students and undergraduates move into teacher education. They are WFPTs who have come of age in a time of pressing environmental concern and detailed knowledge of globalized poverty and oppression. As such, they are attuned to suffering of many types and have an innate desire to make their world a better place. Coming to this awareness, however, happens in many different ways. For example, Rachel grew up in the upper-middle class Midwest, the daughter of an oncologist and a nurse; her parents specifically raised her with a constant recognition of her class and the accompanying but unearned privileges of that class. On the other side, Francis was raised in a west coast county that is 85% Hispanic and counted herself a minority until she went away to complete her undergraduate studies.

These archetypes of WFPTs became important as I proceeded in the dialogue circle meetings, helping me to think about the needs of the individual participants. In analyzing

the data, I came to see that in each participant's case, for example, generational concerns were very important. That is, each participant made comparisons between her own understanding of race and her parents' or grandparents' understandings of race.

It is thusly that interviews and meetings moved from transcripts to codes to categories to findings to implications. In Chapter 6, I tell an individual story of each participant, drawn primarily from analysis of the initial interviews and the RDAs. In Chapter 7, I describe the preparation for and execution of each meeting. In between the meetings, this process of data analysis was ongoing, each transcript informing and remaking my understanding of those previous.

CHAPTER VI

OUR MANY STORIES

In dissertation parlance, Chapters 6 and 7 represent findings; that is, the narratives

contained in these chapters are what happened when I enacted the methods described in

the previous chapter. However, in introducing these narratives, I do not feel the word

findings is entirely accurate. I do not mean to imply any causal relationships or effects

between my methods and changes in the participants or myself; I did not merely find

something buried in the data but through analysis developed grounded evidence that both

confirmed and problematized previous findings in the field. In this chapter, I am

attempting to provide a thick description of each of the participants, including myself. In

the next chapter, I am likewise attempting to provide a thick description of our group

meetings, presented in chronological order to demonstrate evolution and growth over the

course of this project. I openly admit that it is impossible to recount the exact chronology

in this story. However, I attempt to capture the order to demonstrate how previous

experiences and pedagogical methods may have built on each other to influence the

participants' responses. These narratives are not intended to provide a complete account

or to attach particular significance to the data; I include that work in Chapter 8:

Implications and Limitations. It is in Chapter 8 that I also organize these findings

thematically to address the research questions introduced in Chapter 1.

In preceding chapters, I have established the context for the narratives that follow.

In Chapter 2, I outlined the Social Context of this project and described a Master

Narrative of Individual Merit. In Chapter 3, I outlined the Theoretical Context of this project and described a Master Narrative of Whiteness. In the previous chapter, I outlined the Methodological Context of this project and described a Master Narrative of monologue. In this and the following chapter, I am attempting to create a narrative that runs counter to these Master Narratives, a counter-narrative that is relational, critical of Whiteness, and dialogic.

In this chapter, I provide six stories, one for myself and each of the five participants, centered on the ways we began to see ourselves as racial beings. Due to the temporal and physical limitations of any written document, these stories can only convey a partial account of each participant. As such, I asked the participants to consider the first time they saw themselves as raced beings and any other experiences that had shaped their racial development. I begin with my own story, my RDA presented to the participants in Meeting I, so as to contextualize myself as a White male researcher and dialogue participant wrestling within himself over issues of race and racism; as an active participant in the dialogue circle, my own racial development and the sharing of that story had a place in the group. The ensuing narratives represent some of the ways in which each participant sees herself.

In analyzing these stories, I begin to note the ways in which the participants differ from each other, as well as how they differ from the WFPT assumed but rarely defined in the MTE literature. Such analysis appears in the closing paragraphs of each story and records my own analytical critique of the preceding narrative. As mentioned above, I do not at this point consider the implications of these narratives; instead, I try to represent each participant in as complete a way as possible and to tell this part of each participant's

story as she would tell it. The primary data sources for this chapter include Interview I and the Racial Development Autobiographies. I do not simply reproduce the RDA of each participant because these individual narratives include the initial interviews, the written RDA, and the presentation of the RDAs in Meeting II. Initial drafts of these narratives were submitted to each participant for comments as a method of member checking, which I used in revision.

Jud's Story at Age 31: southern but not Southern

The first time I was asked to consider my racial background seriously came during a workshop during my first year of teaching. The question posed consisted of two blanks: I am ___ but I am not ___. My response shocked the leader of the workshop, providing a point she had never considered: I am *Appalachian* but I am not *Southern*.

I can trace my family back on each side to their arrival in the "New World," though some lived here for millennia before that. In the early eighteenth century, Samuel McCall emigrated from County Antrim, probably shipping out of Belfast. He moved to the mountains of present-day North Carolina, scratching a living from logging and farming, melding in with his Cherokee neighbors and eventually leading to my mother. On my father's side, John Levi, a British Jew, came across the pond as a regimental band leader and decided to settle in North Carolina. Abraham Kuykendal, a New York Jew, moved to North Carolina and became a Captain in the colonial militia. Eventually, my paternal grandmother met my mother working in a Ball Jar factory and asked if she could give my father a ride back to Chapel Hill in the fall. I define myself as Appalachian, not Southern. My parents grew up in the mountains around Asheville. I grew up in the

mountains around Chattanooga. In ante-bellum times, my family logged Pisgah for the Vanderbilts and mined coal for the Peabodys. My parents were the first to attend college and in one generation my family went from industrial working class to upper-middle management. My identity and perceptions remain in flux because of this fulfillment of the "American" dream and the obligation I feel on my shoulders from my working-class background and upper-class opportunities.

I am a White male, but I do not want to be seen as one. Throughout my life, I have sought ways to identify myself as an *other*, no matter the color of my skin, knowing that race is more than skin deep. My blood carries those whom a White man force-marched to useless desert lands, only to reclaim them after the discovery of oil. My face resembles those hunted down by the Angles, Saxons, and Danes for their small green island of rock. My family bears the scars of those persecuted for five millennia by Egyptians, Romans, and Germans. However, I look White and therefore have access to privileges, and I am complicit in that history.

Throughout primary school, I sought to align myself with the Eastern Tribe of the Cherokee Nation. I researched by great-grandmother Nanny and her Cherokee mother. I culled the Dawes Rolls looking for family names. I contacted tribal leaders. I attended pow-wows for culture. I filled in *Native American* on all my standardized tests. When discussions of ethnicity occurred, I referred to "My People, the Aniyunwiya."

By my sophomore year of college, I had retreated from my Native roots, still claiming them but not making them a formal presentation. While in college, I met a man who became one of my best friends. He came from upstate New York, the second

brother of five boys born to an Irish-Catholic family. Through him, I came to celebrate a different branch of my lineage, one with which I more closely ally today.

In my own lifetime, I have seen many sides of a man my ancestors made. I have worked in factory and forest, as well as office and university. I have lived in the transient's apartment and have owned property. I have attended a school of Hispanic majority and a school of elite White privilege. I have fought the Man and have been the Man. My identification and stratification have instilled in me a love of all cultures. I want to think of myself as Irish or Cherokee or Jewish or working class or socialist to form a bond with other non-White cultures. I want to feel in myself some sort of credibility in entering another's space. I want a connection with the oppressed so that when I sit down with them, I can say truthfully, "I am like you. I am your brother."

As I complete the fifth year of my doctoral studies, I often critically analyze my thoughts on race, refining and redefining with each new article and interaction. In addressing this issue now, I see how far I have come in five years, as well as some of where I still need to travel. I recognize the root of my desire not to fit in as a currency I can use to ameliorate myself to others. However, I stand at a specific crossroads, informed but looking for passage. I present an example here to clarify:

The first time I ate at Prince's I felt uncomfortable but not because my wife and I were the only White people in a two-mile radius. I did not fear for my safety or naïve missteps. I feared being labeled a blustering conqueror. I did not want the woman behind the small window where I ordered my food to look at me and say, "Oh great, here comes another White man, wanting to take what I have and make it his own. Soon this place will be crawling with White folks and I'll have to move on to somewhere else." I

have no idea whether or not she had these thoughts, but I did. I have seen and studied the way a White man can enter a new area and appropriate all pieces of it until it becomes his own. I do not want that ideal forced onto my being because of the color of my skin.

For this reason, I am wary of entering another's space, and when I do, I attempt to be as invisible as possible, not for my own safety but for the cultural well being of the other. In younger years, I wanted to be Cherokee so I would not be European. I wanted to be Irish so I would not be an oppressor. I wanted to be working-class so I would not be elitist. I wanted to be socialist so I would not be "American." I want to be an Other so I can bond with the Other and have the Other feel comfortable enough with me to invite me in. What I want is a Shibboleth, a secret handshake, a special license that identifies me as a man who looks White but who has dedicated his life to the study of and deconstruction of racism, as a White Ally.

But then I am stopped short when I look in the mirror. The role models and heroes I look to are not White. Doctor King was not White. Du Bois was not White. Jesus was not White. Who am I to stand up and be counted among those fighting oppression when I so mimic the oppressor? A large part of my search and struggle is to find White role models I can look to as examples of developing an anti-racist, but still White, identity. I take comfort in the knowledge that White Appalachians have figured among scholars of race relations during the turbulence of the twentieth century, but the workaday man with whom I take up arms cannot see into my heart and know my desire. How do I communicate with him the person I really am?

Allison's[10] Story at Age 25: So Mainstream and Yet Not

If talking to her briefly, Allison saw herself as that Mainstream preservice teacher assumed but not often explicitly defined in MTE literature. In fact, unless pressed, she even described herself in those terms:

> It doesn't bother me that I am seen as the typical WFPT. I take it and use it to my advantage. I use it as a way to have influence and maybe one day make the educational system better. (Allison, Personal Reflection Journal)

She "grew up in White middle class suburbia" (Interview I, 2:20) outside a large Southern city. There were some non-White kids, but they were "Bougie Black Kids, I guess, that lived in my neighborhood" (Interview I, 2:40); however, "I didn't really notice a difference because they acted like us" (Interview I, 3:05). There was some busing to her "upper-middle class suburban high school" (Interview I, 3:35), but it was primarily kids from the neighborhood in her classes. Her teachers were all White females, except for the high school Spanish teacher, a Latina, and one White male English teacher.

She stayed in the same state for college, attending a large university in the state's public system; all the members of her sorority had backgrounds similar to her own and "there was very small diversity in my college" (Interview I, 4:05). After college, Allison worked as a substitute ELL teacher, teaching students whose parents came to this country both legally and illegally. She saw that legal and illegal immigrants were treated similarly in society and that the general concept of immigrant is either as an illegal siphon for government assistance or a hard worker bent on capitalist gain: "for most people there's no in between, there's not a spectrum. It's one or the other." (Interview I, 38:55). Her students who spoke accented English were assumed to be illegal: "everyone

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[10] I have given all the participants pseudonyms.

in that class was assumed to be an illegal immigrant" (Interview I, 39:20). She learned that even when someone comes to this country with a purpose, the tools necessary to succeed are not always offered freely.

And then she went to Chile.

Allison admits, "My life has not been very diversified except for when I went to South America" (Interview I, 4:52). In describing her own life growing up, there was no mention of anything but a White suburban identity until five minutes into our first interview; growing up, Allison thought of herself as White and she even presented herself as White when answering my initial background questions.

Traveling abroad may not be such a rarity for WFPTs; several undergraduate and graduate students have spent a summer, semester, or even a year living in another country. But Allison was different. She was not backpacking through Europe or sleeping in Australian hostels. She was living "with my dad's younger sister and her family" (Interview I, 8:40), which came as "a huge diversity check for me" (Interview I, 5:30).

Allison does look Chilean. However, she described herself as a "White, middle class suburban girl who has a Hispanic father" (Interview I, 37:10). Allison told us in the group meetings of how she often slipped between the cracks of recognition; unless she tells people, they often do not guess that she is Latina (more on this below in Chapter 7). In fact, she did not really think this of herself until applying for college.

Allison's father "came to the States when he was 21 on a student visa" (Interview I, 7:25), settling in a small university town in the Deep South. There he met Allison's mother, a local of the town and student at the university. In the years intervening his arrival and Allison's birth, he learned English (but not immediately), acculturated to

American society, and soon began to think of himself not just as successful but as White. Allison had some interaction with her father's family, primarily when a cousin "who's almost 31 came to live with us when I was ten or eleven" (Interview I, 8:50). Otherwise, she was raised to think of herself as the child of American suburbia.

It was only when applying for college that her father instructed her to mark the box labeled Hispanic rather than White. This was new for Allison, and she used the dialogic community of this project to help come to terms with what happened then:

> On most interactions, I'm White. Just the way I was brought up was White. My dad did not boast his difference. He wanted very hard to fit in… When I was down there, I didn't look like them either. So, I'm kind of, like, in this weird half world where I can go both ways. Like, I can play up my White background or I can play up the "I'm a minority" background. Which, I was taught when it came to filling out important forms, I was Spanish. (Interview I, 27:00, 28:30)

The idea that to take advantage of minority status requires sufficient schooling in Whiteness raised many questions for Allison. There were definite disadvantages to being labeled *Hispanic* but why did Allison's father see it as an advantage in this situation? Why did a financial concern, the possibility of minority scholarships, bring him to a place where he would acknowledge his Chilean roots?

In Chile, Allison lived with her father's family for six months, teaching English in her family's private school. While living abroad was new to her, she admits now that Chile was not a diverse place: "Even though there was diversity in me, it's [Chile] the most homogeneous country in South America" (Interview I, 5:00). Allison described Chile as a micro-United States: "It's a very American ideal in Chile. Like, it's the same ideals, like capitalistic and very image based. If you look good, you must be successful" (Interview I, 46:30). This characterization of the United States as combining capitalism with materialism was a common conflict for Allison. Her background placed her in an

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interesting liminal space, a double-consciousness feeling that she held even through the last group meeting, that balanced traditional notions of meritocracy with a critical questioning of those ideals.

Allison believed that growing up "White" with a Hispanic father "made me who I am but not in the fact that I concentrate on it" (Interview I, 37:20). Allison recounted how her father believed in the U.S. as meritocracy. He came to this country and worked hard and made something of himself, a lesson he tried to instill in both his children (Allison has an older brother, a lawyer in New York City). Growing up with her father,

> has given me a skewed idea of immigrants because my dad came here and worked extremely hard and did not speak any English when he stepped off the plane. And he worked extremely hard and he is now a successful man in the company he works for. So, I just assume that everyone is here because they want to be successful and make something of their lives and whatever, because my dad's very capitalistic in the sense that his idea of the American dream was, like, come to this country, get rich, have everything you need. (Interview I, 37:30)

Growing up, Allison learned that immigrants to this country come because they believe in meritocratic possibility. Yet, Allison's innate questioning of her parents also led her early on to critique this sentiment, a critique embedded even in the quotation above with the qualification of her father as a capitalist with only a desire to get rich.

Allison differed from the WFPT assumed in MTE literature because, throughout much of her life, she struggled with what it meant to be White and what it meant to be Latina. This interplay between White and Latina has been for Allison the central question of her own identity. Over the course of the dialogue circle meetings described in Chapter 7, Allison opened up to the group and allowed us to participate in her exploration of what it meant to be raised White by a Latino father. The contradiction between a belief in meritocracy and a belief in community was also at play in Allison,

leading her to question many of the ideals she held for herself as a teacher in light of a more pragmatic approach to living in the United States.

<center>Francis's Story at Age 23: What Is Poor?</center>

When Francis spoke, she stood out from the other participants; in fact, Francis's version of English was one of many things by which she distinguished herself. She talked fast, her clothes were more about comfort than following trends, and she did not shy away from supposedly inappropriate topics or controversy. Francis was from Southern California and she embodied her own brand of Los Angeles. However, that was an adopted persona; her background began further north and much deeper in the country.

Francis was born in California to a paternal family steeped in the traditions of working class White sharecroppers from Tennessee; "My dad was from Lauderdale County, which is like the poorest county in the state, I believe" (Interview I, 14:10). At two years old, Francis and her family moved to western Tennessee to be closer to her father's family; this lasted until Francis was almost seven. Her mother "grew up in California; her family had agriculture there" (Interview I, 14:00). The family moved back to escape the overly-religious atmosphere she found in rural Tennessee; "my mother could not handle the Bible Belt any longer" (Interview I, 15:20). They settled in "Steinbeck country" (Interview I, 8:10), in a county that was "largely agricultural, dairy and produce and beef" (Interview I, 8:25). The rural town in which she lived had a White population of "four or five basic [White] families that make up the backbone of the good old boys in the town, my family being one of those" (Interview I, 9:40). These White families "grew produce and the beef and the Portuguese have dairy… It's kind of funny

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how that plays into all of that– my understandings about different races" (Interview I, 8:35). Francis, in providing revisions for this story, pointed out that the Portuguese population was actually located one town away. Everyone else worked in the fields.

High school for Francis was a "union school" (Interview I, 9:00) to which several other rural community elementary schools were feeders:

> This school was between, at any given time, eighty-five to ninety-fiver percent Mexican, largely immigrant. Not necessarily immigrant; some of them were there for many generations. Very small White population and a lot of the White kids were half-Mexican or quarter-Mexican. (Interview I, 9:10)

Francis had attended a "small, little religious private school for a couple years between fourth and seventh grade because my mom was afraid of gangs" (Interview I, 10:15). In revising this story, Francis pointed out that she believed her mother's fears were unfounded. Francis was bored by seventh grade "and, contrary to belief, all private schools are not that good" (Interview I, 10:25).

Francis returned to the public system for more scholastic challenge, where she "got tracked into the honors classes" (Interview I, 11:00). Francis recounted how early on she saw herself standing out from among her peers:

> I never realized how early on an anomaly I was because, yeah, I was smart in the private school but, like, all the kids were kind of good kids and they did their work even if they weren't really super smart. And public school was completely different. Like, they were, like, all my teachers were so excited to have someone finish their work on time and I was like, "What? This is what you're supposed to do." (Interview I, 11:00)

She turned in her work on time and enjoyed reading; she even accidentally demoralized a friend who once admitted to neither understanding nor liking *A Wrinkle in Time*. Francis's mom did not feel the need to be very involved in Francis's academic career, assuming that Francis always did her homework. Her mom did get involved during

Francis's senior year when there was "a big hoopla over how they were going to count GPA for the valedictorian" (Interview I, 12:35). Francis was chosen as valedictorian and matriculated to a tier-one state school in Los Angeles, not because of the academic reputation ("Again, I had no idea how important these schools were" [Interview I, 13:45]) but because no one from her high school would follow her.

In college, Francis learned a new slate of reasons why she was not like many other college students her age:

> When I went to [University] I had, I don't want to say a nervous breakdown, because I had never been around so many White people. I had when I was very young but I didn't remember it. And I remember I immediately gravitated towards people that were not White to be friends with. However, after about a year, my closest friends, I realized, were White, so it was like my peripheral friends that were not White. Which was interesting. And the friends that I had that were not, that did not consider themselves White seemed White and that seemed weird because growing up I had always felt more comfortable around people of like other ethnicities. (Interview I, 17:35)

In her hometown, White was a numerical minority and Francis never understood why so many people hated her for being White; she did not see herself as having a numerical advantage at that point in her life. However, in college, she came to understand White as a majority, and also began to question why her closest friends tended to be White.

While Francis was quick to define herself according to race, ethnicity, and gender, when asked about class, she responded "That's complicated" (Interview I, 19:40). In moving from high school to college, Francis learned that class was a relative term:

> Like I said, when I was growing up, in a very poor area, my family was considered–not well off but we were doing okay. We had food, clothes. I had a house to live in even though it wasn't very nice. I realize now the reason we had those things was 'cause my grandfather supported my family. (Interview I, 19:50).

She learned that her definition of poor, twenty people living in one house, was not widespread. In college, she found out that she was poor, that "growing up in a trailer was

not normal" (Interview I, 20:25), that teaching, which she held to be a solidly middle class profession, was more often seen as a missionary calling.

Francis's own experience as a high school "TA for what was considered a remedial class" (Interview I, 23:05) served as the basis for her current desire to be a teacher. In this remedial class, the teacher "just sat there and yelled and told me 'these kids aren't going to do anything so why should I even try to teach them?'" (Interview I, 23:15). However, in being able to connect with the students because they were her age, she came to understand that they were not dumb kids; they were just all the gang members. "These kids aren't dumb. They know how to survive obviously because they joined a gang, they did the smart thing for their line of work" (Interview I, 24:05). Her frustration at the situation only intensified when she learned that the classroom dictionary was too old to include the word *astronaut*; "So the remedial kids are supposed to learn from a dictionary that's prior to 1959, or whenever it was" (Interview I, 23:35). Francis wanted to teach because when growing up she did not have the support she felt every student deserved: "The basic thing I saw that was wrong with my school was organization and goals… and I thought, 'Well, if the basic problem's organization then I could teach these kids" (Interview I, 24:25).

Francis differed from the WFPT assumed in the MTE literature because she grew up, and still saw herself as, poor. It was from her experience of being poor that Francis drew most of her understandings about diversity. She discussed at length how she realized she was poor when she went to college; coming to a Southern private university made the distinction stronger. However, her own education problematized her understanding of class. That is, she distinguished between class as an economic measure

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and as a social measure, noting that in coming to graduate school she was moving up in class; however, "I can only go up so many steps" (Interview I, 22:30).

Throughout her life, Francis saw herself as a minority, ethnically as a child and economically as an adult:

> Growing up as a minority and not realizing I was a minority definitely had an impact because, at eighteen, realizing that I was not in the minority, that I was actually in the majority and that's why people were so made at me my whole life. Or the Hispanic community, the Latino community that I was at was always making comments about White people and I could not figure it out, because I was one of the few. I think it definitely helped me to, I don't want to say empathize but maybe it is empathy. Because most people looking at me would not realize I've been a minority my whole life. They would say, "Oh, you're White." (Interview I, 45:10)

Francis always felt like she was from the outside, trying to fit in with the more mainstream White identities she encountered as an undergraduate and graduate student. The contradiction between being White and being poor was constant in her life.

In this space of contradictions, Francis developed a sense of critique built around a wariness of accepting someone else's categories. This critique included an internal sense of praxis as related to teaching:

> Well, you have to have theory but my problem with theory is that it changes every ten years and people find, "Oh, that didn't work. Let's try this," you know? Um, so you have to have theory in order to reflect on that theory and think, "Well, maybe that is good. Maybe that is bad. And maybe I'll do this and maybe I'll do that." So you have no basis for that and you're not going to think a whole lot about anything. So it gives you a framework but I don't think you should follow it to the letter or anything. Um, you also have to have practical experience. I mean, that's a must because you're not going to really understand what to do until you've done it, or, how to do it until you've done it. Yeah, I think you have to have both. (Interview I, 31:45)

In just thirty seconds of our first interview, Francis laid out the praxis model as the way she understood the practice of teaching, a model that seemed to come to her as a product of her own life story. The practice of teaching, for Francis, was not the transmission of

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static knowledge, but an ever developing set of experiences designed to test the bounds of society's categories.

Meredith's Story at Age 26: The Accidental Teacher

Meredith grew up far from suburbia and it was her upbringing that made the biggest impact on her life. Meredith grew up on a "hobby farm" of "like thirty acres" (Interview I, 3:30) in rural, western Tennessee: "I feel like I had kind of a different experience from most of my peers because they were mostly living in suburbs" (Interview I, 4:05). She lived far from her neighbors and most social interactions growing up involved her parents and brother. This bucolic setting held pleasant memories for Meredith, and she would love to return to such a lifestyle later in life. While she enjoyed the country, Meredith admitted that she led a "pretty sheltered upbringing. I went to Catholic school for awhile, until seventh grade and then I was in private school" (Interview I, 4:10).

Meredith hated high school, primarily because she was "painfully shy" (Interview I, 6:15). She had great teachers, but "there was just a lot of immaturity and, um, just cliquishness. Just things that made it sort of an uncomfortable environment to grow up in" (Interview I, 6:30). Going to a small school, "there were not a lot of people to choose from as far as who you were going to hang out with" (Interview I, 6:50). She enjoyed playing tennis in high school, which won her a scholarship to a Division I school out west. However, she soon learned that playing at the Division I level would keep her from "growing as a person" (Story Revision Comments), and she returned home after one year, "because I realized I was more interested in school than in tennis" (Interview I, 7:40).

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She attended a local university for one year and then transferred to a large, academically renowned university in Texas to finish her undergraduate degree, "because my brother had been there" (Interview I, 10:00).

After graduating, she moved to New England and "I taught ESL while I was there and actually lived in a house with… international students" (Interview I, 11:40). She was interested in architecture at the time and used the year in Boston to decide if she wanted to head back to Texas, to a different but equally renowned school, and start her master's degree. She lasted one semester, "and pretty quickly realized that was not the right path because it was so, it was just way too busy to actually have a life and there wasn't really any end in sight" (Interview I, 13:35). She would have to sacrifice a family for a career, a prospect Division I tennis had driven out of the realm of possibility. When talking to her aunt about what to do, her aunt recommended teaching, having attended my own institution, and Meredith took up the idea.

Meredith admitted that "I really, as far as how I got into teaching, I don't really have an answer to that question but I feel like I'm in the right place" (Interview I, 14:30). She enjoyed the content area she chose, English, and became more interested in critical thinking skills and how to teach students to live "with their eyes wide open in the world" (Interview I, 15:25). Growing up in the country, reading was the primary method by which Meredith gained access to other points of view. She saw reading as a way to explore the multiple "lenses and windows with which to see yourself and to see other people" (Interview I, 16:30).

When asked how she identified racially, Meredith was stumped; in the first interview, a simple "I don't know" was the extent of her answer, after claiming,

I really hate defining myself racially, or ethnic– I don't know. I just, first I just see myself as a human being… My skin's not White. It's pink or orange or something… But at the same time it [White] carries so much meaning that I don't think I ought to have to carry. (Interview I, 17:25)

Over the course of the project, we came to realize as a group that critical discussions of White and Whiteness often seem to occur in negative contexts, and so it made sense why Meredith would prefer not to talk about it. However, in applying Helms's (1990) model of White identity development, Meredith came to see that a positive White identity was possible. She also grasped tightly to the information about race presented in Meeting III, information she had never learned.

Moving beyond teacher education, Meredith saw herself working in a school with a student body that was racially and economically diverse. She was particularly fond of a local charter school. She enjoyed the environment of that school, one where academic success was expected and praised; Meredith felt that type of environment would provide a structure in which she could succeed but that she would "have to be committed to getting to know what their [students'] lives were like" (Interview I, 35:10). She was committed to knowing her students as individuals and being involved in the community.

Meredith differed from the WFPT assumed in the MTE literature because she grew up in a rural area of the country, far from the suburban experience of many of her colleagues. The power of her upbringing in a rural setting was widespread in Meredith's goals and accomplishments. She left two different schools at two different points in her life because she found herself on tracks that would prevent her from having time with or having her own family. She explored multiple vocational paths before coming to education and consistently chose to have a life rather than have a career. This experience outside of the field of education and her commitment to family might be strong

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determiners when she chooses where and how to teach in her own classroom.

Pamela's Story at Age 26: The New South

Pamela was a pleasure to talk to. She always smiled. She spoke slowly and

thoughtfully. Even when she disagreed, she responded with warmth. Pamela readily

identified herself as Southern; when asked to tell me about herself, her first response was

"I'm twenty-five years old. I'm a Southerner" (Interview I, 3:20). In our first interview,

we spoke at length about what it meant to be Southern, with a Capital S. To Pamela,

Southern meant,

> placing an importance on relationships and kind of a relaxed, I'm a pretty relaxed
> person. I don't think the South is very high stress or high paced. Yeah, like I just
> really care about getting to know people and conversations and talking with
> people. Definitely like a sense of community, I think is really important.
> (Interview I, 11:35)

However, this identity was also problematic to Pamela, and she has had to critique,

upend, and deny a place to several *Southern* traits.

Pamela grew up in a "pretty traditional Southern city, a small city" (Interview I,

6:15). There was neither industry nor nightlife, a small downtown surrounded by farms:

> There's not a whole lot of, like, middle class there. Just a lot of, like, White
> Southern old money types and then there's a little bit of middle class and then
> there's like poor Blacks and that's really separated still. Like, I go home and I'm
> still very much like, I went home recently and I had to go to a wedding at the
> country club and it was, like, so very country club and not very integrated at all,
> just kind of like, "We are the rich people in this town." (Interview I, 7:00)

Pamela's family was one of the rare in-betweens, White but not with an abundance of

wealth: "My family didn't have a lot of money so I wasn't really in that inner society...

but I was still closely associated with it because I was White" (Interview I, 7:45). Being

White meant that Pamela went to a private school through her senior year; the public

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schools were predominantly Black and she did not grow up knowing many people who went to public schools. Because of her attendance at a private school, Pamela was privy to some circles of her city's White social scene.

She matriculated to a large Southern university one state away and fell into a pattern of life similar to what she had known back home. "It [university] had the stereotype of White snotty girls that are, like, very rich and preppy. And it is" (Interview I, 5:15). She reported that the student body appeared primarily White to her, except on Saturdays when a home football game proved there were some Black students on campus. In the first interview, Pamela's recollections of college were fairly benign. However, in the dialogue circle meetings recounted in Chapter 7, she opened up much more in describing the struggles she experienced living in such a world. She told us all how she wanted to join a sorority so badly but had to walk away from rush, crying, because she could no longer stand a system that created such haves and have-nots. She told us all how she saw the irony of the innumerable programs set up by the university to try and ameliorate four-hundred years of segregation, all the while patting themselves on the back for doing such wonderful work.

When she graduated, Pamela moved to New York City for a year to try and get out of that world, to gain some perspective on her upbringing in the South: "I worked for a textile design company. I worked in their store, but that sounds cooler than it really is. I just kind of tried to make money and see what would happen" (Interview I, 3:50). She lasted one year before she returned, moving to a larger and more progressive city than those of her home state. "I was an assistant kindergarten teacher for a year" (Interview I, 4:10) and then returned to graduate school. She wanted to stay in the South upon

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graduating, but not necessarily in her hometown.

Pamela differed from the WFPT assumed in MTE literature because of the interplay between her commitment to her Southern identity and the problematic nature of that identity. Over the course of her twenty-six years, Pamela grew up under an invisible system of Southern-ness, but she came to see that Southern-ness as potentially damaging. She recognized the privileges associated with being White in the South, but also the ways in which her privileging took something away from others. She came to see herself through a positive Southern identity, an identity that took the commitments to community and relationships and extends them to all people. This struggle might have led to her being more open to discussing issues of race and racism than might otherwise be expected. She wanted to take that identity struggle into the classroom and teach for at least five years; she also wanted to get married and raise a family.

Rachel's Story at Age 24: The Doctor's Kids

Rachel grew up "the oldest of four. My dad is an oncologist and my mom is a nurse… I pretty much have lived, um, second grade on in the same place" (Interview I, 4:05). She attended suburban public elementary schools before matriculating to a "private Catholic high school" (Interview I, 3:35). She recognized early on her love of reading and writing. She attended a large mid-western university "because all my friends were going there" (Interview I, 3:50), only deciding in her senior year that she no longer wanted to pursue journalism. She preferred creative writing to reporting and so entered the field of education because she felt that teaching English would leave enough time to pursue her own writing projects.

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From the outside, Rachel seemed to be that undefined mainstream WFPT assumed in MTE literature. However, there was something particular about her upbringing that made Pamela different. Despite having two parents in the medical field, she was not brought up with many of the privileges associated with that station:

> [My community growing up was] Affluent, White, suburban, you know, middle class to upper-middle class… [I am] A product of that but, um, we, my mom made sure that we grew up not as doctor's kids. Um, as, um just grateful human beings, I guess, you know. I've had a job since I was 14. My parents to all of us have been, "No job, no car." I had my college education and my graduate education paid for but other than that, everything's all on me. So, I consider myself very fortunate because I never wanted for anything but I don't believe I have this spoiled attitude that I am entitled to a privileged life because I grew up that way. (Interview I, 4:50)

Throughout her life, her parents were quick to make her work, training her to be grateful for all that she had. Living with privileges but being taught that they were privileges created in Rachel a critical spirit that took nothing for granted. She liked to surround herself with similar people. She also readily admitted that sometimes she loses her critical focus when a privilege is taken away.

Growing up with parents who took particular care to create the critical space around White privilege heavily influenced Rachel's desire to teach. She wanted to teach so that she could build in her students an awareness of the outside world. She wanted to create in her students "well-rounded knowledge to, I don't know, help you fulfill a purpose in life" (Interview I, 7:50). While Rachel has not had to do without at any point in her life, her parents felt such lessons were important.

Rachel thought this upbringing had to do with earlier generations of her family, which she explored in her RDA. Her grandparents were the children of Irish immigrants who had to work hard in the "New World." Her family maintained strong connections to

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their Irish roots, which provided a space for Rachel to interact with others:

> Background and identity are huge entities to me and while I cannot identify with the struggles of other races, I feel that I certainly can appreciate a sense of belonging to something greater than myself. To me, that is what racial development is all about; realizing that I am a part of something that I was born into, something greater than myself, and with this knowledge I can either feel bad or sorry for myself that I did not have a different childhood, or I can be proactive and work to use this awareness against the White sense of entitlement and privilege. (From Rachel's RDA)

Herein lay Rachel's call to be a teacher, to reach the students who grew up like she did and reveal to them that the privileges they enjoyed were not entitlements. She rejected the idea that being raised to question privilege caused her to have a lesser childhood than her friends and chose instead to use this critical awareness as a tool to fight the system that creates and allots such privileges.

Rachel used the events of the Obama campaign as a frame for her own story. Her mother's excitement that the country was finally looking beyond race did not sit well with Rachel; in fact, the idea of being colorblind was one to which Rachel often returned throughout the group meetings, discussed below in Chapter 7. She understood how believing in a colorblind world did a "disservice to an entire race and culture of people who have been belittled for generations" (From Rachel's RDA). She took it upon herself to be a voice that recognized and celebrated difference, a voice that was color-conscious rather than colorblind, in the classroom rather than trying to ignore it.

In pursuing the channels of teacher education, Rachel did not feel she had received the tools necessary to make social justice a part of her regular practice

> You know, I'm standing up in front of the classroom and I am a White 23, 24 year old by that time, student getting a master's degree from Vanderbilt. And not that they [students] need to know all that, but, I mean, it would be totally for me on the first day to be like, "Let me tell you about life in the projects." Because I don't know that. You know what I mean? So, I can talk about diversity from my point of view but I think that it will be more powerful if, like, I– and I'm not trying to lessen my own story in any way, but I mean I think a certain way and my students think a certain way so I think that's where just different texts and people's voices that aren't my own will really come into play and just illustrate diversity in the way that I teach them and the way that I honor my students' interpretations of them because, I mean, I can't do that just through myself. (Interview I, 26:00)

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Throughout the dialogue circle meeting described in Chapter 7, Rachel recalled times in the classroom when she would respond to a student exactly as the teacher education rulebook would dictate, all the while questioning the impact of what she said, if her students were taking her words as being from a teacher or a White teacher, if she were actually creating a space for social change.

Demographically, Rachel seemed to approach that undefined WFPT from the MTE literature. However, Rachel differed from the assumed WFPT because she was raised with an explicitly critical spirit, both for Master Narratives and for herself:

> I feel that you can never, this is going to sound really cheesy, but learn enough or there's always room to improve and I am just, like, I'm really hungry for feedback, I'm really hungry for new approaches to take, both in my teaching and my learning because, I don't know, I think English is more than getting bogged down in the canon. (Interview I, 2:40)

Despite a profile that often gets associated with unwillingness to explore issues of race and racism, Rachel was eager to dialogue about these issues. As described in Chapter 7, the first concern she voiced to the group was how to talk to her mother about colorblindness. Rachel portrayed a well-developed and maturing anti-racist identity before the start of this study, disconfirming some of the generalizations that might be attached to her from the outside.

CHAPTER VII

OUR COUNTER-NARRATIVE

In the previous chapter, I told the stories of six individuals, partial in nature, and

the multiple ways they began to understand themselves as racial beings. In this chapter, I

tell the story of these six individuals in a dialogue circle. Again, this story represent the

findings of enacting the Pedagogical Context of Chapter 5, but *findings* is not intended to

communicate cause or effect. In short, I do not tell this story so that someone else can

recreate it in another context and expect identical results. I do not intend to portray

myself, or inspire others, to be a movie-star teacher who can sweep in and change

everything in five sessions; as stated above, this chapter is intended as a thick description

of our group meetings. This chapter thus describes the attempts of this project to address

the research questions listed in Chapter 1: (1) What might a teacher education dialogue

circle that prepares a teacher to see the classroom as a site for social change look like?

and (2) How might I, as a teacher educator and dialogue facilitator, develop teachers to

see the classroom as a site for social change?

Of necessity, this chapter can only convey a partial account of our dialogue circle.

The scope and sequence of these meetings are outlined above in Chapter 5 (pp. 77-82). I

recount the five meetings chronologically to maintain a narrative thread that shows the

development of our dialogue circle over time, but I identify informative thematic

elements within each meeting and use these elements to label each section. I relied on

several data sources. Primarily, I used the audio and video recordings of the meetings. I

also cited Personal Reflection Journals and comments made on rubrics filled out at the end of each meeting. In telling this story, I am also recounting my own preparation for each meeting, the reflection and analysis I did preparing to encourage the participants to see themselves as change agents. Data sources for my meeting preparation included data analysis memos and the rubric designed to help me gauge the progress of the project.

<div align="center">Preparing for Meeting I</div>

The planning for Meeting I was the most intensive and time consuming of the entire project. Going back to the defenses of the Major Area Paper and project proposal, preparing for Meeting I was eight months in the making. Specific preparations for Meeting I began with the analysis of data from the individual interviews. As described above, I used the constant comparative method to analyze interview transcripts for relevant themes. In this way, I learned much about the individual stories of each participant. The preparation for Meeting I thus addressed the question, "How are they all going to act as a group?"

My dissertation proposal was pretty specific about how I thought Meeting I would go. I would introduce the project, go through all the theoretical pieces of the project, present my RDA, and then we would be off for Winter break. I prepared handouts for each of the participants, including an outline of how I thought all our meetings would go; a sheet with the project's objective, rules of dialogue, and definition of relational pluralism; a copy of my own RDA; and an outline of Janet Helms's (1990) *White Identity Development Model* (See Appendix B).

I used Helms's model in preparing my own RDA and found it a useful source of

vocabulary for describing the ways I felt about race at different points in my life. The work of Beverly Tatum (2007) had demonstrated how this model could be an effective tool for reducing resistance to discussions about race (1992) and for developing a positive model of White identity (1994). I prepared a condensed description of the model for the participants not because I wanted them to follow it but because I had found its vocabulary useful and thought they might also.

From analyzing the individual interviews, I thought the participants would work well together. I learned Meredith would probably be shy and need some coaxing. I learned Francis would be boisterous and need some encouragement to let others speak. I learned Rachel would find the whole thing pretty funny, Pamela might be a little late, and Allison would roll her eyes at least once. At least, that was what I had learned of them as individuals. How they would act as a group remained to be seen. Meeting I was mostly introductory, with me speaking about the project; I felt it would serve as an easy entrée into the larger project, giving me time to adjust before Meeting II.

Having promised the participants lunch for every meeting, I picked up Baja Fresh tacos and tortilla chips, as well as a selection of soft drinks.

Meeting I: Introduction and My RDA

From the start, the participants appeared excited to be participating in this project. I do not know if I had built up the project in the recruitment or interviews in a way that made them excited or if they just felt the topic was an important one they had not encountered in their teacher education experience; looking back, I think the latter: "I'm just really stoked that I can be a part of a dissertation study. I mean, like, our information

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is going to be in reports that could, you know, like shape the future of education"

(Meeting I, Francis, 1:15). Rachel followed up with how this might be read in a teacher

education class one day.

In introducing the project, I walked the participants through the questions I had

asked them during the individual interviews, providing some answers of my own and

comparing them to the answers they had given. We began with answering the two-part

question "What is the purpose of education?" and "What is the goal of education?"

These were two questions to which none of the participants were able to give an answer

beyond general ideas like social skills (Rachel), citizenship (Francis, Meredith), helping

students succeed (Allison, Pamela). I introduced the idea of teachers as change agents

who develop critical thinking in their students above all content-related concerns:

> I think as teachers you should be change agents. That should be your job. I don't
> care if you teach English. I don't care if you teach math. I don't care if your kids
> fail or pass a test. What I really see teaching becoming at some point is a place
> where teachers teach kids how to be critical thinkers and how to be social
> activists. (Meeting I, Jud, 2:30)

Admittedly, this is a strong stance, which I used more for contrast with the participants'

other teacher education work. I offered the ideal of relational pluralism as a goal toward

which students and a classroom could develop. In offering these foundational ideas, I

was quick to place myself in a relational posture, communicating to the participants that

these were my answers but I was willing to be convinced otherwise: "So what I'm trying

to do with this project is maybe convince you of that, maybe have you convince me that

my ideas need to be molded, changed, whatever. I'm totally open to that" (Meeting I,

Jud, 3:00). I did not then, and do not now, pretend to have all the educational answers; I

tried to maintain a posture of presenting what I thought but being open to being wrong.

We talked about the praxis as a model for how individuals and communities learn. This led into talking about dialogue as communal reflection and the use of dialogic pedagogy as both method and content in this project. I introduced the work of Burbules (1993) and his rules and attitudes of dialogue, to be repeated at the beginning of each subsequent meeting; I did not present the work of Everyday Democracy (Abdullah & McCormack, 2008) explicitly but modeled their design of dialogue circles in practice. When I introduced the rubrics to be filled out at the end of each meeting, I got the first questions from the group. Francis in particular asked if the rubrics were designed in such a way that they as participants would be able to tell what I wanted from them: "I feel like the rubrics might be kind of worded in a way that will convince us to circle one over the other, just because we kind of have the idea in our head of what you want to hear" (Meeting I, Francis, 14:40). I admitted that some rubrics may appear loaded in that way but that I hoped they would fight against that urge; in fact, the rubrics changed over the course of the project in concert with feedback from the participants. I described how this project was not related to coursework and, by returning to the Rule of Reciprocity, I described how I thought dialogue would suffer if they only told me what they thought I wanted to hear: "I am not going to learn anything if you just give me the answers you think I want" (Meeting I, Jud, 15:15).

After a few questions about ways they could use me as a resource during their student teaching experiences ("Can we like, if we are in a very homogeneous environment, can we like, bounce planning ideas off of you?" [Meeting I, Francis, 18:10]), I introduced the Racial Development Autobiography as an exercise that hopefully would provide both a spark to their individual praxes of race and an artifact

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that, in making the implicit explicit, we could analyze as a group. I passed out copies of

my own RDA and proceeded to talk about growing up Appalachian; my full RDA is

presented in Chapter 5 (pp. 98-101).

When I finished presenting my RDA, the participants started asking me questions

similar to those I have received regularly since my first year in graduate school:

> Francis: A lot of people were saying, "Black people voted for Obama because
> he's Black." And just because– there was no questioning that there could be any
> other motive. So would you have that problem too if you were a part of their
> community in that way?
> Jud: This is– people have asked me, "You're a White male. Why are you
> interested in this area?" And I usually turn that question around and I can be
> more or less of an a**hole when I do it…
> Francis: You? (jokingly)…
> Allison: I have a question.
> Jud: Okay.
> Allison: Do you– have you in your journey come across resistance against
> wanting to learn about racial relations? Like the only think I can think of is if a
> Black guy comes up to you and he's like, "Don't pity me. Don't study me
> because you pity me and you want to help me" or whatever. Is that common?
> (Meeting I, 33:00, 35:00)

A few minutes later, Rachel also asked, "How do you deal with, I don't know, teachers,

students, parents who are like, 'I don't see race'? Because I feel like that's a really

common thought" (Meeting I, 43:00). Each of these questions sparked discussion in the

group as I turned the questions back on them, refusing any easy answers. In later analysis

of these questions, I realized that the participants brought up much that I had hoped to

cover during the next two meetings (colorblindness, the White savior mentality), making

my conjectures about where we would go as a group feel more organic.

We talked about how seeing racism only as a *Black problem* severely limited any

solutions and reinforced Whiteness (Meeting I, 34:30). We talked about resisting the

desire to see ourselves as saviors going into "failing schools" and lifting students out of

them (Meeting I, 40:00). We talked about the pull of neoliberalism and how a focus on

the individual promoted both the myth and fallacy of meritocracy (Meeting I, 36:30). We

talked about colorblindness in ourselves and other teachers (Meeting I, 43:30).

One particularly important topic arising from our dialogue was the introduction of

the dialectic of race as illusion versus race as essence. In response to introducing the idea

that race is about a power relationship, Francis stated,

> I have a friend that's– she identifies herself as Black and she actually live in
> South Central [Los Angeles] and she was saying, "The world over, Black people
> are at the bottom even in Africa. Like, the Blacker you are, the worse it is." And
> I'm, like, how did that come to be, being even a shade lighter, even in Africa, is
> considered more desirable. Like, is there a biological purpose to that or is it
> something that's just been ingrained in society and somehow perpetuated across
> the world? (Meeting I, 49:50)

I hesitated briefly, made a few false starts, and then recited Omi and Winant's (1994)

description of the dialectic between illusion and essence:

> I think probably– well, you've just described something we'll really get into– this
> continuum between race as essence– This biological reality you were born into,
> that maybe has cultural overtones and history attached to it. So race is essence.
> You were born into a race and that's it. And race as an illusion that is entirely
> created by society, so essence versus illusion. And I don't think the answer is one
> or the other. (Meeting I, Jud, 50:30)

I thought this was something we would address in the project, probably in Meeting III.

The participants were interested in the idea, but I did not want to spend all our time that

day on one topic, so I assured the group we would come back to that discussion,

particularly in relation to how we can work to transcend the dialectic rather than get

bogged down on either side.

I turned the dialogue a bit to refocus these questions on a classroom setting;

instead of just talking about generalities, I wanted to get the participants in the habit of

asking these question in ways that applied to teaching: "I think a lot of teachers, this is

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where we started with the colorblind thing, a person who says, 'I don't see race. I see them [students] all the same.' What she's doing is or he's doing is denying people their story" (Meeting I, Jud, 55:00). In broaching this topic, Rachel began to turn the first interview questions back on me:

> Rachel: Okay, so I could be making this up. In the interview did you ask us how we notice race in a person? (Jud nods) Can you answer that for yourself?
> Francis: Not that you have to because it's part of the study. (Meeting I, 57:45)

In my answer, I talked about visual clues, aural clues, and contextual clues all as racial markers. In talking about variations among different people, we used the example of Bob Ewell, a poor White man, from *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Meeting I, 63:00). We also talked about how dialogue can offer a classroom method for getting beyond our stereotypes and learning about students as individuals.

The concept of stereotypes, once arisen, became an important and problematic topic for the rest of Meeting I as related to defining ourselves and other. Francis in particular was interested in stereotypes; she knew that she was not supposed to believe them but tried to acknowledge their utility in social interaction. She introduced the topic through a reference to the work of Ruby Payne, read for a class:

> What she did was she took a lot of stereotypes that are true and that's why they're stereotypes but they have no, like, basis behind them. Like, what you're saying is they don't take into account the individual stories. Like, one thing she [Payne] said was, "You'll notice in poorer homes, TVs are going all the time in every room." And, I mean, it was in my house. We had eight TVs. We couldn't pay our bills but we had eight TVs, one in every room. I had a TV in my room from the time I was very young. And, you know, does that, but does that go into the context of why we had the TVs or what the value was there? (Meeting I, 65:30)

Because her own family could be described by a stereotype associated with poor people, Francis felt that there was factual basis for all stereotypes. I problematized that idea by offering how I thought we could also find TVs in every room of a rich person's house,

making a note to address this in later meetings, after time to consider the topic more fully.

After an hour and fifteen minutes, the conversation began to wane and I passed out the rubrics for everyone to fill out (Meeting I, 76:45). While they wrote, I described the RDA I was asking each of them to write and share at the next meeting. There was a question about why I wanted to work with WFPTs:

> Francis: May I ask why, why did you choose all White? I mean, granted, this is probably all you had to choose from, but did you want racial diversity in this group or did you want all White ladies, or people that were White and female?
> Jud: I wanted all White females because you represent the majority of preservice teachers and if I can develop methods and ways to interact with White female preservice teachers that will move you towards dialogic pedagogy then there's gonna be a lot more people who benefit from it. (Meeting I, 79:00)

This question allowed me to introduce the idea that teacher education serves Whiteness and not just the majority population. Granted, I did not intend to generalize to all WFPTs from a sample size of five, but below I discuss how the diversity even within this small group might hold implications for the larger field of MTE.

We talked a bit about food for upcoming meetings, their weekly schedules, and the onset of student teaching. When they had all finished filling out the rubrics, they packed up and left as I finished cleaning up the leftover food.

Preparing for Meeting II

The longest break between meetings happened between Meeting I and Meeting II because the winter break intervened. I planned this specifically so that the participants would have sufficient time to write their RDAs without the pressure of semester coursework and so that I would have time to prepare now that I had an idea of how the group worked as a group; this also gave them a chance to ask family members about

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childhood stories. The first step toward preparing for Meeting II was to go over the rubrics filled out at the end of Meeting I. My own responses to the rubrics voiced anxieties associated with the beginning of participant-based research. I was worried they would all quit; I was worried none of them would buy in to the project; I was worried they would accept what I had to say theoretically but then refuse to carry that over to their practical personal lives. Beyond those anxieties, I was most confused about the Action side of the praxis triangles. What does the *Action of Race* really mean? What does it look like? What is Democracy when viewed as communal action? I had theoretical answers to these questions from the development of my proposal, but present examples in action were lacking. For the time being, I made notes of those questions and tried to keep them in mind when analyzing Meeting I.

From the participants' comments, there was a general sense of camaraderie; they knew each other from previous courses and all seemed comfortable talking to each other. The primary comment written by several of the participants was around stereotypes:

> Rachel: "As much as I hate it, stereotypes are really hard to get away from."
> Allison: "I still believe some stereotypes but only because it is so engrained in my past, not because I know they are true." (Rubric Response 1)

Taken with Francis's comments from Meeting I, a problematizing view of stereotypes began to emerge. The participants knew they were not supposed to believe stereotypes and yet they relied on such stereotypes. They had been taught that stereotypes were both wrong and a mechanism by which their worlds worked. I pondered this for quite awhile before laying out how I thought best to address the issue in Meeting II.

When analyzing the video and transcript of Meeting I, I found myself focusing particularly on the dialogue that occurred directly after I presented my own RDA. Buried

in this discussion were several topics I wanted to cover and in which the participants were interested. These became the focus of my preparations for Meeting II. When developing the outline for Meeting II, I decided to be explicit about my own reactions to Meeting I, discussing those topics first thing after a quick review of the rules of dialogue. I went through my literature notes to find citations that would be useful.

This time, I brought pizza, Caesar salads, and Diet Cokes, having learned that these WFPTs only drink Diet Coke.

Meeting II: Sharing Ourselves to Build Community

Going into Meeting II, I thought it would be an important session. Writing an identity-intensive artifact like an RDA and then sharing it with a group was not an easy task. Depending on how the meeting went, the participants might fully engage in the dialogue group or withdraw into themselves. To set what I hoped to be a welcoming and safe stage, I began with a review of the three rules of dialogue and the ideal of relational pluralism. After that brief introduction, and while they still had their mouths full of pizza, I shared my own impressions from Meeting I, encouraging them to take this discussion into account during the sharing of their RDAs.

I began by addressing their use of the concept of stereotypes. In reflecting on how to carry forward, I decided to use Omi and Winant's (1994) dialectic as a model:

> So you have this idea of what you think a stereotype is and I'm going to play Devil's Advocate and push back with the idea that something, we might arrive at a better definition. We might arrive at something different. So the idea that stereotypes are around because they have some basis in truth, the Devil's Advocate response to that is stereotypes have no basis in truth whatsoever, that they are tools used by an oppressor. (Meeting II, Jud, 6:00)

If there were the belief in the world that stereotypes were somehow based on solid fact, I

presented stereotypes as a social construction useful for some toward oppressing others.

I was clear that this was a counterpoint in a dialectic, and not necessarily my own belief. I read a passage from Stanfield (1993) to spark discussion:

> Few social scientists realized that the mundane racial categories they use in their research are actually grounded in folk beliefs derived from precolonial era thinking about the inherent superiority and inferiority of populations along phenotypic and genetic lines. Racialist thinking and categorization was, of course, at its height during the nineteenth century, when European and American enlightenment required explicit references to the nonhumanness of people of color to rationalize their oppression in the eras of human liberation movements. (p. 17)

This displacement of the topic from our own stereotypes to the work of nineteenth and twentieth century social scientists gave us some room to consider both sides of the dialectic and perhaps transcend that duality. There was no immediate response to this idea but it formed an important referent in our later discussions.

I continued by reading from Omi and Winant (1994) the passage (p. 54, Meeting II, 8:00) where they define the dialectic of race as essence versus race as illusion. This also became an idea to which we returned several times and I was happy to situate this concept as arising organically from the needs and questions of the group.

My final impression from Meeting I concerned two fallacies often associated with talk about race and racism: the fallacy of homogeneity (e.g. being White is the same for everyone who is White) and the fallacy of monolithic identity (e.g. being White is the only identity for someone who is White). This led to a brief conversation about identity that set the stage for moving into sharing RDAs. Pamela asked,

> So when would they– when you were saying at the end like sometimes those different identities are in conflict and sometimes they aren't. Can you give an example of what that would be? (Meeting II, 10:10)

To respond to this question in a way that I felt would model what I hoped would follow

in sharing the RDAs, I used myself as a example, describing how my identity as

Christian, which teaches me to love everyone, is often in conflict with my White identity,

which teaches me to take the privileges afforded me by society as deserved and natural:

> Yes, in my own life– my Christian identity and my racial identity are often in conflict with each other because my White identity tells me that I'm supposed to take and enjoy privileges that I haven't earned, but that are rightfully mine, and my Christian identity tells me that that is entirely against everything Jesus talked about. (Meeting II, Jud, 10:30)

This example allowed me to refer back to the Helms (1990) model and her definition of a

positive White identity as a possible method for transcending the conflict between these

two identities.

As this opening discussion came to a close, Pamela asked if this study would be

more successful if one of the participants were vocally and angrily racist:

> Pamela: Wouldn't it make your study more interesting if one of us was really racist?
> Francis: Was what?
> Pamela: One of us was really racist.
> Francis: That would be really interesting.
> Jud: That's too easy, if you're overtly racist, just wildly overtly racist. Yeah, that's kind of boring. At this point, what's more interesting is uncovering those implicit ways that we'll all buying into it [racism]. (Meeting II, 16:00)

We laughed about the question, but in my response I reflected on a fundamental problem

with the way much of the MTE literature talks about White females. I told my

participants that working with someone who is openly and vocally racists is too easy.

Engaging the dialogue circle around this idea of subtle and unconscious forms of racism

as dangerous seemed to focus the group inward, developing a posture in which not using

certain words (e.g. the "N-word") was not seen as the same thing as being anti-racist.

With that answer, the group began to share their individual RDAs, each of which

lasted about five minutes. The group was ready from the start to ask questions along the

way and then take each participant as a topic for dialogue in turn. Because I have already shared significant pieces of each participant's RDA in Chapter 5, here I present a summary of what the participants shared and then focus on the ensuing dialogue.

Francis's RDA (pp. 106-111)

Having been the most vocal throughout our time thus far, Francis volunteered to be the first to share her RDA. She openly described growing up in a county that was majority Hispanic and how it was not until she went to college that she learned what it meant that she was White and that she was poor. She expanded on what we had discussed in her interview by describing her move from California to the South and there encountering a different kind of White. She detailed how a family for whom she worked as a nanny acted White in very different ways than she did, particularly as regarded differences in language.

This part of her autobiography became the foundation for the ensuing discussion, particularly because several of the other participants had been raised in the South and within that particular version of Whiteness. I offered how I was coming to view language as "the biggest marker of race, period" (Meeting II, 22:20). Pamela concurred, describing how growing up in the South, she had been taught that there was an expectation of civility and the improper or proper way to do something, particularly in regards to language:

> I don't want to make generalizations, but I guess I will. From the Southern perspective, at least in my experience, I've come in contact with a whole lot of women particularly that want to show– there's an expectation of civility and a proper– an improper way to do thins and a proper way to do things, and maybe that was some kind of outpouring of that. (Meeting II, 25:30)

However, Pamela also conceded that Francis's previously employer "might just be a jerk" (Meeting II, 25:36). It became apparent that Francis was particularly disturbed that her previous employer had some measure of disdain for Francis's language, something she had not experienced when working for wealthy families in California. The group gathered around this idea and began helping Francis work through this issue.

The focus on language, and not phenotype, as a racial marker led Allison to label it a caste system, a tactic used particularly by Montagu (1997):

> Rachel: But I also know that in Southern history or whatever, there is definitely a long legacy of insiders and outsiders. And that's with connection of familiarity, but it's among people that are the same.
> Allison: That's within the caste that you're polite and hospitable to people of your kind, not with lowers necessarily. They don't deserve them. (Meeting II, 26:30)

This vocabulary, "caste" instead of "race," was useful in attempting to understand how racism involves more than separation; racism also dehumanizes populations. In response, I showed the group Montagu's book and told them I had ordered each of them a copy as a reference, particularly for Meeting III, because it provided a succinct collection of ideas about the social construction of race and racism. The casting of raciality as a caste system continued our conversation about propriety and impropriety as a way of defining in-groups and out-groups.

Stories of parents and grandparents explicitly addressing the right and the wrong ways to speak were offered: how to walk upright, how to eat soup, how to speak to elders. Francis responded to these Southern anecdotes with "She [a Southern grandmother] would not have done that if you were a boy" (Meeting II, 31:10), a statement with which all the participants agreed, demarcating a gendered paradigm to the conversation of proper and improper.

In trying to tie this discussion of language and propriety back to race and racism, I made the contention that there was nothing inherently wrong with definitions of proper and improper language, but that they became problematic when one version of propriety was thought to be proper for all people in all situations. Francis agreed with this and added that such static definitions of propriety would only stagnate the evolution of language: "If it doesn't evolve, it's going to disappear" (Meeting II, 32:00). As the discussion wound down, Francis seemed more at peace in her recollections on her former employer, understanding that the attitude of holding to a singular definition of propriety was dangerous and would work against the ideal of relational pluralism. Having been the primary respondent to Francis, Pamela shared her RDA next.

Pamela's RDA (pp. 114-116)

Pamela began her RDA with a few words that were personally reassuring: "I really liked writing this because it made me think about things I haven't formulaically thought about this ever before" (Meeting II, 33:20). This statement confirmed some of the ways in which MTE literature defines WFPTs (e.g. Sleeter, 2008). She continued by describing her family of two significantly older siblings, by 15 and 20 years, and parents raised in rural poor Southern farming communities, the first generation to go college.

In describing her family, Pamela hit upon a theme and a shared question among several participants. Pamela described her family as being openly racist, which encouraged several others to admit similar interactions with their own families:

> I consider them to be, to be racist people. Um, but I think some of that maybe came out of that they were not all that economically different from Black people they might have known but yet, kind of like what you were talking about before, like, things in their past. Um, like I think that they wanted to hold on to like, "We

are better and different than Black people because we are White," because a lot of the qualities of their life were not that much different. (Meeting II, Pamela, 34:35)

This willingness to talk about her family set an example that several other participants followed. This demonstrated a developing safety and trust within the group, a sentiment echoed by others, as described below.

Having made this confession, Pamela continued to describe how her much older parents attended schools before desegregation and how she herself went to an all White Christian school. She described how her family would whisper the words "Black people" when used in conversation, and revealed her parents' biggest fear:

> And I remember my mom saying things, not once but many times, about "My worst fear of you is that you would date a Black boy, or get married to someone who's Black." And that I'm embarrassed by that, definitely. I still am. And it's still hard. (Meeting II, 38:00)

While presenting the group with these explicit ways she was taught to act in her world, Pamela also admitted the conflicts this created in her. She told us how she remembered interacting with Black people as a child because it was such a rare occurrence and questioning how she was supposed to relate to them. She also was the first, but not the only, participant to describe her family as a collection of kind, good people who embody this conflict in ways of which they were not necessarily aware.

Pamela closed her story by talking about how she had an internship during college in a primarily Dominican neighborhood. She recalled how she was not scared to be the minority but how the occasion opened her eyes to how it felt to be a minority, that "this is what other people always feel like" (Meeting II, 41:20). Such situations seemed to be an important method by which the participants came to recognize themselves as White and begin to question what it meant to be White.

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Pamela's honesty elicited several me-too responses from the group. Many of the participants recounted anecdotes about how members of their own family made unconscious distinctions between what they believed to be true about groups and what they believed to be true of individuals. Francis described a distinction her father made between Black men from California and Black men from the South:

> His biggest dear is that I'm going to marry a Black man from the South. If I married a Black man from California it's be completely different. His fear is that there's like this separation, because he grew up in the Civil Rights, like that era and saw that there's– I don't know what there is in his head, but there is a difference between a Southern Black and a Black guy from California. (Meeting II, 42:30)

Allison talked about her father locking the car doors when traveling through certain areas of town, but not when encountering Black people in their (Allison's family's) neighborhood (Meeting II, 45:00).

Another common response to Pamela's story was to question what it was about Pamela that led her to reject a lot of what she what taught to believe as a child. Pamela was unable to give an answer, despite Rachel's help:

> There was just, I guess, something within you that always just kind of, you know, questioned maybe what you heard, like at home or how, like you know, felt in those instances, like something just wasn't right but it wasn't like–I mean, you could have felt superior if you wanted to. (Meeting II, Rachel, 44:30)

The question of what this "something within you" might be was a consistent one asked throughout our meetings. As described above, the participants self-selected for this study because they already had some desire to learn more about preparing for a diverse classroom. What sparked that desire was likely different for each participant, as discussed below in Chapter 8.

To again bring the dialogue around to previous points, I pointed out how if

everyone acted like some of the members of Pamela's family, it might be easier to work

with them because they were so overt in their thoughts. The more difficult step to take

was to question things like where the critical comes from or the *this is just normal* racism

of our everyday lives. Having been one of the more vocal respondents to Pamela's story,

Rachel shared her own story next.

Rachel's RDA (pp. 116-119)

Rachel, raised in a Midwest suburbia, told us first that she felt her RDA would be

boring before she started writing: "I come from this very White existence and I don't

know how that's very interesting" (Meeting II, 53:00). She told us that her best friend

growing up was Indian, but the only time she ever thought about any difference was in

noting that her house smelled different:

> She was a great friend, and so I just thought that the biggest difference between us
> was that her house smelled a bit. Literally, though, because I asked my mom
> about it and she said, "Oh, I just think it's their cooking." So it wasn't their– I
> don't remember having any conversation about race or different people or
> whatever because we just weren't really exposed to it and my parents, they're not
> racist. (Meeting II, 54:30)

During her senior year, Rachel's high school elected its first Black homecoming king.

What Rachel noticed more and more as she wrote her RDA was the prevalence of

a colorblind ideology in her community and family; this became her personal bailiwick

throughout the group meetings. In college, she learned there were more than just

Catholics and Methodists in the world, and she quickly became disenchanted by the

assumption of privilege she saw in most of her friends. She would call her mother at

least once each year crying about her friends who lived by the credo, "Here you go,

here's everything you want and more, and you don't even have to say thank you"

(Meeting II, 57:30). The assumption of privileges as natural and deserved was an attitude that really bothered Rachel.

In this way, Whiteness became apparent to Rachel and she often thought about herself as White. She questioned how different students saw her, if she were just a neutral teacher or specifically a White female teacher. She felt called into teaching because of what she was offered in growing up: "I feel called to realize I'm a part of that world and get away from it… I think of them as blessings rather than entitlements" (Meeting II, 58:45). As we began to respond to Rachel, the group made it clear that even as the product of such a world, her story had an important role to play in developing counter-narratives to Whiteness. Coming to understand how Rachel first developed a critical mindset about White privilege might become important in both the recruitment and the preparation of other WFPTs.

Several of us were impressed by the ways in which Rachel's parents specifically tried to counteract the prevailing force of Whiteness in raising their daughter. Rachel's particular history as a sorority member generated an extended conversation, particularly in relation to how many people in the South view sororities. Pamela described how when she admitted to other alumni of her Southern university that she was not in a sorority, they look at her like there must be something wrong with her:

> And that is the nth of sorority life as far as I've encountered it. It is sort of like, even now, like five years, it's like, "What sorority were you in?" And then I say, "I wasn't in one" and they look at me like, "How did you survive?" or like "What happened?" Something's wrong. (Meeting II, 63:30)

Likewise, Francis recounted a fish-out-of-water story of a university freshman from Georgia preparing for rush in California (Meeting II, 64:00). The participants made a connection between views on sororities and the caste system of race that we had

discussed earlier, particularly as related to rush practices in which sorority sisters will ask

leading questions to elicit information about which they are not allowed to ask directly.

When the dialogue veered toward college campuses on which the only Black

students are members of the football team, Pamela offered a recent anecdote for

discussion because she had trouble making sense of it on her own:

> Francis: I mean in my classes at [university] even, big Black guys, you knew they
> weren't there to be doctors. You knew they were there for– to be on the football
> team. That's really sad to me, but that's the way it is.
> Pamela: Well, I hate to say this but in the bookstore two days ago, I was in there
> and I just thought to myself, because there was this big Black guy in front of me
> in line, and he, I was just like, he's a football player.
> Francis: Yeah, you don't even think him to be anything else.
> Jud: To be fair, though, if you were to see a White guy who was six-six, 350
> pounds who's fit, you could probably– you might have the same reaction.
> (Meeting II, 84:00)

Pamela understood that she was relying on a stereotype to make a judgment, and she felt

ashamed of that judgment, but the suddenness of the judgment surprised her. This led to

a discussion about how White females are taught by society to fear Black males, a

conjecture affirmed particularly by the Southern participants: "I was raised to be afraid of

Black Men" (Meeting II, Pamela, 86:00). We discussed the roots of racism in protecting

the purity of the Southern White female and how Pamela's assumption that the man in

line with her was on the football team was a rationalization that made his presence

acceptable to the setting so that she did not have to be afraid of him. Describing in plain

language how a Master Narrative of Whiteness was at work in this situation seemed

important to all the participants; we had given voice to an implicit system and taken away

some of its power by making its rules explicit. Pamela's example of offering a personal

story to the group for discussion became more prominent from this point.

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Meredith's RDA (pp. 111-114)

The honesty of the group in offering their emotions for discussion was the first

thing mentioned by Meredith when she started to tell her story:

> It's been really neat to hear everyone else's so far. Um, I think the reason I
> haven't written mine is– well, part of it was just enjoying the break. But then
> another part was just like I was debating just how honest to be, um, because I
> don't– I know that I still– There's always, as a friend told me once, there's always
> another level in recognizing racial prejudice. Um, and it's something I have
> thought about a lot. I used to teach ESL and I went to a college that was really
> diverse, and I'll talk about that. So, there's a lot of things that I've realized about
> myself in the past few years that just really disgust me and that I'm trying to work
> through. (Meeting II, 93:20)

That was how Meredith began to share her story with the group, having not said much

else to that point. The rest of the group seemed to settle more deeply into the comfort of

a safe and open environment, their implicit feelings made quite explicit. Meredith's

willingness to address her own anxiety around sharing an intimate story demonstrated

openness about both the content and the method of the dialogue.

Meredith recounted her bucolic childhood in western Tennessee, making sure to

point out that, although she was Southern, she was not from as deep in the South as some

of the other participants. She had some contact with non-White children growing up:

> In first grade, one of the only non-White kids there, he was an African-American
> kid named Tony, he came up to me one day in the cafeteria and was like, "Will
> you be my friend?" And I was like, "Yeah, I'll be your friend." And so we
> weren't in the same class. He was in kindergarten and I was in first grade, so we
> never really hung out at all, but it was always, "Oh, Tony's my friend," And I was
> like waving and hollering at him in the hall. So that was my first memory of
> interacting with someone at that age that looked different from me. Oooh, this
> was actually from kindergarten when my boyfriend and I threw sand at an Indian
> kid. So that was, why'd I do that? I don't know. It was awful, and they put me
> in time out. (Meeting II, 96:00)

Even after Tony transferred to another school, he called Meredith on her birthday. She

grew up with Black ladies coming into her house to help her mother with chores; their

names were Viola and Christiny (Meeting II, 98:30).

Despite this regular, friendly contact, Meredith concurred with the group; her family would whisper when they said the word *Black* and talk in distinction between the individual and the group. However, an overall theme to Meredith's story was that she had seen her family grow and evolve; being such a close-knit group, the racial identity evolution she had experienced could be seen in her entire family. This became apparent later in the meeting when Meredith told us of her grandmother warning her to be careful on the internet because she might encounter Black men and not know they were Black:

> I've had some interesting conversations with my grandmother over the past few years, who is– it's a sign of the times. This one conversation, it's probably one of the first ones where she said, "You know you have to be careful on the internet. I've heard of people meeting on the internet and dating." I was like, "Yeah, people do that." And she was like, "Well, you've got to be careful. You might meet a Black man." And so we started– I don't remember the whole conversation, but she has really come a long way in two or three years as far as I know. She has befriended an African-American man in her retirement home, and made him some candies for Christmas. (Meeting II, 114:00).

This conversation had sparked an ongoing conversation between the Meredith and her grandmother, one that continues to this day; now, Meredith's grandmother is proud to tell her that she regularly plays cards with some Black ladies at her retirement home. Instead of just letting her grandmother's comments go unacknowledged, Meredith's willingness to address the implicit beliefs explicitly opened a dialogue between them that moved toward new ways of thinking for both of them. Meredith returned to this story in Meeting IV as an example of how an older generation can change.

Meredith continued, talking of falling in with an Asian crowd at two different universities. She told us of reacting angrily when an Asian friend told Meredith that she was exotic, but then turned the situation around: "What must they think when we say that

about them?" (Meeting II, 103:00). Meredith told us about friends who had struggled

mightily with their identity as second-generation Americans, always returning to her own

identity and wondering about her own heritage. In coming to the present, Meredith saw a

problem with White people thinking they have no culture, with seeing herself as a part of

social problems. She admitted that her interest in this project was to have a space to

discuss these issues and have a willing ear to help evolve a White identity not mired in

norms, standards, and oppression.

Meredith elicited a quiet reaction from the group. Although the group did not talk

much after she finished speaking, there were several "Me too" statements made

throughout the time she was sharing. The openness to talking about racism within our

families seemed to contradict much of the MTE literature that posits these discussions as

something often resisted by WFPTs; again, perhaps the self-selection of these participants

was the foundation for obviating such resistance.

I promised the group that Meeting III would be a time to lay out and investigate

these questions around race. Rachel was particularly fascinated by Meredith's

interactions with her grandmother and wondered aloud what our grandchildren would say

about us, who often think ourselves so forward thinking and new:

> This might be too philosophical, but just like hearing about everyone's
> grandparents because I feel like that has been a big trend today, just from what
> I've heard, I wonder if when we're grandparents, are our children going to his this
> type of meeting and be like, "Oh, you know" because I hope not because my
> grandma– my cousin is dating this Lebanese guy and the first thing she said was,
> "You can definitely tell he's Lebanese." And we all love our grandparents, you
> know what I mean? But I just, because things do, I mean change is inevitable and
> I just wonder. (Meeting II, 117:00).

 The reaction to Meredith's story came after two hours of discussion and the group was

noticeably growing tired. As the remaining participant, Allison told her story.

Allison's RDA (pp. 102-106)

Allison began by claiming, "Mine is sort of odd. I was raised the typical White girl" (Meeting II, 118:10). This statement might not have been remarkable except that she followed with a description of her Chilean father. Allison told us how when she presented herself as Hispanic, the most common response she got in the South was "You don't look Mexican" (Meeting II, 118:40). To set the context for her multiple identities, Allison explained to us how her father had actively "forgotten" his Chilean ancestry:

> So he came to Georgia on a student visa, met my mom, and decided that this was where he was gonna have the most potential, at least job-wise he was going to have most opportunities. So he stayed and we were not taught Spanish growing up. It was, "If you're going to live in this country, you speak English." So I never met anyone from Chile, any of my relatives until I was six or seven. My uncle came to visit and met him, like two days kind of, "Hey, I'm a blood relative. How's it going?" Then when I was ten or eleven, my cousin came and she stayed with us for a year, and that was it until I was 23 and then I met everyone else. (Meeting II, 120:00)

Allison did not learn Spanish growing up and did not meet any members of her father's family until age seven, when an uncle stayed with them for two days.

She told us about growing up in middle class White suburbia, which included neighbors who may look Black to others:

> I had Black people in my neighborhood but it was almost colorblind because they were the same socioeconomic status so it didn't matter that they were Black because they had become White by living in that neighborhood or having a certain income or whatever and the acted White, like, they were, like, they didn't listen to rap music or, whatever, or, they were just like us. (Meeting II, 120:30)

This statement garnered a few understanding nods from the group; Allison had voiced a conception of race similar to the caste discussion we had earlier where SES was a primary marker. However, when attempting to describe what it meant to act Black or act

White, she relied on a series of stereotypes.

In elementary and high school, Allison had non-White friends. In fact, the only distinguishing factor she remembered of a Native American friend was that the family had solar panels on their house (Meeting II, 122:00). Her high school's cliques were based on athletics and popularity because everyone had a similar amount of wealth. College was less ethnically diverse than high school but the SES remained constant.

Allison's story seemed to shift when she began to reflect openly about her father. She told us that she "knew from a very young age my dad was racist" (Meeting II, 123:45). Her father would claim he was not racist because he had Black co-workers, to which Allison would reply that he never invited his Black co-workers over for dinner. When her father warned her against dating Black men, she retorted "Who are you– like, you're not White. Like, why are you being so hypocritical?" (Meeting II, 124:20). To put her experience in a broader context, Allison proceeded to tell us about Chile and how "it is basically America in Spanish" (Meeting II, 124:30):

> Yeah, it's the same capitalistic, Chilean and then the Mapuche, which is like the Native American, South American, and they are like the Black people. They are looked down upon. They are the servants. So he [Allison's father] came to the same place, but with a different language. And my mom's also pretty racist. She made– oh she makes me so mad. She made a comment over a person's car. She said, "I just don't get those Blacks and their Mercedes" and I was like, "Okay, that was racist and I'm going to have to pretend that you didn't say that right now because I'm not going to get into this conversation with you." (Meeting II, 126:00)

According to Allison, many Chileans considered themselves White and actively oppressed native populations. This was a theme to which Allison returned later.

Allison continued by talking about how she now wished she had greater access to her Chilean heritage. In opening her story to reaction from the group, Allison laid out a

close description of Helms's (1990) Pseudo-Independent status:

> I try and do things that bring that out. Like, I make a point to let people know that I have Spanish heritage. Because they look at me and they're like, "Really?" "Yes, I am different." And I like want to not be that White girl because I don't feel that I am but really growing up I have been. So I'm just kind of trying to, trying to become that other while using the way I look as, like, the in of, I can come off both ways, sort of. So, yeah, I try and juggle that, sort of. (Meeting II, 138:10)

Allison reflected the Pseudo-Independent status because she wanted to deny the Whiteness under which she had grown up; this struggle is prominent in Helms's (1990) model of White identity development. The group was not quick to respond to Allison, beyond sympathetic head nodding and verbal agreements. It may have been that the group was emotionally drained from probing into each participant's life in such personal and exposing ways.

I admitted that any follow-up questions I had prepared for the meeting were already well answered through our dialogue of two-and-a-half hours. I passed out the rubrics to fill in (Meeting II, 122:00). I introduced the Personal Reflection Journals as a way for me to maintain contact with each participant as an individual, which also added another layer of data I could analyze to help design subsequent meetings. I was able to give away the rest of the pizza and we called it a day.

Preparing for Meeting III

I had assumed that I was taking a risk by asking my participants to share such a personal piece of themselves, but they amazed me with the inner depths they were willing to explore and lay bare to the group. In preparing for Meeting III, I felt I had developed some connection with this group. This feeling was only reinforced when I looked over

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the comments made on the rubrics at the end of Meeting II.

There were several comments admitting to a feeling of unease in what each participant had shared (quotation marks, ellipses, etc. are recreations of the participants' actual writing and not added by me):

> Pamela: I am feeling a bit of regret and embarrassment about being as honest as I have been today. I feel unsure about sharing "negative" information about my family.
> Rachel: I feel like without reciprocity today would not have been as effective as it was… for me at least. (Rubric Responses II)

I had expected these feelings of unease, particularly thinking back to how honest the participants had been about their family members. I made it a point to praise the participants for their forthright sharing and to encourage us all in continuing to develop a safe place where such things could be shared.

What made this analysis particularly interesting was that in hearing each participant's story, it became apparent that each one of them was well beyond Helms's (1990) Contact Status. Each of them had come face-to-face with race and with her own White identity at some point in life. This ran contrary to much of the literature about WFPTs, which tended to assume that WFPTs were blissfully ignorant of Whiteness and associated privileges. The participants may not have spent substantial time reflection on what it meant to be White, but none of them tried to proclaim a colorblind view of a classroom. I began to reflect on what it would mean for the MTE classroom to see students already thinking about and faced with contradictory information about race.

Another reaction that came up during analysis considered the group's attitude to partner and questions about whether or not the other participants would be reciprocating. There were questions about what others were thinking and not saying:

> Allison: Sometimes my partner may have a nonsympathetic knee jerk reaction.
> Pamela: I feel that there is an understood norm of how we all have the same "tolerant" views and I am uncertain about if disagreements on values would be accepted. (Rubric Response II)

These comments led me to reflect on the dual-nature of reciprocity. It may seem easy to remember to be openly listening when a dialogue partner is speaking. However, there is another side to that; the hearer must be willing to tell the speaker if there is something she finds disagreeable or malicious. By being open to engaging both sides of reciprocity, the speaker and the listener have a chance to learn, to grow. In this way, I think the commitment to reciprocity obviated any angry responses that might have derailed the dialogue; the participants were willing to admit their anger, shame, or confusion but not in a violent way, engaging the chaos so as to move forward.

Finally, in analyzing Meeting II, I felt that the outline I had prepared for Meeting III would be welcomed. In hearing each other's stories about race and development, the participants learned that they each had different ideas about what words like race, racism, ethnicity, and caste really meant:

> Allison: I think conversation would benefit if we were all on the same page more or less or at least understood one another's definitions in order to move to understanding. (Rubric Response II)

While it was important to discover that we all had different ideas and understandings and that we were willing to accept those different ideas and understandings, the participants were asking for some level of direct instruction.

I knew I had the resources to present a lecture presentation on race. However, a presentation of the indisputable might contradict the dialogic nature of the group developed in Meeting II. Instead, I decided to present current research and theory on race as a dialogue with itself. In short, I collated notes on race from several sources and

would offer the information at the group, thinking that they would begin to make sense of the information through dialogue, pointing out some of the places where even current theorists disagree over these terms. The sources from which I drew *Jud's Notes on Race* included the following (the complete notes are presented in Appendix B):

- Ashley Montagu's (1997) book *Man's Most Dangerous Myth*;

- Michael Omi and Howard Winant's (1994) book *Racial Formation in the United States*;

- Noel Ignatiev's (1997) article "Treason to Whiteness is loyalty to humanity";

- Meredith Ladson-Billings and William Tate's (1995) article "Toward a critical race theory of education";

- Benjamin Bowser and Raymond Hunt's (1981) edited collection *Impacts of Racism on White Americans*.

With my familiarity with these pieces, I could see how they agreed and disagreed with each other. For example, Montagu was particularly concerned with upending scientific uses of race and so spent most of his pages arguing against the biological foundation of race. In response, Omi and Winant described the formation of race through the transcendence of a dialectic. Ignatiev saw race as a description of oppressive power. Ladson-Billings and Tate adopted CRT to the context of education. Bowser and Hunt used interest convergence to convince White people that they should do something about racism because it was damaging to White people. These works had been instrumental in my own evolving understanding of race and racism and I felt they would provide a wide foundation to support wherever Meeting III's dialogue would take us.

I brought chicken and fries from a local restaurant, and the requisite Diet Coke.

Meeting III: Learning about Race

Meeting III was one to which I had been looking forward. In the very early stages of my project design, I had discussed with a colleague what I thought would be effective in engaging teachers as change agents; he was of the opinion that just presenting all the information I knew about race, and often brought into my daily conversation, would be a good start. Meeting III was my chance to test that conjecture.

I began, as ever, by reviewing the rules and attitudes of dialogue. I expanded on the rule of reciprocity, as per my analysis above, about speaker and listener being simultaneously reciprocal. When I got to the bit about their amazing honesty in the previous meeting, there was some response from the group. Allison felt it was easier to get around familial prohibitions because we did not know each other's families:

> But it's also, you can't talk bad about your family. You all don't know my family, so it's not insulting to talk about them, but that's what happened. And I didn't make it up or anything. (Meeting III, 4:30)

Meredith took the sentiment deeper, comparing how society teaches us that people who use the N-word are bad people, but there were members of all our families who did so:

> And also I think, I was talking to this guy one time and he was not from the South. He was from California, or he went to boarding school in California and was from the Northeast, and I could just tell from the way he was talking that he thought that anyone who would have racial prejudice feelings, or use the 'N' word specifically is what the issue was, was a terrible person– but we know them and know that they're not terrible people. They can be wonderful people but this is just like a disease, this terrible part. (Meeting III, 4:30)

Having promised that we would be talking all about race in Meeting III, the introduction was short. I began by passing out the handouts and making a disclaimer about how I was presenting a lot of information but that I did not necessarily agree with

everything on the handouts. I presented Montagu's book in this light particularly, noting how he defined race only as a social construction and how I agreed but thought even social constructions had real consequences; that is, I did not believe, like Montagu, that simply eliminating the word *race* from scientific discourse would solve any problems.

I began at the top, reading each citation as a topic for dialogue; this linearity did not last long. Soon, questions about race flew from many angles, information relevant to which was on the handouts but not in the order presented. For example,

> You said that this writer, Montague, thinks that race is a social construction and therefore it's an illusion? Why is it an illusion just because it's social and not biological? Why does that matter? Why is it any less real? (Meeting III, Francis, 12:00)

Thus, in retelling the story of Meeting III, I present a series of themes addressed by the group that cannot be recreated just from looking at the handout.

The first topic for discussion was Montagu's definition of a racist as someone who connects biological group characteristics with group intelligence and group capabilities of achievement. Rachel brought up our previous discussions about stereotypes and how this definition of racism pointed out why stereotypes were so damaging. Francis followed this discussion with questions about the differences we can see in various populations:

> Jud: But this one, I think what most people in our country probably assume is meant by the word *race*. That you can look at skin color or you can look at phenotypic markers and then equate those with intelligence and achievement. He [Montagu] spends the rest of the book saying there is no link among those three things.
> Rachel: I know we're not really supposed to talk about stereotyping, but isn't that the same thing?
> Jud: Yes. You can talk about stereotyping.
> Rachel: Didn't you say last time–
> Jud: No. I just said I wanted to push on your stereotypes.
> Rachel: Oh. Ok.

> Jud: Bring 'em out. Don't hide them.
> Rachel: Ok.
> Jud: So that's the first thing. He talks about, so it's called 'Man's Most Dangerous Myth," and he says the myth is just this idea that race exists, period. And he goes back through all these anthropological journals going from the 1850s to 1950s, where people just use this word, race. And everyone just started to assume that yes it really does exist, but that was a myth.
> Francis: I don't know if I can believe that no one ever thought to group people by skin color before the 1850s. (Meeting III, 16:30)

This conversation allowed us to clarify Montagu's myth. Montagu was not claiming that there were no differences—the point was that these differences get attached to concepts like intelligence and achievement. That is the dangerous myth of Montagu's title.

> The conversation turned when Pamela made a connection:

> I have a question. So, in talking about race, um. Like, race, race is different than just saying it's skin color because race is sort of like gender, like it has other things associated with it, right? (Meeting III, 18:45)

With this, Pamela established a theme that would be prominent throughout our remaining discussions: race can be related to ethnicity in the same way that gender can be related to sex. This came in the context of discussing stereotypes and her following question, "Would it be racist to say many Black people like rap music?" (Meeting III, 19:30).

I realized that a lot of the participants' questions were related to thinking about racism as the acts of an individual, like using stereotypes to judge people. Selecting specific passages from the handout, I began to present a case of racism as an endemic, social disease of which individual acts were symptoms:

> Jud: What would be racist would be to say, "The way White people do things is better than others, or more natural, or truer."
> Pamela: So it isn't racist to make an assumption based on skin color then? I mean how does that, what about if I'm afraid of a Black man that I don't know?
> Jud: Is that racist? Ok, here's the answer to what you were saying about people who use certain words, and yet we know they're good people, ok. Right, you were supposed to bring that up. Where he doesn't go and where I want to take this is the idea that racism is a system. Racism is a system of privilege and oppression.

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(Meeting III, 27:00)

I had thought this would be a big finale of Meeting III, coming after we had considered the entire handout. However, I felt it was appropriate then, less than thirty minutes in, because the participants' questions were heading in that direction and meeting a dead end when they thought of racism in individual terms.

The metaphor of racism as social disease and individual acts as symptoms became a prevalent reference in the rest of our time together. This one tenet seemed to open the participants' understanding of race. With this metaphor, we could transcend the divide between loving our family members but being told they were bad because they said certain things. With this metaphor, we could transcend questions about why efforts at integration often failed. With this metaphor, we could transcend frustrations of thinking that being a change agent meant having to convince every student they should believe certain things about other people.

We discussed how no matter what we thought about race, other people were still going to see us as White, that it was difficult, if not impossible, to lay down the privilege society afforded us:

> When you were talking about just a second ago, 'I am a racist. I have white skin. I benefit from the system," but at the same time it's like how– you're not choosing that. You just happen to have white skin and someone happens to have Black skin, for example. So I don't really see. I don't see how anyone could be, I kind of forgot where I was going, like more or less racist. It's just– but there are degrees of racist. Someone may think more racist than I think, but we both have white skin, and I don't know, you know you can't change that. So if you're just talking about it as a system, that's already set into action, it sort of makes me feel that what you say is almost hopeless to fight it or something because I can't change what my skin color is and if I'm going to get the benefit of that, then I don't really see– that's kind of frustrating. (Meeting III, Pamela, 33:00)

Pamela's struggle with knowing she would be seen as White no matter her internal

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thoughts about race was an important step in moving toward a positive White identity, movement toward what Helms (1990) labels a *White Ally*. Much of our discussion centered on Whiteness and ways of claiming an anti-racist White identity. We discussed how the definition of White changes over time. We also began to question where this system of classification originated, which led to another big understanding of Meeting III.

When the participants began to discuss the evolving definition of Whiteness, they began to ask questions about where such definitions came from in the first place. At this point, I stepped in and again selected a few specific quotations from the handout for discussion. I presented both Montagu's and Omi and Winant's contention that the categorization of race arose in the second half of the 18th century with the opposition to the Atlantic slave trade. I presented my own understanding of the source of racism as a rationalization between Enlightenment ideals and economic realities:

> It's a White guy in Europe saying, "I believe what people are saying about human rights but I still want to have slaves because I make a lot of money from them." The rationalization for that contradiction is these people aren't human. (Meeting III, Jud, 40:00)

Herein lay the difference between noticing differences among populations, which has always happened with humans, and the system of racism, as told via a Master Narrative of Whiteness, that dehumanized specific populations.

There were several questions about the historical development of racism, but the participants themselves offered confirming evidence. For example, we talked about how in Ancient Egypt, a slave could rise to power:

> Meredith: Are you guys talking about slavery like in the Bible Egypt?
> Allison: Yeah, that's when I was thinking of. Like when Moses left in the exile. Like how—

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Jud: Moses was a slave child, and yet he was taken into the pharaoh's court and raised. So it was possible for a slave to become one in power. Yeah Moses is an example, the Biblical account shows.

Meredith: Joseph.

Jud: Joseph. Yeah, he was from a different place a different country. He was put in prison. He was a slave, and yet he became pharaoh's second in command. So the humanity was never taken away. That's what's different about race. Now today, we probably don't think of, well especially us in this generation, we don't think of Black as less than human, but the system of racism that we live in is built on that. (Meeting III, 43:00)

In the story of Moses, there was nothing about him biologically that prevented him from succeeding, just opportunity. When this information settled, the group's response was to begin applying this knowledge to the classroom.

Francis asked how we fight the system into which we are born and are active members. I refused to give an easy answer, particularly because I did not have one. Instead, I described how I saw myself as a change agent:

My job as a teacher education is not to go– or as designing this dissertation project– is not to go into the classroom and change the classroom. My job is to bring in Neos and show you the Matrix. You know, call this a red pill. And then YOU go. That's YOUR job, is to go out and change things. (Meeting III, 47:00)

This statement of purpose put all my expectations on the table. I think the participants understood how I defined my purpose and started, if not earlier then from this point, to see themselves as teachers who would be capable of changing society for the better.

Having laid out my purpose so bluntly brought up questions of what it looked like to be a change agent. To develop that line of the dialogue, I referred the group to the ideal of relational pluralism, repeated at the start of each meeting, and dialogic pedagogy as a method for change:

Social change doesn't look like you leading the revolution. Social change looks like you developing a community in your classroom with all individuals, and, and, and that understands the way society wants to create race and then works against that. (Meeting III, 49:30)

Pamela's reaction to this statement brought together several lines of thought from our

discussion:

> Pamela: So is that community the means to changing the system? Because—
> Jud: I think it is.
> Pamela: Because part of me is like, even if I get, if we're talking about it in terms
> of what you were saying before, it's kind of a system that just exists– that some
> are privileged and some are not privileged. I don't know if me knowing a Black
> student pers– better in a more of a sense of community, will be able to change that
> he's Black and I'm White and there's a separation.
> Jud: No it might not, but if you become more the norm of teaching, then it will
> change. (Meeting III, 50:00)

Pamela admitted that we would not be able to change who is black and who is white and

that she could not necessarily see how through the development of relationship and

community we might be able to change the social stigmata attached to Black and White.

Francis's follow-up questions took us back to the big picture; she wondered if

racism would ever end through sufficient building of relationships:

> Francis: So do you think racism will die out? I mean in this sense of it. Do you
> think it's a process, we're working away from it?
> Jud: This is where I come down, this is where I use Marx specifically, and he's
> talking about economic systems in flux, I don't know. I don't think it's going to
> happen in my lifetime. If it did, it'd be great, but we're talking about 3 or 4
> hundred years of created history. (Meeting III, 52:00)

I admitted that I thought the time scale for such a thing was quite large, if ever, and that

working in this area was, for me, a matter of faith, knowing that I may never see the fruit

of my labor.

Allison's next question took us back to the theme of gender: "This might be

totally off topic, but can we also apply all this to sexuality?" (Meeting III, 53:30). I had

not foreseen this theme developing as far as it did, perhaps because my identity as a

White male somehow focused me away from seeing such implications. However, having

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spent time in feminist literature, I felt comfortable participating in this dialogue that all

the participants seemed eager to pursue. Perhaps their identities as females were helping

them make sense of what I was saying about race. Perhaps they had experienced more

obvious oppression in their own lives because of their female identities and in reaching

for connections to past experiences they came to that place.

I contended that Montagu's title could be used to cover a text exploring the myth

of sexuality. We then discussed several of our social myths about sexuality and how they

came to be seen as natural and normal:

> Francis: Some people believe that being homosexual is a choice and some people
> believe it's genetic, but no matter what it comes down to, something is wrong.
> You've chosen wrong or something is wrong in your brain. And it can be fixed
> and I just think it's an interesting concept that both sides of the camp.
> Meredith: Do you get that just from what people are telling them, or do you get it
> from–
> Francis: I get it from people that I talk to that are against gay rights or for gay
> rights, people that are gay, that are straight. People that I talk to, it is very
> interesting that, I mean except for, I think that even some gays think that
> something's wrong with them and that there's the choice, or that it's a genetic
> thing but that something went wrong in that genetic makeup. But I don't know
> that for a fact because I'm not gay.
> Jud: Now if this book were to be called *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The
> Fallacy of Sexuality,* I think form the small knowledge I have in this area, it
> would be a similar creation story because there are cultures that have existed
> where sex with men, sex with women, relationships with men, relationships with
> women, I mean 1st century Rome, sexuality was completely fluid and you could
> have relationships, like real deep relationships or sex relationships–
> Meredith: They thought it was deeper if you were with your professor or
> whatever.
> Francis: Mentor. (Meeting III, 57:00)

Francis seemed particularly interested in applying the essence versus illusion dialectic to

the discussion, exclaiming that in the societal debate on homosexuality whether one

thought it a choice or a genetic disposition did not matter because parties on both sides

consider homosexuality degenerate or deviant.

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At this point, Rachel returned to her primary interest and began asking questions

about the fallacy of colorblindness so prevalent in our society. I again returned the group

to the ideal of relational pluralism and how such an ideal did not call for assimilation

(becoming like the dominant class) or tolerance (separate but equal acceptance) but for

mutual understanding (through relationship) and fairness (equity rather than equality).

Drawing on her experiences in the classroom, Rachel stated her worry that,

> I think that this upcoming generation, and even, you know like, our generation or
> our parents or whatever, think that colorblind is the way to be. And, I'm just
> wondering how, how do you make someone see that being colorblind is NOT
> deconstructing racism. It's just clouding it a little bit. (Meeting III, 59:30)

I posited that colorblindness was a way by which systemic racism was reinventing itself

for a new generation, making connections to Montagu's understanding of mythology as

something that evolves to let us believe as true what we want to believe. We wondered

as a group when the concept of colorblindness first arose, confident that there were not a

lot of people in the 1950s or 1960s claiming not to see Black or White.

At this point, Meredith turned us back to reflect on the development of how

society thinks about gender, how feminism was once portrayed as women being the same

as men but that now we could accept difference and equality as compatible:

> M: It's already dying out with sexuality where we said women and men are equal,
> and now it's going back to well different. I feel like the way products are
> marketed– I don't know, the way people are changing.
> Francis: I see what you're saying.
> Meredith: In the way they talk about gender, it used to be there's no difference,
> and now we're going back to well there are differences, we're just equal.
> Pamela: I don't think that's degenerating, the equality. It's just like–
> Meredith: I don't mean degenerate. I just mean that if you're talking about the
> racial matrix reinventing itself into color blindness, then we've just done that with
> gender. I don't know when it was, but now that matrix is falling apart and
> reinventing itself. (Meeting III, 61:30)

In reflecting on my own growing up in the 1980s and 1990s, when feminism was a huge

social topic of discussion, I wondered aloud if colorblindness were a necessary step

society would have to experience and work through before change could occur, before

relational pluralism would even make sense.

At this point in the meeting, one hour in, questions and responses started coming

faster and faster. Allison talked about how society thinks of teachers as racist if they

admitted to seeing students as different colors (Meeting III, 63:00). Pamela proposed

what she saw as a new trend in society to differentiate high-class and low-class Black

people into different races (Meeting III, 64:00). These lines of dialogue coalesced after

ten minutes into questions of how we could change a system from within the system.

Pamela brought up how there were certain behaviors rewarded by society.

Allison followed by stating her disappointment with methods of instruction that focused

only on teaching students how to succeed by society's standards:

> Allison: If we're going to be agents of change, how can we really change if we're
> just telling them [students] to play into the game?
> Jud: Because you're not. Because you're saying it's a game. You're pointing out
> the Matrix. Racism gets its power as long as people think it's just normal and
> natural.
> Allison: So if we say it's just– but what if we're just, like, I mean, that's the way
> it is? Or should we, you know?
> Jud: I think if enough people start recognizing that this is a game then it starts to
> lose its power.
> Francis: Going back to the job interview thing you [Pamela] brought up about the
> hoodlum and walking in with the clothes. Um, White kids do that too. They
> might not dress like a hoodlum but they'll go in in shorts and t-shirts and they
> won't get a job either. So it's not– that's not something I would say would be a
> Black/White issue. I would say that's something about your parents or your
> teacher or whoever it was did not tell you what was proper attire in an interview.
> Or what to do in an interview, like he's [Jud] saying. Like if you teach kids how
> to do this– I mean, White kids play the game all the time. I go into interviews and
> I attempt to cover up my body and, you know, play down my vulgar speech
> sometimes, you know. I'm– We all play that game. It's just teaching them how
> to play that game and taking it away from being a "White game" (finger quotes)
> and making it just a game to get a job. (Meeting III, 66:30)

Many of us had possibilities to offer about how to teach explicitly that differences in, for example, language or dress are not right or wrong but appropriate or inappropriate for a contextualized situation. We were all trying to make sense of the contradictions between what we had been taught was good teaching for diverse students and what we thought would really make a change in the world. Meredith chimed in at the end of this exchange to pull us one step back, wondering aloud if this game of propriety were necessary to keep peace among people:

> Meredith: Like what if you were just honest and truthful about who you were, and they ask you a really complicated question, what would happen? Would society go to hell or would it be a good thing, or would that make all these different pockets where you could only interact with people who talked like you and understood? (Meeting III, 68:30)

We discussed how in being able to imagine the possibility of such a society, perhaps we contain within ourselves its roots.

From here we began to talk about Whiteness more explicitly. We discussed how White people do not have to think about race in society and how Whiteness is projected as normal and expected. Rachel built on that discussion by bringing up how a new form of oppression she recognized was linguistically based: "If you don't speak English, here, you're a little bit subhuman" (Meeting III, 83:00). The gender discussion reentered as we looked for similar examples, which brought all of us back to our previous discussion of whether the word *caste* would be a more appropriate term than *race*.

The final turn in our conversation occurred when I returned to the handout and read a passage from Montagu connecting race and money and we discussed the withholding of socially-defined symbols of success. We discussed how the social drive toward competition runs counter to the ideal of relational pluralism. This took Francis

into a discussion about how our society allowed some Black people to succeed in pre-

defined roles like athletics or entertainment, roles providing revenue to people in charge:

> Well and also going back to the entertainment thing, part of m y personal belief is that the reason Blacks for so long have been allowed to succeed in entertainment is because they're not taken intellectually seriously. I mean Tupac and there's a few exceptions of course, but still, for the most of, they're not taken intellectually seriously. (Meeting III, 93:00)

This line of the conversation brought me back to the importance of dialogue and how

dialogic pedagogy is fundamentally different from the teaching style our society wants to

recreate in the classroom.

Allison concurred and brought us all to silence when she openly and honestly

began to talk again about her father and his impact on her thinking about education:

> I have a question, which is me– this is me letting down my fences. Um, in a teacher position, what do you do if you've been brought up to think that the only way to be successful is to have a lot of money? Should you tell your students– And I agree, I mean, I don't think success is just about money. But if it's so ingrained in my growing up, how I combat that and, like, move beyond that so I can help others? (Meeting III, 94:30)

She followed by telling us how her father was okay with her taking a job as a teacher for

a little while but that he expected her to return to graduate school and earn a PhD and

teach at the collegiate level if she wanted to teach:

> So what happens if you– I guess this is like an internal conflict question. But, like, I mean, deep down I know I'm not going to make a lot of money but I'll consider myself successful if I have an impact on other people. But, like, I still have that constant nudging of you're not really successful because you're going to be poor the rest of your life. And, I mean, that's definitely due to my upbringing and who my father is. (Meeting III, 98:00)

I was honest that I did not have a ready-made response, and no one else in the group

seemed to have any wisdom; I proposed dialogue as a good place to start, hoping that in

the group we could come up with something to match Allison's sharing.

I thanked Allison for sharing so deeply and proceeded to describe my own

contradiction between wanting to be a change agent and wanting to be employed in a way

that allowed me to provide a comfortable life for my family:

> I'm dealing with the exact same thing right now and I'm dealing with this leadership workshop yesterday morning that you had to pick your main values, and my main values are relation, relational, that is what I'm devoting my life to or what I think I'm devoting my life to. Now there are things that prevent me from pursuing that. Right now I'm looking for jobs, and I have this competing contradiction, this competing value of I want to provide a comfortable life for my family. I want my wife to not have to work when we have kids. I want her to be– because she wants to stay home. (Meeting III, 99:30)

I admitted I did not have an answer even to my own contradiction but that I felt giving

voice to those contradictions in community was a step in the right direction; giving voice

in community would allow me to make use of the communal reflection as a way to direct

my individual action.

Our conversation about money and race continued as we considered why it

seemed that the oppressed were willing to adopt the oppressor's versions of success:

> Jud: I think there are populations of White people, who especially– growing up in Atlanta with all the subdivisions coming up everywhere. It's like, "Let's build, we've got this itty bitty piece of land, let's build the biggest, flashiest house we possibly can. And it's going to look like every other house around it, but we've made it because we live in a suburb" kind of thing. And I think it's kind of– there's an ironic, it's kind of an up yours to the system by saying, "Yeah I'm Black but I succeeded on your term." But that's the irony. It's like, "Yeah I succeeded but you got to define what success was for me."
> Pamela: Yeah, and it's also sort of like, 'cause I feel like more or less like if you really have a lot of money and you've had a lot of money for a long time, your family has, you don't feel this pressure to talk about like, "I'm a plastic surgeon" all the time, or like "I have a $50,000 car," or "I wear this diamond," but it's more the people that don't have a lot of money or haven't for a very– the nouveau rich or whatever, that feel they need to represent all the time. (Meeting III, 108:30)

With that topic, I could feel the group winding down from the emotional high of

Allison's self-revelations. We talked about how our own institution talked about

promoting racial diversity but remained homogeneous in its student body.

When a discussion of anyone in the participants' program being non-White arose, Allison raised her hand: "Hello? I AM your racial diversity" (Meeting III, 125:00). While meant as a joke, it sparked a final discussion about Whiteness reacting to diversity:

> That was the first thing my dad said when I was applying for college. "You're Hispanic now." I'm like, "Oh, am I? Seventeen years later I'm finally Hispanic? Awesome! Good to know where your priorities lie, dad." (Meeting III, 127:00)

Allison's willingness, again, to offer herself as an example communicated that she was looking for some answers in her own life and felt comfortable using this group as a way to approach some resolution. I brought the discussion to a close; the two hours had left us with much to think about before our next meeting.

Preparing for Meeting IV

During the preparation for Meeting IV, several patterns began to emerge in my ongoing data analysis. Two primary areas that I felt required reflection and deeper analysis, the products of which are mentioned above, were the operationalization of race by comparison to other forms of diversity and the success of the dialogue as evidenced through the participants' honesty. There also were issues related to individual participants, which became topics for the PRJs. I was interested to learn that none of the participants had been taught explicitly about race or racism, confirming several findings in the field of MTE. In analyzing our dialogue, I found three primary ideas into which they sorted Meeting III:

- Race is not biological;
- Racism is a systemic disease;

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- Race in its modern conception began in the middle of the 18th century.

Many of the comments from the rubrics recorded the ways in which the participants were

accommodating this new information into their previously developed schemata for race.

Rachel admitted some difficulty with the idea of racism as a systemic disease, but

something about the idea struck her as valid, something to be explored:

> It is hard to get away from the idea that <u>people</u> are not racist. It is something that I
> am committed to in terms of exploring my own thoughts, but since people as
> racists is something I have believed for 24 years, it is hard to quickly change this
> idea. (Rubric Response III)

Over the development of this project, as described below in Meeting V, this commitment

of the participants to an idea, to a posture of change agency, became an overarching goal.

Meredith seemed to agree with the idea of racism as systemic. During our

interview, she professed a deep interest in learning about race, particularly because she

felt she knew very little. The counter to this initial naïveté emerged in her comments:

> I feel like I have a more useful way to think about "race"–a social construct, not
> something that is useful, chosen, owned property of the person to whom the race
> is applied. In the 1st interview, I said I wasn't sure what this word meant and I
> feel more comfortable with its ambiguity and lack of value. (At least, it is
> ambiguous and of questionable value [at best] to me.) (Rubric Response III)

Coming to this understanding also opened her to new ways of thinking about what it

meant to be a change agent:

> I like the idea of racism as a system, not individual acts, and of changing people
> by changing the system, not just slapping their hands for specific acts. Real
> change happens in the heart from which actions, words, and thought proceed.
> (Rubric Response III)

By the end of our meetings, Meredith was one participant who seemed both excited about

her new understandings and willing to engage that understanding in the classroom, as

described below in Chapter 8.

Allison's comments provided an interesting addendum to her open discussion of the racial relationship with her father. On the one hand, she admitted, "I still feel that 'White guilt' even though I still fit into another group" (Rubric Response III). On the other hand, she also reconfirmed her view that the group was a good way to help figure out those kind of internal issues: "I don't feel ashamed in this group b/c I know I want to be judged" (Rubric Response III). More than any other, Allison used this group to its full extent, pushing the dialogue to inform her individual reflection.

Moving beyond this new, but still theoretical, understanding of race led me to investigate the operationalization of race. I had initially considered presenting the participants with a racial artifact in Meeting IV; my specific thought was a Dave Chappelle skit entitled "Racial Draft." However, after analyzing the transcript of Meeting III, I felt that the participants were ready to go deeper, so I built on the idea of presenting artifacts and developed a list of eight I would introduce for discussion.

The artifacts were arranged in four pairs, each consisting of a short video clip and a recent newspaper article. I chose the four pairs of artifacts to address four specific aspects of race emergent from our discussion in Meeting III and present in the literature:

- The dialectic of race as essence versus race as illusion;

- The mythology of colorblindness;

- Stereotype threat;

- White privilege.

By introducing these pairs of artifacts, I felt the participants would take what they had learned in Meeting III and begin to use that information to critique the ways society thinks about and operationalizes race. We met on a Saturday afternoon for Meeting IV so

that I could provide the previously requested Chick-fil-a.

Meeting IV: Looking at Ourselves

Meeting IV began with a review of the rules of dialogue. The participants were somewhat prepared this time and were able to remember two of three without any help. I then presented my impressions of Meeting III. I described the three categories into which I saw them sorting the information about race. To further respond to their rubric comments, I elaborated on seeing racism as a system and not only as individual acts:

> We equate in our society racism equals bad horrible person. But I think why the system wants us to think that way, tell me what you think about this. If we are able to point out people in our society and say, "Oh, that person's racist because he said this word." Or, "She's racist because she said this about my friend." Then we're able to think of ourselves as not racist, as not part of the system. (Meeting IV, 8:30)

I pointed out that if we believe only in individual racist acts, we can hold ourselves blameless as long as we do not use certain words or believe certain things. We also discussed how this view of racism meant that if we were silent then we were complicit–there was no such thing as passive anti-racism.

Expanding on this point in relation to previous discussions, I brought up how we had talked about different people in our families who used certain words or believed certain things. By seeing racism as a systemic issue, we might be able to transcend the contradiction between knowing good people in our family whom society would label bad for using the N-word. Allison pointed out how this could give people a pass, could take blame away from the individual and place it on the system:

> Do you think, if that becomes the normal thinking behind it that it would give the active racists a chance to be like, "Well, it's not my fault. It's a symptom"? Like, and be like, "Well, that's just how it is." (Meeting IV, 10:30)

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I agreed that this was problematic, but that we had to look at blame in a communal sense

also if we were to hold to the ideal of relational pluralism.

When I admitted that sometimes I found comfort in knowing that older

generations will soon be gone, Allison was quick to point out what she saw as hypocrisy;

if I gave my grandmother a pass, I was modeling passive racism for a younger generation

and dehumanizing my grandmother by not thinking she might change:

> But, I guess, the only reason that I would not completely agree with that would be because if you give someone a pass you're just modeling for a younger generation that it's– you're still giving someone a pass. You have to– Personally, I would think that it's all or nothing. You have to show them, "No. No one gets a pass. This is something we have to fight against." Because if I see you saying, "Oh, it's just grandma" then when you go along and, like if you're old, when you're the older one, "Well, it was still around with him so it's okay" and it's just a continuing circle of everyone gets a pass. (Meeting IV, 12:30)

Meredith agreed, and repeated her story of leading her grandmother to a new

understanding, and new friendships, through dialogue. We discussed how families could

often be the hardest place to talk because we have overlapping feelings of kinship. We

also discussed how dialogic pedagogy was a useful starting point because it allowed

sufficient maneuverability to work in each unique situation. By engaging in dialogue and

learning multiple stories, we began to see racism as a learned habit and not a natural

behavior; a learned habit could be broken.

Returning to the rubric comments from Meeting III, I posed a question to the

group that someone had asked: "Is this work only for White people?" (Meeting IV,

26:00). I opened this line of dialogue with the belief that White people, those who are

privileged in society, do have a responsibility to change an unfair system because we are

granted unfair advantages. Rachel agreed out loud, while everyone else nodded, and

made a comment about needing two White people fighting the system for every Black person fighting the system: "For every Black person or minority person or something like that that really feels strongly about this that you've got to have two White people behind them." (Meeting IV, 27:30)

This discussion brought a question from Pamela. What if the majority were not White people?

> I was working at this preschool where all of the students were Black… One time this woman, this mother, came in to drop her son off and, like, I had been there for awhile with them as a teacher and, um, this woman wouldn't leave her kid with me in the room until the Black teacher came back. And she, like, said– she just looked at me like I was a threat or like I was– just very, very dehumanizing. I felt like saying, "It's okay. I know your son. It's okay."… It made me feel bad and it was sort of like if your situation is like that when you're also being judged on your color because I felt like I was– She did not really know me very well and I felt like it was directly because I was a White person. And, it sucked, and I just wonder, like, is it okay that that bothers me or is it, like, just chalk it up to, like, hundreds of years of White people who oppressed Black people? (Meeting IV, Pamela, 28:15)

There were several points to be made from this story, and we went through many of them. We talked about what it meant to walk into a classroom and know that you are, to some students, a *White* teacher. We talked about how to address a similar situation through dialogue. We talked about the difference between race prejudice and racism and how, even though she was a minority in that classroom, Pamela was still in the majority.

A particular point that developed from this conversation returned us to racism as a systemic disease. When we fight racism, we fight a system; we do not fight individuals: "Don't think about it as taking action against the person, racist. Think about it as taking action against the system, racism" (Meeting IV, Jud, 34:00). This led to the voicing of a concern that would become primary to our discussion in Meeting V: If we are fighting to change the system, how long can we keep putting ourselves out there if we just get

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slapped back down?

Thus, with forty minutes of our meeting already elapsed, we made it to the first pair of artifacts, artifacts chosen to investigate how the participants thought about the racial dialectic of essence versus illusion. I first showed the Dave Chappelle (2004) skit titled "Racial Draft," which I describe in more detail below. In this skit, Chappelle and two White actors portray commentators at the first annual Racial Draft, where celebrities have their racial identities chosen by a multiracial panel. Paired with this skit, we read an article from the *New York Times* (Staples, 2007) about the census; this article brought up problems with the demographic categories used by the census.

In the skit, *The Black delegation wins the first pick and chooses Tiger Woods. After this announcement, Tiger Woods, as played by Dave Chappelle, comes to the stage to make an acceptance speech. Chappelle the commentator then announces that, because he is now Black, Woods has lost all of his corporate endorsements.* (We later discussed how it was important that Chappelle began with Tiger Woods because he is multi-ethnic; at this point, the idea of drafting Woods one way or the other would still make sense to biological notions of race.)

The Jewish delegation has the second pick, with commentators predicting Madonna. Instead, the Jewish delegation takes Lenny Kravitz. A brief bio of Kravitz follows as the commentators mention that Kravitz's mother was an actress on The Jeffersons *while his father was her lawyer. The Latino delegation next chooses Elian Gonzalez as a preemptive measure against the White people trying to adopt him.* (In these two picks, the line between ethnicity and race got a bit blurrier. Was Jewish a race? Did drafting someone into one race prevent them from becoming another?)

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Next up, the representative of the White delegation takes the stage to boos from the other races. Confusion ensues with the White choice of Colin Powell. There is a pause as the Black delegation decides their response. The Black delegation accepts this offer on the condition that they also take Condoleezza Rice, to which the White representative agrees. When the Black delegation tries to add taking away Eminem, the White delegation counters that they will keep Eminem but give back O.J. Simpson. (With this interaction, the question of what it meant to be Black came front and center, a question I posed later to the participants: "If you have dark skin and yet you, you know– your life's work is at the benefit of White people, why shouldn't we call you White?" [Meeting IV, 56:00].)

To close the first round, the Asian delegation defies the predictions of the commentators and chooses the Wu-Tang Clan, a Black rap group. Two members of the Wu-Tang Clan take the stage and seem happy to be Asian, proclaiming their love of Kung Fu. The coverage of the Racial Draft ends here with the commentators signing off.

As the participants began to respond, Meredith, who had claimed not to have a definition of race during the individual interview, stated that seeing race as a social construct made a lot more sense when viewing something like the Chappelle skit:

> Meredith: What you were saying last week, about it being a social construct, makes a lot of sense to me. Because I don't– I haven't felt like I know what that word [race] means. And so, I feel like this is more about it being a social construct.
> Jud: Well, and a racial draft is literally that. It's "Alright, let's just get together and decide." Because here is society creating it. (Meeting IV, 52:30)

In addressing the newspaper article, Allison commented that the census categories were useful for letting the oppressors know whom to oppress.

The explicit ways in which *color* was portrayed in the skit led to several questions

about colorblindness. Allison wondered if after getting to know someone is it okay to be colorblind to them:

> We're talking about being colorblind, or whatever. And you were talking about, well, if you get to know the person– Once you get to know them as a person, is it okay to be colorblind and not think about that or should that always be a factor? (Meeting IV, 58:00)

Francis added that, while she saw that I was male, she did not always take that into conscious consideration when interacting with me. During the ensuing dialogue, we uncovered an understanding about race that helped us make sense of its operationalization: our society often seems to talk about race only in a negative context. When trying to understand ways to be color-conscious, we cannot imagine ways to do so in a positive way; this also became the closing discussion topic in Meeting V.

Francis gave voice to a misconception that I think would be found quite often in the literature if used as an analytical frame: "I was under the impression that in order to not be colorblind we have to always, constantly, every second of the day, think about every aspect of every person ever, and that's just impossible" (Meeting IV, 62:30). We discussed how acting colorblind could be seen as denying someone a piece of his or her identity. That is, if I proclaimed colorblindness to the world, I have stripped from everyone a significant piece of his or her identity. However, by living in relation with people, by promoting dialogue with others, we could come to know other people as individuals whose identities are shaped in many ways. For example, with a Black male student, I do not need to be always interacting with him as a Black male; I need to know him as an individual and what it means for his identity that he is a Black male.

The talk of colorblindness led to the next pair of artifacts, a newspaper article (Sack, 2008) about doctors failing to see the cultural needs of their patients when they act

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colorblind and an interview from *The Colbert Report* with Newark, New Jersey mayor

Cory Booker, who made several comments to the media about celebrating the

multicultural people of Newark. Having been on the topic for a while, the conversation

after the introduction of these artifacts continued in a similar direction. Meredith

reflected on her own identity and stated that if someone took away her White identity, she

did not feel like a significant part of her voice was being silenced:

> I'm not sure what the word White means. So if someone is– if you were to apply
> what you were just saying if you were looking at a Black man you see that he–
> you recognize his Blackness and maleness. Um, I don't know what the word
> "White" (air quotes) means. As far as how to classify me I think it's useless.
> And maybe that's– I don't know. Maybe that's– But I don't think the other words
> are totally useless. (Meeting IV, 64:00)

 She admitted there was something specific to Whiteness in that case and we discussed

how colorblindness might allow White people to ignore privileges they are granted

because they are White, one of those privileges being not having to think about matters of

racial identity.

The article on doctors missing the cultural needs of their patients furthered our

understanding of the dangers of colorblindness; here was an example of how pretending

to be colorblind actually hurt patients by trying to treat them all the same when they were

not. Pamela gave voice to a concern that I have experienced myself:

> Pamela: I feel, though, like if you do this–
> Jud: You're going to get called a racist!
> Pamela: Yeah. (Meeting IV, 69:15)

Herein lay another revelation about colorblindness. We felt the system told us that we

should be colorblind because any recognition of race was racist. I recounted how I had

even been told by a professor that if I teach students differently because I see their color

that I am being racist. This led us to talk about colorblindness as the belief that one-size-

fits-all and how the *size* for everyone becomes the *size* that fits those in power. The participants admitted that they felt nervous talking about race with students, particularly about talking about Blackness with Black students: "I just feel very nervous about the idea of talking to a student and being like, "You are a Black student, so–" and basing anything on that" (Meeting IV, Pamela, 72:00). I commented that a system of Whiteness wanted them to be nervous because silence only maintains the status quo.

Our discussion on colorblindness extended for several more minutes. When it died down, I presented the next pair of artifacts, chosen to introduce the idea of stereotype threat. We read an article about the "Obama Effect" on testers (Dillon, 2009) and watched the climactic scene from *O* (Nelson, 2001), in which a teenage Othello set in the modern South makes a speech before killing himself, trying to upend the stereotypes too often associated with a gun-wielding Black male.

The participants were interested to read about very current research detailing the effect the election of Barack Obama had on sampled test takers. We agreed that the point of such research should not be to create an excuse for making a test easier for certain populations; the importance was that there is no objective test and that adequately assessing a student requires knowing a student as an individual, perhaps through methods like dialogic pedagogy.

The closing scene of O was a powerful one, which I had used with groups before. *Having strangled the remade Desdemona, O learns how it was Hugo (né Iago) behind all the doubt and supposed adultery. In preparing to kill himself, O looks around at the surrounding White students cowering away from the angry Black man with a gun:*

> *I ain't no different than none of y'all. My moms ain't no crackhead. I wasn't no gangbanger. It wasn't some hood-rat drug dealer that tripped me up. It was this*

White, prep-school mother f***er standing right there. You tell'em, where I from didn't make me do this. (Nelson, 2001)

Recognizing that after killing himself he will only be remembered as a crazy Black man with a gun, O points out and attempts to undo the power of stereotypes. The participants' responses to this scene fell in line with the rest of our discussion and we spent most of the next few minutes talking about using video in the classroom (Meeting IV, 102:00).

I chose the final pair of artifacts to help us talk about White privilege. They were an article about a study where racial tolerance spread through personal interaction (Carey, 2008) and a campaign comment from Keith Olbermann's (2008) show *Countdown* that listed many gaffes from Senator John McCain and asked if Obama would have been similarly forgiven for such. These artifacts did not work as well as I had hoped, or as well as the previous three pairs. Perhaps the participants and I were growing tired after almost two hours of dialogue. I also blamed myself for presenting an artifact without sufficient context; this seemed to put off several of the participants. I regularly watch Olbermann's show and so have some familiarity with his style of delivery and understanding of his political leanings; seeing the reactions of the participants to this cold presentation of Olbermann led me to reconsider using such artifacts with an audience unfamiliar and possibly unsympathetic with Olbermann's presentation.

Our conversation on White privilege was short. We talked about how exposure to various people might make us less likely to be prejudiced toward them. In particular, the newspaper article (Carey, 2008) was an example of science validating the ideal of relational pluralism:

> The idea that it is in interaction and in experience with others that we are able to let go of our own prejudices. Which is– It even says interaction with just one other person who is not like you helps you to shift your view on all people.

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(Meeting IV, Jud, 115:30).

We also discussed how the classroom was an important place for these things to happen because it was a place in society where several different types of people often come together, at least in close proximity to one another.

The group was fading, so I decided to offer one more artifact that was humorous and a way to ease us away from the dialogue. I showed a clip from the show *My Big Redneck Wedding* (McDonald, 2009): *Dave and Sandy of Woodriver, Illinois, are getting married. We see Dave drinking beer at seven in the morning. We see Sandy's dress and limousine both decorated in camouflage. The couple are married in a duck blind with vows that include drinking beer, doing shots, and other unmentionables.*

When my wife and I first stumbled across this show, we had a long discussion about how her primary prejudices were toward people designated *Rednecks*. I wondered if the participants would be similarly disturbed, particularly as the unintelligent White person may be one of the last caricatures still allowed in politically correct society.

The participants surprised me with a willingness to accept that this might be an accurate, though skewed by television editors, portrayal of someone's desired wedding. Pamela offered there would be just as much beer at some of her friends' weddings: "They'd be all like prim and proper but there'd still be plenty of Natty Lite" (Meeting IV, 132:00). Francis offered a summary judgment for the group: "I mean, they seemed happy. It's not what I would choose for my wedding but if they're happy, and I don't have to go to the wedding, it's none of my business" (Meeting IV, 132:30). Allison claimed, "I mean, I understand a love of duck hunting but just never thought it would be that much of a love" (Meeting IV, 136:30). The rest of the discussion was more about

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how they were all disappointed that a television show was playing off common stereotypes to make fun of people on their wedding day.

I had thought that in presenting a set of stereotypes closer to their own identities, the participants might be more judgmental. I had thought that they might be less aware of their own stereotypes if they considered a group of which society still allowed us to make fun. They did not. They watched the video, laughed at the relative times, and then seemed as if they were able to understand the story from Dave and Sandy's point of view. Meredith admitted that sincerity was her issue, but that a lack of sincerity would bother her at any wedding, including her own: "But what would have bothered me is if I thought they were making a mockery of it. But, I mean, I thought there were definitely signs of sincerity" (Meeting IV, 137:00 140:00). I encouraged the participants to maintain this posture of openness by always starting with the assumption that another's choices were purposive and well-informed. It could be that the participants knew what I expected and were just feeding me lines, but they seemed genuine.

The meeting began to break up from here. We filled out rubrics and talked about the upcoming week of student teaching. We talked about the next meeting and how I wanted to have them over to my house for a home cooked meal.

Preparing for Meeting V

The analysis of Meeting IV was, in my mind, the point at which everyone began moving in a similar direction. We had, in Meeting II, encouraged racial reflection and, in Meeting III, explored racial knowledge; thus, in Meeting IV, I began to see the participants in the action of race, taking their understandings and operationalizing them.

Likewise, dialogue was being used by the participants as a way to explore themselves and their society. I began to see real change in the participants, a thought supported by Meredith's rubric comments:

> Dialogic pedagogy on the topic of race has come at a critical time in the development of my exploration of my ideas about race/ethnicity/culture/cultural history. I highly value this opportunity. (Rubric Response IV)

I saw Meeting V as an opportunity to bring in the context of the classroom and brainstorm with the participants what all this might look like in practice; I went into Meeting V openly professing few practical ideas, but I knew they were necessary. Rachel's rubric comments seemed to concur:

> I still am sensitive about bringing up race in the classroom and I am critical of myself in my interactions with Black people or my Black students. (Rubric Response IV)

As indicated in Rachel's comment, the participants lacked some understanding of how to put this into practice. Such would be the focus of Meeting V.

I felt comfortable planning Meeting V even without a clear idea of where our dialogue might go because the dialogic process was fully at work within our group. Much of my analysis of Meeting IV remarked on how successful we were as a dialogic community. The example of Allison calling out my own hypocrisy (Meeting IV, 10:30, p. 147) and then the group allowing me to grow and learn was an important one in describing the success of our dialogue. Likewise, Pamela's offering up a thought experiment based on a situation from her teaching past (Meeting IV, 28:15, p. 148) told me that the participants were wanting to find ways to apply the processes of dialogue.

Meeting V was to be a brainstorming session in which I was looking to the dialogue to provide some answers for all of us. I prepared a teaching artifact to present to

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the group so as to provide some continuity with Meeting IV. Otherwise, I went shopping for groceries and Diet Cokes. The participants arrived at my house on a Friday after school. They were hungry, so we ate the chili I had cooked earlier that day as we talked.

Meeting V: So What?

Meeting V opened, again, with a rehearsal of our three rules of dialogue. This time, the participants got Participation and Reciprocity pretty quickly but stumbled over Commitment; they offered "democracy," "convergent," and "dialogue" before hitting on it (Meeting V, 12:50). I repeated the three understandings of race developed from the analysis of Meeting III. I praised them for applying those understandings so well in Meeting IV. I also praised Allison in particular for being willing to call me out on my own hypocrisy. There was some light discussion about furniture and chickens (my wife and I had four hens) as we all got our chili and settled into the discussion.

I began by presenting a *key event* from an article by Cynthia Lewis (Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos, 2001). This event was a primary discussion point for Lewis's dialogue group and I thought it a useful thought experiment for my group. *In this key event, an African-American mother becomes upset by her son's teacher when the teacher reads the book* Sounder *without placing the book in any historical context. The class had not previously encountered African-American characters in their reading and saw them only as victims. The teacher had not previously read the book and looked to the mother's son for answers to questions about what the African-American characters were thinking and feeling. The situation was only worsened by ineffectual communication by the principal and a failed meeting with the curriculum coordinator and teachers.*

When I finished reading the key event, I asked a few starter questions: What do you do when a teacher on your team acts like the teacher in Lewis's story? How would you react to this parent? Meredith's initial thought was that she would want to confront some of the teachers who told the parent "Well, I'm so happy that we don't have any problems with racism at our schools" (Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos, 2001, p. 329). In fact, Meredith brought together her understanding of race and the use of dialogue:

> With those teachers, where they are in that moment, they're never able to see things the way that the parent and student are. If they can't understand their experience, they're never going to under– they're never going to be able to communication and they'll never be able to change and teach that book differently… If they can't accept that maybe they don't know everything then they're not going to be able to move forward in dialogue. (Meeting V, 37:00)

I began to ask what attitudes were necessary for teachers if we wanted to be open to dialogue with our students and their parents. By pointing out the ways in which the teachers were acting to exclude a potential dialogue partner, we came to see at least what not to do if we wanted to act as dialogic pedagogues.

There was some discussion about what the teacher should have done, and follow up questions about what could be done differently. We discussed how intimately a teacher should know a book, its author, and its context before teaching. We discussed what to do when a student has ethnic or racial (or gender) connections to a character and how to make connections between students and characters that do not single one student out. For example, Rachel described how, when recently teaching *The Great Gatsby*, it became really important to her students to understand the context of rich White people, pushing back on my contention that teachers might not feel the need to historically contextualize a White character:

> I would disagree about not setting up that historical context because, just because

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I just finished teaching this. I found that really important to do. And my students, and I didn't realize it at the time, that in setting up that kind of historical context, talking about– a little bit about race but mostly about how White people at that time were really rich and whatever. Like, my kids, they came back to that [Gatsby as a rich man] a lot. (Meeting V, 46:00)

Her students kept returning to questions about the rich demographic because it was a demographic with which they did not have previous experience.

We also discussed in more depth what to do when a parent came screaming into your classroom, for whatever reason; this thought experiment was more intricate, with the assumption that all the preparation had been done and that the text presentation was fair. Into the conversation I inserted the fundamentals of dialogue, and in this we came to an implication characterizing the entire project: people do not know how to dialogue. In much of the literature on dialogic pedagogy, it was assumed that people know how to have a conversation; after all, we do it every day. However, we were coming to the realization that dialogue was not inherent, was not natural, to us.

When we arrived at the point of discussing how to set up a classroom in which dialogue could thrive, we really began to brainstorm, using our own group as an example. I asked the participants if they were comfortable talking about race in the group and why that was so. From there, we began to imagine similar ways to apply this model to the classroom, expanding from six participants to twenty or twenty-five students:

How do you set up a classroom to make it, so like, maybe your [Pamela] student or the person in the narrative would say, like, "I'm Black and I see it this way"? I don't know how to do that. How do you do that? (Meeting V, Rachel, 65:00)

I had no specific answer but was explicit about the design of my project, how I began with an explicit description of all that I hoped would happen and even offered my own autobiography as an example. I then discussed how I pushed them as participants to

engage their individual praxes on race through writing a Racial Development

Autobiography and then engage the communal praxis by sharing their RDAs.

We brainstormed ways this could happen in a classroom. Small groups, whole

class discussion, get-to-know-you activities and assignments all were listed. We also

discussed why the English Language Arts classroom would be a good place for social

activism, which helped me to understand my own attraction to literature. Literature was a

collection of characters all trying to share their point of view, their paradigms. In sharing

a point of view, they were opening up the possibility of dialogue through the recognition

that not everyone was identical, that not everyone shared the same singular point of view:

> Jud: Why am I fascinated by literature?
> Francis: Because there are so many different points of view.
> Jud: Because that's all it is. All it is is different points of view. It's one person sharing their point of view or one person trying to share someone else's point of view. And how well they do that becomes a huge question. (Meeting V, 73:00)

We discussed how to get the students to make the leap from understanding how different

characters have different points of view to seeing that different people have different

points of view and that, through dialogue, we could come to share and understand those

other points of view.

In discussing setting up a dialogic classroom, I offered an explicit example of the

development of our dialogue, as Pamela confirmed and which I quote at length:

> Pamela: How do you make it so that they would be willing to be, like, because my heritage is from Iran?
> Jud: I don't know. Okay, so tell me, in this group right now, this group right now, if we were talking about something, I would feel comfortable saying: [Allison], as, you know, someone who's struggled with her race identity because of her father, what do you think about that? I would say to [Rachel], as someone who grew up in an upper-middle class White suburb but whose parents were very specific about making you see that, how do you see that? I would say to you [Pamela], as someone who grew up in the South but who understood very particularly the problems with what everybody else was saying, what do you think

about that? I would say to you [Francis], as, you know, someone who grew up in a county that was eighty-five percent Hispanic, you know, and who had several revelations once you went to college about the bigger world, what do you say about that? I would say to you [Meredith], growing up in rural Tennessee, you know, and traveling– you know, living in Houston, living in Denver, living in Nashville now, how does that affect your point of view? I would say to me, growing up as an Appalachian, you know, son of parents who, you know, worked in the factories so they could go to law school, what does that say about me? I'm comfortable saying that.

Francis: Because we know each other?

Jud: That's what I'm trying to get at. How did this happen?

Francis: So you're saying the teacher should talk to [student's name]?

Pamela: And I would also say that's very– like you just doing that, I feel like, at least for me personally, that's very, like, affirming. Like, Wow, he actually does know me and he's not like misrepresenting me either. (Meeting V, 79:00)

Using our own group in this example, I felt that we had succeeded in the evolution of our dialogue. I was affirmed in knowing myself and my dialogue partner in a way that did not misrepresent either of us.

Our brainstorming shifted slightly. Instead of brainstorming classroom-based activities, we began to brainstorm ways to take our own dialogic activity and imagine doing it with a whole class. We returned to the ideal of relational pluralism and discussed how a focus on including the relational in a classroom was a method for becoming a change agent:

> Being a change agent, I think, is beginning to think of people in terms of relationships and not in terms of individuals. To be assessing students in terms of relationships and not in terms of– To be teaching students critical thought patterns that help them to develop better relationships. So, you know, I've picked race. Race is a way, I think, to teach critical thinking skills because it's something we all get loaded up with a bunch of crap for the first however many years of our lives but there's something else out there. (Meeting V, Jud, 98:30)

In using dialogue about race in such a way, race became a Master Narrative to be critiqued; doing so with one Master Narrative would allow us, or our students, to do so with other Master Narratives. The participants responded positively to dialogic pedagogy

as a method for moving toward relationships. A monologic teaching style would seem miserable if it were the classroom model. A focus and reliance on lesson plans made us feel more like transmitters of knowledge because they had a physical piece of paper listing ideas we were trying to teach.

This revelation about the possible danger of intricate lesson plans took us into an area that I had not foreseen (Milner, 2007a) but that began to make sense of the entire project. I suggested that the first half of their lesson plans could always be the same: The objective of every lesson was to promote dialogue. The primary skills to be taught were critical thinking aimed at commitment, reciprocity, and participation with the community. Only then would a teacher arrive at individual tasks that differed from day to day.

With this ground layer of a way to enact dialogic pedagogy, the conversation switched to specific concerns of the participants. The participants wanted to be pragmatic. Over the course of several minutes of discussion, we developed a list of three primary concerns (Meeting V, 90:00ff):

1. What does a teacher do when the class committed to relational pluralism through dialogue breaks down, either because the students do not engage or they get overly excited and emotional?

2. What does a teacher do with backlash from parents suspicious of what is going on in their children's classroom?

3. What does a teacher do when he or she has all these great ideas and you want to make all these great changes but changes do not come as quickly as hoped?

We did not try to answer these questions. Acknowledging their presence established our mindset going forward. These were questions the participants would be asking, and

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hopefully answering, as they started to use dialogic pedagogy in the classroom.

To maintain a focus on what could be answered now, I brought us back to the idea of being a change agent. In the midst of our dialogue, we came to an understanding of a possible way forward, a way I thought this could become empowering to teachers:

> As I hear you talk, that's, that's what I'm asking for. That's what I'm looking for. I'm not going to give you the recipe, you know, ten easy steps to being a change agent… What I want is to develop in you a, um, just a mindset that is bent toward that direction. The mindset that when you are planning– whatever lessons you're teaching, that you are in the habit of asking yourself: How can I use this to further dialogue? How can I use this to engage each student as an individual person? How can I use this to teach about, you know, systemic oppression? (Meeting V, 101:30)

I voiced the idea that being a change agent was beginning to think of people in terms of relationships. To do this, we had to invite students to think critically about their world, a world that tells them in multiple ways that success and failure happen on individual terms, that Black and White are static and unchangeable categories, that teachers have knowledge to be transmitted to students.

In defining the foundation of the project in these terms, I came to understand what it was I wanted to ask of the participants, what I wanted them to carry into the classroom:

> The way I'm starting to see this project now is I'm developing a very good definition of, a very complete definition of what this [change agent] mindset is. And, if you guys buy into it and I follow you for two or three years, you know, check in with you every couple of months when you're in your own classrooms and ask you, "How's your praxis?" Maybe, in five to ten years from now when I ask you that question, you say, "I've got it down." (Meeting V, Jud, 104:00)

What I was asking of the participants, and of myself, was a commitment to an idea, a belief that the world could change and that we knew something about how to make that change happen. I admitted I did not think this would come together easily in a first year of teaching and that was why I wanted to follow them. Perhaps if they bought into this

mindset, in five or ten years they may tell me, *I think I have this down. Come watch!*

This would have been the end of our meeting, with the denouement of filling out rubrics and cleaning up the leftovers. It was not to be. I passed out the rubrics only to be surprised by groans from the participants. Meredith offered an idea that I wished I had thought of earlier. Instead of filling out the rubrics individually, Meredith suggested we use a line activity the participants used in their methods courses (Meeting V, 109:00). We cleared a space along one wall, I adjusted the camera to catch the action, and then I read each question from the rubrics and the participants stood on a line indicating the scale one to seven; the further to the left they stood, the closer to one was the response. The participants moved for the first two questions and then settled back into more comfortable positions on the couch and chairs. Making this rubric public continued our discussion for another thirty-five minutes.

When discussing our individual praxes of race, we returned to the idea of colorblindness and appropriate ways to use visual cues. We came to define an appropriate and democratic Action of Race that did not ignore the visual clues we use to assess other people everyday.

> Pamela: Can you talk about how you don't [use stereotypes]– or how you don't–
> Can you be critical of that and tell me how that isn't correct? Or in line with–
> Jud: I think this discussion we're having right now. It's a difference between looking at someone– like taking visual clues from someone– and clues include what they sound like when they talk, the way they interact with people, the way they're dressed– Taking those clues, are you using those to make a judgment about that person or are you using those to try and learn something about them so that you can get to know them better? In the former, if you are ever relying on a stereotype, if you have this thought, "Well, you know, stereotypes are there for a reason," then I think you're sticking to the former. You are making a judgment about that person because you think those things correlate to something else.
> Meredith: I definitely think that, at times, I'm still trying to get rid of those stereotypes.
> Jud: And I'm not going to ask you to get rid of your stereotypes. I'm just happy

you're fighting. I've got stereotypes. I've got huge stereotypes about a lot of people.

Francis: Like who?

Jud: White female preservice teachers. (Meeting V, 121:00)

Meredith admitted that she wanted to be a seven on the scale of Categorical Absolutes (1) to Situated Identities (7) but that when she saw someone she still made generalizations. We discussed how making such inferences was not necessarily wrong. A question to ask was, Am I making these stereotypes because I want to pigeon hole and define that person or am I making these inferences so as to open a way to interact with them, as an inroad to establishing a dialogue with them so that I can get to know them as an individual?

When discussing out communal action of democracy, Allison wanted to be at one and seven. She was committed to the action of democracy and supporting dialogue but she wanted to know how far out to go without reciprocation:

> Well, part of me is right here [at 1] because I'm still very much a tough love, do what you need to do, kind of person. But then part of me is, like, but I still want to help others and we can all benefit, not just each man for their own. But it's like, I only– but I kind of feel like sometimes I don't want to help you if you're not going to help yourself. (Meeting V, 128:15)

The rest of the group admitted to being concerned about what to do if the students did not engage in the proposed dialogue. What happened when the partner did not reciprocate or want to participate? How far did you extend yourself when trying to establish dialogue? We talked at some length about models of dialogue and how far they had extended themselves. We talked about the desire to be a savior to students, to raise them up out of whatever horrible situation they were in. We also talked about how that was incomplete, that we need to understand ourselves as needing saving also. In coming to the place of dialogue as a method of change agency, Meredith put the exclamation point on what this mindset entailed: "You've got to be the first one to apologize. You've got to be willing

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to let other people hurt you in order to accomplish–" (Meeting V, 135:25).

I think those words scared some of us, but in a good way, in a realistic way. I did not see the participants asking, How do I get out of this? Instead, we were beginning to ask, How far out do I put myself? Do I believe in this enough to sacrifice myself to these goals? I did not know how I would answer these questions in practice. I knew how I wanted to answer them, but that was not the same. The meeting wound down from there. We talked about pseudonyms and spring break and the interviews and observations to follow.

CHAPTER VIII

IMPLICATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Having described Master Narratives of monologic Whiteness and individual merit in Chapters 1 through 5 and presented a counter-narrative of dialogic relational diversity in chapters 6 and 7, this final chapter steps outside the narratives and considers some implications for the field of MTE in the areas of theory, practice, and research. After discussing these implications, I also provide limitations of this project, limitations that I or other MTE theorists, practitioners, or researchers might consider if attempting to replicate this work in another context or with other participants.

In wanting to move from my local context to a larger field, I faced a paradox that Dressman (2007) captured:

> It is that those in the methodologically qualitative majority must concede that their work is not ultimately generalizeable… Yet their use of social theory also implies a strong desire to seek connection with *general* concepts… that are applied across settings and that imply a sense of significance that extends far beyond the individual studies in which they are used. (p. 354, emphasis in original)

To help transcend and organize a response to this paradox, I returned to two foundational pieces of this project: (1) the research questions and (2) the theoretical framework. In the application of these two pieces to data emerging over the course of this study, the former helped me define what I sought in my specific context while the latter provided a way to connect these data to a larger field.

This study sought to address two primary research questions: (1) What might teacher education that prepares a teacher to see the classroom as a site for social change

look like? and (2) How might I, as a teacher educator, develop teachers to see the classroom as a site for social change? The first question considers the outcomes of this project. The second question considers the process of this project.

Likewise, this study was formed around a series of triangular praxes, built on the Freirean (1970) praxis of Knowledge ⬅➡ Action ⬅➡ Reflection; when addressing a field like MTE, this praxis becomes one of Theory⬅➡ Practice ⬅ ➡ Research. In addressing the research questions above, this praxis provided an organizational framework; that is, implications might be addressed to each point of the triangle.

Because I have already provided evidence from the study in the previous two chapters, when presenting implications and limitations, I refer to page numbers of the narrative findings in Chapters 6 and 7. Likewise, I also refer to additional data from Data Analysis Memos, in which I made regular notes throughout the data analysis process.

Implications for Theory

As one side of the praxis triangle, theory describes the paradigms used by an individual to determine everyday action. As applied to the implications of this study, theory might refer to the multiple ways that people in a field like MTE think about and understand concepts related to issues like racism or social justice. Evidence from this study suggests two areas where deeper theorization and understanding might benefit those working to promote relational pluralism. These two areas are the concept of *colorblindness* and the concept of *stereotypes*.

Colorblindness

Evidence from this study suggests that theorists in the field of MTE might benefit from more deeply considering the complexity of the phenomenon of colorblindness (Lewis, 2001).

For many, colorblindness is seen as an enlightened ideal (Lewis, 2001), a desire to move beyond race and see every person as a human being. For example, a teacher who claims, "I don't see the color of my students" may believe that he or she inhabits a successful, post-racial world. However, several MTE researchers have problematized this idea by describing how colorblindness might in fact be understood as *color-ignoring* (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Lewis, 2001), that is, a stripping away of important pieces of identity and culture. The idea of colorblindness seemed well known to the participants in this study; Rachel in particular often asked how to respond to people who claimed to be colorblind.

The consensus in the field of MTE appears to be that colorblindness is a disability, as physical blindness might be understood. However, while analyzing an ongoing discussion in which Pamela and Rachel compared colorblindness to their understandings of the evolution of feminism (pp. 135, 138-140), I began to question whether colorblindness might be seen in a different way. Pamela and Rachel described how they understood feminism in the 1980s as focused on absolute equality between men and women, a kind of gender-blindness. However, in the 2000s, they saw feminism as focused on giving women freedom to choose their own lifestyles with a goal more aligned with equity; that is, women and men are different and should be seen as different but celebrated equitably.

The analysis of this conversation led me to conjecture that a similar evolution might be possible with the phenomenon of colorblindness. Perhaps by adapting the psychological Helms (1990; see Appendix B) model, colorblindness might be thought of as a marker of a social disintegration status; that is, perhaps colorblindness is a stage of denial through which society or individuals have to work before moving on to anti-racist mindsets that can see color and understand that difference does not equal deficiency (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

The implication of problematizing colorblindness might be to shift the field of MTE away from seeing colorblindness only as a disability to be overcome and toward understanding colorblindness as a marker of a status through which individuals proceed. Perhaps colorblindness might be seen as an analytical tool that researchers could use to gauge the racial awareness of WFPTs. In short, instead of condemning those who claim to be colorblind, which runs counter to an ideal like relational pluralism, MTE theorists might begin to ask questions about what a colorblind ideology reveals about an individual in his or her statuses of racial identity development.

For example, if I am working with a study participant who claims to be colorblind, this perception might be the basis for an engaging dialogue. Do you really not see color? Why do you think it is racist to notice color? What makes you uncomfortable about pointing out someone's color? Do you consider race and color to be the same thing? Why? Perhaps making people nervous about recognizing color because they fear being labeled a racist is a way that Master Narratives use silence to maintain the power of Whiteness. Pamela and I both admitted that we had been called racist because we admitted recognizing someone's race (p. 152). Perhaps the phenomenon of

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colorblindness might include the understanding that it is actively promoted by Master

Narratives of Whiteness and not just the individual denial of a single person. Evidence

from this study suggests that dialogue about colorblindness may lead to more open

conversations about the ways different people notice, define, and understand race.

Stereotypes Versus Inferences

In addition to colorblindness, evidence from this study suggests that theorists in

the field of MTE might benefit from theorizing more deeply about the ways humans use

prejudgments and distinguish *stereotype* from *inference*.

Just as in the implication above, a Master Narrative of Whiteness may use silence

to maintain power by preventing people from talking about stereotypes. The analysis

code STE (Stereotype) was among the first I defined during data analysis; it was a

concept often addressed by the participants. For instance, Francis initially stated a belief

that every stereotype contained at least a kernel of truth at its base (p. 115). However, as

stereotypes came under deeper exploration over the course of our meetings, I began to

uncover how a Master Narrative of Whiteness might maintain silence about stereotypes.

The participants and I appeared to have been taught in our lives that any

prejudgments of another person were bad; however, over the course of our meetings we

were able to begin to admit that we always seemed to be prejudging every time we met

someone new, whether through phenotypic, linguistic, or even clothing characteristics.

The sense of guilt we had learned to associate with these prejudgments had previously

kept us silent about them.

To explore this issue, I explicitly addressed the use of stereotypes (p. 118). Early

in the project, I wanted to convince the participants that stereotypes were based on

historical systems of oppression and not on reality. The answer, then, was that we, the

participants and I, should work to give up all stereotypes. However, later discussions

began to problematize that position and led us to new vocabulary that might benefit those

seeking to understand stereotypes and their interactions with a White Master Narrative.

In Meeting V (p. 163), the participants appeared able to apply what they had

learned about race and racism but were often disappointed when they noticed themselves

making prejudgments about a new acquaintance. From this discussion emerged a

possibility that reframed the presence of stereotypes and the way the participants used

stereotypes. In a Data Analysis Memo, I wrote about this in terms of a dialectic:

> We came to some really key discussion about why and how we use visual clues to interact with other people. We made a distinction that I think was a good example of the dialectic. If we have the option to stereotype or to assume nothing, we have a binary. The transcendence of that binary is in the attitude we use to approach the Other. For example, the action of interacting with someone may be the same but the attitude will be one of getting to know, of gaining entrée, as opposed to pigeonholing. (25 February 2009)

In short, prejudgments are a negative thing if they are seen as an end in and of

themselves. If I see someone and judge the way he or she looks and that judgment

becomes the only way I see this someone, my prejudgments become an end, a stereotype.

However, if I am reflecting actively about my prejudgments, I might be able to

look at someone and use my prejudgments to determine how I might best begin an

interaction with that someone; such a prejudgment might be labeled an *inference*. As a

dialogue circle, we came to see a prejudgment as not necessarily wrong in and of itself

but as something that we might bend toward relational pluralism.

The distinction between these two words, *stereotype* and *inference*, emerged during data analysis (they were not used during the group meetings) as a way these WFPTs might be able to understand prejudgments; for example, this distinction may have helped Pamela understand her assumption that a Black man in line with her at the university bookstore was on the football team and the immediate guilt she felt for that prejudgment (Meeting II, 83:50). By stereotype, I mean a prejudgment of another person that becomes knowledge and understanding of that other person without interpersonal interaction. By inference, I mean a prejudgment of another person that helps to develop knowledge and understanding of that other person through interpersonal interaction.

In theorizing about ways a White Master Narrative uses silence to maintain power, perhaps thinking more deeply about how the label *stereotype* gets applied to all prejudgments might work to loosen than silence. Perhaps theorizing about a distinction between *stereotypes* and *inferences* might lead me to understand more fully why it is that the participants in this study were troubled by prejudgments, or even why they, as human beings, make these prejudgments in the first place.

Implications for Practice

As the second side of the praxis triangle, Action describes the ways an individual uses his or her knowledge about the world to act in the world. As applied to the implications of this study, action refers to the Practice of MTE, the methods by which teacher educators prepare WFPTs for the diverse classroom. Evidence from this study suggests two areas where understandings of established practice might be broadened to

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become more effective at promoting relational pluralism. These areas are *being explicit when teaching about race* and *learning how to dialogue*.

Before describing these two areas, I insert here a short description of how this project in general might impact the various content areas found in a P-12 classroom. That is, I address here what practice bent toward relational pluralism might look like if operationalized in different subjects. The relational posture of the project admittedly takes a strong stance on the practice of education. In the ideal proposed by this project, issues of social justice and equity take precedence over considerations of academic content. However, evidence from this study suggests that the aims of social justice are not incompatible with the teaching goals of a secondary English classroom.

For example, the study of literature might be seen as the exploration of multiple points of view via the interaction with various characters; that is, each character in a text provides the opportunity to explore another's point of view. Asking questions like, "What is [a character] thinking now?" or "What do you think [a character] will do next?" asks the student to put himself or herself in the mindset of another person. Developing such a skill might be fundamental to issues of relationship because, as describe above, relationship involved mutually humanizing interactions.

In the content area of social studies or history, these same skills can be used to explore the mindsets of actual people. History might be presented as a story made up of a seemingly infinite number of points of view, each adding something to the whole. Likewise, the topics of kings and wars and dates might be presented as a study in relationships that, for various reasons, might be described as more or less successful. For example, the *pax romana* was seemingly absolute in its power, but at what human cost?

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Or, why were the treaties signed after World War I seemingly so insufficient in preventing a second World War?

Likewise, in other content areas it seems aims of social justice would also be compatible. For example, science might be presented as one method of investigating the physical and social world. As such, science is not the pursuit of capital-T Truth but one method of investigation among many with its own requisite advantages and limitations. As such, science is useful for asking some questions but not others. Within the bounds of science, relationships play a key role. In fact, chemistry, biology, and physics are all about the various relationships among atoms, life forms, and forces respectively.

To continue, mathematics is often presented as a purely theoretical language in which numbers are used to describe several relationships. As such, math might be used to communicate certain relationships that are not easily describable in other paradigms. Like science, math would not be presented as the search for capital-T Truth but as one tool among many used to define certain relationships. Math teachers might problematize math as a universal language and use math to teach the inherent failures of any language.

The inherent failures of any language might also be a topic of dialogue in a foreign language classroom. In studying different languages, students might learn how each language carries with it a specific worldview, allowing some thoughts while limiting others. For example, what does it say about English that there is no word for *schadenfreude* or for *le mie*? Exploring the necessity of using language in relationship as balanced with the failure of language as an imperfect system of communication might aid students and teachers in their communicative abilities. It may also dispel notions of one language as superior to another.

Being Explicit about Race

Evidence from this study confirmed the importance of practitioners (that is, teacher educators) talking explicitly about race with their students.

Teaching about race explicitly is established consistently in the MTE literature (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Milner, 2007b; Tatum, 2007). In our second interview, all of the participants indicated that our group meetings had included explicit information about race they had not previously learned and that such explicit discussion had helped them develop their individual understandings. For example, when I asked the participants to define race in the second interview, their answers included, "It doesn't necessarily have to do with the color of your skin but that's the jumping off point" (Interview II, Allison, 6:05), and "That's the question I didn't know at the beginning. Race is this social construct" (Interview II, Meredith, 6:00).

I do not mean to imply that the participants are now able to unpack deep-seated implications of race as a social construction. I am merely suggesting that developing understandings of race and a willingness to further those understandings might benefit a teacher teaching in a diverse classroom. To that end, three themes emerged from the data that may serve as a starting point for teacher education courses that address issues of race.

In Meeting III, I presented a bevy of information about race to the participants, attempting to portray several sociologists, philosophers, anthropologists, and educators as being in dialogue; while analyzing the data from Meeting III, I began to sort the participants' reactions to and questions about that information into three themes, three things the participants had not learned about race before:

- Race is not biological (Montagu, 1997);

- Racism is a systemic disease (Bowser & Hunt, 1981);

- Race originated with 18th century abolitionist movements (Omi & Winant, 1994).

After analyzing Meeting III, I presented these three themes to the participants on two subsequent occasions (pp. 146, 157) and each participant agreed that these were an accurate representation of what she had previously not learned about race.

Perhaps these three themes might form a starting point for explicit conversations about race with preservice teachers. The importance of having conversations including these three themes emerged from the evidence of this study. The participants in this study had implicitly learned many things about race in their lifetimes, particularly those things that a racist Master Narrative might want them to learn: (1) race was a biological reality that did not change over time; (2) racism was individual acts; and (3) race had always been a reality. Left unchallenged, implicit understandings might be dangerous: If race is a biological reality, then there is little that a teacher can accomplish in challenging racial definitions. If racism is individual acts, then WFPTs can think of themselves as not racist so long as they do not commit those acts. If race has always been a reality, then there is no way to change the lived reality of race in the present moment.

However, perhaps seeing these three themes as the starting point for explicit discussions about race with WFPTs might provide success in preparing WFPTs to teach in a diverse classroom. That is, it is not merely important that WFPTs grasp these three concepts; they might profess deep understandings of these three concepts and still teach in ways that maintain the power of a White Master Narrative. However, discussions around race might provide a foundation for considering race in ways outside those

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allowed by a White Master Narrative: If race is not biological, then WFPTs might start looking for other reasons for student achievement and failure and disrupt their own preconceptions about student ability. If racism is a social disease, then WFPTs might stop focusing on symptoms like the demographic divide and begin to focus on deeper problems, like access to privilege. If racism is placed in a historical context, WFPTs might learn about themselves as White and develop methods to influence the continuing history of racial development.

Learning to Dialogue

Evidence from this study suggests that practitioners (that is, teacher educators) in the field of MTE might benefit from significant and specific instruction in dialogic methods and theory.

Dialogue appears regularly in the field of MTE, often as a reflective activity that is somehow understood to support social change and equity (Garmon, 1998; Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos, 2001; Lewis & Ketter, 2004; Pewewardy, 2005, Rogers et al, 2005). In addition, there is literature describing how difficult dialogue can be (Ladson-Billings, 1996; Tatum, 1992, 1994, 2007). Just because WFPTs verbally interact with other people everyday does not mean they know how, or are willing, to dialogue. Likewise, just because MTE practitioners verbally interact with other people everyday does not mean they know how, or are willing, to dialogue. Evidence from this study suggests that teacher educators desiring to employ or teach dialogic pedagogy might benefit from deep and explicit understandings of dialogic theory and methods; however, in my experience, such instruction was not available from inside academe.

In comparing findings from this study to examples in the literature where dialogue was found to be difficult (e.g. Ladson-Billings, 1996; Tatum, 1992, 1994), the evidence from this study suggests that my explicit preparation in the methods and theory of dialogic pedagogy around issues of race might have contributed to more successful outcomes than would have been expected otherwise. Two interactions particularly exemplified for me the success our group had dialogically. First, Allison felt comfortable in Meeting IV calling me out for a hypocritical stance when I did not believe older generations could change in their thinking about race, and I was open to hearing that critique and changing my opinions (p. 147); despite my positioning as the researcher, Allison was willing to use the dialogic space to point out how my statement about looking forward to older generations passing away dehumanized them in my mind because I was unwilling to grant them the possibility to change. Second, in Meetings II (pp. 128-130) and III (p. 142), Allison used the group dialogue to help her work through individual identity issues she had relating to her father; having grown up with a Chilean father who actively suppressed his Latino identity had created in Allison several conflicting feelings, feelings she felt willing to discuss in our dialogue circle.

Such interactions did not occur just because we were all adults in a comfortable space who inherently knew how to dialogue. Evidence from this study suggests they occurred in a setting in which we were explicit about what it meant to dialogue and how to go about developing toward a shared purpose. Thus, it appeared that my training in facilitating dialogue circles, described below, became particularly important to the success and struggles we experienced in the dialogue circle. Without such training, our discussions might have degenerated into periods of anger, of silence, or of confrontation

without resolution. My training specifically instructed me in how to address such periods and use that feeling of chaos to push beyond surface layers of propriety.

For this study, I had to go outside my graduate studies to find training in the methods and theory of dialogic pedagogy; that is, there were no classes offered at my academic institution on dialogic pedagogy. Instead, as a teacher educator, I found a local community organization and, over the last year, I have spent ten hours participating in dialogue circles, twenty hours being trained in facilitating dialogue circles, and another twenty hours facilitating dialogue circles. While such instruction might be readily available at other institutions, I believe MTE practitioners including some form of dialogue in their teacher education classrooms might benefit from deeper and more personal understandings of dialogic methods and theory, but they may have to look beyond the field of MTE for such opportunities.

Implications for Research

As the final side of the praxis triangle, reflection describes the ways in which an individual gauges action to inform knowledge. As applied to the implications of this study, reports of research are the method by which the field as a whole reflects on findings and implications so as to impact knowledge and practice. Evidence from this study suggests two related areas that might benefit ongoing MTE research. These two areas are *Diversity among WFPTs* and *Diversity in the Classroom*. While these two areas are related, I separate them here because the former focuses on the WFPT while the latter focuses on the classroom context.

Diversity among WFPTs

Evidence from this study suggests that researchers in the field of MTE might benefit from differentiating among their WFPT participants and from explicitly defining what they mean by a word like *diversity*.

From my review of MTE literature, particularly the reviews from the 2000s, WFPTs are often portrayed as a universal demographic who benefits from Whiteness in teacher education (Sleeter, 2001, 2008; Dixson & Dingus, 2007). However, MTE researchers might problematize this belief by investigating the ways in which WFPTs who seem similar from the outside, because they have been labeled White, often are not. Examining the complexities inherent to, and the diversity shaped by, individual WFPTs might shed light on ways to differentiate instruction for a seemingly universal demographic. For example, assuming a WFPT is naïve in matters of race and racism might dissuade her from full participation in a class designed to address such issues.

As early as the analysis of data from Interview I, evidence in this study led me to differentiate understandings of Whiteness among the participants, to tell the stories of their individual versions of what it meant to be a WFPT. It was this analysis that led me to define three potential archetypes: *Mainstream WFPT*, *Accidental WFPT*, and *Proto-Freirean WFPT*. These categories were not designed to be discrete but overlapping collections of characteristics useful in differentiating instruction for the WFPTs in this study. Likewise, these categories are not presented as sufficient descriptions of every WFPT; I describe three types of WFPTs with the belief that these may encourage other MTE researchers to think more deeply about WFPTs as study participants. Exploring more nuanced descriptions and analyses of WFPTs might be useful in MTE because

preparing WFPTs for the diverse classroom can be a highly personal and individual struggle involving the disruption of powerful Master Narratives.

A *Mainstream WFPT* is assumed in much of the literature but rarely defined explicitly (e.g. Sleeter, 2001, 2008). She is the preservice teacher to which the demographic divide refers in discussions about the demographic differences between teachers and students (e.g. Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2004). She is rarely defined explicitly; it is assumed that researchers recognize her tacitly. She grew up in a comfortably middle-class background and has always wanted to be a teacher. She sees herself returning to teach in a school similar to those in which she was taught. Pamela and Allison shared many of these characteristics, but they were also different. Pamela adopted the relational aspects of her Southern identity but did not want to limit her relationships in ways that her upbringing taught her. Allison believed she was raised to be White despite her father's Chilean roots (Meeting III, 122:00); evidence from this study suggests that the ways in which Allison has wrestled with her own identity are not assumed to be indicative of the Mainstream. Yet, the broader research literature might paint these two WFPTs as the same, two individuals who will respond similarly to teacher education coursework or to inquiry about their preparation.

An *Accidental WFPT* is an archetype that may become more common as programs for alternative teacher licensure[11] become more common. An Accidental WFPT may be similar to a Mainstream WFPT but differs in the way she came to an education career path. Thus, her experiences are often broader; she is often older, and

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[11] By *alternative teacher licensure* I mean programs outside of university- or college-based teacher education programs. These might include programs geared at young college graduates, like Teach for America, or programs designed to prepare mid-life professionals for a new field.

she may not have preconceptions about where she wants to teach. Meredith seemed to fit these characteristics, and I believe her commitment to education as a means for social change may have been stronger because of her experiences outside education. For instance, Meredith had explored two other career paths before coming to education, each of which she found unfulfilling because they conflicted with personal goals for career and family. Also, Meredith had previously found herself socially located in primarily Asian-American crowds at two different universities, giving her more experience with non-White populations than might be assumed with a Mainstream WFPT. These broader experiences outside of education seemed to have instilled in her a strong resolve to see education as a way to make her world a better place.

A *Proto-Freirean WFPT* is an archetype sought in much of the MTE literature when recruiting preservice teachers with broader experiences of diversity (Haberman, 1996). She is attuned to suffering of many types and has a desire to make her world a better place. She also appears to have a firmly developed understanding of praxis and the interaction of theory, action, and reflection (Interview I, Francis, 31:45). Coming to an awareness of praxis, however, happens in different ways. For example, Rachel grew up in the upper-middle class Midwest, the daughter of an oncologist and a nurse who specifically raised her with a constant recognition of her class and the accompanying but unearned privileges of that class. Francis was raised in a west coast county that was 85% Hispanic and thought of herself as a "minority" until she left for college.

Evidence in this study suggests that MTE researchers might benefit from being more specific about their study populations and that the field in general might benefit from problematizing the homogeneity associated with terms like WFPT. Much MTE

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literature is geared toward the preparation of a Mainstream WFPT (e.g. Sleeter, 2008). What about an Accidental WFPT who turns to education expecting to be prepared to address social justice issues? Will she be disappointed by a focus on how to write lesson plans and manage a classroom or will she receive the tools she needs to get to know her students and herself and promote social justice? What about a Proto-Freirean who has both a deep desire for and an understanding of social justice praxis in education? Will she be supported in that quest or squashed by an institution? Such questions may lead researchers to be more deliberate in defining and working with WFPTs.

While these three archetypes are limited in application, the evidence from this study suggests it is important that the field no longer assume that WFPTs have limited or no understandings of race, racism, and diversity or that all WFPTs are the same. There may be much that an individual WFPT has learned about race, racism, and diversity that must be actively unlearned before progress toward relational pluralism can occur, particularly as researchers consider how that knowledge of race, racism, and diversity shows up in multiple ways in the classroom.

Diversity in the Classroom

In addition to the homogeneity by which WFPTs are conceived in the research, evidence from this study also suggests that researchers studying WFPTs in the practice of teaching may benefit from differentiating the classrooms in which those studies occur.

The field of MTE has been defined in the literature as preparing teachers for diverse classrooms (Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2004; Sleeter, 2008). The field has also recognized that issues of diversity and social justice are important no matter the

perceived level of diversity in a school or classroom (Lewis, 2001). Through a method of

dialogic teacher preparation, this study attempted to investigate the extent to which

participants might see the classroom as a site for social change. While the previous

implication focused on differentiating the ways in which WFPTs are seen, it may also be

of benefit to researchers to investigate how a diverse classroom promotes or restricts a

WFPT's desire or ability to see that classroom as a site for social change.

By adopting the continuum developed by Pugach, Longwell-Grice, Ford, and

Surma (2008), I present here one example each of a participant whose classroom practice

might be labeled *Limited Practice*, *Mixed Profile*, and *Principled Practitioner*. While

there were significant differences among these participants throughout the study, I

believe the classrooms in which they were placed for student teaching also may have

affected their willingness to see the classroom as a place to address issues of diversity.

After presenting these three examples, I offer some questions that MTE researchers might

find useful in uncovering and exploring the effects of different classrooms.

Allison, Limited Practice. I observed Allison teaching poetry in a public suburban

middle school. Hers was the only classroom in this study in which the desks were

arranged in rows all facing the front. Allison's lessons consisted of individual seatwork

and then small group presentations about poems the class had read. For each

presentation, Allison asked question to which the group responded; as such, even though

she was not at the front of the room, the class still focused on her as the teacher.

In the second interview with Allison, I asked her what diversity she noticed in her

classroom. She responded that there was not much diversity (Interview II, 6:20). When I

asked Allison how the lack of diversity affected her as a teacher in light of the idea of a

change agent we had developed in our group meetings, she claimed that the change agent

was an ideal for a different classroom, a more *diverse* classroom:

> I think if I were to teach in a more, a more diverse site as far as socio-economic and racial setup, I would probably use it [dialogic pedagogy] more. Um, here, I feel like– and I could be completely selling them short– I feel like they're too self-involved and young right now to really think about that with living in [suburb] and life in general. They don't– they just don't get it… If I was in a more diversified, more urban setting, I might– I would probably spend more time on it. (Interview II, 12:30)

In short, the lack of diversity led Allison to believe that the issues we had discussed in

our group meetings were unnecessary or untenable. That is, for Allison, issues of

diversity and inequity were best addressed in classrooms that were diverse. I conjecture

that this view of her students and their not needing to address issues of diversity limited

Allison's practice to more monologic methods of teaching. Thus, Allison's case

confirmed a finding common in MTE literature: a lack of diversity in student teaching

and practicum experiences may be understood as a reason not to need to address issues of

diversity (Lane, Lacefield-Parachini, & Isken, 2003; Levine-Rasky, 2001; Lewis, 2001).

Francis, Mixed Profile. I observed Francis teach various ability-tracked classes in

a public rural high school. Her classroom was arranged in a Double Flying V with a

central aisle where Francis moved up and down during class. Francis's lessons followed

a pattern of modeling an activity with the whole class and then having the class break up

into smaller groups. She began every lesson with a time for personal sharing.

The diversity she saw in her classes was primarily linguistic, marked for her by

the rural accent of many of her students. She applied lessons she had learned during

teacher education coursework on non-Native English speakers, claiming her students

"just have a non-standard dialect of English" (Interview II, 12:35). She even chose texts

to reflect activities familiar to her students; for example, she learned that her students knew a lot about hunting and so she had the students read *The Most Dangerous Game*, in which a human being is portrayed as the worthiest prey for an expert hunter.

While I saw Francis getting to know her students as individuals and responding to them with personal knowledge, I also saw her as reactive to the diversity of her students. That is, she based her practice of dialogue and change agency around what the students presented to her. For example, when discussing an essay in which a student had condemned practices like affirmative action as reverse racism, Francis claimed,

> Until you've had someone push you on these ideas, you might not ever consider that those ideas [reverse racism], while valid, are based on faulty concepts, like race. (Interview II, 20:30)

While this statement reflects Francis's willingness to understand the individual thinking of a student, her reactionary stance was not proactive or provocative. Francis may have appeared to be more actively pursuing dialogue in the classroom than Allison, but she also relied on the presence of some form of diversity in the classroom before there would be a need for a teacher as change agent.

Rachel, Principled Practitioner. I observed Rachel as she introduced a new novel to her class in an urban parochial middle school. Her desks were also arranged in a Double Flying V but her students did not remain in the desks for long. During an anticipation activity, Rachel asked the students questions and had them move to different corners of the room to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement. After each move, she led the class in a discussion about why certain positions were taken. These discussions included whether or not the class agreed with statements like "Culture determines who has power" and "Men and women will never truly be 'equal.'"

In discussing the diversity in her classroom, which had the least diverse student body of any I observed in terms of race, ethnicity, sex, or socioeconomic status, Rachel saw the lack of diversity as a reason to engage in dialogue around social justice issues:

> In some ways, um, it's good that there's not a lot of diversity because they are all fourteen, so they all, you know, just think like their parents and stuff like that so I think, like, that gives me an in to be like, "Hey, I'm not your parent." Um, you know. "Let me kind of show you something else." But at the same time, um, I think that is going to make my job a little bit harder, um, because I can't count on different experiences or childhoods or something like that. (Interview II, 12:00)

Instead of seeing the lack of diversity as a reason not to address these issues, as did Allison, Rachel saw it as more of an opportunity. That is, the homogeneity of her classroom provided a deeper contrast with the new ideas she would offer.

The chance to engage such a White, upper class, Christian class seemed to excite Rachel, and even pointed out her need for constant reflection:

> Um, so I was like, "I'm going to see what I can do to their worldview." You know, like, I'm truly up for the challenge but then I got into this huge thing that was bigger than my head and I was like, I got into this I need to be the only one who shows them what other cultures are like or something like that. Or make them think critically about their own American culture. (Interview II, 14:00)

Having participated in our dialogue circle, Rachel was nervous that other teachers who had not had similar experiences might undermine what she wanted to accomplish. Rachel admitted that this was problematic and an area in which she could engage other teachers in dialogue to develop her own understandings and perhaps recruit other faculty as allies.

In contrasting these three examples, several questions arose that might be useful for MTE researchers who want to uncover and explore the impact of a classroom on the use of the classroom as a site for discussing issues of diversity: How might one address social justice issues when a classroom seems homogeneous in its privilege (whether that

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be high or low privilege)? How might a lack of/abundance of perceived diversity impact

the lengths to which a teacher feels social justice issues are important? What research

strands might be conducted in schools of high privilege to uncover ways to address social

justice among those students and faculty who may think their schools do not have issues

with social justice (e.g. Lewis, 2001)? The presence or lack of diversity in a classroom

cannot be assumed to affect the practice of WFPTs in similar ways. Perhaps the field of

MTE might benefit from research on the intricate interactions between research

participant and research site and how each affects the other.

<center>Further Questions</center>

In addition to questions embedded within the above implications, several

questions arose that, due to time and resources, I am unable to address fully in this study.

These questions might further benefit my own research trajectory as well as the larger

field of MTE. Addressing these questions will require longitudinal interactions with

multiple participants. As such, this dissertation may become the foundation of a research

agenda stretching on for many years, a proposition I discussed with each of the

participants in the second interview; they all agreed:

Questions for My Research Trajectory

- How might the categorization of participants blind me to disconfirming or
  problematic evidence for a category? How might the categories described above
  to differentiate WFPTs and their classrooms be used as analytical tools to
  reanalyze the data emergent from this project?

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- How might my identity as a White male blind me to the ways Whiteness was enacted over the course of this study? How might a deeper understanding of Whiteness within myself lead me to reevaluate this project's data?

- How might this project, even though presented as a counter-narrative, be implicated in the support of oppressive Master Narratives?

- How might developments from the dialogue circle in this study show up in the practice of these WFPTs in their own classrooms? How might their practice change over time?

- How might a more deeply nuanced understanding of race in these WFPTs continue to develop over time? How might these understandings show up in the practice of teaching?

Questions for the Field of MTE

- What in the experiences of WFPTs before they enter a teacher education program might be important for developing a deep understanding of race, social justice, and the desire to use the classroom as a site for social change?

- How might problematizing concepts like *colorblindness* or *stereotypes* affect the perception of WFPTs as research participants? As students in MTE coursework? As teachers?

- How might focusing on diversity within WFPTs shift focus away from more oppressed populations, overshadowing their power and privilege?

- How might problematizing words like *diverse* and *privileged*, particularly when used as antonyms, affect research in MTE and the ways in which WFPTs are defined and understood?

Limitations

There were many limitations to this study, many questions that remained unanswered either due to the design of the study or to insufficient background knowledge. I present below two of the largest limitations, the *number of participants* and the *lack of a deeper theoretical grounding*.

Number of Participants

In this study, I chose to work with a small group of WFPTs to encourage active dialogue participation from all the participants. However, this choice also came with limitations. Primarily, I am unable to predict how all or even most WFPTs would react to this dialogic method presented in similar ways; that is, this study is not generalizeable. The participants in this study (primarily Rachel) were immediately willing to challenge the colorblindness they heard professed by others, particularly members of their families; in fact, they wanted to know how to interact with people who claimed to be colorblind. I do not assume this would be common to all WFPTs. The literature includes several descriptions in which WFPTs appear as blank slates when related to racism (Hollins & Guzman, 2005; Sleeter, 2008). In short, the small number of participants limits any predictions about how other WFPTs might react to a similar dialogue circle. However, this study might allow for transferability to other contexts; to that end, the thick

descriptions in Chapters 6 and 7 are intended to provide information about the planning and execution of this project so that others researchers or practitioners might be able to adapt this project's design to their own studies and classrooms.

Likewise, the small number of participants limits any predictions about how participants may react if this method of dialogic pedagogy were attempted with a larger group. Evidence from this study indicates that the participants in this study recognized this limitation, a concern that the group discussed in Meeting V (p. 159), and presented in more detail below. Taking a dialogic model of six participants and applying it to a teacher education classroom of around 15 students or a P-12 classroom of around 25 students would require much adaptation, thought, and design. I do think some of the success I saw in this dialogue circle could be attributed to our size; I do not know what success could be expected with a larger group.

Lack of a Deeper Theoretical Grounding

Under implications for theory, I discussed what to me is a new distinction between *inferences* and *stereotypes*. However, I do not assume that this implication is new to the field of MTE. In fact, I look forward to pursuing this idea in several fields to learn what has already been written, both about the methods by which humans make prejudgments and about the theoretical ramifications of those judgments. I am particularly interested in learning if someone has developed methods to gauge the multiple uses of these prejudgments. In future research, I would find such information useful in revising this method for developing preservice teachers as change agents. While this represents more of a conceptual journey for me as a researcher than an

empirical question, a deeper understanding of such literature might assist me in developing research questions that build on current research and push in new directions.

Likewise, an even larger limitation was my own lack of grounding in a wider array of race literature. My theoretical grounding in CRT focused on issues of race primarily in terms of Black and White, as developed from the history of the United States. However, a prominent critique of CRT is that it does not look beyond this Black/White binary paradigm of race (Perea, 2000), which has led to developments like LatCrit Theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Issues like Whiteness (Martinez, 2000) and multiple identity (Haney López, 2000) appear different in this LatCrit paradigm.

The diverse classroom is not simply an issue of Black and White, and these multiple identities and realities related to language, sexual orientation, gender identification, ethnicity, culture, nationality, and socioeconomic status should be taken into account when encouraging WFPTs to think about diversity. A deeper understanding of issues like immigration, language rights, and multi-identity (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) might be necessary for a WFPT to understand more fully the multiple ways race works in the classroom.

Conclusion and Final Thoughts

Evidence from this study indicated that the promotion of dialogue for relational pluralism might present a counter-narrative to monologic, White Master Narratives of individual merit. As this dissertation becomes the basis for my own ongoing research agenda, and as I take my place as a teacher educator, I hope to continue to develop counter-narratives as a teacher educator and as a researcher in the field of MTE.

When Meeting V was coming to a close, I began to develop a list of concerns from the participants (pp. 161-162) as they moved into their first full-time teaching placements. I returned to this list several times during the process of data analysis and now close with these concerns to paint a picture of the participants as they move beyond WFPTs and become teachers empowered as change agents. The participants worried about what would happen if the dialogic organization of their classrooms broke down, either because the students no longer wanted to participate or because they became too emotional to maintain reciprocity. This concern is important to me as well and takes the form of the question, If I can facilitate a successful dialogue circle with five other people, what does it look like for a class of fifteen or twenty? I do not yet have an answer for that question, but I expect the participants and I will begin to develop answers as we move into our own classrooms. Evidence from this study indicates that the participants now have a deeper understanding of and commitment to dialogic pedagogy. However, understanding and commitment might look very different in practice. Following these WFPTs into their own classrooms may require regular reevaluation of these understandings and commitments as their practical experience increases.

The participants worried about interference from beyond the classroom, whether from administrators who do not approve of dialogic methods or from parents who may fear their children sharing intimate family secrets. Again, I share this fear. What happens if I am teaching in a department that prefers "status quo approaches" to teacher education and thinks MTE can be addressed adequately in one or two courses added to the general education curriculum? Evidence from this study indicates that some participants, Rachel in particular, welcome the challenge of opposing viewpoints and feel

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prepared to use dialogue as a method for communicating effectively with all members of a school community. Even extra-curricular interactions are themselves arenas for possible change through the introduction of dialogue. Perhaps the participants will be able to shape their administrations' views of what makes a good teacher. Perhaps I will be able to help develop a teacher education program that questions notions of general teacher education and begins to see MTE as the entirety of teacher education.

Finally, the participants were worried about what happens when dialogic pedagogy does not work, or at least does not work quickly enough to encourage an ongoing commitment. I also share this fear but to a lesser degree. That is, I had these fears a year ago when first developing my theoretical framework and pedagogical context. What if my study is a failure? What if none of the participants think this is worthwhile? What if I make no contribution to the field? I now have had the opportunity to put some of these fears to rest. Evidence from this study suggests that the participants found the project worthwhile and will be different teachers because of it. For example, deeper understandings of race have already begun to lead the participants to reevaluations of many things previously taken for granted, like how best to teach a specific student or what to expect from a local community. Likewise, the limitations of this study demonstrate possible needs for ongoing study, linking this project to a longer career.

This study was designed and executed to address two questions: (1) What might teacher education that prepares a teacher to see the classroom as a site for social change look like? and (2) How might I, as a teacher educator, develop teachers to see the classroom as a site for social change? Evidence from this study suggests that preparing teachers to see the classroom as a site for social change includes explicit instruction about

race and racism that may lead to deeper understandings of issues that prevent social justice in schools, like teachers who claim to be colorblind or the belief that racism is simply an individual issue. Likewise, instruction in dialogic pedagogy as classroom practice method may support the ideal of relational pluralism and disrupt notions of individual merit and privilege. Finally, specific time set aside for teacher educators and WFPTs to explore their own understandings of race and racial development may be important to understand more deeply the experiences of other teachers and students.

To address question two, evidence from this study suggests that, as a teacher educator, my personal understandings of and instruction in dialogic pedagogy may have ramifications for my ability to transmit dialogic pedagogy both as content and method. Likewise, the shallowness or depth of my own understanding of multiple critical racial theories may affect how deeply I am able to encourage my students to think about issues of race and racism. Finally, I believe a commitment to the ideal of relational pluralism may encourage my students to embrace all the individuals found in a school community as people from whom they can learn and whom they should value.

In this chapter, I have provided several implications and limitations arising from the findings presented as narratives in Chapters 6 and 7. The narratives in Chapters 6 and 7 were intended to run counter to a Master Narrative defined in preceding chapters. In Chapter 2, I used this project's Social Context to define a Master Narrative of individual merit. In Chapter 3, I used this project's Theoretical Context to define a Master Narrative of Whiteness. In Chapter 4, I used this project's Academic Context to situate this study in the field of MTE. In Chapter 5, I used this project's Pedagogical Context to define a Master Narrative of monologue. In Chapter 1, I introduced this project's two primary

research questions and defined relational pluralism as the ideal toward which this project

moved in attempting to empower White female preservice teachers to see the classroom

as a site for social change through dialogue and counter-narrative.

MULTICULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION LITERATURE REVIEWED

Title	Overview	Images of Preparation	Definitions of Diversity	View of Research
Foundational MTE Literature of the 1990s				
Haberman (1996)	Comparison of universal and contextual education Description of universal and contextual methods for selecting preservice teachers	Posits a new form of contextual urban teacher education as a replacement for "traditional" teacher education	Critiques traditional operationalizations of diversity as indications of special needs	Denounces lack of multiple paradigms present in teacher education Critique of institutional barriers to working backwards
Ladson-Billings (1999)	Critical review, cited by the mainstream, using critical race theory	Critical Race Theory as a tool for developing critical multicultural teacher education	Critique of MTE as add-on Critique of the institution as complicit in deficiency operationalizations of diversity	Demographic imperative is one directed at dysconscious racism and social change
MTE Literature Reviews of the 2000s				
Sleeter (2001)	Review of 119 studies using some form of data to make a claim; wider definition of what counts as research Focused on research in recruitment-selection, preservice curriculum, and institutional reform	More failure than success at trying to have White preservice teachers "get it" White preservice teachers are willing to discuss theoretical change but not change affecting them as individuals	Overwhelming presence of Whiteness in the field Diversity seen as Whiteness versus Otherness	Working with White preservice teachers as place holder until there are more preservice teachers of color Ontological belief in focusing on recruitment
Cochran-Smith, Davies, & Fries (2004)	Review of 153 articles including conceptual and empirical work in MTE Texts evaluated using Cochran-Smith's (2003) framework of 8 questions and 4 outside forces	Disconnect between conceptual work and empirical work Call to map backward from effective PK-12 teaching	Whiteness is seen as monolithic while terms like "diverse" and "White" unproblematized Historical discussion of diversity in terms of deficiency	Responsibility for disconnect on both sides of the conceptual/practical divide Neither side focuses on social activism
Hollins & Guzman (2005)	Review of 101 studies Organized along chronology: Predispositions, Practical Outcomes, Preservice Teachers of Color, and Programs	Positive, mixed, and negative results that are inconclusive because of insufficient basis for comparisons	MTE for the benefit of those who are not White White seen as separate from Diverse	Field is looking for outcomes Call for longitudinal work investigating impact on student learning and teaching practice.
Sleeter (2008)	Selected Data-based research published post 1980 for which participants were primarily White. No further definition of criteria except what she was looking for: (1) examined effects of an intervention, (2) connection between teacher education and teacher learning.	White preservice teachers: (1) bring little awareness of racism, (2) have lower expectations for students of color, (3) are ignorant of communities of color, (4) lack awareness of their own cultural identity	"White" and "of Color" used as apparent opposites. What it means to be either is not examined.	Need teacher education that prepares White teachers in ways that are "better" than average Findings drawn from "Empirical Research" but term is undefined. Of 157 references listed: 7 are from 2005 or later; 51 are from 2000-2004.
Beyond the Reviews of MTE				

Mansfield & Kehoe (1994)	A review and analysis of the Canadian government's policies of anti-racist education	Teachers must be willing to attempt education as a political act, against the outcry of some.	Previous multicultural attempts only reinforced the status quo. Must instead politicize anti-racist education.	Critique of reductive element in anti-racist education. Tendency to see institutionalized racism as Black/White issue. We need combination of anti-racist and multicultural education.
Lawrence (1997)	Interview study of three White preservice teachers using Helms (1990) model as analysis tool.	Field experiences with practicing teachers can be difficult when practicing teachers display racist attitudes and words.	Many White students call themselves White but do not understand the larger implications.	Must problematize the idea that race does not matter in an all-White school. Racial identity development must be taken into account with preservice teachers.
Garmon (1998)	Study of the use of dialogue journals in preservice teacher education. 22 students in a multicultural education course. 21 use electronic journals.	Dialogue journals allow individual contact with each student, allowing teacher to understand how best to push students.	Diversity not directly addressed, but dialogue journals allow a teacher to see the diversity in each student and to push those students in their development of diversity awareness.	Many studies use dialogue journals but few have studies the use of dialogue journals. Electronic journaling led to deeper and more writing.
Clark & Medina (2000)	Study of a curriculum course for MEd students at The Ohio State University using the consumption and creation of narratives.	Multicultural narratives can be used effectively to promote discussions around issues of diversity, particularly by making the theoretical articles seem more real.	Multicultural narratives helped develop more critical ideas of diversity, particularly by disrupting notions based on stereotypes. Diversity in definitions of literacy also discussed.	Consumption and production of narratives are important tools in developing ongoing definitions of how preservice teachers learn.
Alvine (2001)	Reflection of multiple uses of autobiography, both as a doctoral candidate and as a teacher educator.	Exploring one's own literacy development through autobiography opens up preservice teachers to multiple views of literacy.	Literacy itself is a diverse area, as are the diverse ways different people become literate in various fields.	Autobiography as a research tool helps to make implicit notions explicit so that they can be analyzed.
Lewis Tetralogy (Lewis, Ketter, & Fabos, 2001; Lewis & Moje, 2003; Lewis & Ketter, 2004; Lewis & Ketter, 2008)	Four articles drawing on data from a book group focused on White teachers learning about White privilege and racism	Critical White Studies connecting micro-level interactions to macro concepts Critical multiculturalist discourse	Problematizing the mainstream operationalization of White versus Other Examines White tendencies	Demonstrates insufficiency of demographic imperative Critiques trend toward generalizations
Levine-Rasky (2001)	Report on three preservice teachers who differ in their support for MSRE (Multicultural Social Reconstructionist Education) from a group of 35.	Preservice teachers vary widely in their rejection of MSRE but are all mostly against MSRE. "Beth" is an exception against which "Denise" and "Sean" are compared.	"Visible Minorities" referred to in quotation marks; assumption made that all children benefit from MSRE.	Markers of support for MSRE used as an analytical tool: (1) Personal identification with inequality, (2) value critical pedagogy, (3) desire to learn more about inequality and its causes.
McCray, Sindelar, Kilgore, & Neal (2002)	Survey study (N=112) leading to interviews (N=6) on why African-American women decide to teach.	Women in the community, mothers, and female teachers have large impact on leading African-American women to become teachers.	The term "African-American" is used as the opposite of "White" but African-American is placed in a well described community and life context.	Connections between good mothering and good teaching may help develop methods for studying teacher efficacy and desire, as well as help in recruitment and retention.
St. Maurice (2002)	Self-study of supervisory practices using journals and case notes over 10 years	Summary of four case studies exemplifying termination practices	CRT presumes racist predilections, must make explicit the implied fractures in professional spaces, Only occurs when supervisor/cooperating teacher/student are of different races	Short-range issues: documentation, communication, discretion, concision, gaze of power, dividing practices Long-range issues: reflective action research, professional development
Au & Blake (2003)	Three participant case study in Hawai'i	Outsiders learn from field experiences while insiders	Specific definition of "diverse" as versus the	Case studies used to develop findings from both

	examining the impact of MTE for students who are not White.	learn from classwork and reflection.	"mainstream" and considering ethnicity, class, and language. Identity of researchers included.	individual and shared themes. Research should not assume universal impact of a teaching method.
Cochran-Smith (2003a, b)	Four teacher education illustrations from different points in professional lives	Examinations of race with preservice teachers Examinations of what it means to teach for social justice	Diversity mostly seen in racial terms because the piece focuses on fighting racism	Inquiry must be a stance in the overall enterprise of teaching To fight racism, must be more an insider TE must be conceptualized across the life of the teacher
Lane, Lacefield-Parachini, & Isken (2003)	Student teachers in two urban schools placed "against the grain" Two principals working with seminar	Student teachers had an impact on the cooperating teachers Relationship was bidirectional and recursive	Diversity focused on preparation for "urban" schools as defined via free/reduced lunch	Critical orientation leads to social action Need models of social activism for preservice teachers
Hines, Murphy, Pezone, Singer, & Stacki (2003)	New Teacher Network of Hofstra University Secondary Education Case study of NTN Interviews with graduates	Network helps teachers overcome inexperience and sense of isolation	Terms implying diversity are used for Non-White	Community is key to developing teachers New teacher networks need more attention
Leeman & Ledoux (2003)	Report on a project from the Dutch Ministry of Education on intercultural education: questionnaires and observations of intercultural teacher education.	Despite being mandated since the 1980s, intercultural education in Dutch schools has not been well-integrated into the curriculum.	The narrow approach to intercultural education leads to talk but little action in naming racism and discrimination.	The failure of integrating intercultural education in the schools is linked to poor teacher education in intercultural education.
Marx & Pennington (2003)	Pennington, three White student teachers student teaching in schools primarily serving students of color Marx, 2nd Language Acquisition course asking students to tutor ELLs for 10 hours, 9 White women	Goal of preparation is a positive White identity White preservice teachers must learn how to talk about race and how to work through defenses	Whiteness is a highly privileged social construction Examination of Whiteness through opening White discourse on White racism We must name implications of Whiteness in education	Turn to intervention ethnography and cultural therapy for more sufficient research models Create pedagogies of CRT for White preservice teachers Map ways in which White racism impacts student teachers
Milner (2003, 2007b)	Article advancing the concept of race reflection in cultural contexts.	Teacher education must consider several issues: (1) race reflection for White teachers and teachers of color, (2) racial mismatches between teacher and student, (3) pedagogical tools to enhance activities and discussions on race	"White" and "of Color" used as apparent opposites but placed in the context of racial reflection, reflection that challenges simple binaries both within oneself and with others. "Of Color" is discussed specifically as NOT a problem.	Race reflection should be central to teacher education. Reflection is posited in terms of journaling and dialogue. Research should continue to advance the concept of race reflection.
Quartz (2003)	Study of Center X's graduates Teacher ed program followed by Urban Educator Network with core principles	Build on strengths of urban communities Become a change agent Teaching as profession	Focus on "urban schools" and teacher education that takes diversity as a resource Diversity undefined, Participants not defined	Propose elements of preparation and support for teachers in urban schools, Back track from good examples in the field
Aveling (2004, 2006)	Case study of Aboriginal and Multicultural Education with 16 + 5 students meeting in discussion sessions	Students respond in ways in which their history and present come together Education with anti-racism focus must incorporate an	Boundaries of ethnicity, race, and power make function of Whiteness visible, "White ally" is ultimate ideal	Become much more explicit about White Ally Work on racism for your own sake

	Courses in Aboriginal and multicultural education, self-reflective study	experiential component	Notions of White and Whiteness are critically addressed, often placing the words in quotation marks, explores the author's own implied assumptions	
Proweller & Mitchener (2004)	Teacher interns in the Middle-Grades Science program with the Chicago Public Schools and UIC	The interns didn't have science experience while in school Forging relationships with students requires community awareness Science teaching should be used to teach critical thinking skills	Identities are created within a context and definitions of diversity require that context	Formal interviews, seminar notes, prompt responses, and observation notes combine to offer deep description of the programs
Sorrells, Schaller, & Yang (2004)	Modified Gibron and Dembo Teacher Efficacy Scale with African-American and European-American students (N=123) at an HBU.	Three efficacy factors emerge: ability, effort, and environment. African-American teachers score higher on environment but no statistical difference on the other two.	"African-American" and "European-American" are used as comparison groups and not defined. Context of the study is well-defined.	Research should develop methods for both African-American and European-American teachers, noting that the methods may differ among populations. There is little quantitative research in this area.
Carroll & Carney (2005)	iMovie is used by student teachers to present cultural identity during a teachers education course.	Preparing teachers who respond sensitively to diversity requires teachers who understand themselves culturally.	Terms are not explicitly defined, but culturally identity is presented as an individual space for reflection and presentation.	Connections are made between the student teachers reflection on identity and their efficacy in the classroom. Digital literacy tools can be important in this work.
Mcintyre (2006)	Middle-class student teachers with working-class students in participatory research project aimed at developing agency.	It is not enough to have fieldwork in other communities; student teachers need explicit instruction in how to develop agency in themselves and in their students.	Social class is presented as the primary marker of diversity; working-class and middle-class students defined by the differences in the education they receive.	Research should focus on issues of agency and how to develop tools and methods that lead to agency. Research should position student teachers and students as active agents of constructive change.
Lynn & Smith-Maddox (2007)	Report on Teacher Education Program and use of inquiry to engage student teachers in critical thinking.	Alternative learning spaces in teacher education that address observing, questioning, and inventing can lead to the development of social justice educators.	"African-American," "Anglo-American," "Mexican-American," and "Asian-American" used without definition but placed in a context recognizing that differences between student teachers and professors might have an impact.	Numerous efforts at change should not be seen as ends in themselves but means to an end of social justice. Problem-posing methods of research should be taught to student teachers.
McDonald (2005, 2007)	Two elementary teacher education programs Case study of five teachers at each program: observations, interviews, document collection	Insufficient for teachers to be redistribution agents; they must act on social action within a community	Demographic divide is a symbol of social injustice that will retreat with social activism	Uses Theory of Justice to design and critique effectiveness of research
Pewewardy (2005)	Report on using shared journaling in an undergraduate MTE course. Shared journaling as complement to other coursework and practice.	Effective teachers must address their own views and understand their own diverse identities.	Preservice teachers described as "White" and "middle-class" without further definition. Such markers of diversity are explored through shared journaling.	Established support systems do not allow attitudes developed in MTE course work to flourish. Research could focus on systemic and programmatic changes.
Rogers, Kramer, Mosley, Fuller, Light, Nehart,	Report on a voluntary professional development group of teachers and	Professional development should be more than learning discrete skills or	Racial, religious, and socioeconomic diversity listed among participants	Research could connect literacy education and social justice. Workshops

Jones, Beaman-Jones, DePasquale, Hobson, & Thomas (2005)	teacher educators aimed toward Literacy for Social Justice.	fulfilling requirements. Professional development can focus on social justice issues.	but not further defined. Placed in a narrative about a specific group.	cannot assume that all participants are at the same place.
Davis (2006)	20 preservice elementary science teachers	Preservice teachers need support to engage in critiquing the presentation of science material	Diversity not directly addressed but use of critique might be useful in development and recognition of individual and communal identity	Materials must be adapted to specific contexts Need investigation of community between novice and expert
Dooly (2006)	Report on 160 preservice teachers being prepared in a foreign country; six different countries included in the pilot study. Qualitative analysis of artifacts like journals and portfolios.	The ways teachers handle diversity has an impact on how students see themselves as world citizens. Teachers require intercultural competence if they will be effective educators of world citizens	Cultural, ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity listed, as well as implied nationality. These are contexts in which education happens.	Placing student teachers in foreign contexts helps them challenge their own ideas. Research should upend essentialist notions about education methods and purposes.
Friedman & Wallace (2006)	Three-year complex case study with multiple programmatic interventions Taped discussions, interviews Reflective essays	"Crossing borders" improves preparation of teachers Process can challenge personal beliefs	Understandings of race and beliefs posed in terms of borders to be crossed and examined Use of collaborative model	English, education, and HS faculty collaborate to prepare teachers for urban schools
Goldstein & Onore (2006)	Urban Teaching Academy designed to prepare teachers to teach in urban schools 78 student participants	High quality fieldwork (embeddedness) enables teachers to see possibilities and not deficiencies	Preparation for "inner city" requires attention to social justice and attendant struggles Diversity seen as a specialization but used to recruit specific attitudes and dispositions	High quality fieldwork (embeddedness) enables teachers to see possibilities and not deficiencies Methods must focus on context of individual within community Placement of program within a larger program may marginalize to some extent
Moore (2006)	Case study method by purposeful sampling of 10 diverse preservice teachers	Broader understandings of diversity Preservice teachers need support to develop positive dispositions Community is connected to curriculum	Ethnic and cultural diversity leads to broader understandings of diversity Diversity seems synonymous with Non-White Diversity is something either taught or for which one is prepared	Reflective writing and surveys combined to offer description of individual context Need to investigate perspectives of diversity, diverse learners, and teaching science in urban schools
Xu (2006)	Report on using the "ABC Model": (A)utobiography, (B)iography, (C)ross-cultural analysis, (C)ultural differences, (C)lassroom practices with preservice teachers while student teaching.	Preservice teachers must be familiar with their own cultures before exploring others. Exploring other cultures helps to identify	Preservice teachers defined as different from students. Importance of exploring identity in context and application to learning environments. Use of "diverse" literature.	Research should address literacy education for diverse populations. Research should support student teachers in seeing students as individuals.
Dixson & Dingus (2007)	Recounting of previous work with White preservice teachers	Preparation of preservice teachers must consider the message and the messenger	Diversity seen a primarily White students versus Black professors, but ability to change these monolithic identities is recognized and discussed Whiteness is property	Research must have a critical stance to investigate its own Whiteness
Lazar (2007)	Comparison of two literacy courses, one explicit about issues of cultural diversity and the other not	Explicit course with field experience had positive affect on beliefs, confidence, and interest	Diversity orientation is necessary in developing multiple definitions of literacy, what counts as	Combining questionnaires with cultural autobiographies develops context

		literacy	
McKinney, Berry, Dickerson, & Campbell-Whately (2007)	Develop the profile of high-quality educators who remain in urban high-poverty schools and identify indicators that influence them to remain	More about selecting the right profile to then be prepared Belief of being well-suited to the school is key	Focus on low-income communities and schools as places with specific needs	Recruiting and retaining teachers in high-poverty and urban schools is necessary focus
Spalding, Savage, & Garcias (2007)	Field experience in Poland with 12 preservice teachers investigating the Holocaust. Three case studies presented.	The "March of Remembrance and Hope" had significant impact on alignment toward social justice.	Case studies are presented in deep detail, outlining the diversity of the participants and their responses.	"Traditional" MTE has short-lasting impact but intensive programs like the MRH have more effect because they take time to process and provide an "authentic" experience.
McDaniel, Fayne, Constable, Knoblauch, Ryan, & Weiss (2008)	Self study of an Urban Teaching Group of teacher educators in Columbus, OH. Coursework and field experience combined.	Different take on the field experience; that is, teacher educators should be familiar with the diverse classroom so that they can teach their own preservice teachers better.	Ethnic, racial, and socio-economic diversity mentioned. Students are seen as diverse while preservice teachers are not diverse. Teacher Educators are described individually for diversity context.	Research involving self study of teacher educators can produce findings impacting how they then teach preservice teachers. Helps to put the teacher educators in the shoes of the preservice teachers.
McKinney, Haberman, Stafford-Johnson, & Robinson (2008)	Study of teacher profile that leads to retention in high-poverty schools using a 15-point list of characteristics of effective teachers for interview selection (N=54) leading to an Urban Retention Survey (N=32)	Older, experienced, African-American teachers are more likely to be retained in a high-poverty school. Urban, high-poverty schools need a "STAR Teacher" in every classroom.	Diversity in the schools is "urban high-poverty" or "low-achieving" versus some unnamed other. Teacher profiles include demographics like "African-American."	Backtracking research from successful teachers can impact how preservice teachers are selected, taught, and supported.
Pugach, Longwell-Grice, Ford, & Surma (2008)	Analysis of 15 exit portfolios of preservice teachers from program preparing them for urban schools. Looking for types of evidence available from portfolios.	Preservice teachers can be arranged on a scale defined by "Principled Practitioners" ←→ "Mixed Profiles" ←→ "Limited Practice." Using different profiles leads teacher educators to scaffold lessons differently.	Diversity is investigated by looking at the definitions of various preservice teachers. Principled Practitioners defined diversity individually with each student with movement toward social justice.	Portfolios represent an important data source for assessing preservice teacher programs. Portfolios analyzed holistically.

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CONSENT FORM, INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS, GROUP MEETING MATERIALS

Consent Form

This informed consent document applies to adult graduate students.

Name of participant: _____ Age: _____

The following information is provided to inform you about the research project and your participation in it. Please read this form carefully and feel free to ask any questions you may have about this study and the information given below. You will be given an opportunity to ask questions, and your questions will be answered. You will be given a copy of this consent form.

Dear Student;

You are being asked to participate in a study conducted by Vanderbilt University about redefining race. As part of this study, I would like to spend some time collecting data from small group discussions, spend some time observing you during student teaching, and interview you individually. The study will last from August 2008 to March of 2009. I believe this study may help us better understand multiple definitions of race and the way those definitions are used in the classroom. I believe this study may help to prepare you to teach in a diverse classroom. This study is being conducted by Judson Laughter, a doctoral candidate from the Department of Teaching and Learning as his dissertation project. You are one of up to six (6) participants in this study.

My research data collection will consist of both small group, individual, and observational activities. During six small group meetings each lasting 2 to 3 hours, you will be asked to participate in a small group of up to six participants and me in various ways, both through conversation and written artifacts you will be asked to produce. These artifacts will include the following:

- A Racial Awareness Autobiography describing your personal development and understanding in the area of race and ethnicity. This will take 1 to 2 hours to write and will be collected during the subsequent meeting.
- A Personal Reflection Journal used to capture current thinking and understanding around race and ethnicity. This will take 10 to 30 minutes to write and will be written at least after each group meeting.

- A Dialogue Journal shared between you and me about your practice in the student teaching classroom. This will take 10 to 30 minutes to write and will be written at least after each observation.

Here are examples of some topics we may discuss during a meeting:

- Definitions of race
- Racial identity development
- Texts that discuss or address race
- Practical applications in the classroom involving race

During three interviews lasting 1 to 1.5 hours, you be asked to engage in a conversation around some general questions. These interviews, will be based on the small-group conversations and will include only you and me. Here are examples of some possible questions I may ask you during an interview:

- What do you need to know as a teacher about your students?
- What do you need to know as a teacher about the communities your students come from?
- What do you need to know as a teacher about the culture of the school.
- How do you assess students equitably?
- What do you take into account when assessing a student?
- How do you define the terms race, ethnicity, and culture?
- How do you recognize these in another person or in yourself?
- How do the ideas of race, ethnicity, and culture affect your students or you as a teacher?

During student teaching in the spring of 2009, I will observe you in the classroom four times for one class period during which you are teaching. I will record the observation with my notes that may be shared with you if you like; I will not share them with anyone else.

Both the small group meetings and the interviews will be video- and audio-recorded and any written artifacts will be collected. Your name will be replaced with a pseudonym on all artifacts I collect. Audio and video recordings will be transcribed for analysis and stored digitally on my personal computer. All recordings and artifacts will be kept secure and not seen by anyone other than me.

None of the information you provide or that I collect during the research process will be used in any way to evaluate you academically. I will take every precaution to protect your privacy: I will not use your real name, the name of the university, or the name of the city in which the research takes place. All research data including documents, notes, artifacts, audio- and video-tapes will either be stored in locked cabinets in the Wyatt Center in my personal pod space on my personal password-protected computer. The collected data will be kept indefinitely for possible reanalysis but it will always be secured.

Future audiences of my research who may view the data and my analyses include researchers, teacher educators, and others who are concerned with teacher development at the preservice level. Because these data will be shared publicly, there is some risk of you being identified in videos that are shown. If you should participate, I will take every precaution to protect your anonymity when I present our findings, but I cannot guarantee that others participants will not repeat what was said or discuss what occurred during the meeting(s). If you do not agree to allow videos with you presented to others, or if you decided to remove yourself from the study at any time, your image will be digitally removed or blurred from any recordings shared with others.

The content of the study interviews and group meetings will revolve around what may be difficult or emotional topics. I will take every precaution to maintain the interviews and group meetings as safe places where communication and honesty are valued and supported through open dialogue and a sense of group purpose. It is possible that you will be asked to confront deeply held beliefs; I will try to make this process gradual and at a pace agreeable to you. This study will ask for a significant amount of time, including three interviews lasting 1 to 1.5 hours and five group meetings lasting 2 to 3 hours; in scheduling these, I will do my best to find times that are mutually agreeable.

The benefits to you of participation in these research activities are that they may increase your awareness of important aspects of instruction for diverse learners and lead to improved practice and esteem in your professions as a teacher.

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary and no payment will be provided for your participation. If you decide to participate in the study and then at a later date decide to withdraw from the study, there will be no consequences or penalty regarding your academic standing. Furthermore, if at any time in the study you wish to withdraw your permission for any specific piece of information collected, your request will be honored. In the event new information becomes available that may affect the risks or benefits associated with this research study or your willingness to participate in it, you will be notified so that you can make an informed decision whether or not to continue your participation in this study.

If you should have any questions about this research study or possible injury, please feel free to contact me at jud.laughter@vanderbilt.edu or 615.292.9034 (home) or 615.260.2588 (cell). You may also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Rich Milner, at rich.milner@vanderbilt.edu.

For additional information about giving consent or your rights as a participant in this study, please feel free to contact the Vanderbilt University Institutional Review Board Office at (615) 322-2918 or toll free at (866) 224-8273.

STATEMENT BY PERSON AGREEING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY
I have read this informed consent document and the material contained in it has been explained to me verbally. All my questions have been answered, and I freely and voluntarily choose to participate in the following research activities.

These research activities are required for participation:

1. One-on-one interviews with Jud Laughter   YES   NO

2. Small group discussions with up to 6 participants and 1 researcher YES   NO

3. Observations by Jud Laughter during student teaching   YES   NO

4. Audio recordings of Interviews   YES   NO

5. Audio and Video recordings of group discussions   YES   NO

6. Collection/analysis of documents or other artifacts I produce   YES   NO

These research activities are not required for participation:

7. Video recording of interviews   YES   NO

8. Sharing of my video and/or audio image(s) with professional audiences YES   NO

9. Sharing of data with professional audiences   YES   NO

_____   _____
Date   Signature of participant

Consent obtained by:

_____   _____
Date   Signature

                                                   _____Judson C. Laughter, Principal Investigator_____
                                                   Printed Name and Title

Interview I Protocol

Opening questions are <u>underlined</u> with possible follow-up questions in *italics*.

<u>Tell me about yourself: What do I need to know to be able to tell your story?</u>
> *Short life history*
> *Self definitions of race, ethnicity, gender, etc.*
> *Why do you want to be a teacher? Where does that come from?*

<u>What is the purpose of education?</u>
> *What is success for a teacher? For students?*
> *Do you have an overarching goal? What is it?*

<u>What do you need to know as a teacher?</u>
> *About your students?*
> *About the communities your students come from?*
> *About the culture of the school?*

<u>How do you assess students equitably?</u>
> *What do you take into account when assessing a student?*
> *Are there such things as objective measures?*

<u>What is Diversity?</u>
> *How do you define diversity? Race?*
> *How do you recognize the race in another person? In yourself?*
> *Where does race come from?*

<u>Where is Diversity in the classroom?</u>
> *How do you affect your students?*
> *How do your students affect you?*
> *How does diversity affect what you find important? What your students find important?*
> *Are you willing to address diversity in the classroom? On behalf of those not present?*

<u>Where is Diversity in you?</u>
> *What is the effect of diversity on you? On your thinking? On your beliefs? On your actions?*

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Interview II Protocol

Opening questions are <u>underlined</u> with possible follow-up questions in *italics*.

<u>What is the purpose of education?</u>
  What is success for a teacher? For students?
  Do you have an overarching goal? What is it?
  What does it mean to be a change agent?

<u>What is Diversity?</u>
  How do you define diversity? Race?
  How do you recognize the race in another person? In yourself?
  Where does race come from?

<u>Where is Diversity in your classroom?</u>
  How do you affect your students? How do your students affect you?
  How does diversity affect what you find important? What your students find important?
  Are you willing to address diversity in the classroom? On behalf of those not present?

<u>Outcomes: What were the outcomes of this project for you?</u>
  What have you learned about dialogue? About praxis? About race?
  How has this project changed your teaching? Your classroom design? You?
  What kind of teacher will you be next year?

<u>Process: How did the process of this project affect you?</u>
  How does the individual praxis of race work in you?
  How does the communal praxis work in you?
  What do you think of this project's design?

Individual Praxis on Racial Diversity

Individual	Categorical Absolutes	← →	Situated Identities
Knowledge of Race	I believe race is a static category, whether biological or sociological, into which people are born and by which all people can be classified.	I believe race is a concept that is historically developed but that can be used within a certain time and place to measure and quantify groups of people.	I believe race is historically developed but always changing; multiple forces influence what people mean by race and these forces must be taken into account when using such a category.
Action of Race	When I meet people, I know what race they are immediately and know many things about them because of their race.	When I meet people, I know that race means many things to may people but stereotypes have some basis in fact and they're somewhat helpful if taken critically.	When I meet people, I understand that they are individual products of social and individual forces and I must engage them as individuals to know their identities.
Reflection of Race	When I think about race, I think about other people and the ways in which they are not like me.	When I think about race, I think about a societal construct that is used by many people in many ways; I must be careful not to use race in a way that is destructive to others.	When I think about race, I think about a unique mixture of historical and local developments that hurt some and help others; I must work against racial oppression for the benefit of everyone, including me.

Communal Praxis on Racial Diversity

Communal	Categorical Absolutes	← →	Situated Identities
Diversity	Our dialogue focuses on racial diversity as a static category, whether biological or sociological, into which people are born and by which all people can be classified.	Our dialogue focuses on racial diversity as a concept that is historically developed but that can be used within a certain time and place to measure and quantify groups of people.	Our dialogue focuses on racial diversity as historically developed but changing; multiple forces influence what we mean by race and must be taken into account when using such a category.
Democracy	When we talk about the ways people use race, democracy means giving everyone the same thing because everyone has equal chance to succeed.	When we talk about the ways people use race, democracy means recognizing past mistakes and providing accommodations for those people who have been oppressed.	When we talk about the ways people use race, democracy represents a process that recognizes the needs of separate communities and encourages them to realize these needs in mutually beneficial ways.
Dialogue	When we dialogue about race, we all know what we are talking about and do not need to spend time understanding each other's definitions because they are all the same.	When we dialogue about race, we talk about a lot of different meanings and need to come to consensus before we move forward.	When we dialogue about race, we have to think about and compare our definitions with each other, with historical development, and with other lived realities.

Attitude to Partner

Partner	Critical	← →	Inclusive
Participation	I do not trust my partner and so do not offer my complete truth.	I trust my partner some what and feel comfortable talking about some things but not others.	I trust my partner and feel comfortable that even difficult topics will receive a sympathetic ear.
Commitment	I do not see the value in this dialogue and so will continue only because I receive some external benefit (like free food).	I seem some value in this dialogue because it is fun to talk about different points of view; I am open to learning something from my partner.	I see value in this dialogue because I and my partner are both changed in our interactions with other's realities.
Reciprocity	I think my point of view is the correct one and do not want to talk to someone who does not agree, or who cannot be made to agree, with me.	I think my point of view is the correct one, but I am open to learning something new from someone else's point of view; I could be wrong.	I think my point of view is the correct one for my own historical and material context, but my point of view benefits from exploring the historical and material contexts of other people.

Attitude to Purpose

Purpose	Divergent	← →	Convergent
Participation	I will participate in this dialogue because I gain something from it but I will be guarded so as to prevent people from learning things about me I do not want them to know.	I will participate in this dialogue because I can learn from other people and they can learn from me, but I do not think I am going to change significantly.	I will participate in this dialogue fully because open and truthful sharing results in all of us developing, whether or not we agree on every point.
Commitment	I do not want to talk to someone who does not agree with me because that does not allow for dialogue; I cannot learn anything from someone who disagrees with me.	I think it is okay to agree to disagree because sometimes you just cannot agree on everything.	I am committed to seeing myself as capable of change; what may look like disagreement is really just the mutually beneficial conflict of different identities.
Reciprocity	Dialogue results in people knowing too much about you, information they could use against you.	Dialogue results in the comparison of ideas from which I can learn something new.	Dialogue results in coming to know others and yourself more fully through the mutual sharing of lived realities.

Evidence of Success

Investigation	Individual Universalism	← →	Relational Pluralism
Emergence and Enduring Consequence	This pedagogical design has changed the participants little or even entrenched further their previous stereotypes.	This pedagogical design has changed the participants in theory but it is hard to see this change in action.	This pedagogical design has changed the participants and they evidence this change beyond the small group.
Practice and Practicing	Participants do not see any value in dialogue and prefer to maintain institutional distinctions between teacher and student.	Participants say they find dialogue important but try to manufacture it on their own by repeating a series of a priori instructions.	Participants are able to employ dialogue critically on their own and seek relational pluralism beyond the small group.
Plural Ways of Knowing	Participants believe there is a single reality that can be taught as truth; a teacher's job is to translate this reality efficiently.	Participants believe that there are multiple realities but that a teacher's job is to translate a reality established a priori.	Participants believe that each individual has a lived reality and that teaching will be most successful when taking these realities into account.
Relational Practice	Participants believe that some students succeed and some fail and a teachers job is to provide equal opportunity to everyone.	Participants believe that all students can succeed but that some students need more help than others to reach the same level of success.	Participants believe that all students do succeed in multiple ways and brings these multiple means of success to light in the classroom.
Significance	The participants believe that relational pluralism is a nice idea but is not practical and does not have a place in the classroom.	The participants understand the value of relational pluralism and work the classroom to effect social change for the benefit of the students.	The participants come to adopt relational pluralism as their own ideal and work in the classroom to effect social changes that benefit everyone, including the teacher.

Racial Development Autobiography Description

The Racial Development Autobiography is included here for two reasons: (1) to promote trust among the participants and investigator through the sharing and analysis of stories and (2) as a reflective measure against which participants can measure growth in the area of racial identity development. The genesis of the autobiography is found in the work of Dr. Rich Milner and the requirements of his course EDUC 3080: Diversity Issues and Perspectives in Education.

Participants will write a Racial Development Autobiography describing their own development as a racial being. Participants may find it useful to question family members or friends about specific stories or moments in their lives where race became salient in some way. This is an exercise in narrative development, and as such the personal memories and recollections of participants are valid as created data and personal representation.

Participants may find it useful to refer to the Helms (1990) model of White Identity Development that will be presented and discussed before they are asked to write the autobiography. It is hoped that this written artifact will include not just summative statements of racial development but will also begin to take a critical stance of that development. Photographs or other memorabilia may help in this process.

Some guiding questions that may help participants formulate their thoughts include the following: When was the first time I saw myself as a raced being? What was the context? What particular experiences have helped shape my racial development?

Helms (1990) Model of White Identity Development as Defined by Tatum (1992, 1994)

(Two Phases: Abandonment of Racism & Defining a Non-Racist Identity)

Contact: People in this status are oblivious to racism, lack an understanding of racism, have minimal experiences with Black people, and may profess to be color-blind. Societal influence in perpetuating stereotypes and the superior/inferior dichotomy associated between Blacks and Whites are not noticed, but accepted unconsciously without critical thought or analysis. Racial and cultural differences are considered unimportant and these individuals seldom perceive themselves as "dominant" group members, or having biases and prejudices.

Disintegration: One becomes conflicted over unresolvable racial moral dilemmas that are frequently perceived as polar opposites: believing one is nonracist, yet not wanting one's child to marry a minority group member; believing that "all men are created equal," yet society treating Blacks as second class citizens; and not acknowledging that oppression exists while witnessing it. The person becomes increasingly conscious of his or her

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Whiteness and may experience dissonance and conflict between choosing between own-group loyalty and humanism.

Reintegration: Because of the tremendous influence that societal ideology exerts, initial resolution of dissonance often moves in the direction of the dominant ideology associated with race and one's own socioracial group identity. This stage may be characterized as a regression, for the tendency is to idealize one's socioracial group and to be intolerant of other minority groups. There is firmer and more conscious belief in White racial superiority and racial/ethnic minorities are blamed for their own problems.

Pseudo-Independence: A person is likely to move into this phase due to a painful or insightful encounter or event, which jars the person from Reintegration status. The person begins to attempt an understanding of racial, cultural, and sexual orientation differences and may reach out to interact with minority group members. The choice of minority individuals, however, is based on how "similar" they are to him or her, and the primary mechanism used to understand has not reached the experiential and affective domains. In other words, understanding Euro-American White privilege, the sociopolitical aspects of race, and issues of bias, prejudice, and discrimination tend to be more an intellectual exercise.

Immersion/Emersion: If the person is reinforced to continue a personal exploration of himself or herself as a racial being, questions become focused on what it means to be White. Helms states that the person searchers for understanding of the personal meaning of racism and the ways by which one benefits from White privilege. There is an increasing willingness to truly confront one's own biases, to redefine Whiteness, and to become more activistic in directly combating racism and oppression. This stage is marked with increasing experiential and affective understandings that were lacking in the previous status.

Autonomy: Increasing awareness of one's own Whiteness, reduced feelings of guilt, acceptance of one's role in perpetuating racism, renewed determination to abandon White entitlement leads to autonomy. The person is knowledgeable about racial, ethnic, and cultural differences, values the diversity, and is no longer fearful, intimidated, or uncomfortable with the experiential reality of race. Development of a nonracist white identity becomes increasingly strong.

Montagu, A. (1997). *Man's most dangerous myth: The fallacy of race* (**6**th **ed.).**
  Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira.

What racists "believe to be the three genetically inseparable links which constitute 'race': The first is the phenotype or physical appearance of the individual, the second is the intelligence of the individual, and the third is the ability of the group to which the individual belongs to achieve a high civilization." (p. 31)

Myths are most effective and perilous when they remain unrecognized for what they are… In short, the functional role of myth is to provide a sanction for a course of action. (p. 41)

Myths are not polite euphemisms for falsehoods, but are combinations of images and symbols that reflect a people's way of perceiving truth. (Citing Gaston, p. 42)

The myth of race refers not to the fat that physically distinguishable populations of humans exist, but rather to the belief that races are populations or peoples whose physical differences are innately linked with significant differences in mental capacities, and that these innate hierarchical differences are measurable by the cultural achievements of such populations. (p. 44)

Racism is conduct based on the belief that physical and behavioral differences characterizing individual members of different groups or populations are determined by genetic, that is, innate factors, and that these differences enable one to rank each individual and group in the scale of humanity according to the attributed predefined values of those differences. (p. 47)

Racism is endemic in the United States, and affects every one of its institutions… (p. 55)

The typical statement of the racist position is that something called "race" is the prime determiner of all the important traits of body and soul, of character and personality, of human beings and nations. And it is further alleged that this thing called "race" is a fixed and unchangeable part of the germ plasm, which, transmitted from generation to generation, unfolds in each people as a characteristic expression of personality and culture. (p. 55)

The rise of racism as an endemic disorder is associated with slavery and the growing opposition to it, so that it is not until the second half of the eighteenth century that one begins to encounter its development. (p. 56, see following)

Within any society, in earlier times, men might be persecuted or made the object of discrimination on the grounds of differences in religion, culture, politics, or class, but

never on any biological grounds such as are implied in the idea of racial differences. (p. 59)

The concept developed as a direct result of the trade in slaves by European merchants. It is of even greater interest and importance to note that as long as the trade was taken for granted and no one raised a voice against it, or at least a voice that was heard, the slaves, though treated as chattels, were nonetheless conceded to be human in every sense but that of attainments. (p. 60)

Humankind was essentially one… It was not until the economic relations between Europe and peoples of other remote countries had given rise to the necessity of defining their place in nature that attempts were made to deal with this question. (p. 68)

The idea of race was, in fact, the deliberate creation of an exploiting class seeking to maintain and defend its privileges against what was profitably regarded as an inferior social caste. (p. 72)

The obvious difference in their social status, in cast status, was equated with their obviously different physical appearance, which, in turn, was taken to indicate a fundamental biological difference. Thus was a culturally produced difference in social status converted into a difference in biological status. (p. 76)

The manner in which such genes are distributed within a population such as the United States is determined not so much by biological factors as by social ones. (p. 117)

Every normal physical trait must be appraised as equally valuable for the respective functions which it is called upon to perform… In these very traits the black is from the evolutionary standpoint more advanced than the white (pp. 130, 133)

Race in reality hardly ever functions as a word, but almost always as an event, an emotion, an experience, an action. (p. 175)

Language especially seduces us into believing that every noun is a thing, and that things are enduring and permanent… *The meaning of a word is the action it produces*. No matter is words and beliefs are false, if men define them as real, they will be real in their consequences. (p. 176)

Anti-racist uses of education and community projects: pp. 178-179

A caste may be defined briefly as a specific, socially limited status group, or more fully as an hereditary and endogamous group, occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other such groups. (p. 180)

The upper-class male generally elevates the woman he chooses to marry to his own class; the lower-class male generally reduces his wife and children to his own class. (p. 182)

Among the strongest supporters of the view that the upper classes are not only socially but biologically superior to the lower classes are those who have themselves recently migrated from the lower into the ranks of the upper classes. (p. 183)

"Race" is a term that refers to a process representing a series of genetically active temporary or episodic conditions, always in process of change. (p. 194)

Race prejudice… is a socially sanctioned and socially learned attitude. It is a ready-made and culturally accepted outlet for various forms of hostility and feelings of frustration. (p. 200)

It is only when a system of cultural values extols, virtually above all else, certain common symbols of success *for the population at large*, while its social structure rigorously restricts or completely eliminates access to approved modes of acquiring these symbols for a considerable part of the same population, that antisocial behavior ensues on a considerable scale. (p. 209, citing Merton)

Psychological Factors (pp. 225-252): Discussions of the psychological differences between high-extremes and low-extremes in prejudice
-"The extra-individual conflicts between the two racial groups are but the intra-individual conflicts within the mind writ large." (p. 233, citing MacCrone)
-The strongly prejudiced person seeks certainty through the use of dichotomized absolutes. (p. 235)
-Description of the "very tolerant" (pp. 236ff)

But if we are to make progress in ethnic relations, it is desirable to recognize that tolerance is not good enough, for tolerance defines an attitude which constitutes a somewhat reluctant admission of the necessity of enduring that which we must bear, the presence of those whom we do not like… By fairness… is meant the attitude of mind which takes it for granted… that for all their individual differences no human being is really superior to another by virtue of his group affiliation. (p. 241)

When people have no moral justification for their beliefs or their conduct, they will invent them. (p. 246)

Cultural relativity implies that all cultures must be evaluated in relation to their own history, and carefully, not by the arbitrary standard of any single culture such, for example, as our own. (p. 258)

Perfection of human nature and achievements… is not obtained by the ascendancy of one form of excellence, but by the blending of what is best in many different forms; by harmonizing differences, not by rendering them more discordant. (p. 263)

Unity neither implies nor necessitates uniformity. It is important that human beings shall be united but not that they shall be uniform. (p. 264)

As long as we maintain the kind of emphasis we do, in this country, upon competitive success, and as long as we continue to produce the kind of frustrations and insecurities that we do in infants, children, adolescents, and adults, active feelings of hostility towards members of "out-groups" will continue to plague our society no matter how well we succeed in restraining their expression by means of external constraints. (p. 269)

We must change from the disoperative ideal of the American individualist, to the ideal of the cooperative citizen who is devoted to something other than himself–to his fellow men, and to the food of society. (270)

Education and the elimination of race prejudice (pp. 271ff)

Intelligence, IQ, and Race (pp. 277-290)
-It is important to understand that the whole concept of IQ is an arbitrary invention that has been given a spurious reality and an equally spurious quantification. (p. 284)

"If I am different from you, I enrich rather than diminish you." That message contains a universal principle: you are precious to me because you are different, as I am to you. (p. 288, citing Saint-Exupery)

Omi, M., & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

Part of the confusion resides in the fact that race in the U.S. is concurrently an obvious and complex phenomenon. Everyone "knows" what race is, though everyone has a different opinion as to how many racial groups there are, what they are called, and who belongs in what specific racial categories. (p. 3)

Our theory of *racial formation* emphasizes the social nature of race, the absence of any essential racial characteristics, the historical flexibility of racial meanings and categories, the conflictual character of race at both the "micro-" and "macro-social" levels, and the irreducible political aspect of racial dynamics. (p. 4)

The ethnic group-, class-, and nation-based perspectives all neglect the specificity of race as an autonomous field of social conflict, political organization, and cultural/ideological meaning. (p. 48)

There is a continuous temptation to think of race as an *essence*, as something fixed, concrete, and objective. And there is also an opposite temptation: to imagine race as a mere *illusion*, a purely ideological construct which some ideal non-racist social order would eliminate. It is necessary to challenge both these positions, to disrupt and reframe the rigid and bipolar manner in which they are posed and debated, and to transcend the presumably irreconcilable relationship between them. (p. 54)

We define *racial formation* as the sociohistorical process by which racial categories and created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed. (p. 55)

The identification of distinctive human groups, and their association with differences in physical appearances, goes back to prehistory, and can be found in the earliest documents–in the Bible, for example, or in Herodotus. But the emergence of a modern conception of race does not occur until the rise of Europe and the arrival of Europeans in the Americas. Even the hostility and suspicion with which Christian Europe viewed its two significant non-Christian "Others"–the Muslims and the Jews–cannot be viewed as more than a rehearsal for racial formation, since these antagonisms, for all their bloodletting and chauvinism, were always and everywhere religiously interpreted. (p. 61)

Ignatiev, N. (1997). Treason to Whiteness is loyalty to humanity. In R. Delgado & J. Stefancic (Eds.), *Critical White studies: Looking behind the mirror* **(pp. 607-612). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.**

Whiteness is nothing but an expression of race privilege. (p. 609)

The only possible conclusion is that people are members of different races because they are assigned to them… Groups are formed by social distinctions, not nature. (p. 608)

Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W.F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers College Record, 97*(1), 47-68.

The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other people. (Woodson as cited by L-B, p. 50)

Bowser, B.P., & Hunt, R.G. (Eds.)(1981). *Impacts of racism on White Americans.* **Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications.**

Bowser, B.P., Hunt, R.G., & Pohl, D.C. (pp. 13-26). Introduction
- actors in a psychosocial system are interdependent: they influence one another (p. 15)
- Simpson and Yinger (1965):
    - Personality distortions arising from tensions inherent to chronic dilemmas of moral ambivalence;
    - Economic waste stemming from the dollar costs of supporting discriminatory programs, inefficiencies in the use of labor resources, lower tax yields, and depressed productivity;
    - Political debilitation of a divided society;
    - Exposure of Whites to the risks of demagoguery, civil strife, and the like; and 5. Disorderly international relations. (p. 17)
- Pettigrew (1973) nonracists are mentally healthier than racists
- Bennett (1970) keys to eliminating racism are held by racists, not the victims of racists

Dennis, R.M. (pp. 71-86). Socialization and racism: The White experience.
- Racism as subversive of the social order nominally valued by Whites, inhibiting intellectual growth
- Four effects on children
    - Ignorance of other people
    - Development of a double social psychological consciousness: taught to fear and hate by parents who supposedly love
    - Group conformity
    - Moral confusion and social ambivalence
- Effects on White population in general
    - Irrationality
    - Inhibits intellectual growth
    - Negates democracy

Karp, J.B. (pp. 87-96). The emotional impact and a model for changing racist attitudes.
- Racism is a defense mechanism, mental illness
- False barriers separate Whites from each other, denies friendships with Third World
- Keeps Whites from recognizing allies, disguises overlapping interests of all workers, women, youth, etc.
- Guilt and shame
- Leaves Whites with a distorted picture of reality

Pettigrew, T.F. (pp. 97-118). The mental health impact.
- Racists are less likely to possess positive mental health

These new attitudes and values are first evinced by the well educated and the young, and then they appear to diffuse to other subpopulations. (p. 115)

On the bases of these and similar considerations, we can tentatively speculate that white American racism may today break down as follows: (1) roughly 15 percent of white adults in the United States are extremely antiblack from largely authoritarian personality needs; (2) roughly 60 percent of white adults in the United States are conforming bigots, reflecting the racist norms that remain as well as the newer, equalitarian norms; and (3) roughly 25 percent of white adults in the United States consistently support full rights for Blacks and in most situations will not exhibit antiblack attitudes or behavior. (p. 116)

Terry, R.W. (pp. 119-152). The negative impact on White values.
- Four areas of loss:
    - contradiction of stated values,
    - distortion of authentic power relations,
    - build organizations that are neither understood nor effective,
    - misjudge and misuse human resources

"To be white in America is not to have to think about it." (p. 120)

"Racism undermines and distorts our personal and organizational authenticity." (p. 120)
Model of authenticity: two vectors, true to self and true to world
Untrue to world… lose grasp on what's happening
Untrue to self… say one thing and do another

Neubeck, K.J., & Roach, J.L. (pp. 153-164). Racism and poverty politics.
- Harmed by the failure of the welfare system to make serious inroads against poverty

Racism ultimately harms poor families regardless of race and also adversely affects large sectors of the white working class. It is one factor in the maintenance and reproduction of poverty, and thus of class inequality. The latter provides benefits primarily to the more affluent members of the white population. (pp. 153-154)

We said previously that welfare payment levels tend to be higher in states where there is a low proportion of Blacks, and vice versa. Such a relationship between racism and welfare practices benefits only some white recipients (or potential recipients)—those living in predominantly white states. In comparison, Whites in low-payment states are harmed by racism. (p. 162)

Racism operates in yet another respect, for it undercuts the likelihood that the poor, who are atomized politically, will be able to organize collectively across racial lines to struggle on their own behalf. (p. 163)

Reich, M. (pp. 165-176). The economic impact in the postwar period.
- Labor segmentation has hurt White workers

My argument states that greater racial inequality between black and white workers makes alliances between them more difficult, hindering the development of joint bargaining power against employers. (p. 171)

A reduction in racial inequality is associated with higher earning for white workers and with more unionism, controlling for other variables in both cases. (p. 172)

White, P.V. (pp. 177-190). Race against time: The role of racism in U.S. foreign relations.
- Growing nonwhite solidarity

Four reasons that race impacts foreign relations
- Concept is elusive and hard to define
- Racial considerations are seldom invoked
- Racial dimension or significance is overlooked or ignored
- Policies therefore may be racist without intention

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The population of the world consists of a minority white race and a nonwhite majority who, despite some intermingling, live for the most part in separate and different parts of the world. (p. 178)

The operation of unquestioned racial assumptions can have a disastrous impact on the formulation of policy as when these assumptions seriously distort the understanding of the causes of revolutionary change as the outcome of subversive forces rather than the result of the legitimate aspirations of aggrieved people. (p. 187)

APPENDIX C

CONSTANT COMPARATIVE CODING SCHEME

Axial Coding Scheme

Project: These codes are concerned with the development and purpose of the project
M, D, POE, RP

Constructs: These codes are concerned with constructs developing within the project
L, ID, Auto

Praxis of Race: These codes are organized via the Praxis of Race (PX, R-PX) underlying
this project and are thus arranged
    Knowledge/Diversity: DOD, STE, TKE, R-NB, R-S, R-H, R-W
    Action/Democracy: R-SC, R-A, OOD, AOD, PR, -P, G
    Reflection/Dialogue: R-R, TRA

Code Definitions

These codes are arranged chronologically by the date they were first defined.

30 December 2008

AOD (Amount of Diversity): quantitative account of presence or lack of diversity in a
specific situation or setting.

DOD (Definition of Diversity): description of what diversity means in a specific or
general setting.

POE (Purpose of Education): description of end goal or process of education for students.

TK (Teacher Knowledge): what a teacher needs to know to teach successfully, how to
learn such.

TRA (Trajectory): where a participant sees her life or career heading.

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STE (Stereotypes): use of the word by the participant.

OOD (Operationalization of Diversity): the way diversity gets use in a classroom or elsewhere.

5 January 2009

M (Meta-Discussion): Talk about the project from a positioning outside of the project. May refer to questions or answers.

D (Dialogue): Discussion about dialogue, not dialogue in practice. May refer to dialogue, dialogic pedagogy, or any derivation.

PR (Practice): Discussion about actual practice, whether in the past or in the future. This can include practice within a classroom or within a smaller, interpersonal setting. May refer also to larger, communal actions.

Auto (Autobiography): Discussion about previous experience. Sometimes these experiences are shared by the group and become a agreed upon piece of the group autobiography. Sometimes these experiences are at odds and provide room for communal development.

12 January 2009

ID (Identity): Somehow relating to personal identity, particularly as related to conflict or development of. Within this code, there is an interesting development of AOD/DOD contributing to the conflict or development of identity. Such is marked as AOD/DOD → ID.

L (Language): About or referring to language, either as a system (*langue*) or as speech/utterance (*parole*), particularly in reference to language as a marker of race/diversity.

RP (Relational Pluralism): About or referring to the relational, the importance of relationship.

G (Generation): About or referring the differences between or among generations of people, most often in reference to self as compared to parents or to grandparents. This code also exists as a prefix (-G).

-P (Propriety): This is a suffix code, attached to another code to communicate consideration of what is considered proper or improper in a given context. As a stand alone code, P would refer to the belief that there exists as single Propriety in a given area.

28 January 2009

R (Race): Talk about race, raciality, or racism. This is a root code that then receives further demarcation through suffix codes.

-NB (Not biological): Talk focused on race and the concept of race having no biological basis. Talk coded as such includes agreements and disagreements.

-S (System): Talk focused on racism and the concept of racism as a system. Talk coded as such includes belief in systemic racism as well as in individual racism.

-HD (Historical Development): Talk focused on race and the historical development of the concept of race. Talk coded as such includes descriptions of previous development to this point as well as foretelling about the development of race in the future.

-SC (Social Change): Talk focused on race and using understandings of race as the basis for defining, creating, or impediments to social change. Talk coded as such includes the speaker acting as a change agent as well as the general idea of social change or change agents. Talk coded as such includes feelings of immobility and guilt about facing a perceived Sisyphean task.

-A (Action of Race): Talk focused on race and the particular action of race as played out in a real or imagined situation. Talk coded as such refers to the putting into practice certain and specific understandings of race, corresponding to the Action point of the Praxis Triangle.

2 February 2009

R-R (Race-Reflection): this code refers to the individual or communal praxis of race through the process of reflection. In an individual, this code refers to description of reflecting on understandings and actions of race. In community, this code refers to using dialogue to reflect on diversity and democracy.

R-W (Race-Whiteness): this code refers to a specific and developing definition of Whiteness, White privilege, White power, White raciality. This code does not refer to a skin color, per se, but instead to a system of privilege and oppression.

PX (Praxis): this code refers to a discussion of individual or communal praxis. Other codes refer to specific pieces of the process of praxis. Instead, this code refers to interaction with the idea of praxis as a whole and as a means for learning and development.

WI? (What If?): this code, I hope, will become more prominent in the project as the participants begin to come up with their own thought experiments as related to race or racial issues. Meeting V will be all about this, so I'm sure the code will be more prevalent then.

25 February 2009

POV (Point of View): This code refers to describing your own point of view or trying to take on the POV of someone else. It is assumed in this code that a POV is valid within a specific time and context.

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