PERCEPTIONS OF WHITE PRIVILEGE, SYSTEMIC INEQUITIES, AND INFLUENCE ON

TEACHER STUDENT INTERACTIONS

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Jacob S. Bennett, BSEd., M.A.

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As reported by the most recent data from the National Center for Educational Statistics (2014), racial and ethnic demographic shifts occurring in our nation's public schools have been discussed by scholars in the field of education for decades (e.g., Mcfalls & Cobb-Roberts, 2001; Marx, 2004; Hill-Jackson, 2007; Fasching-Varner, 2013). Consequently, researchers (Ladson-Billings, 1995, 2000; Gay, 2002) have suggested the need for teachers to acknowledge and understand the racial and cultural backgrounds of their students to address individual needs. Termed "culturally responsive teaching" or "culturally responsive pedagogy," Ladson-Billings (1995) explained the concept rests on three criteria: students must experience academic success; students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and students must develop a critical consciousness through which they challenge the status quo of the current social order (p. 160).

Matias (2013) argued, however, that even with such culturally responsive goals, White teachers who enter racially diverse classrooms without analyzing and understanding how Whiteness as a socially constructed racial category is bounded with race-based privilege, power, and perpetual racial supremacy, will inevitably make decisions that hamper learning opportunities for minoritized[1] youth. Other researchers in the field of education agree that White preservice teachers need to become aware of their cultural and racial identities before entering racially diverse public school classrooms (e.g., Howard, 2006; Sleeter, 2008; Milner, 2010). Researchers (Wallace & Chhuon, 2014) in the field of social psychology have shown that teachers who were cognizant of racial differences were able to build positive relationships with students from diverse backgrounds. Such relationships, which allow students to feel comfortable

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[1] As Stewart (2013) explained, the term "minoritized" was chosen as opposed to "students of color" based on the formers intended use to refer to the process of "minoritization" (action vs. noun), which implies the contextual dependency of such a label being tied to a racial power structure.

and supported in their classes, have been theorized (Ladson-Billings, 1997; Spencer, et al., 2006) and found through empirical research (Duncan-Andrade, 2007) to be prerequisites to academic success. What has not been researched in much depth, however, is how the racial consciousness and ideologies of White teachers may play a role in the types of interactions and their ability to build relationships with minoritized student populations.

Numerous scholars have used Helms' (1990) spectrum of White racial development to describe the path many White individuals take to understand their racial identity (e.g., Lawrence and Bunch, 1996; Marx, 2001; Parks, 2006; Hill-Jackson, 2007; Souto-Manning, 2011). Helms (1990) explained White identity development usually occurs within six stages: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudoindependent, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy. Whites in each stage differentially perceive the importance of race. Those at the lower end of the continuum—the Contact Stage—place little to no emphasis on the importance of racial classification in relation to daily life experiences. Those in the Autonomy Stage are said to hold an internalized view of Whiteness and understand how oppression is related to racism. Those in this stage are said to be more willing to work toward eliminating racism from their daily lives and society.

Being that Helms' (1990) model was developed in the field of psychology, researchers (Hardiman & Jackson, 1997; Hill-Jackson, 2007) in the field of education adapted it to better align with the needs of teacher educators. Hill-Jackson (2007) developed a new theoretical model she felt addressed equity pedagogy in a way that could be used as a reflective tool for educators to self-evaluate their "own proclivities" (p. 29). Relating each stage to levels of the multicultural development of preservice teachers, she created what she termed, "three stages of shifting development" (p. 30): Unconscious Stage, Responsive Stage, and Critical

Consciousness. Similar to Helms (1990), each stage is a continuum of multicultural development, with White preservice teachers in the Unconscious Stage being unaware of multiple experiences for racial groups (p. 30). At the other end of the spectrum, those in the Critical-Consciousness stage implement a critical pedagogy to critique and act upon issues of power in relation to societal forces affecting schools (p. 33).

In an early analysis in the field of Whiteness studies in education (i.e., research on the social construction of Whiteness), Lawrence (1997) showed that a multicultural education course designed around issues of social justice centered on empowering minoritized populations and revealing the existence of White racial privilege could have an effect on White student teachers in their practicum experience and move them forward on Helms' (1990) spectrum. In a previous study, Lawrence and Bunche (1996) explained teacher educators needed to find ways other than traditional lecture based multicultural and diversity education courses to support the continuing development of White students' racial identities (p. 541). Although Lawrence (1997) found students who moved to higher levels of Helms' (1990) scale chose field placements in schools with faculty who believed in the importance of cultural responsive pedagogy, her data were based on interviews alone and not triangulated with other methods or sources. At times, self-reported data such as interviews and surveys are deemed unreliable because of social desirability bias, which occurs when participants provide answers they feel are aligned with the researcher's goals and not their true sentiments (Fontana and Frey, 2005). In regards to Lawrence's (1997) study, this possibility is even more probable based on the work of Steele (2010), who has shown Whites have a desire to not be perceived as racist by their peers. Participants in Lawrence's (1997) study might have provided answers to interview questions in relation to their

understanding of race-based privilege they felt would distance themselves from being labeled racist.

Other researchers (Hytten & Warren, 2003; Mueller & O'Connor, 2007) have shown that even when White students in multicultural education courses are given statistical data showing barriers encountered by minoritized individuals (e.g., biased hiring and real estate selling practices, discriminatory policing, being "outsiders" in university settings) and/or conduct interviews with people from minoritized populations, many still deny the existence of systemic inequities. Based on this disconnect, these researchers recommended more opportunities for White preservice teachers to discuss and interpret issues of race-based privilege and systemic inequities before entering future classrooms. Moreover, Sleeter (2008) and Howard and Milner (2014) have recommended more empirical research, defined as that which can be observed and documented, be completed that analyzes how White teachers' cultural and racial awareness affects their teaching praxis. For the purposes of this dissertation, I define teacher praxis as how teachers interact, build relationships with, and inform students through pedagogical strategies in their classrooms.

In this dissertation, I plan to help fill the gap in the research by empirically investigating how adherence to certain racial ideologies, as well as acknowledgement or denial of systemic inequities and White privilege, might affect teaching praxis. To do so, I will address the following research questions:

1. How is the concept of White privilege addressed in teacher education programs?

2. How do the racial perceptions and ideologies of teachers affect their interactions with minoritized and White students in their classrooms?

3. How do dialogic interviews affect a White teacher who adheres to a colorblind racial

    ideology in relation to her willingness to develop racially conscious equitable teaching

    praxes?

Procedures

The first manuscript of this dissertation is a narrative literature review in which I, along

with coauthors, used Critical Race Theory (CRT) to analyze how the concept of White privilege

is addressed in teacher education programs (RQ1). Based on the importance of making

connections between systemic inequities and White privilege explained above, the goal of this

narrative review was to analyze how the concept of White privilege is addressed in teacher

education programs in relation to systemic inequities. Conducting this review showed that

recommendations from Sleeter (2008) and Howard and Milner (2014) provided above indeed are

relevant to the field.

A Boolean search was designed to include empirical studies in which researchers

analyzed the concept of White privilege within the field of teacher education. Analysis was

completed using the following tenets of CRT provided by Delgado and Stefancic (2012):

endemic racism, social construction of Whiteness, interest convergence, intersectionality and

counter narrative. Two camps provided by these authors, realist and idealist, were also used to

categorize the researchers found in our review in relation to how each believe the tenets of CRT

should be operationalized to battle racism in the United States. For example, adherents to an

idealist perspective contend that in order to battle the endemic and normalized nature of racism,

scholars and teachers should work to change individuals' beliefs toward minoritized populations.

Conversely, those who adhere to a realist perspective acknowledge that while individual beliefs

are important, changing them may not affect the lives of minoritized groups on a large scale. In

order to do so, realists believe strategies should be designed to create structural reform within societal institutions such as creating more job opportunities for minoritized groups and increasing immigrant quotas within the country (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

The second manuscript is an interpretive case study in which I empirically examined how the racial perception (i.e., personal understanding of racial identity) of a White male teacher affected his interactions with his White and minoritized students (RQ2). The participant is a White male language arts and Advancement Via Individual Determinism (AVID) instructor at a Mid-Atlantic high school. Data collection primarily consisted of observations, interviews with the primary teacher participant, and student focus groups. I used qualitative analytic strategies as developed by Erickson (1985) centered on searching for disconfirming evidence to generate assertions. After analyzing qualitative findings, implications address how a White teacher's personal understandings of race played a possible role in his differential treatment of minoritized students compared to their White counterparts.

The third manuscript expands on the previous by empirically examining how an inservice teacher who adheres to a politically conservative and colorblind racial ideology interacted with her students (RQ2&3). This was a two-year study. Participants were selected using a teacher education participation pool on which they took the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI) (Ponterotto, et al., 1995) (Appendix A). In the first year, I completed interviews to determine which racial ideology (multicultural or colorblind) participants adhered to most. In the second year, I purposively selected a participant, Ruth Austen (pseudonym), who described her goals to be "colorblind" in her classroom by treating all her students "the same," no matter their race. Unlike traditional polemic research in which researchers take on the role of "experts" and participants "subjects," I sought to develop a trusting relationship with Ruth through dialogic

interviews. To do so, we met after each observation in a local coffee shop to discuss her views

of students in her classroom, as well as topics of systemic inequities, White privilege, and

racially conscious equity based education. Observations were completed within Ruth's

classroom in which I analyzed her interactions with students. The primary goal of this study was

to discuss and support Ruth's ideology and praxis in relation to working with racially diverse

student populations through the creation of *phronesis,* or practical wisdom, as I will discuss

below.

Contribution

Numerous researchers (Adair, 2010; Adler, 2008; Glenn, 2010; Hytten & Warren, 2003;

LaDuke, 2009; Marx, 2004; Mueller & O'Connor, 2007; Page, 2010) in the field of education

have found that teacher candidates have difficulty moving from individual understandings of

racism (i.e., an individual acting negatively toward a certain racial group based on that group's

racial classification alone) toward acknowledgement of its structural form (i.e., systemic

advantages received by members of the majority White racial group). Moreover, even when

teacher candidates acknowledged the existence of White privilege, researchers (Amos, 2011;

Galman, Pica-Smith & Rosenberger, 2010) explained students did not connect such privilege

with structural racism. The aim of conducting this dissertation was to add to the field by first

examining how the concept of White privilege is addressed in teacher education by completing a

narrative literature review. Such an undertaking may provide those in the field interested in

social justice issues possible reasons for students' inability to move past individualized

definitions of racism. Moreover, the literature review might help identify patterns related to

repetitive or unsuccessful strategies in teaching the concept of White privilege and systemic or

structural racism to teacher candidates.

Next, the second manuscript of this dissertation will begin to fill the gap in the lack of empirical research on the subject of teacher racial perception in relation to teacher/student interactions. The lack of empirical research in the field of teacher education that examines how a teacher's worldview and understanding of culture may affect their teaching praxis, as described by Howard and Milner (2014) as well as Sleeter (2008), highlights a major limitation in the field. Gregory, Skiba and Noguera (2010) explained students personally affected by systemic inequities enter classrooms with experiences that might affect academic performance. For example, some students in urban areas observe violence, drug use, and other hazardous situations that could affect their personal wellbeing and create more likelihood of exhibiting aggressive classroom behavior. These behaviors frequently result in suspension or expulsion (Gregory, Skiba & Noguera, 2010). Moreover Milner (2015) explained many White teachers who enter urban classrooms lack knowledge of how systemic inequities affect urban students, which can result in contentious teacher/student relationships. As I presented above, success in building relationships with student groups has been found to be prerequisites for student achievement (Duncan-Andrade, 2007). Such findings make it imperative that more research be completed that empirically examines how factors such as racial perceptions of teachers affect their interactions and relationships with minoritized students.

Finally, even though it is known that relationships are prerequisites to student achievement, we do not know how a teacher's adherence to a colorblind ideological perspective may affect their ability to build those relationships. Previous studies in the field of social psychology (e.g., Apfelbaum, Paukner, Sommers & Ambady, 2010; Apfelbaum, Norton & Sommers, 2012; Barrett & George, 2005; Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson & Casas, 2007) have shown negative outcomes for individuals who hold this ideology in laboratory settings. In such

controlled environments, however, transferability to actual teacher settings may be difficult. Therefore, following a practicing teacher into her classroom to observe teacher/student interactions may produce more applicable results for teachers hoping to build positive relationships with minoritized and White students. This, however, was a secondary goal to discussing, informing, and aiding a teacher's praxis.

Developing localized knowledge within a classroom using the Aristotelian concept of phronesis allowed Ruth to develop a critical consciousness by questioning how historical power structures differentially affected her students based on race. Phronetic knowledge stresses the importance of values in relation to building localized knowledge. A push toward the development of phronesis on the field of P-12 educational research could allow teachers and researchers to develop personalized praxis customized to specific classroom needs. For example, Bolster (1983) explained effective teachers have the ability to discern the connections between classroom variables and social behavior. Each classroom is defined by different variables based on the teacher and students present at a given time. Ruth began to explain her understanding of how she realized she may need to support students in her classes differently based on their experience outside of the school. Although more time was needed to do so, this change in perception could lead to the development of racially conscious equitable teaching praxis for her future classrooms.

In conclusion, examining why teacher candidates have difficulty connecting race-based privilege with structural racism may allow for better praxes to be developed within teacher education programs that provide students improved opportunities to make such connections. Understanding how a teacher's ideology may play a role in her/his interactions with students could provide the knowledge necessary for preservice and inservice teachers, as well as teacher

educators, to develop more effective teacher praxes for building relationships in racially diverse

settings. Finally, benefits to understanding how adherence to a specific racial ideology might

affect teacher/student interactions and a teacher's willingness to change such interactions are

twofold. First, results could increase learning opportunities for students within Ruth's future

classrooms through the development of practical wisdom (i.e., phronesis). Next, even though

secondary to the central goal of aiding praxis, results might also inform inservice teachers about

increasing race based equity in their classrooms.

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Real or Ideal?: A Narrative Literature Review Addressing White Privilege

in Teacher Education[2]

Jacob S. Bennett

University of Virginia

Melissa K. Driver

Kennesaw State University

Stanley C. Trent

University of Virginia

Abstract

A narrative literature review was conducted to examine how researchers address the concept of White privilege in teacher education using Critical Race Theory. A Boolean search revealed 26 articles met criteria for inclusion. Findings show most researchers (n=15, 55%) investigated perceptions of White privilege within individual multicultural education courses and not comprehensively at the teacher education program level. Many White preservice teachers had difficulty connecting race-based privilege with systemic inequities. Implications for future research and training preservice teachers are provided.

Real or Ideal?: A Narrative Literature Review Addressing White Privilege

in Teacher Education

According to the Council of the Great City Schools (2016) representing 68 urban districts

across the United States, of the 7.2 million students who attend urban schools, 78% are students

of color (e.g., Hispanic, African American, Asian/Pacific Islander, Alaskan/Native America (in-

group differences not withstanding). Conversely, current data from the National Center for

Education Statistics (2012) show 83% of the teacher population in the United States is White. In

their study, Frankenberg and Siegel-Hawley (2008) explained the imperativeness of preparing

teachers to work in diverse environments to ensure, "demographic transitions do not destabilize

schools and that student performance, among all subgroups, reaches increasingly demanding

benchmarks" (p. 5, 9). Unfortunately, teacher education programs have been criticized for

failing to reach diversity standards set by accreditation agencies (Howard & Milner, 2014).

Addressing this state of affairs is important for many reasons. First, Frankenberg and

Siegel-Hawley (2008) found White teachers were less likely to receive preparation for working

in racially diverse classrooms. Next, more than one in three teachers surveyed in the study

reported very little or no training in strategies to help English language learners (ELLs) (p. 6).

Policy implications included the need for schools of education to give priority to diversity and

equity issues with a focus on multicultural education and race relations (p. 6). Also, some

teacher educators attempted to infuse culturally responsive strategies (Gay, 2000; Ladson-

Billings, 2000; Sleeter, 2008) in their programs that help students develop critical consciousness

while keeping cultural backgrounds salient. For White teachers to become culturally responsive,

however, scholars (Chubbuck & Zemblyas, 2008; Matias, 2013) have argued that they must also

examine how Whiteness perpetuates racial supremacy in urban schools across the United States.

This focus is needed because many teachers do not understand the complexities related to teaching in urban school districts, which can result in contentious teacher/student interactions (Milner, 2015). As such, a person's worldview has a direct connection with their personal and professional agendas (Milner, 2015, p. 174). Therefore, whether or not a preservice teacher connects race-based privilege with systemic inequities could have practical implications for students in their classrooms. Other researchers support Milner's claims.

Amos (2011), for example, found White preservice teachers blamed minoritized[3] students for a lack of success rather than acknowledging the systemic inequities that limit opportunities for them in the United States. Gregory, Skiba and Noguera (2010) argued that students in urban neighborhoods often experience adversity in the form of violence and substance abuse that could increase negative behavior in class and the likelihood of being suspended or expelled (p. 61). Making connections between White privilege and systemic inequities also relates to Ladson-Billings' (2006) concept of an "education debt." This concept explicates the false narrative of the achievement gap by highlighting how historic inequities hampered education opportunities for minoritized groups. Preservice teachers who fail to understand systemic inequities in relation to White privilege could perpetuate this false narrative rather than acknowledge the true source of academic deficits. Moreover, such teachers might push for reforms based on ideals of equality rather than equitable reforms aimed at countering historic systemic oppression, the effects of which are still present in urban schools (McPherson, 2011).

We believe teacher educators have an important role in developing curricula that address the concepts of White privilege in relation to systemic oppression. As Alsup (2006) explained, teacher education programs are spaces where future educators should begin developing their

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[3] This term was chosen based on Apple's (2013) usage to highlight the contextual dependency of labels such as minority or majority.

professional identities. We believe racialized identities should also be included in this argument.

Unfortunately, researchers (Mueller & O'Connor, 2007) have found that many teacher

candidates have not explored their identities in this manner prior to enrollment in teacher

preparation programs. Grappling with this content and applying it during internships under the

direction of teacher educators can give preservice teachers additional time to reflect on how their

White identities are tied to the systemic oppression of minoritized groups.

　　　Given these realities, our goal in conducting this narrative literature review was to understand

if and how preservice teachers are taught about White privilege and systemic inequities in their

preparation programs. Specifically, we sought to answer the following question:

- How have researchers in teacher education addressed the concept of White privilege
  in relation to training prospective White teachers to work in urban schools?

We do not believe all schools within urban environments are the same. For the purposes of this

paper, we conceptualize "urban" districts as those surrounded by impoverished neighborhoods

largely created by federal policies such as redlining and discriminatory mortgage lending. These

policies attributed to the perpetuation of poverty in urban zones across the U.S. when compared

to suburban and rural areas (Sugrue, 2008). Students and teachers in high poverty urban schools

often work with inadequate materials, outdated textbooks and a lack of science and computer

labs. Moreover, the amount of college preparatory or (AP) classes offered lag far behind schools

serving more advantage populations (Freel, 1998; Hudley, 2013).

Theoretical Frame

　　　The definition of the concept of White privilege has shifted throughout U.S. history

(Bennett, 2012). Prior to the twentieth century, the term was employed to address structural

advantages given to Whites in the U.S., such as rights to citizenship and ownership of property.

It was not until the late twentieth century that the present-day understanding of the term, popularized by McIntosh (1988), was adopted. Now, may scholars define White privilege as historic structural benefits resulting in psychological advantages that create different lived experiences for Whites and minoritized populations (Bennett, 2012). For example, Whites have the privilege of not thinking about or discussing their race on a daily basis. Rather, Whiteness has become normalized and privileges associated with this racial classification are often perpetuated subconsciously (McIntosh, 1988). Leonardo (2004) took issue with this understanding of privilege. He exposed that acknowledging White privilege's subconscious perpetuation allowed Whites to claim innocence in the maintenance of systemic oppression. He explained that critical discussions of White privilege must also acknowledge and examine White supremacy in order to label the oppressor rather than merely acknowledging the oppressed (p. 137).

The concept of White privilege as discussed above was used to include specific articles in this review, and Critical Race Theory (CRT) provided the theoretical framework for analysis. Scholars (Chapman, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2013) have labeled Derrick Bell as the father of CRT. Bell (1980; 1991; 1992) developed the concept of "racial realism" which showed that traditional messages of meritocratic lessons such as hard work equating to success did not coincide with the actual lived experiences of minoritized populations. CRT scholars understand concepts such as colorblindness not only perpetuate racial inequity, but do so under the guise of "fairness" (Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2010, p. 40). This perception gave us a useful lens to determine how teacher educators addressed the concepts of race-based privilege and systemic inequities in relation to equity.

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) were the first to apply the work of Bell (1980; 1991; 1992) and other scholars (Crenshaw, 1991) in the field of critical legal studies (CLS) to education. Gillborn and Ladson-Billings (2010) explained how CRT developed into an important strand of educational theory by allowing scholars to focus on the link between social theory and social activism (p. 38). Specifically, using CRT in education meant placing race/racism at the forefront of critiques about society and educational inequities. In this vein, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) listed the following tenets as hallmarks of CRT: racism is normal and not aberrant in US society; interest convergence or material determinism; race as a social construction; intersectionality and anti-essentialism; and counter-narrative. Based on our goal of understanding how White privilege and systemic inequities are being addressed in teacher education, we chose to analyze the articles found in this review using these CRT tenets.

Within CRT, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) explained scholars could be classified into three basic camps: idealist, realist, or middle ground. As basic descriptors, idealists contend racism and discrimination are maintained in a society through language, thinking and attitudes. To end racism, idealists argue deficit thinking toward minoritized groups in society must end (p. 21). Idealists teacher educators addressing White privilege would have goals of changing preservice teachers' perceptions of race in order to allow them to become better at teaching diverse student populations. This type of goal battles the endemic nature of racism at the individual rather than policy or structural level. For example, Marx (2004) stressed the importance of highlighting participants' deficit views toward minoritized groups to develop student comprehension of how Whiteness perpetuated hierarchical racial ordering.

Alternatively, realists acknowledge the importance of personal attitudes toward racism, but contend racial supremacy is maintained systemically through racial hierarchies. People in

the majority racial group allocate benefits such as good jobs to others in their group, which

perpetuates supremacy (p. 21). Realists work less on changing individual perceptions and more

on strategies aimed at increasing opportunities for minoritized populations through structural

reform. For example, Stoval (2006) argued that educators should not merely aim to change a

person's perspective, but work to create structural reform within urban communities.

Relative to our review, realist teacher educators might emphasize change occurring at the

structural level of schools. For example, providing preservice teachers skills to form coalitions

with teachers, parents, and administrators to allow more opportunities for minoritized students to

take AP classes and to development the necessary structural and institutional change for

retention, high levels of achievement, and graduation (see Boykin & Noguero, 2011 for an

example of how this has been accomplished). This is not to say idealists eschew social action.

Again, their focus might be at the individual level—pushing for action to change beliefs rather

than at a structural, policy level. A "middle ground" occurs when both forces, cultural and

structural, are considered important to negate the perpetuation of racism (Delgado & Stefancic,

2012, p. 25). For example, in his transformational resistance model, Solórzano (2013) took a

middle-ground approach in which critical personal reflection and identity development were

coupled with forms of "progressive resistance" (p. 60), implying the importance of both

changing personal perceptions as well as motivating individuals toward social activism.

Method

According to Petticrew and Roberts (2008), a narrative literature review, "refers to a

systematic review that synthesizes the individual studies . . . systematically extracting, checking,

and narratively summarizing information on their methods and results" (p. 39). Moreover,

search and inclusion criteria should be explicitly explained. This type of review provides

opportunities to address the self-knowledge and shared educational experiences of researchers (Jones, 2004). We believe this definition was pertinent to our review because of the prevalence of qualitative methods used to study White privilege, resulting in the examination of multiple individual experiences. Narrative reviews are beneficial in providing conclusions for researchers who examine topics that do not have one optimal way of measuring outcomes (Baumeister, 2003, p. 61). The narrative nature of our review allowed us to examine and describe a wide range of outcomes of research designed to address the topic of White privilege in teacher education.

Data Collection

Selection of Articles. Based on the definition of White privilege provided above, we used the following criteria to select articles for our review:

- Study content included a focus on White or race-based privilege. Studies focusing on other types of privilege without race were excluded.

- Preparation program of study was located in the United States.

- Participants included preservice teachers, undergraduate or graduate students in teacher education, or faculty members in traditional or alternative preparation programs.

- Studies where participants were PreK-12 students, faculty, and staff, as well as university students in departments other than teacher education were excluded.

- Researchers reported findings from empirical research designs (i.e. qualitative, quantitative, survey, or mixed methods designs).

- The article was published in a peer-reviewed journal.

- Whole books, book chapters, dissertations, and theoretical manuscripts were excluded based on the lack of peer-review in such publications.

The first and second authors completed simultaneous electronic and ancestral searches for peer reviewed articles using the online database *PsychINFO* and seven databases from the EBSCO company: *Education Research Complete, ERIC* (Education Resources Information Center), *Education Index, Education Full Text, Psychology and Behavioral Sciences, Academic Search Complete,* and *SportDiscus.* Using the Boolean indicators "or", "and", "not", the following search terms were entered into databases: *White Privilege, Race Based Privilege, Privilege, Teacher Education, Prospective Teacher, Preservice Teacher, Teacher Preparation, Alternative Certification, Student Teacher, Teacher Development, Professional Development, In-service Teacher.*

Initial search results yielded 9,446 relevant articles on EbscoHost and 81 on PsychINFO. Based on a large number of authors using the term "White" in myriad ways, an "abstract filter" was applied. To widen the search, the first author's faculty advisor recommended the terms *Faculty Development*, and *Professional Development* be included to determine if these terms would identify articles where faculty were not just teaching but were also participants in the studies. This search yielded 522 articles. Both authors individually read all 522 abstracts to determine if articles met inclusion criteria, and 60 articles were chosen for inclusion. Both the first and second author independently read these articles and completed a total of three ancestral searches resulting in 33 more articles for possible inclusion. After reading each (n=93), the final list included 26 articles that met inclusion criteria for analysis.

Data Analysis

The first author developed codes both deductively and inductively. Deductive codes were based on the tenets of CRT provided by Delgado and Stefancic's (2012) description of the tenets of CRT. These included "endemic racism," "systemic inequities/social injustice," "institutional racism," and "social construction of Whiteness." Based on multiple readings of the selected 26 articles, deductive codes were determined insufficient in capturing the full expanse of results. Therefore, inductive codes were created to strengthen analysis. For example, the deductive code "social construction of Whiteness" was considered too broad, and inductively changed to both "Whiteness as property" and "racial positioning" based on a further reading of the articles. If authors used counter-stories to operationalize the tenets of CRT this strategy was coded as well.

In order to determine whether the research fell into idealist or realist categories, codes were distinguished between idealist and realist "descriptors" or "implications." For example, if authors only explained that their participants used deficit language, this was coded as an idealist descriptor. However, if the author recommended teacher educators end the use of deficit language, this was coded as an idealist implication. Deductive idealist descriptor codes were based on Delgado and Stefancic's (2012) examples of idealist goals, such as "deficit language," "changing attitudes," and "understanding Whiteness." The idealist descriptor code "develop anti-White identities" was created inductively after seeing its usage in multiple articles. Deductive idealist implication codes, were "ending deficit mindsets," "ending negative language," "building empathy between races" and "understanding Whiteness."

The same rationale was used for realist codes. For example, a realist descriptor of social activism meant a researcher referenced social action in their study. A realist implication of

social action meant the author(s) urged future researchers to push participants toward social

action. The first and second authors coded all articles independently. Realist or idealist

categorizations were validated for 23 of the 26 articles (88.4%). After further discussion,

validation was found for all articles (Table 1).

Before providing our findings, we felt it important to explain one limitation of the current

work. Many scholars may disagree with being classified in a linear/binary fashion of realist or

idealist in their strategies to battle endemic racism. However, analyzing the data in this way

provides a glimpse of how teacher educators are preparing preservice teachers for schools.

Specifically, this helps us understand where we are and what we need to do to improve current

practices.

Findings

General Findings

Four research teams (Adair, 2008; Fasching-Varner, 2013; Knight & Oesterreich, 2011;

Settlage, 2011) made explicit references to urban education in relation to building preservice

teacher understanding of White privilege. All implemented idealist strategies of changing

preservice teachers' perceptions rather than encouraging them to fight for structural reform.

Adair (2008) specifically connected the need for White preservice teachers to be exposed to

different forms of cultural capital in order to begin to work with urban youth of color. Fasching-

Varner (2013) addressed the need to understand cultural mismatch between White teachers and

their students of color based on the heavily White teaching force. Knight & Oesterreich (2011)

sought to understand preservice teacher perceptions of Whiteness and privilege in rural

compared to urban settings. Settlage (2011) argued teacher educators should be aware of

"counterstories" against generalizations made about White preservice teachers' inability to challenge deficit thinking toward youth of color in an urban elementary school.

Researchers of twelve (46%) articles explicitly stated participants had difficulty connecting systemic inequities with White privilege. Six (23%) researchers (Kaufman & Hines, 2010; Marx, 2004; Page, 2010; Parks, 2006; Settlage, 2011; Souto-Manning, 2011) explained that by the end of their studies, participants were able to make connections between systemic inequities and White privilege. Of these six, Kaufman and Hines (2010) and Page (2010) specifically explained their goals of having participants connect systemic inequities with race-based privilege in their multicultural education classes. Four (15.4%) other research teams (Brantmeier, Aragon, & Folkestad, 2011; Fierros, 2009; Galman, Pica-Smith & Rosenberger, 2010; Glenn, 2012) explicitly stated course goals of having students make connections between White privilege and systemic inequities but failed to report if these connections were made.

Tenets of CRT

Many researchers made references to the endemic nature of racism in their studies, however, did so using different terminology. Four (15.4%) researchers explained racism was endemic by using the term or describing its meaning as the presence of racism in all areas of society. A majority of researchers used the phrase "institutional racism" (n=14, 54%) to describe its presence. Twelve (46%) researchers used either the term "systemic inequity" or "societal injustice." Based on descriptions provided by the researchers, we interpreted each term to be synonymous with endemic racism.

In order to operationalize the tenets of CRT, four (15.4%) research teams addressed the social construction of Whiteness using either the term "whiteness as property" (e.g., Brantmeier et al., 2011; Fasching-Varner, 2013) or "racial positioning" (e.g., Kaufman & Hines, 2010;

Marx, 2004). One team (Allan & Estler, 2005) explained their analysis was informed by, "the

relatively recent body of scholarship related to the social construction of whiteness and identity"

(p. 212). Four (15.4%) teams used counter-narratives (e.g., Cooney & Akintunde, 1999; Glenn,

2012; Marx, 2004; Settlage, 2011[4]).

Idealist Studies (Chronologically)

The majority of studies we found (n=21, 80.7%) fell under the idealist camp of CRT

(Table 1). Within these studies, researchers showed goals of understanding and/or changing

White preservice teachers' beliefs in relation to race-based privilege. The research/course

objectives, however, end there, with no explicit goals provided to motivate and provide students

with tools to create social and structural change.

Lawrence and Bunche (1996) used qualitative methods to investigate perceptions of

White middle-class female undergraduate preservice teachers (n= 5). The authors specifically

referenced institutional racism throughout the study, aligning with the tenet of CRT that defines

racism as normalized in society. The goal of the study was to examine the effectiveness of a

single-semester multicultural education course in developing anti-racist identities among White

preservice teachers (p. 531). This goal was coded as an idealist descriptor based on its

connection with changing preservice teacher attitudes toward racism. Findings indicated that at

the course's culmination, many students acknowledged White privilege but did not recognize the

institutionalized nature of power structures that resulted in White privilege (p. 540).

Lawrence and Bunche (1996) explained students created "action plans" (p. 534) to apply

what they learned to changing their future classrooms. We coded this as an idealist descriptor

because such actions seemed to be predicated on individual (i.e., changing teacher praxis) and

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[4] This researcher used counter-narratives of White preservice teachers who acknowledged race-based privilege as counter-stories for researchers who claim this group is incapable of doing so.

not structural change (i.e., changing school or university policy). Idealist implications were

coded based on the authors' recommendation for change to occur in teacher education through

the development of multiple courses dealing with issues of race-based privilege and power. This

change, however, was focused on helping White preservice teachers develop anti-racist attitudes

rather than addressing structural inequalities in schools. Therefore, we placed this study in the

idealist camp of CRT.

Lawrence (1997) followed three preservice teachers from the previous study into their

practicum classrooms. The goal was to investigate if the conscious White identities developed in

the previous study transferred to these settings. All three participants chose practicum schools

with majority White populations (information was not provided in relation to the demographics

of the local school district to determine if students had options to work in more diverse school

settings). The participant who seemed to develop a deeper understanding of White privilege in

the multicultural education course selected a site where staff claimed to be committed to

addressing multicultural issues seriously through long-term staff development in

multiculturalism. Data analysis revealed this preservice teacher talked about issues of race and

racism in her classroom more than other participants. These idealist descriptors, centering on the

researcher's focus on language and beliefs, situated Lawrence's (1997) work within the idealist

camp of CRT.

Cooney and Akintunde (1999) explained minoritized students on their university campus

felt their views were being alienated in class discussions. These students also felt pressure to

assimilate to White culture (pp. 1-2). Using counter stories, the authors planned a symposium

during which White students were given opportunities to learn about, "economically oppressed

students' struggles to succeed" (p. 2). Specific content of the symposium was not provided,

however, it was explained students learned about systemic inequities in relation to mindsets and beliefs. We coded this as an idealist descriptive goal. For example, in a reflective journal entry about the symposium, one student explained:

> Dr. Akintunde gave us his term "EPD" . . . EPD stands for European Paradigm Domination--the promotion, consciously or subconsciously, of the belief that European life and culture are the neutral basis for all of civilization and thus deserve cultural and humanistic dominance over all life forms (p. 7).

This description was representative of many of the responses reported, and shows the presenter utilized idealist strategies to combat the perpetuation of racism by hoping to change beliefs and language of White attendees.

Findings from a survey circulated to students in attendance revealed the symposium experience had a significant impact on their understanding of social inequities and bolstered their willingness to "take action" (p. 3). No explanations of the type of specific actions were given, making us hesitant to code this finding as a realist descriptor. Qualitative analysis of reaction papers, however, revealed many students understood inequality from personal perspectives rather than making connections with "systemic or institutional manifestations" (p. 4). This finding, centered once again on beliefs, placed this study in the idealist camp. Idealist implications were given for the development of future symposiums to start conversations about race-based privilege on college campuses (p. 10).

McFalls and Cobb-Roberts (2001) were interested in understanding, and possibly modifying, White preservice teachers' beliefs. A quasi-experimental design was used to understand potential preservice teachers' (n=124) perceptions of White privilege in two prerequisite classes for the college of education. The researchers stated, "to ensure academic

success for all students, teachers need to understand, appreciate, and respect the differences their students bring to their classrooms" (p. 164). Participants in their study were placed in either experimental or control groups. Those in the experimental group (n=60) received a lecture about cognitive dissonance prior to participating in conversations about McIntosh's (1988) *Male Privilege, White Privilege* article. Those in the control group only read the McIntosh article. Results showed that during discussions, fewer experimental group participants responded with denial to race-based privilege compared to those in the control group (McFalls & Cobb-Roberts, 2001). This finding aligned with idealist descriptors based on goals of shifting personal perceptions about diversity. Idealist implications were given urging preservice teachers to learn about multiple viewpoints before entering classrooms.

Using CRT and Critical White Analysis, Marx (2004) examined the beliefs of nine English-only speaking White female preservice teachers. References to the tenet of endemic nature of racism were made throughout her article. Her goal was to create a "holistic representation" of participant beliefs and experiences while they tutored children of color (p. 34). This goal was coded as an idealist descriptor based on the implication that understanding beliefs was an important element to battle endemic racism.

Using idealist strategies, Marx (2004) stressed the importance of changing deficit language toward minoritized populations. She explained even though students read works that explored sociocultural differences, they were still influenced by racism when they claimed Whiteness was "normal" or "neutral" (p. 35). Further, Marx explained participants in her study did not understand how racism affected minoritized students' lives. She argued multicultural education courses did not go far enough to prepare White teachers to successfully teach diverse populations in the United States (p. 32). Among other things, she recommended teacher

educators inform students about how their cultural, racial and religious backgrounds may have limited their ability to work with minoritized students effectively (p. 41). This implication was coded as idealist based on the individualized connotation.

Allan and Estler (2005) were the only researchers to investigate university faculty members' perceptions of White privilege alone. Faculty members in the Educational Leadership (EDL) department created a critical reading group (CRG) to discuss issues of privilege and power in relation to their own experiences. The authors explained that the working group was "stuck" in their practices of not including issues of privilege and power in course syllabi until they were able to confront their own fears of dealing with issues of identity in the classroom (p. 228). These goals of understanding and modifying identity and behavior were coded as idealist descriptors. Although having university faculty members better understand systemic racism was not mentioned, the authors did make specific references to tenets of systemic inequities and structural racism throughout the article (pp. 212, 223). Members of the CRG wanted to change the department's commitment to including topics dealing with Whiteness within multiple courses. Even though this essentially could change the structure of the EDL program, such a goal was coded as an idealist descriptor based on the hope that multiple courses would inform White preservice teacher beliefs about privilege and power.

Hill-Jackson (2007) examined how White preservice teachers reflected on ideas of privilege and power by analyzing pre and post survey results of an anonymous set of students. She used identity development theories developed by Helms (1990), Hanvey (1975) and Banks and Banks (2003) to create three stages of shifting perceptions of racial identity (p. 30). She explained most students fell in the "unconscious" and "responsive" stages of identity development. Such students either did not acknowledge race as a factor in an individual's daily

experience or became aware of cultural traits of others. No students fell in the highest stage of

her racial development scale, "critical consciousness." She explained one class was not enough

for students to critically question racial hierarchies in society (p. 32). Being that the goal of her

study was to understand student perceptions of White privilege, this was coded as an idealist

descriptor. Hill-Jackson (2007) made no recommendations to change the structures of teacher

education programs or other elements of society to increase opportunities for minoritized

populations.

Adair (2008) investigated how a "minoritized" group of White male and female

preservice teachers (n=6) interacted in a multicultural teacher training (MTT) program with a

large number of Latina/o students. She termed the shifting racial power dynamics in the course

as a "(de)privileging process" (p.139) that occurred when White students were no longer the

racial majority. She defined this process by analyzing speech patterns and beliefs of White

students toward their Latino/a classmates. For example, in a class discussion, Latina/o students

controlled conversations about bilingualism based on their experience with dual-language

interactions. White students in the course had to compromise their beliefs in the economic value

of bilingualism for the Latina/o students' views of its moral necessity. Latina/o students argued

that ethically, Whites should learn more than one language because they had to as a minoritized

population. The primary data source of Adair's research design was how students discussed

issues of race and power. This design was coded as an idealist descriptor based on the emphasis

on language rather than structural change.

Adair provided idealist implications by calling for more researchers to determine how

White preservice teachers developed empathy and awareness of privilege. She explained

everyone in teacher education was culpable in perpetuating a system in which White teachers

consistently left urban and poor school districts. Rather than recommending the structures of

teacher education programs be changed in order to provide more opportunities to minoritized

populations, she recommended more faculty of color be hired in teacher education programs to

provide different perspectives from White teacher educators. We coded this recommendation as

idealist.

Fierros (2009) was another researcher who used idealist strategies to combat endemic

racism. He analyzed a course designed to help students consider multiple perspectives. In the

class, students interviewed members of the faculty who experienced life before and after the

Brown decision. Scripts were written based on these interviews and students took on the identity

of their interviewee for a culminating performance. Fierros called this approach "performance

ethnography," and explained it could be used to move, "beyond the traditional lecture, in-class

assignment, or small-group activity" (p. 4).

Although Fierros referenced performance ethnography as a way to push students toward

social change (p. 5), he never explained this was a specific goal of the course or his research. He

explained that the performance offered students a, "unique perspective about how other

university community members *perceived* the *Brown* decision" (author's emphasis, p. 7). We

classified Fierros' goals with the idealist camp based on his desire to change personal beliefs of

White preservice teachers to build empathy with minoritized populations. Fierros gave no realist

or idealist implications in his article, therefore, all data were coded as descriptors.

Working in a teacher education program that emphasized social justice (p. 137), Kaufman

and Hines' (2010) primary goal was to reshape students' views about White privilege and

connect privilege and systemic inequities. Again, goals centering on understanding beliefs

placed this study within the idealist camp. The researchers analyzed the effectiveness of one

pedagogical tool, an in-class viewing Episode 3 of the video *Race: The Power of an Illusion,* in reshaping student views. The video was used to challenge viewers to, "interrogate what they know and potentially build on and alter their knowledge base" (p. 139). This strategy was coded as an idealist descriptor.

Results were mixed. Some students explained the film provided a lens through which their beliefs of systemic inequities were developed, whereas others continued to question the existence of institutional racism and systemic inequities (p. 144). Challenging personal beliefs in relation to privilege and systemic inequities placed this article into the idealist camp.

Mueller and O'Connor (2007) investigated how preservice teachers (n=15) rewrote educational autobiographies when personal pasts were compared to someone considered an "other." The goal was to have participants consider larger structural determinants of educational outcomes (p. 842). An initial course survey revealed students' inability to connect personal positive educational trajectories with structural privilege (p. 844). One of the researchers' primary goals was to understand and challenge the personal beliefs of students within the course. These authors went further than others, however, by explaining goals of self-realization were not culminating objectives, but a beginning to the development of equitable teaching strategies (p. 841). Even though this claim was made, course content was presented to change student beliefs. Strategies to change structures of schools and districts were not identified.

While course readings seem to have affected many students, others continued to resist the concepts taught (p. 845 – 852). The authors questioned if resistance to multiculturalism by preservice teachers was a function of teacher educators' failure to address explicitly the moral logic that rationalized unearned privileges (p. 854). Further, they highlighted the limits of multicultural education based on the lack of programmatic emphasis. The first author explained

her difficulty in trying to cover too much information over a short period of time (p. 852). Goals of changing student beliefs in order to interact differently with minoritized populations placed this study within the idealist camp of CRT.

LaDuke (2009) did not provide specific course resources but described the course instructor as having, "developed activities which allowed students to consider their own multiple identities, the lived realities of others, and the role of education as a system of social reproduction" (p. 38). She explained students in the class she observed resisted the instructor's claim that systemic inequities stemmed from race-based privilege. LaDuke referenced the tenet of endemic racism more than any other researcher in this review. She explained many students were able to accept the reality of discrimination and prejudice but could not connect these concepts with institutional power (p. 40). Moreover, students resisted the need for strategies of social action based on their rejection of the concept of institutional racism (p. 42). Goals of understanding student perceptions of beliefs were coded as idealist descriptors. Being that the entirety of her study examined student beliefs in order to understand how many resisted calls for social justice, we placed this study within the idealist camp.

Adler (2011) used idealist strategies as well as an action research project aimed at determining how her own beliefs affected her ability to accept multiple perspectives of student conceptions of diversity. The goal of her multicultural education course was to create a safe space for preservice teachers to use their own cultures as lenses to examine personal biases (p. 611). Both of these goals were coded as idealist descriptors based on the desire to understand and shift personal perceptions of students in relation to diversity and bias.

Knight & Oesterreich (2011) compared social identity papers between two teacher education courses held within a rural and an urban teacher education program. The goal of the

identity papers was to teach students to address "educational and societal injustices" that the authors explained many of their students had experienced themselves (p. 205). The papers were meant to, "facilitate the implementation of equitable culturally relevant practices with . . . K-12 diverse student populations in rural and urban contexts" (p. 205). Even though these researchers had goals of creating equitable teaching praxis, having students analyze personal beliefs and identities placed this work in the idealist camp of CRT. Furthering this classification were idealist descriptors of participants speaking of their "selves," and revealing ways language was, "contested and legitimized for the benefit of some and not others in both rural and urban contexts" (p. 206). The authors explained such language revealed ways people were identified as "deficient" in society, furthering the idealist classification.

Amos (2011) explained that even after being shown statistics of the income disparities between minoritized populations and Whites, student journals revealed many viewed the U.S. as a meritocracy and blamed minoritized individuals for playing the "race card." Amos believed Whiteness did not allow preservice teachers to connect White privilege with anything more than individual acts of discrimination. Idealist implications were given urging teacher educators to place White preservice teachers in racially diverse field experiences to expose them to different perspectives. Although this could change the structure of teacher education programs, this recommendation seemed to have been made to expand the worldviews of White preservice teachers and not increase opportunities for minoritized groups, aligning this study with the idealist camp of CRT.

Brantmeier et al. (2011) investigated online collaborative learning modalities (CLM) used to augment discussions in a multicultural education course. Idealist strategies were used by developing course content that included the examination of current political issues such as

affirmative action with objectives of having students introspectively examine their social identity

(p. 12). Brantmeier et al. (2011) found engagement in the CLM forums resulted in participants'

understanding of a "systems reality" (p. 5) in which they realized they were controlled by larger

power structures. Coded as idealist implications, the authors recommended the use of CLM

forums for students to develop ideas of privilege. They also concluded that allowing more time

for preservice teachers to think about privilege could improve their abilities to connect racial

privilege with systemic inequities (p. 17).

Settlage (2011) hoped to show how accounts of White preservice teachers becoming anti-

racist allies could be considered "counter-stories" to the master narrative (p. 812). He assessed

student reflections called "3R" (Review-Reflect-Response) papers in a science methods course

that, "explicitly emphasized the persistent gaps in achievement between students from different

racial and ethnic backgrounds" (p. 814). Furthering the idealist classification based on an

emphasis on shifting beliefs, he explained that encouraging White preservice teachers to examine

their cultural histories and reject colorblind perspectives was important to becoming effective

teachers (p. 809). Idealist implications were provided that encouraged teacher educators to

change their own beliefs and view their White students as future allies who possessed, "assets

upon which we can build more culturally responsive dispositions and practices" (p. 812).

Souto-Manning (2011) gave students surveys to investigate attitudes toward racial

privilege based on personal cultural identities. Again, an emphasis on beliefs classified this work

as idealist. Early survey results showed students did not connect systemic inequities in the U.S.

with race-based privilege. Qualitative findings revealed Boalian theatre games such as "The

Power Shuffle" and "Columbian Hypnosis" provided a safe space for students to experience how

White supremacy was veiled in society. In debriefings, students explained they were shocked to

see how prejudiced society was (p. 1003). The games allowed White participants to consider

other experiences besides their own and exposed how a White majority defined what was

"normal" in society. Analysis of initial quantitative survey data revealed many White preservice

teachers blamed families of students of colors for academic failures. Such views shifted in post-

Boalian survey results, indicating more awareness of racial privilege. Souto-Manning referenced

social activism once in her study in relation to individualist goals of creating skills to build

caring communities (p. 998). This was coded as an idealist implication and emphasis on

personal beliefs placed her study within the idealist camp of CRT.

  Glenn (2012) utilized the tenet of counter-narrative to understand how texts written by

and about minoritized populations might allow preservice English teachers to think deeper about

race and become better prepared to teach in racially diverse settings (p. 326). She believed that

fictional stories might allow preservice teachers to question "normative depictions" of society

and consider the lived experiences of minoritized youth (p. 331). Findings were mixed. Some

students built understandings and empathetic feelings for minoritized populations (p. 335), and

others remained unable to make such connections. Glenn described the "normalization" of

White culture as inhibiting empathy toward minoritized groups (p. 338). She went on to explain

many students maintained deficit mindsets toward minoritized populations. Goals of changing

preservice teacher beliefs and possibly allowing them to make connections between White

privilege and systemic inequities were coded as idealist descriptors and aligned her study with

this camp of CRT.

  Curry (2013) collected data from reflection papers written in two sections of a

multicultural education course (p. 28). Her analysis was based on word frequencies and text

search queries to determine what words students used. She triangulated usage with student race

and gender. She explained, "I wanted to understand how candidates spoke about race, and how these conversations tended to play out along racial and gender lines" (p. 31). This emphasis on language was coded as an idealist descriptor and placed Curry's work within the idealist camp of CRT.

Fasching-Varner (2013) addressed the need to understand cultural mismatch between White teachers hoping to teach in urban schools. He interviewed White preservice teachers after taking a diversity education course and before entering classrooms as student teachers (p. 28). Fasching-Varner contended that racialized belief systems in the United States necessitated careful attention to how linguistics served to represent internalized beliefs (p. 22). He described White racial bonding as a product of linguistic markers that played a major role in perpetuating White privilege (p. 22). He went on to explain that once it was understood how preservice teachers' beliefs manifested, commonalities could be identified and used to better understand how Whiteness operated (p. 23). Findings included White preservice teachers using the semantic move "Uh… you know" when speaking about issues of race and power (pp. 33-34). In his conclusion, Fasching-Varner provided idealist implications by contending that teacher educators must seek to disrupt Whiteness in the teaching force by examining preservice teacher narratives and breaking through the socialization process to develop more equitable teaching strategies (p. 38). No recommendations were given about changing the structures in which teachers would be developing such equitable praxis.

Approaching Realist or Middle Ground Perspectives (Chronologically)

The following researchers went beyond the previous ones in our review. Similar to those discussed thus far, each of the following explained goals of understanding beliefs and changing

attitudes of preservice teachers. However, they also attempted to move preservice teachers

toward social action to create structural change.

Hytten and Warren (2003) investigated perceptions of White privilege within a single

multicultural education course. Their intent was to examine systems of power and culture (p.

76), aligning their work with the endemic tenet of CRT. The authors indicated, "names like bell

hooks, Richard Dyer, and Ruth Frankenberg roll[ed] off their (students) tongues as easy as you

please" (p. 65). These researchers, however, questioned the genuineness of students who

claimed to understand how race-based privilege and power perpetuated racism. Similar to Amos

(2011), Glenn (2010) and Marx (2004), the authors stated, "Whiteness *was* a discourse of power

that worked to maintain power imbalances" (emphasis in original, p. 67). The authors went

beyond these researchers, however, by using discourse analysis to develop strategies students

used to protect the dominance of Whiteness: Appeals to Self, Appeals to Progress, Appeals to

Authenticity and Appeals to Extremes (p. 70).

Within the "Appeals to Progress" category, Hytten and Warren examined students who

held realist goals of social activism by questioning the authenticity of such views. The

researchers explained students who called for the class to "take action" held the belief they

already fully understood "theories of Whiteness." Further, these students' calls for action were

usually accompanied with a "missionary-like zeal" (p. 74).

The authors explained that calls to action were not the problem. Problems arose when

calls were set up as binaries to reflection, when the latter was not seen as an integral part of

action or considered a barrier (p. 75). Such instances were coded as realist descriptors and

moved Hytten and Warren (2003) closer to realist perspectives in their goal of understanding

how White preservice teachers created discourses of Whiteness that perpetuated power through

language and beliefs. The researchers expressed middle ground perspectives by acknowledging how both identity development and calls for social action were important to battle endemic racism.

Bullock and Freedman (2006) made no specific references to the tenets of CRT. Aligning with the idealist camp, students completed a survey to assess their attitudes regarding diverse populations (p. 137). Realist implications were provided for teacher educators, however, with the authors' claims that, "transformation of systems of oppression must take place on multiple levels, including institutional, societal, interpersonal, and intrapersonal" (p. 148). Realist descriptors of social activist strategies also emerged from their findings. In journal entries, some students expressed desires to become active in educating other Whites about power and privilege (p. 143). This finding, however, seemed consistent with individualized idealist strategies based on the students' goals to become activists to change the attitudes of Whites rather than work to change societal power structures. Therefore, we placed this study in the middle ground based on the idealist descriptors and realist implications provided above.

Parks (2006) made references to the tenet of endemic racism throughout her article. She analyzed 150 admissions and multicultural education course (MCE) papers dealing with issues of culture and diversity. She explained that in admission papers (before taking the MCE course) students did not connect systemic inequities with White privilege or Whiteness. After the course, however, students began to show understandings of, "how schools operate in the larger social order and their role as teachers in perpetuating the status quo" (p. 48). Similar to Bullock and Freedman (2006), Parks (2006) approached the realist or middle ground camps in her statement that her article, "substantiates that teacher education can in fact change students' beliefs and help preservice teachers recognize their ability to be and create agents of social

change" (p. 46). This quote showed Parks' contention that idealist strategies of affecting

personal beliefs were important in creating opportunities for realist strategies of structural

reform.

Galman, Pica-Smith, and Rosenberger's (2010) analyzed White preservice teacher

attitudes toward White privilege in single multicultural education courses. Students had

difficulty connecting race-based privilege with endemic racism. Unlike other studies found in

this review, the researchers focused on their own beliefs toward privilege and power alongside

an examination of how preservice teachers experienced race and racism (p. 226). Silence and

desires to not offend each other were seen as possible barriers to deeper conversations between

the research team about race-based privilege throughout the study. Idealist goals of

understanding how their lives and the lives of their students were shaped by racism in order to

end systems of oppression were explained. Findings from their study emphasized the Whiteness

of the researchers as another possible barrier in motivating their students to become social

activists (p. 233). This finding implied a goal of the course was to motivate students to become

said activists, moving these researchers closer toward a realist or middle ground perspective.

Page (2010) investigated how teacher educators used Whiteness and White privilege as

tools to train and reshape preservice teachers' perceptions of Whiteness in a two-year teacher-

training program. The only researcher whose study was outside of a single class (or reading

group) and at the programmatic level, Page explained professors developed activities aimed at

linking racism and class inequity to larger systemic oppression (p. 8). After a semester and a

half engaging in coursework dealing with the concept of White privilege, students reflected more

on race while completing writing assignments. Many, however, still did not connect privileges

with systemic inequities. By the end of the program, interview data showed approximately one-

third of the cohort connected systemic inequities and power with race. Page identified

simulations such as privilege walks to be particularly useful in accomplishing this. Page's

research also followed participants into their classrooms as inservice teachers to determine how

well the cohort were rated by their principals in their ability to interact with minoritized students.

She explained the program, "mirrored the dimensions found in the literature: we taught about

identity and knowing oneself; we taught about power, equity, and systemic racism; and we

taught about transforming words and actions to create change in the systems in which we work"

(p. 9). While understanding identity aligned with the idealist camp of CRT, goals of changing

words to actions that created structural change situated Page's work closer to the middle ground.

Discussion/Implications

Being that many (n= 22, 84.6%) researchers found in our review did not specifically

address the need for teacher educators to understand White privilege and systemic inequities in

relation to urban students, we contend more needs to be done. Our review showed many

researchers held idealist goals of analyzing language and changing personal perceptions of White

preservice teachers to combat racism. Our discussion will address possible barriers to moving

beyond idealist strategies within teacher education, as well as provide a feasible blueprint for

programmatic change. While idealist strategies are important in attempting to combat

oppression in the United States, it is our contention that such strategies must not be culminating

objectives. Teacher educators who strive to give preservice teachers tools to work in urban areas

are remiss if they do not address systemic inequities with goals of inspiring systemic reform.

The tendency to address White privilege using idealist perspectives might occur for a

variety of reasons. First, as shown by Helms (1990), identity development takes time.

Additionally, the lack of time afforded teacher educators outside of single multicultural

education courses (e.g., field placements) afforded to address systemic inequities in relation to

White privilege and identity development could play a role in limiting the type of course and

program designs aimed at promoting structural reform. Unfortunately, even with multiple

researchers over almost twenty years (Brantmeier et al., 2011; Fasching-Varner, 2013; Lawrence

& Bunche, 1996; Mueller & O'Connor, 2007) recommending more than one course be taught to

address multicultural issues, the majority of the studies in this review took place within

individual courses or single-day multicultural classes (n=20, 76.9%). Multiple courses, however,

may still not be enough for students to acknowledge racial privilege and make connections with

systemic inequities if these courses are not strategically and developmentally designed.

Moreover, in order for change to occur at the institutional level, efforts must be recursive,

longitudinal, collective and community based. Only one study (Allan & Estler, 2005) gave

specifics as to how teacher educators worked collectively to address issues of racial privilege,

power, and systemic inequities within their institution.

Multiple researchers (Amos, 2011; Galman et al., 2010; Glenn, 2010; Hytten & Warren,

2003; Marx, 2004; Souto-Manning, 2011) explicitly interpreted Whiteness as a barrier between

preservice teacher acknowledgement of race-based privilege and systemic inequities. Of this

group, Galman et al., (2010) were the only researchers to address how Whiteness affected their

own research efforts. This finding points to a very important issue that goes ignored in many

teacher education programs. It appears that teacher educators expend significant energy

attempting to prepare preservice teachers to address the needs of minoritized students. However,

a missing link might be interrogation of individual and collective beliefs among teacher

educators about the role of Whiteness and privilege in perpetuating systemic inequities.

In his seminal work, Scheurich (1993) explained White researchers had a responsibility to make, "White racism a central, self-reflective topic of inquiry within the academy" (p. 9). White privilege manifests in the structures of our daily lives through policies and networks created to benefit those who adhere to the socialization practices of the dominant White racial group in society (pp. 6-7). Scheurich urged White teacher educators to realize how Whiteness blinded many to the perpetuation of privilege and power in academics through ideals of individualism. We agree with this assertion, however, we contend more must be done. It is imperative that along with identity development, White educators also provide themselves and preservice teachers with tools such as training in collective action, readings on non-violent protest strategies and negotiation techniques to become social agents of change in the fight against structural racism.

While the majority of researchers included in this review lacked realist goals in their work, we commend them all for taking on important issues such as race-based privilege and systemic inequities in their classrooms and research. Such work is important due to the possibility of contentious interactions between minoritized youth and White teachers who do not understand the reality of systemic inequities in the U.S. as explained in the outset of this review. Through our own teaching experiences, we understand how difficult and frustrating this work can be.

We conclude by providing an example of how the topic of structural racism might be incorporated into a developmentally designed teacher education program that includes idealist and realist perspectives. Such a program might show preservice teachers that schools are microcosms of a larger society that historically have set up systems to maintain White supremacy. Early foundational courses taken by preservice teachers could be designed with

idealist goals of identity development. Upper level courses such as methods and curriculum

design could build on foundational knowledge by including discussions of current issues that

show how systemic oppression works in the United States. For example, as we write, two

African American males, Alton Sterling of Baton Rouge and Philando Castile of St. Paul, were

murdered by White police officers, adding their names to a long list of similar tragedies. This

time, however, a member of the Black community retaliated against White police officers in

Dallas by murdering five. Students could analyze how both the liberal and conservative media

reported these killings. Analysis could be centered on addressing what happened to the media

coverage about the two Black victims after the White police officers were killed. Such analysis

could be connected to other relevant current issues that show these events were not isolated.

Students in math methods courses could study statistical data dealing with racial

disparities in police brutality. In literacy methods courses, students could research how the

individuals involved in precipitating events were portrayed in both print and televised media.

Teacher educators and their students could then learn side-by-side, through reading, research,

and letter writing campaigns to law enforcement agencies and state legislators about how to use

this careful analysis to generate collective social action to combat injustice (we believe this

possibly should be done in a class of students interested in social justice prior to entering the

course being that these students may be more motivated to work toward systemic change). This

work at the program level would have to be planned, coordinated and evaluated recursively by

administrators, teacher educators, practitioners, and preservice teachers as they apply these tools

during their internship and early career experiences.

Finally, it is unfortunate that most (n= 22, 84.6%) of the studies found in this review did

not specifically address connecting race-based privilege with systemic inequities in conjunction

with preparing preservice teachers to teach in urban settings. This is important because, as we outlined in the beginning of this article, more minoritized students are being served in these settings. Given that misconceptions and misinterpretations of minoritized students are more pervasive in these schools, it is imperative that more teacher educators design programs where urban schooling is a primary, explicitly identified focus because students in these schools are more likely to experience inequities in their daily lives. As Bell (1991) explained, if individuals continue to understand racism as an aberration in American history, it will lead to far more despair and anguish than realizing its permanence. Such a realization does not mean that individuals should resist fighting racism, but rather create more effective strategies to battle its endemic nature. A case in point is the example we provided about police brutality and the *Black Lives Matter* movement. While this content should be a focus in any program, preparing preservice teachers to acknowledge the connections between Whiteness and endemic racism and giving them tools to address this issue in urban classrooms can equip them and their students to oppose injustice collectively and within the context of their lived experiences.

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A Privileged Perspective: How a Racially Conscious White Male Teacher

Interacts with his Students[5]

Jacob S. Bennett

University of Virginia

Abstract

The goal of this interpretive study was to further research in the field of Whiteness studies by empirically analyzing how a racially conscious White male teacher interacts with his minoritized and White students. The teacher's classroom was examined using Critical Race and Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT). Two empirical assertions were developed based on the continual search for disconfirming evidence within interview and observational data. Results show the teacher participant created a learning environment in which his Black minoritized students felt comfortable, trusted, and respected.

A Privileged Perspective: How a Racially Conscious White Male

Teacher Interacts with his Students

According to the United States Department of Education (2016), 82% of the teacher

population in the country is White. In 2015, however, many districts around the country reported

White students being less than 50% of school populations (Wells, 2015). With these

demographics, White public school teachers are almost certain to interact with students from

different racial backgrounds than their own. Scholars have put forth ideas about how to address

these demographics. For example, Gay (2002), Ladson-Billings (2007), and Sleeter (2008) have

explained that teachers must be culturally responsive to their students' backgrounds, allowing

them to create relationships that enhance student achievement.

Researchers have also argued that policy makers have wrongly interpreted obstacles that

hamper academic achievement as linear, orderly occurrences that are simple to understand (e.g.,

Rorrer, Skrla, & Scheurich, 2008). This framing of low achievement is centered on a deficit

ideology (Gorski, 2011) and ignores many contextual factors and dynamic networks of

interactions (Rorrer et al. 2008) that affect schools and students on a daily basis.

One aspect that has not been considered in developing teacher/student relationships is

beliefs about Whiteness and racial privilege. Findings from teacher education research show this

process is often complicated. For instance, researchers have shown even after preservice

teachers reflect on their identity in relation to Whiteness, many still deny the reality of systemic

inequities that create dissimilar opportunities for minoritized and Whites students in the United

States (e.g., Case & Hemmings, 2005; Mueller & O'Connor, 2007; Amos, 2011; Souto-Manning,

2011). Such denials might adversely affect relationships between teachers and their minoritized

students. White teachers must, 'check themselves before they wreck themselves' by undertaking

the emotional and mental process of becoming conscious of their Whiteness before seeking to

become culturally responsive teachers (Matias, 2013, p. 67-68). Matias went on to argue that

White teachers who fail to examine their racial backgrounds can perpetuate White supremacy by

recycling the unbalanced power structure of race in education and society.

In the field of social psychology, Wallace and Chhuon (2014) used developmental

psychological frames (i.e., Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) to analyze how teachers in urban

schools who acknowledged their own and their students' cultural and racial backgrounds

interacted with their students which they labeled 'proximal processes.' They found that when

teachers were cognizant of racialized experiences (i.e., how the social construction of race

influences how people are perceived) they were able to create positive relationships with

students from diverse racial and cultural backgrounds. The authors reported three adolescent

interpretations of proximal process: feeling heard in class; going all in; and taking students

seriously. 'Engagement Orientations' of going all in were described through teacher

characteristic descriptions of being, 'Uninhibited, enthusiastic, and sustained focus on

connections with students and course material' (Wallace & Chhuon 2014, p. 952). Moreover,

students perceived teachers who genuinely sought interpersonal connections with them as

effective teachers.

In another empirical study, Duncan-Andrade (2007) found inservice teachers'

development of comfort and connectedness with minoritized P-12 students increased the

likelihood of higher levels of achievement.[6] Examining three separate elementary and secondary

teachers' (both White and minoritized) classrooms in Los Angeles over a three year period, the

author highlighted five indicators embodied by effective teachers in urban schools: critically

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[6] I use this term rather than 'students of color' or 'minority students' to show the power in being labeled a minority by the dominant group as described by Apple (2013).

conscious purpose; a sense of duty toward students and the community; significant time given to preparing for classes taught; a sense of 'Socratic sensibility' (West, 2001) (i.e., a lifelong commitment to learning coupled with an understanding that an examination of life is often painful); and a distinct commitment to building trust with their students. Although it is known that the relationship between the teacher and student is an important in creating positive learning environments, what is not clear is how White teachers who are racially conscious build positive relationships with their students and how their students perceive them.

It is my contention, as the research above shows, that relationships are the foundational element to creating the type of academic environment in which all students can succeed. Therefore, the central element to this study was to elucidate how race may play a role in the interactions that led to relationships between a White male teacher and his students. Using Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) coupled with Critical Race Theory (CRT), I explored how a White male teacher, Chauncey Wright, interacted with his White and minoritized students. Research questions for the study included:

1. What differences may be present in how a White male teacher who acknowledges White privilege interacts with his minoritized and White students?

2. How do the students of a White teacher who acknowledges White privilege describe his relationships with them?

Before presenting a discussion of the theoretical framework used to analyze and guide observations and interviews, I describe my identity development toward racial consciousness.

My personal transformation from denial to acknowledgment of race-based privilege makes the goals of this study of particular interest to me. I am influenced by personal experiences as a White male social studies teacher at a suburban Atlanta high school with a

racially diverse student body and an urban high school in Nashville with a majority African American student population. Between my time teaching at these schools, I developed an understanding of how systemic oppression permeates society. I completed a Masters (MA) thesis focused on what I called 'Black privilege.' I believed minoritized groups, specifically African Americans in Atlanta, received numerous benefits such as high level jobs in school districts and other powerful positions in the city. It was my goal to show how these groups were just as privileged as Whites.

I began taking courses on African and African American history. My logic was to understand the beliefs of those who would present the most opposition to my thesis of Black privilege—minoritized populations—in order to argue my points rigorously and convincingly. Taking courses in which we read books on topics such as the Haitian Revolution (Dubois, 2012), White Flight (Kruse, 2011), colonial Blackness (Bennett, 2009), the African Diaspora (Butler, 2001) as well as my independent reading of *Race Matters* (West, 1993) and portions of *Why are all the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?* (Tatum, 2003) shifted my worldview.

By the end of the two-year MA program, I switched my thesis topic from Black privilege to a study on the history of the concept of White privilege (Bennett, 2012). It was not my intention to argue for the reality of White privilege, but to examine how the concept was understood in the U. S. since the country's inception. My thesis allowed me to consider how race still plays a role in creating different opportunities for individuals within the United States.

In relation to teaching, I began to understand that my perception of 'normal' was based on my own identity as a White male. I contend that becoming aware of White privilege and racial supremacy helped me empathize more with the lived experiences of my minoritized students. In return, I believe this strengthened my ability to build positive relationships with

students from different racial backgrounds than my own. I contend this self-awareness of identity

development is essential to understanding the design of this study and why I believe this process

is important for all teachers to explore. I now move to a discussion of my theoretical frames.

Theoretical Framework

Roth and Lee (2007, 186) explained the field of educational research is confronted with a

multitude of conundrums that modern psychology has not overcome. There is a growing

movement in the field, however, that aims to justify Vygotsky's 'fullness of life' theory through

concerns of affecting teaching praxis (Roth & Lee, 2007, p. 187). A problem with psychological

modes of analysis was that often they were, '. . . segregated from the fullness of life, from the

personal needs and interests, the inclinations and impulses of the thinker' (Vygotsky, 1980, p.

10). Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) provides a medium for researchers to do this.

Early CHAT theorists were influenced significantly by Vygotsky (1978) and his concept

of mediation. This concept rests on the idea that adults equip children with mental tools or

instruments needed to mediate their mental processes (Karpov, 2003). Based on this assertion,

first generation CHAT researchers focused on an individual's (adults and children) use of tools

or artifacts in order to investigate specific human actions (Engeström, 2011). Similarities can be

seen between the basic mediation triangle and the second-generation CHAT diagram (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Vygotsky's (1978) basic mediated action triangle (cited in Yamagata-Lynch

(2007)), with additions made by Cole and Engeström (1993)

As the figures above show, Cole and Engeström (1993) added contextual nuance to Vygotsky's

(1978) basic mediation triangle by including categories of rules, community, and division of

labor.

Rather than explain each addition made to Vygotsky's work on the figure, table one seeks

to show the dynamic components of the CHAT diagram from a researcher's perspective. Each

component is symbiotic in that all affect each other in a continual and expansive way.

CHAT Principles (Engeström, 1999; 2011) Historicity; Entire System is Unit of Analysis; Contradictions and Disruptions Lead to Growth						
CHAT Dynamics	*Subject(s):* Primary participant(s) under analysis	*Object(s):* Where the subject places emphasis in relation to the outcomes of the activity system	*Rules:* Societal, state, district and school policies that affect classroom organization developed by the subject(s)	*Division of Labor:* How power is distributed throughout a system (Usually vertically or horizontally organized)	*Mediating Artifacts:* Tools and other strategies used by the subject(s) to reach contextual outcomes	*Outcomes:* Goals of the subject in relation to the system's community, rules, and division of labor

Table 1: CHAT Components

CHAT scholars adhering to Vygotsky's (1978) theory took his mediation concept and pushed

further by investigating participants in relation to larger structural forces rather than solely in

relation to their interactions with mediating artifacts. Engeström (1994, p. 46) explained:

> A conceptual model of the activity system is particularly useful when one wants to make
>
> sense of systemic factors behind seemingly individual and accidental disturbances,
>
> deviations and innovations occurring in the daily practice of workplaces.

The CHAT principle that the entire system is the unit of analysis pushes researchers to observe

how individuals and collectives navigate through external power structures such as federal, state,

and local policies. Such structures may differentially affect individual and collective outcomes at the micro-level (Foot, 2014).

Scholars who utilize CHAT also consider the importance of understanding the historicity of an activity system. This means understanding how past macro and micro policies affected and affect individual and group actions within a certain context. To do this, researchers consider how past structural (e.g., rules, power dynamics) and individual (e.g., intrapersonal and interpersonal) aspects affect the subject(s) and object(s) within the contexts being studied. Finally, the idea of an activity system as an expansive cycle implies that observations of possible contradictions made by the subject within a study could lead to collective as well as individual growth. As such, all data, even those some consider misinformed or coincidental, are important to consider and document when studying an activity system.

In this study, I used CHAT to examine how Chauncey Wright's (subject) present perceptions of race may have affected his interactions with students (object). Adhering to the CHAT principles of contradiction being a catalyst for change, I observed and analyzed any inconsistencies or incongruities made by Chauncey in relation to larger structural dynamics in the school and his own shifting perspectives or actions. The rules, community, and division of labor components of the CHAT diagram describe how roles and power are disseminated within a system. Previously, researchers (Cole & Engeström, 1993; Engeström, 2011; Yamagata-Lynch, 2007) using CHAT have placed these categories at the bottom of the CHAT diagram. Being that these are the only places in which outcomes of power seem to be explicitly addressed, I inverted the standard CHAT diagram in order to place the power categories at the top, implying the importance of each as shown in figure 2 below.
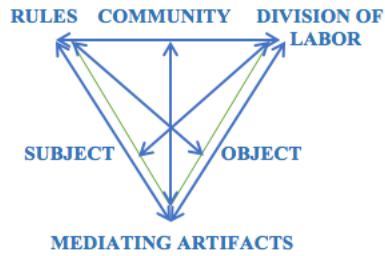
Figure 2: Inverted CHAT Diagram

Being based on a materialist theory of history (i.e., Marxism), observing the

dissemination of power through the use of mediating artifacts is central to the CHAT model.

However, being that I was interested in how relationships were formed between Chauncey and

his students, I did not feel the traditional tangible mediating artifacts such as computers, paper,

pencils, etc., were as important to understand as Chauncey's embodied traits. Foot (2014)

argued language should also be considered an artifact. She explained words materialize in our

individual perceptions of their meaning based on experience, just as we base meaning of a tool

such as a hammer on our previous use. Being that I was interested in how Chauncey's

acknowledgement of race played a role in his interactions with students, I considered his

communication techniques and other embodied characteristics artifacts.

As shown in Table 2 below, I also embedded Critical Race Theory (CRT) within the

CHAT model to place an emphasis on the racial power dynamics within the activity system.

Infusion of CRT within CHAT Components						
Subject(s): Chauncey Wright (White male teacher)	*Object(s):* **How Chauncey's background influenced his perception of Whiteness & How Chauncey interacted with his White and minoritized students**	*Community:* **How race plays a role in the way Chauncey navigates the larger school community in relation to setting up his classroom, rules, and division of labor**	*Rules:* **If and how Chauncey considers students' race in creation of classroom rules in relation larger school policy**	*Division of Labor:* **How power is distributed throughout the activity system in relation to student race**	*Mediating Artifacts:* **Embodied characteristics used while interacting with minoritized and White students**	*Outcomes:* **Goals Chauncey sets for his students based on his understanding of how their race affects their daily lives**

Table 2: CHAT Infused with CRT

Infusing CRT allowed me to observe how race attributed to the power dynamics within the

activity system. Specifically, I adhered to the CRT tenet of racism as endemic, not an aberration

in U.S. history throughout my data collection and analysis. Endemic racism implies its

ordinariness and highlights the fact that racism is hard to combat in the U.S. because the

dominant racial group often denies its existence. Researchers have utilized this definition to

show how racism penetrates all aspects of academia and society, from social work (Abrams &

Molo 2009) and adult education (Closson, 2010), to literature (Brooks, 2009) and university

athletics (Cooper & Hawkins, 2014). As such, acknowledging the effects of endemic racism

within P-12 schools helped me observe ways racialized power played a role in the structure of

this activity system.

Research Context

Site and Participants

Setting. This study was completed within an Advancement Via Individual

Determination (AVID) class at a suburban high school in the Mid-Atlantic United States that

from here on will be referred to as Nesta High School (NHS). Access was gained to NHS and

Chauncey's classroom through approval from the school's principal and a university's institutional review board. NHS' website reports student demographics as 47% White, 44% Black, 5% Asian, and 4% Hispanic (in-group differences non-withstanding).

Utilizing the CHAT principle of historicity shows NHS was steeped in the massive resistance movement undertaken by parents and other community members opposed to racial integration of public schools in the Mid-Atlantic States. After the *Brown v. Board* decision was made on May 17, 1954, a state senator announced that Virginia would use massive resistance to close any schools ordered to integrate (Gaston & Hammond, 1962; 2012). Approximately 1700 students were affected by the closings. When the schools were reopened in 1959, Gaston and Hammond (1962; 2012) explained that to attend the integrated high school, Black students were required to provide proof of residence as well as evidence of adequate grade level academic achievement. These stipulations were not required for White students to attend the school (p. 100). Such a history situates NHS in a specific type of racialized power structure (i.e., with White students given differential access to learning), which I will discuss later in this paper.

Within NHS today, the AVID program is provided for students in all grades. Such courses are aimed at preparing historically 'underserved' students for college (AVID, 2016). According to the national website, the philosophy is that teachers should, 'Hold students accountable to the highest standards, provide academic and social support, and the [students] will rise to the challenge' (AVID, 2016). At NHS, all students in the AVID program were required to apply for admission. Requirements for admittance were listed as satisfactory citizenship, good attendance, and a grade point average (GPA) of 2.0-3.5. The majority of students in AVID at NHS were first generation college students. There were no formal tests (i.e., multiple choice or

essays) in the course. Instead, Chauncey graded students on participation in class tutorials, as well as completion of in-class activities such as note taking and college fair presentation projects.

The classroom in which the AVID course met was approximately 25'x 25'. Desks were organized in groups of two, three, and four, with two long rectangular tables situated in the middle of room with seating for eight. There were two 'love-seat' sofas in the back of the room along with a large cushioned chair, all in which students could sit at will. This arrangement, along with no teacher-desk, made the room feel student-centered. Chauncey confirmed this during interviews – his intention was to make the room welcoming and comfortable for all students, and affected how Chauncey organized the rules for his AVID class.

Participants

Teacher. I met Chauncey through his wife, who is a doctoral student and a member of a minoritized group. Chauncey and I developed a cordial relationship and attended numerous social events together, allowing us to get to know each other outside of academics. I purposively selected him based on our previous social and working relationship and his acknowledgement of White privilege (I observed another course he taught the previous year for a graduate seminar). I believed our previous relationship would allow us to create the type of comfortable and respectful working environment recommended by Lofland, Snow, Anderson and Lofland (2006) when undertaking qualitative research methods.

During many informal conversations before this study began, Chauncey stated he felt more needed to be done within NHS to address issues of White privilege and power. He explained his desire to complete activities such as privilege walks with his students so they could develop understandings of how power differentially affects racial groups in the United States. (Chauncey Interview 1, 10/15/15). This point intrigued me based on my goal of understanding

how race may play a role in interactions between teachers and students, and verified my

hypothesis that Chauncey would be an ideal candidate to work with.

Chauncey was certified in both Special Education and English Education at the time of

this study. He was employed as a teacher for eight years, and worked at NHS for two. Before

this, he worked as a middle school special education teacher. Being certified and trained as a

special education teacher may have provided Chauncey with a unique set of skills to differentiate

instruction for students with diverse learning needs.

I began this study knowing that our relationship might affect my analysis based on any

possible conscious or subconscious biases I may hold toward Chauncey. As stated in the

American Educational Research Association's (AERA) guidelines for ethical research, I sought

to not allow my cordial relationship with Chauncey to outweigh my responsibilities as an ethical

researcher (AERA, 2011, p. 46). I made a conscious effort to hold this reality constant in my

mind throughout data collection and analysis and used this awareness to guide my actions during

completion of the study. For instance, I did not withhold what I perceived as detrimental

information from Chauncey for fear of hurting his feelings, a fact that I brought to his attention

throughout the study. Moreover, I was cognizant of the fact that Chauncey might withhold

information from me as well, and reminded him to be as forthright as he could throughout the

interview process.

Students. Chauncey reported student demographics of his AVID class as: 22 students–

15 Female (10 African American[7], Three White, One Latina, One Indian) Seven Male (Six

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[7] It is important to note that throughout this research, Chauncey used the terms 'Black' and 'African American' interchangeably when describing minoritized students. I contend this shows Chauncey's privileged perspective in seemingly not realizing some of his Black students were not African Americans, but immigrants originating from countries outside the United States. Based on this perspective, I employ the terms interchangeably throughout this manuscript to

African American, One White). These demographics allowed me to compare interactions

between Chauncey and his White and minoritized students. I used purposive sampling to select

students of different races for focus group interviews (i.e., White, African American, Latino,

Asian American, bi-racial, etc.). I announced to students that I hoped to speak with them about

their relationship with Chauncey.

Chauncey gave students eighteen years-of-age or older consent forms to sign and return.

He gave those under eighteen assent forms to have signed by their parent(s)/guardian(s) and

returned to him. I also provided lunch for students who returned the completed form. Twenty-

three African American students returned the necessary paperwork for participation. I chose the

first nine students in this group who returned their forms for the focus groups.

Researcher's Role

I adhere to the contention that the experience of a researcher cannot be fixed being that

my position and identity are never static within a given context (Johnson-Bailey & Ray, 2005,

227). As such, throughout this study I was a participant observer. This meant I interacted with

students through cordial exchanges such as greetings, inquiries into how their days were

progressing, and other topics unrelated to course content and based on the needs of the specific

moment of interaction. I did not converse with the students about their course work, or take part

in lesson planning or execution. I also remained conscious of my Whiteness and maleness and

the effects these characteristics might have on the students, as well as the power I held as an

outside researcher entering the context of their classroom.

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highlight the power Chauncey had in minoritizing his students. I also believe this can be applied
to our larger society, with many Whites generalizing to all Black people as African Americans
and visa-versa.

Data Generation Methods

Data generation was completed within a school semester (five months, August - December), with one follow up phone interview with Chauncey in June, resulting in prolonged engagement. I generated data from field notes completed in approximately 15 hours of classroom observations, taking place on Wednesdays and Fridays, and lasting between 1-2 hours based on the modified block schedule of NHS. I took field notes during each observation and transferred each into digital analytic memos. Four, hour-long, unstructured open-ended interviews were completed with Chauncey in his classroom following observations. I chose an open-ended process based on the argument that such a structure is used to, "discover the characteristics of a domain in the research model from the perspective of the individual" (Schensul, 2005, p. 520). Questions were generated based on interactions observed in the classroom. For example, if I observed Chauncey interacting with a specific student, I asked why he chose to interact the way he did. I used the follow-up phone interview six months after the final observation for member checking. The nine students were interviewed in three separate open-ended focus groups after teacher interviews were completed. Focus groups took place in a private office adjacent to Chauncey's classroom. I asked students to describe their relationship with Mr. Wright. I audio recorded focus groups for referential adequacy, and permitted all interview participants to listen to the audio for member checking.

Data Analysis

Erickson (1985) as well as Corbin and Strauss (2014) explained key linkages should be searched for throughout analysis in order to identify emerging patterns created. I recorded patterns seen in Chauncey's interactions with his students in field notes and analytic memos throughout data collection. Data analyses was completed through the process of analytic

induction based on the generation and testing of assertions. Such analyses revealed the need to enhance CHAT with a theoretical frame, CRT, that placed race and power at the forefront of Chauncey's interactions. Using these lenses, I generated assertions from patterns seen in Chauncey's daily interactions with his students. The ability to create assertions in the field rather than creating a-priori coding guides allowed results to be tested and manipulated based on possible changing interactions of Chauncey and his students throughout the study. Analysis of direct quotes, field notes, memos, and interviews led to the generation of assertions, provided in the results section.

Validity

Validity criteria (i.e., the search for disconfirming evidence) must be based on the immediate and local meaning making of participants (Erickson, 1985, p. 119). In other words, researchers cannot interpret observation and interview results without conferring their meaning with the participants in the field. Based on this, I checked assertions generated throughout the study with Chauncey in order to determine if our interpretations aligned. If Chauncey felt the assertion was misleading in any way, he explained his actions in more depth and we modified the assertion accordingly. For example, the first assertion emerged and then was adapted based on Chauncey's explanation of why he felt the need to treat certain students differently than others based on his previous working relationships with them.

I searched for disconfirming evidence throughout data analysis to ensure assertions were valid across both rare and common events in the classroom. To do this, if assertions were not confirmed based on further observations/interviews, I reassessed and adapted them or threw them out. An early assertion, for example, was that Chauncey shifted his embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) based on a deep understanding of popular culture. I could not confirm

this with Chauncey during interviews or over more than two observations, therefore the assertion

was discarded. I also kept a reflexive methodological journal throughout the study in order to

continuously consider my biases.

Results

Through data analysis using CRT and CHAT as lenses, two major themes emerged:

- Chauncey consciously interacted with his White and minoritized students in different

   ways based on his perceptions of the larger racial dynamics seen at NHS and the local

   community.

- A central goal in his classroom was to build trust with all of his students.

The latter finding aligns with those provided above (i.e., Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Wallace &

Chhuon, 2014) in that trust has been found to be a major component necessary in creating

comfortable spaces for students to connect with their teachers. The former finding, however,

provides a new way to understand how a White teacher might build relationships with her/his

minoritized and White students. As a White male, Chauncey created different relationships with

his White and minoritized students based on his perception of the ways race contributed to their

experiences within the activity system. All relationships, however, were grounded in goals of

creating trust. Next, I present to two assertions.

Differential Treatment

As explained before, applying CRT within my analysis allowed me to place race at the

forefront of my observations and interviews with Chauncey. When asked if he thought it was

important to be conscious of a student's race when building relationships, he stated, 'To not

acknowledge it [race] is pretending it doesn't exist, when it does. I mean you wouldn't not

acknowledge that I went to college, so why not acknowledge that I'm White?' (Chauncey

Interview 4, 11/20/2015). He continued to express hope that his students all felt respected in his class, no matter their race, while still being aware of each other's differences. He explained he hoped this could be done without putting difference on some sort of 'ranking system' (Chauncey Interview, 4, 11/20/2015).

Observations showed Chauncey seemed to have a goal of holding high expectations for all students, no matter their race, while still considering how race played a role in determining their lived experiences. This shows even though Chauncey believed Black minoritized students in his class experienced school in similar ways, he hoped to treat them as individuals. Chauncey explained:

Especially in this town, where you live matters, some of the kids I teach live in the habitat for humanity homes, some are homeless, some have lived in the same houses their whole lives . . . it'd be hard to say [race] doesn't have anything to do with it if you look at who's been able to get college degrees the last fifty years. Some of the reason these kids are first-generation college kids is because their grandparents weren't allowed admission [to college]. These kids' family members haven't been afforded equal access. It's all about getting these kids opportunities that weren't available (Chauncey Interview 4, 11/20/2015).

Even though Chauncey's perception is somewhat misplaced being that minoritized individuals of past generations with high school diplomas could have gained admission into numerous historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs), this quote shows he understood that the larger community outside this activity system had an effect on his students' lives. He seemed to understand past racial injustices still affected Black minoritized students, which created different opportunities.

In another instance of Chauncey's apparent understanding of the effects of the structural nature of oppression on his students, he began to express frustration in some who chose to work at part-time jobs after school instead of completing homework assignments or adequately preparing for examinations. He explained one of his hopes was to try and make students realize the shortsightedness of these choices. However, when Chauncey began to explain this sentiment in more detail, a more nuanced understanding emerged which showed his perception of students' individuality as well:

> Though, for some of these kids it's not a choice, some work for fun, some work because they have to. For some of the kids just getting to tomorrow is enough of a trouble. So, prepping for the SAT they are going to take in April, why study now? Some other kids see it, if they put the work in now the test is going to be easier, but their life has allowed them to see down the road. (Chauncey Interview 4, 11/20/2015).

Such a statement showed that Chauncey, at times, acknowledged that factors outside of school hampered some students' ability to be academically successful. Other times, however, Chauncey expressed his frustration that some of his students in AVID did not seem to be self-motivated (harping back to the national AVID goal of bolstering individual determination). He believed that students who did not put the proper amount of self-guided effort into their work should not be a part of the program. His frustrations were based on what he described as students (White and minoritized) not taking advantage of the opportunities he was trying to provide for them with college visits and other class activities (Field Notes, 11/4/2015). Even with this general frustration, he seemed to provide minoritized students different support than White students in his class in overcoming obstacles created by historic systemic racism.

Often, Chauncey would observe his minoritized students being off task more than three times before asking them to change their actions. Conversely, it often took only one observation of White students to produce a stern statement from him. I asked Chauncey about this in an interview. His reply shows he was consciously aware of the ways he treated his students:

A lot of them [Black students] are the only Black kids in their AP or honors classes. So, they see their friends [in my class] and are able to talk about similar stuff that's going on, because sometimes they just don't get that space in other parts of their day. I think part of treating the White students in the AVID class differently is because of their history of not doing work. The table in the back with the African American students, I go over and check on them, and even if they're a little slow to get started, they always get it done. The others [White students] have so many zeros from not doing work. Like Jimmy, across all his classes, doesn't do work because he's on computer games all the time, so I know if I don't get on him for stuff he's not going to follow through . . . (Chauncey Interview 4, 11/20/2015).

In relation to his White students, Chauncey explained it was his perception that many were less likely to get on task if he was not stern in telling them to do so (Chauncey Interview 5, 6/8/16). The interview excerpt above shows Chauncey may have had many reasons for the differential treatment of his students, however, it seems many interactions were based on his consciousness of students' race. Interview data revealed his primary goal was to have students submit quality work and he perceived that compared to White students, his minoritized students were more likely to do so without constant reminders to stay on task (Chauncey Interview 1, 10/15/15). Moreover, it seems Chauncey was consciously aware of the way in which the larger school community, mainly other teachers and students, treated his Black minoritized students

when they were in other classes. If African American students were in AP classes, Chauncey felt

a vast majority of their peers in the class would likely be White.

    As stated earlier, the historicity of NHS shows discriminatory treatment of minoritized

students. Within NHS today, tracking policies place students in general, honors, or advanced

placement (AP) courses. According to Chauncey, these classes were highly racialized with more

minoritized students placed in, 'classes geared to the more lower levels of students' (Chauncey

Interview 5, 6/8/16) than their White peers. Available school data support his perceptions, with

racial demographics for the overall student body being 54% minoritized, whereas minoritized

groups are only 18% of the AP student population. Chauncey explained that the administration

at NHS worked diligently to end the perception that it was two separate schools based on race.

The administration did this by trying to, 'de-track and get kids who should be in honors or AP

classes who haven't had the opportunities or haven't been pegged for it, to get them pegged for it

and get them thinking that way' (Chauncey Interview 5, 6/8/16). As the principle of historicity

within CHAT reminds researchers to do, if one understands the nature of the school's segregated

demographics in relation to the history of massive resistance, it becomes a longstanding norm

within the school community. Though Chauncey believed the NHS administration was working

to end this historic pattern, he, in his own way, worked to develop rules in this activity system

that addressed the issue. The following vignette shows how this played out in the classroom:

    The bell rings at 10:00AM to start 2nd period. A pair of White females come into the

room around 10:07AM and Mr. Wright quickly asks: 'Ladies, why are we so late? You know

where you're supposed to be. Grab a seat.' Before the girls can respond, a pair of Black males

enter the room late as well. Mr. Wright greets them: 'Good morning gentlemen, why are we

late?' The students are given a chance to respond, stating they were taking care of business for

another class. Mr. Wright tells them to try harder next time and be conscious of the time. The students smile and grab seats on a couch in the front of the room with two other male students, one Black and one White.

Mr. Wrights quiets the class down with a jovial and loud 'Good Morning!' and explains to the group that today they will be working on personal assessment plans for the year. Students are sitting in groups of 3-4, mostly sitting with people of similar races to themselves. Mr. Wright circles the room and passes by a group of African American students who seem to be socializing and not on task. He stops, however, at the desks of the two White females who were late. One of the girls is brushing the hair of the other and watching a video on her cellphone. Mr. Wright sharply says, 'Girls, what are you doing? We need to be working here, put away the brush and phone. Let's go!' He leaves the pair and moves to the group of African American students he passed by, 'OK guys, can we get to work?' A Black male in the group replies with a witty nickname for Mr. Wright, 'We got you Mr. Dub (as in the first syllable sound of the letter "W").' Mr. Wright pats the student on the back and asks, 'I know you do. Yo, what are your Cowboy's going to do now that Romo is hurt?' referring to the American professional football team. The two have a conversation about the sport for about a minute.

While Mr. Wright is interacting with the Black male student, the two White females in the back have not followed his directives and continue to watch videos on their phone. He moves back to them and forcibly says, 'Ladies, this is unacceptable. I've asked you numerous times to get to work. Either get on task or get out.' The students don't respond but put away their cell phones and get their computers out. The group of African American students in the back of the room have their computers out but still seem to be talking more than working. Mr. Wright goes back to them and asks in a calm tone if anyone has any questions about the assignment. They

answer no and he asks if they wouldn't mind trying to stay on task. As the bell rings to end the

period, all students hand Mr. Wright their assignments and he tells each to have a great day.

This vignette showed the typical ways in which Chauncey spoke and interacted with his

White students in more demanding ways than the minoritized students in his classroom.

Regularly, he would request rather than command minoritized students to complete certain tasks.

Chauncey often sought to use laughter and jokes (which I labeled embodied mediating artifacts)

to try and create a horizontal division of labor between himself and his students, no matter their

race. Even so, observations showed he allowed many more chances for his minoritized students

to socialize before addressing their behavior. Many times, minoritized students also used

embodied mediating artifacts such as jokes and laughter while interacting with Chauncey. These

students would also call him by endearing nicknames that I perceived as showing a fondness for

him.

On one occasion, a twelfth-grade Black male came to Chauncey during lunch to talk

about a college visit. Chauncey was more than willing to provide the student with advice on how

to have the best chance to get into school, explaining, 'It would be a good thing if you name

dropped and wrote on your application that you've already spoken to the president of the Black

Student Alliance (BSA) at the school' (Field Notes, 10/23/2015). It seemed to be a goal for

Chauncey to increase his minoritized students' social capital by providing them with support in

relation to advice for college visits. I did not observe him to give similar advice to his White

students in AVID.

Using CHAT as a framework allowed me to further analyze how Chauncey perceived

that the community within the school did not address the needs of African American students

socially when compared to the White majority, especially when they were in higher-level

classes. He created different divisions of labor within his classroom—minoritized students were given more leniencies with a horizontal power structure (i.e., treated more as peers than pupils), whereas White students were categorized on more of a vertical structure (i.e., top-down power dynamics with Chauncey at the top). This could have been a reason for the differential motivation seen by White and minoritized students (i.e., White students being less motivated to remain on task than their minoritized counterparts). White students may have felt somewhat resentful toward Chauncey based on possibly perceiving the same leniency I did with minoritized students. Unfortunately, this could not be verified because no White students in the class volunteered to participate in focus groups—a result that may give further credence to the possibility of resentment or apathy. All these data lead to the development of the first assertion:

> *Chauncey was more lenient with his Black minoritized students when they were observed being off task based on his perceptions of the racial dynamics within the school context.*

Building Trust

Building trusting relationships with his students was a major goal for Chauncey. Based on mainly focus group, observational data, and using CRT as a lens, I was able to understand how race played a role in the development of that trust. Numerous times throughout the class period, both White and minoritized students walked across the room to throw away trash or plug their computer or phone chargers into the wall. Chauncey explained allowing students to self-regulate was one way he sought to earn the students' trust (Chauncey Interview 2, 10/25/2015). In one of the focus groups, both a female and male student agreed that, 'You don't have to do the whole, "can I go to the bathroom, let me sign your agenda book" thing, it's just like I'm going to the bathroom, OK. He trusts us' (Student Focus Group 1, 12/4/2015). This practice seemed to

be directly at odds with the school rules for bathroom passes, which were required when students

moved into the hallway. When Chauncey was asked why he allowed this, he responded:

Most times I tell my students to stop asking me [to leave the room] . . . because I feel like it's a

little humiliating to the students to have to announce to the whole class that they need to go to

the bathroom. I feel like the benefit you get of them knowing you trust them is more than the

control (Chauncey interview 4, 11/20/2015).

Being that students in one of the focus groups chose to provide examples of Chauncey's

trust by explaining his bathroom policy showed that even something seemingly trivial can be a

major contribution toward building a trusting classroom environment.

Continuing to use CRT to place racial dynamics at the forefront of Chauncey's

interactions, African American students also explained Chauncey was different than other

teachers because he took an interest in their lives and was willing to help in any way he could.

When asked how he did this, a student responded that Chauncey always listened to what students

said, sometimes to such an extent that he ignored other things going on around him (Student

Focus Group 2, 12/4/2015). Chauncey explained his desire to know his students by stating, 'If

you don't know where your kids are coming from and what's going on, it's hard to understand

why they have bad days some days' (Chauncey Interview 4, 11/20/2015). Further, he interacted

differently with each student (no matter their race) based on her or his personality. For example,

Chauncey seemed to have an idea of many of his student's interests, and used personalization to

try and connect with students beyond academics. This result aligns with those found in previous

work addressed above (i.e., Duncan-Andrade 2007; Wallace & Chhuon 2014).

Not all Black students, however, felt Chauncey went out of his way to build trusting

relationships with them. In the third focus group, a Black female explained that Chauncey

tended to reach out more to outgoing students than those who seemed more reserved. She described feeling somewhat forgotten at times by Mr. Wright: 'Well in my opinion, not to be mean to Mr. Wright or anything, but he focuses on the people that talk a lot and are more open to people who talk to others. He gets to know those people first. The talkative ones he connects with quick, but not the other ones' (Student Focus Group 3, 12/4/2015). Other members of the group agreed with this sentiment, going on to explain they felt Chauncey favored extroverts. This finding was bolstered by observations in which Chauncey would initiate conversations with students I perceived were more outgoing based on their willingness to interact with me as a participant observer. As such, the second assertion was developed based on these data:

> *Black minoritized students perceived Chauncey trusted them by providing autonomy and genuinely caring about their success, but to a lesser extent with introverted students.*

Discussion

Using CHAT and CRT as lenses for analysis, Chauncey's classroom becomes a complex system in which race and power affected many teacher/student interactions. Classroom rules seemed to be created through a consciousness of his and his students' races, along with an understanding of the larger school and community power dynamics in relation to race. He allowed minoritized students more time to socialize and remain off task than White students in his class while still expecting each student to complete their work.

Chauncey's interactions with his students were complicated. The differential treatment seen in interactions between Chauncey and his White and minoritized students showed his consciousness of race and how he perceived students were differentially affected by it at NHS. However, the Whites students in his classroom seemed to be less willing to comply with Chauncey's directives. Additionally, no White or minoritized students from another racial group

(i.e., Latina, Indian) chose to participate in the focus groups. This could be based on myriad factors, however, the most innocuous possibility could be because there were less White and non-Black minoritized students in the class. Therefore, the probability was lower that students from these groups would return their consent forms. Other possible reasons are a lack-of-connection between students in these groups with Chauncey. Unfortunately, the data generated here do not allow me to discuss this result in more depth.

Providing more chances for his minoritized students to complete their work while being harsher with his White students to remain on task is the opposite of what often might be seen in many classrooms. Historically, White students may be given the benefit of the doubt in their ability to complete classroom assignments whereas Black and other minoritized students could be labeled delinquent (Gregory, Skiba & Noguera, 2010). Chauncey's perceptions of how race played a role in his students' lives seemed to also allow him to analyze the larger school structure in relation to inequities his minoritized students might be facing. His perception that many of his minoritized students might be the only ones from their racial group while in other classes contributed to his goal of providing a more equitable power structure within his own classroom. This perception seemed to be substantiated by the tracking policies of the school, as well as the racial statistics provided of AP class enrollment. In return, Black minoritized students seemed to have been conscious of Chauncey's efforts to give them more autonomy in class, and reciprocated by trusting and feeling more connected to him in their relationships. Even the Black minoritized students who felt Chauncey did not reach out to them as easily as others seemed to still have positive perceptions of him.

Limitations

Due to time constraints placed on this project being tied to an academic semester, further observations and interviews were not possible that could have strengthened assertion validity. A semester's worth of observations, while considered prolonged engagement, is not enough time to become more familiar with the types of interactions in the classroom under investigation. Based on the lack of time spent in the activity system, I was unable to determine if and how Chauncey's differential treatment might have attributed to White student's seeming lack of motivation.

Being that AVID is designed to create a self-motivated student population in relation to core classes such as mathematics and language arts, my inability to observe AVID students in these classes limits my capacity to make claims of the foundational capacity of relationships to affect academic achievement in the context of this study. Using an open sampling strategy limited focus groups to only Black minoritized students, which limited the strength of results in terms of understanding how non-Black minoritized students perceived Chauncey.

Conclusions

I end by providing implications for researchers rather than practitioners in that this study was completed from the researcher's perspective, and therefore I contend implications should align as such. From my perspective, Chauncey's classroom was a place in which Black minoritized students seemed to feel comfortable and supported. However, without more time to observe and analyze within the activity system, why this occurred might not be fully understood. CHAT, coupled with CRT provides a framework for researchers to analyze power dynamics in certain activity systems, which in turn might aid in the development of more equitable teaching strategies for specific P-12 school contexts.

Partnerships might be created between researchers and participants in order to create more meaningful outcomes for P-12 participants. These partnerships, or 'coinquiries,' characteristically include respecting the teacher's voice, offering sustained support from external colleagues, and aiming for close integration of theory and practice (Hennessy, Mercer, and Warwick 2011, 1907). The use of participatory action research (PAR) methods could be implemented in order to create the type of environment necessary for coinquiries to be successful. Walter (2009) explained PAR methods inherently include elements of change. Such strategies are essential when seeking to create more equitable learning opportunities for students.

Moving past polemic designs seen in traditional research that place researchers as expert and participants as subjects, PAR would create studies in which all individuals involved could be seen as experts in their specific fields (researchers with theory and teacher/students in relation to practical application). This might allow for better outcomes to be seen in specific classrooms across the country. Such outcomes, however, would inevitably be different based on the contextual dependent nature of teaching and learning. Using CHAT and CRT to analyze how power contributes to learning in specific classrooms, and acknowledge the value of understanding contextual nuance, teachers and P-12 educational researchers might work alongside one another to create the environments necessary to motivate all students to succeed.

As Chauncey's case showed, classrooms and the interactions within them are intimately connected to the context in which they occur. Often, P-12 researchers are not as familiar with these contexts as are the study participants. Therefore, a researcher's assumptions in relation to desired outcomes might be misaligned with the needs of individuals in specific contexts. Rather than working toward developing interventions as outside research 'experts,' P-12 educational researchers could develop specific interventions based on the context specific needs of the school

environment through the use of CHAT and CRT alongside teachers, students, and other school

members.

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Colorblindness and Coinquiry: How Ideology and Identity Can Influence Teacher/Student

Interactions

Jacob S. Bennett

University of Virginia

Abstract

Teachers hold different beliefs of the ways White privilege and systemic inequities affect the daily lives of students. In this longitudinal study, I held dialogic interviews with a third grade, first year classroom teacher who adhered to a "colorblind" racial ideology to understand how she developed such a perception. During these interviews, topics ranged from the concept of systemic oppression to race-based privilege. My goal was to understand if such conversations might create an impetus for the teacher to develop racially conscious equitable teaching praxes. Results show the teacher was willing to become more critical about her teaching and our larger society in general, however, no racially conscious equitable praxes were developed or observed.

Colorblindness and Coinquiry: How Ideology and Identity Can Influence Teacher/Student

Interactions

Gorski (2016) situated ideological positions of school leaders as being the most important

factor in determining how effective an equity-based reform policy might be. To him, how a

person defines a problem leads to the sort of solutions they may deem valuable in a certain

situation (p. 380). When asked to support school leaders in increasing equity for students,

Gorski often asks central and building level administrators, "Why, on average, do parents from

families experiencing poverty not attend opportunities for family involvement at their children's

schools with the same frequency as their wealthier peers" (Gorski, 2016, p. 381)? If leaders

understand poverty as a result of poor choices made by individuals, answers to this question are

often different than from those who understand impoverished individuals as, "outcomes of

economic injustice, exploitation and inequity" (p. 380).

In relation to Gorski's (2016) contention, a goal in this study was to determine how his

argument might be extended to classroom teachers. In other words, do the ideological positions

of classroom teachers affect the type of equity-based praxis they might develop for her/his

students? In order to answer the question above, I sought to build a trusting relationship with

Ruth Austen (pseudonym), who adhered to a politically conservative ideology. In terms of racial

ideology, Ruth adhered to "colorblindness," which she defined as, "not taking a person's race

into consideration when making judgements about them." Ruth believed such a racial ideology

was the most effective way to interact and support students (Interview 4, 3/22/2016). For the

purposes of this manuscript, I was more interested in understanding how Ruth's racial, rather

than political ideology might affect her interactions with students. By sharing my own

experiences as a Jewish White male who adheres to a multicultural racial ideology, my goal was

to discuss if being racially conscious (i.e., believing a student's and teacher's race affects their

daily lives should be considered while developing praxes) was a part of being an effective

teacher. Based on our conversations, I hoped Ruth might reconsider her racial ideological

position to develop and implement praxes to benefit students in her third-grade public school

classroom.

Throughout this manuscript, I adhere to Markus' (2008) distinction between race and

ethnicity. Neither have any basis in biology but are socially constructed in order to distinguish

groups and organize communities (p. 654). Even with this commonality, race must be

understood as a result of historical power. In the context of the U.S., those in the majority White

race have had the power to define what sort of characteristics are necessary to label someone a

"person of color." Ethnicities are also historically derived, however, often allow individuals to,

"identify or be identified with groupings of people on the basis of presumed (and usually

claimed) commonalities." (p. 654). What follows is a discussion of the most prominent racial

ideologies in the United States, followed by sections that address Whiteness in education, and the

main goals of this research study.

Racial Ideologies

Ryan, Hunt, Weible, Peterson and Casas (2007) described colorblindness and

multiculturalism as possibly the most prominent ideologies in relation to inter-racial interactions

in the United States. These authors cited Barrett and George's (2005) explanation of

colorblindness becoming the dominant ideology in the U.S. after the Civil Rights Movement of

the 1960s. During this time, blatant and violent forms of racism designed by Whites and

unleashed on minoritized groups, mainly African Americans, drew the attention of numerous

social organizations. Ryan et al., (2007) explained colorblindness was developed as a way to

mitigate these negative practices. Followers of a colorblind ideology believe harmony between

racial and ethnic groups can be found if such distinctions are ignored and all people are treated as

"equals" (p. 618). Colorblindness has its critics. Rosenthal and Levy (2010) explained that

ignoring ethnic and racial differences can allow for the denial of the existence of racism in

contemporary society. This denial can be used to justify inaction toward racial discrimination in

the United States (p. 216).

Conversely, multiculturalism has gained support in the U.S. since the latter part of the

twentieth century due to the country's growing racial and ethnic diversity (Ryan et al., 2007).

Multiculturalism is distinguished from colorblindness in that adherents believe people should

acknowledge and embrace ethnic and racial differences (p. 618). Acknowledging difference is

thought to allow for better ability to tackle societal problems and promote social justice. Critics

of multiculturalism argue that even if differences between races and ethnicities are presented

positively (i.e., all racial groups have contributed to society in constructive ways), divisions

between people are preserved, resulting in further stereotyping and discrimination (Rosenthal &

Levy, 2010).

Studies conducted in the field of experimental social psychology have substantiated

critiques of colorblindness. Apfelbaum, Paukner, Sommers and Ambady (2010) completed a

study with sixty students 8-10 years of age. Students were first given colorblind or multicultural

scenarios, and then then asked identify bias when it blatantly occurred in prompts describing

actions of bullying between students. Participants given colorblind scenarios were less likely to

identify bias when it blatantly occurred. Such a result was said to have practical implications for

teachers:

Racial bullying on the playground is likely to be perceived as nothing more than ordinary

> misconduct in the eyes of well-intentioned schoolmates taught not to consider race.
> Moreover, teachers presented with a muted account of the same incident by indifferent
> classmates are likely to deem it . . . unworthy of intervention (p. 1591)

The majority of research in the field of social psychology, however, have been administered in controlled laboratory settings rather than actual classroom environments. There is a dearth of research that examines how colorblind, or multicultural perspectives may affect a teacher's perception of systemic oppression (i.e., how structural policies such as historic discriminatory lending by the federal government affected access and opportunities for populations of color in the United States) within actual classrooms and play a role in influencing her/his willingness to develop racially conscious equitable teaching praxes. I define such praxes as being based on a teacher's conscious efforts to support students based on her/his experiences as affected by their race. Such praxes might look similar to those presented in manuscript two.

Whiteness and Education

Educational researchers have examined Whiteness for decades. In the latter part of the twentieth century, White scholars began to examine their identities by questioning how Whiteness affected experiences for minoritized populations. McIntosh (1988) was one such scholar. Her essay, *White Privilege Male Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack,* presented examples that could be used by teacher educators to expose the privileges Whites receive on a daily basis in the United States. Lensmire et al., (2013), however, explained that McIntosh's (1988) model hampered the development of anti-racist praxes because it became a stand-in for all anti-racist work, and her central thesis was based on individual rather than structural oppression (p. 411). Similarly, Leonardo (2004) argued many Whites do not acknowledge their role in the perpetuation of race-based privilege and systemic inequities within

the United States. Even when they do, researchers (Hytten & Warren, 2004; Mueller &

O'Conner, 2008) have shown many still do not understand individual privileges are products of

systemic oppression.

> **Whiteness and this Study.** My background as a Jewish White male, former high school

teacher, and my former adherence to a colorblind ideology provided me a useful lens to connect

and work with Ruth in our discussions about race, systemic inequity, and Whiteness. My

transformation from colorblindness to being racially-conscious, as described in manuscript two,

equipped me with a better understanding of the complexities associated with my students'

identities.

> In the following sections, I will first discuss the coinquiry Ruth and I created to work

toward the development of practical teaching strategies. I defined any praxes created based on

these discussions as *phronesis,* of which I will discuss in depth below. Next, I will provide the

theoretical frameworks used to guide the analysis of our conversations and my observations of

Ruth's classroom. I will then present and discuss interpretations of my results, and conclude

with implications for future research.

Dialogic Relationships and Phronesis

> Hennessy, Mercer, and Warwick (2011) explained dialogic research partnerships, or

"coinquiries," characteristically include the following elements: respecting the teacher's voice,

offering sustained support from external colleagues, and integration of theory and practice (p.

1907). Within such partnerships, teachers and researchers take "complimentary roles" based on

mutual respect and responsibility (p. 1907). Moate (2014) explained that researchers hoping to

create dialogic relationships with teachers must acknowledge the power of "local knowledge."

She defined this as, "the lived experience of teachers in the public context of the classroom," and

went on to describe such contexts as places in which teachers take on multiple roles of identity (e.g., subject experts, behavior managers, pedagogic guides) (p. 297). Using what she referred to as "Bakhtinian terms," Moate described teachers' lived experiences as *pravada*, or, "concrete expressions of truth" that provide researchers with more realistic perceptions of the experience being a classroom teacher entails (p. 298).

Using these elements of coinquiry, my goal was to work with Ruth to create the Aristotelian virtue of *phronesis,* which aligns with Moate's (2014) description of pravada. In book VI of Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics,* he defined phronesis as, "A reasoned and true state of capacity to act with regard for human goods" (NE, 1140b20, trans. Ogle). Tabachnick (2004) explained many contemporary scholars believe individuals with phronesis hold "practical wisdom" based on personal experience (p. 999), but disagree about who can hold phronetic virtue. He went on to argue, "simply having judgement of the right thing to do is not enough. Ultimately, *phronesis* is characterized by action" (p. 999) [emphasis in original].

There are two sorts of phronesis: common and uncommon. "Uncommon phronesis is based on political experience, education, and contemplation and is clearly political. Common phronesis, however, is based on the good taste, material and/or aesthetic sensibility that are required to properly manage a household and is apolitical" (Tabachnick, 2004, p. 1000). For this study, being that Ruth and I were discussing issues that have seemingly become politicized such as racism, systemic oppression and racial ideologies, I do not believe any phronetic knowledge we created was devoid of politicization. It was evident through our dialogic interviews and my observations of Ruth's interactions with her students that her political and ideological views affected her praxis. My goal was to determine if Ruth and I could create phronesis, or practical wisdom, based on her understandings of the needs and experiences of her students within Hay

Bale Elementary (HBE) (i.e., her and her students' pravada). Then, we would use such

knowledge to develop and implement more racially conscious equitable teaching praxes.

I drew from elements of two theoretical frameworks, Cultural Historical Activity Theory

(CHAT) and Critical Race Theory (CRT), to guide our coinquiry and my analysis in answering

the following research questions:

- How might the background of a White female teacher influence her perception of

  White privilege and systemic inequities?

- How does a White female teacher who adheres to a colorblind ideology interact with

  her students?

- If and how might coinquiry between an inservice teacher and researcher inform a

  teacher's praxis in relation to adopting racially conscious equitable teaching praxis?

Theoretical/Conceptual Frames

I used elements of CHAT to examine how Ruth's school environment and present

perceptions of race may have affected her interactions with students and willingness to adopt

racially conscious equitable teaching praxes. Engeström (1994) explained a conceptual model of

CHAT is, ". . . particularly useful when one wants to make sense of systemic factors behind

seemingly individual and accidental disturbances, deviations and innovations occurring in the

daily practice of workplaces" (p. 46). CHAT theorists are interested in social transformations of

individuals and groups, and see internal instability, conflict, and contradiction as catalysts to

change and development (Engeström, 2011). Often, they focus on how multiple activity systems

interact with each other. Also, these theorists seek to determine how larger structural forces (i.e.,

rules, norms, etc.) might differentially affect individuals within a certain context. Figure 1, as

adapted from Engeström (2011), provides a visual representation of interactions within and

between two activity systems. Although I did not focus on analyzing both activity systems (i.e.,

Ruth's classroom and a local coffee shop) of this study in depth, I acknowledged throughout the

study that my interactions with Ruth were different based on each context, and all interactions in

one system influenced interactions in the other. For example, the collegial discussion that took

place in the coffee ship were different than the more academic and professional conversations

Ruth and I had during my observations. No matter the nature of our interactions, however,

topics discussed in each location affected our perceptions going forward.
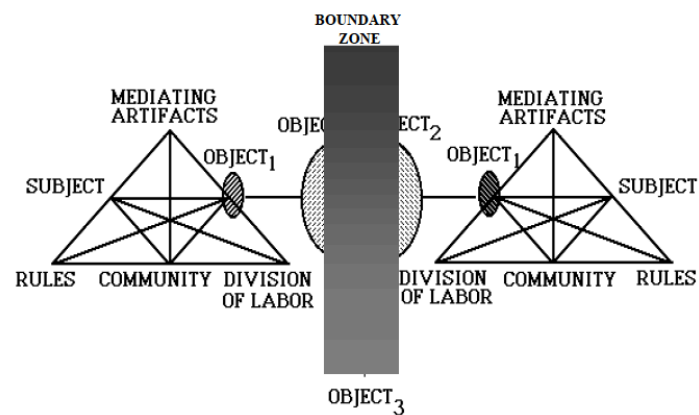

Figure 1: CHAT Diagram (Engeström, 2011)

Mapping this study onto the figure above, the "subject" within one of the activity systems

under analysis (Ruth's classroom) was Ruth herself and the "object" was her interactions with

her students. This activity system was affected by different power dynamics than our second

activity system, a local coffee shop, in relation to the rules, division of labor and community.

Within the coffee shop, the subject shifted between Ruth and myself based on who was sharing

their views of how to best address the needs of Ruth's students (our object). Engeström (2011)

explained the "boundary zone" or Object 3, is a partially shared object. For this study, I defined

our conversations about the development of racially conscious equitable teaching praxis held

within the coffee shop as this partially shared object because the topic affected outcomes in both activity systems.

Being that I was more interested in how perceptions of race contributed to interactions with students in Ruth's classroom rather than analyzing specific mediating artifacts used to do so, I embedded CRT within CHAT to place emphasis on the racial power dynamics within Ruth's school and classroom. Specifically, I adhered to the CRT tenet of racism as endemic (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). In the contemporary U.S., endemic racism implies its ordinariness and highlights the fact that racism is hard to combat in the U.S. because the dominant racial group often denies its existence. Also, racism in its endemic form is difficult to address based on a lack of acknowledgement of race through colorblind ideologies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Below is a heuristic I developed as a conceptual framework to guide the process of coinquiry while utilizing the theoretical frames above.
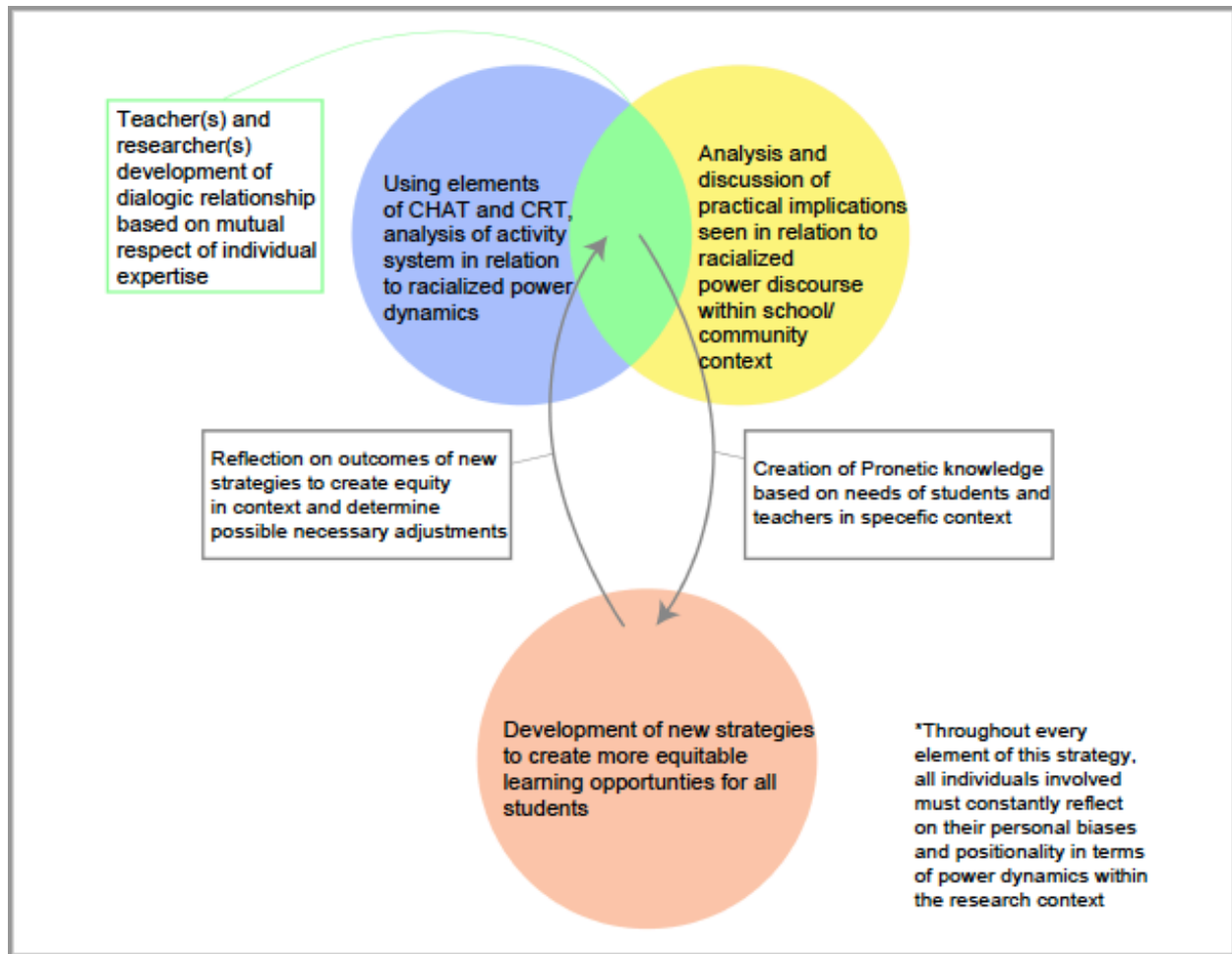
Figure 2: The Co-creation of Phronetic Knowledge with Goals of the Development of Equitable Teaching Praxis

I hoped to support Ruth in the creation of phronetic knowledge through the use of CHAT and CRT to develop strategies aimed at increasing racially conscious equitable praxis. The goal was for this development to be recursive and expansive, with new strategies being tested, analyzed, and then reworked to meet our agreed upon views of the needs of Ruth's students.

Methods

Participant Selection

In the first year of the study (2015-16), I selected individuals from a school of education's participant pool to take part in interviews with me regarding perceptions of racial

privilege and systemic inequities. Instructors in the school of education use the participant pool to list research opportunities for undergraduates, who must accrue a certain number of laboratory research credits to meet graduation requirements. Students utilized the pool to access the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI) (Ponterotto et al., 1995) (Appendix A), and received one hour of laboratory credit upon completion.

Over 100 students initially took the survey. I contacted thirty possible participants based on their race (White) and academic year in the teacher education program. I purposively chose students in their third or fourth years in hopes of following them into their classrooms as practicum, preservice, and/or inservice teachers. Eight students were selected. At the end of the first year, I chose four White female inservice and preservice teachers to follow into their classrooms during the 2017-2018 school year. Based on logistical issues, I asked two of the four participants entering their first year of teaching to continue the research process. Both agreed. I collected data on both participants over the 2016-2017 school year, however, for the purposes of this manuscript I will present data on Ruth Austen only.

Participant. Ruth self-identified as White, cisgender, heterosexual, and Christian. She was raised in a small rural town and described herself as deeply committed to her Christian faith. Ruth attended a five-year teacher education program from which she graduated with a Bachelor's degree (BA) in Religious Studies (primary concentration in Christianity and secondary in Judaism) and a Masters of Teaching (MAT) with an emphasis on early childhood education.

While in the teacher education program, she believed teacher educators harped on topics such as culturally responsive teaching too much. She explained,

They [teacher educators] word drop like culturally responsiveness a lot . . . That sort of

thing, so it's brought up a lot, it's just not brought up in a way that makes you think

about the importance of it, it's brought up in more of a way where it's like, OK, I'm sick

of hearing about this (Interview 4, 3/20/2016).

Such a perception of racially conscious equitable teaching praxis had practical implications for

Ruth's praxis and our dialogic interviews pertaining to systemic inequities, as presented below.

Research Context

Sites. Drawing from CHAT, understanding the contexts of each activity system in which

Ruth and I interacted became integral to understanding how our interactions might have

influenced her perception of White identity, systemic inequities and the need for implementation

of racially conscious equitable praxis. I conducted first-year interviews in an office within a

university's school of education. Within this context, I sought to create a horizontal system of

rules and division of labor so participants felt comfortable sharing personal information with me.

To do so, I informed them that it was not my goal to judge any of their answers, but understand

how they perceived the concepts discussed based on their experiences. I hoped this would allow

participants to view me as a partner rather than an "expert" judging their commentaries.

Two locations served as the primary settings for my interactions with Ruth during our

second year of the study: the school in which I observed her classroom, Hay Bale Elementary

(HBE), and a local coffee shop. HBE is located in a rural area and shares a plot of land with the

only middle and high schools for the county. Local businesses such as antique malls and lawn-

care shops are located on the same street as the schools. Showing a connection to the rural

community around the school, HBE has an actual hay bale in the front lawn that is painted with

different shapes according to the season (e.g., hearts in February, snowflakes in December, etc.).

To enter HBE, all visitors must be "buzzed" in by staff members in the front office. The

school's demographics were reported as, 85.3% White; 5.1% Two or more races; 4.5% Hispanic;

3.7% Black; 3.4%; 1.5% Asian; 0% Hawaiian Native/Pacific Islander; 0% American

Indian/Alaska Native. Nineteen students attended the third-grade class I observed. Ruth

provided the following demographics based on her own observations rather than the school's

documentation: one Black female; one Bi-racial male; two Hispanic males (one Mexican the

other "Unknown"); one Chinese male; nine White females; five White males.

The final location of the study was a coffee shop located in the same community as the

school. This was where Ruth and I held all but one of our dialogic interviews to discuss

classroom observations and the possible development of racially conscious equity based praxes.

Ruth and I usually sat at a two-person table close to the cash registers. Similar to my goal in

making first year interviews more collegial, I chose the coffee shop to meet in an effort to create

a more horizontal division of labor between Ruth and myself. I hoped being outside the formal

setting of HBE would allow us to talk in a more casual and open way. Even so, based on the

small community locale, Ruth often scanned the coffee shop during our conversations to make

sure no students or other HBE staff were present.

Data Collection

With the approval of a university's institutional review board (IRB), I collected data over

a two-year period (2015-2017). In the first year, data were collected using open-ended and semi-

structured interviews. In the second year, the IRB approved the continuation of the study and I

collected data through classroom observations, interviews, and a student focus group.

Traditional Interviews. The first year, I audio-recorded and transcribed all interviews.

I was awarded grant funds by my university which I used to hire a transcription service for

second year dialogic interviews. As recommended by Lofland, Snow, Anderson and Lofland

(2006), first-year interviews were designed to build rapport and create a comfortable and respectful working environment with participants. I interviewed Ruth four times for approximately 30-45 minutes over an academic year. Interviews were both open-ended and semi-structured (Appendix B). Topics were as follows: participant background (i.e., where she grew up, racial and ethnic dynamics of neighborhoods and schools, family life); discussion of the concept of knowledge in relation to teaching; beliefs about systemic inequities and White privilege; discussion of how topics from the third interview may affect her interactions with future students.

Dialogic Interviews. Second-year interviews shifted to a dialogic format based on my hope of moving past hierarchical relationships between researchers and participants seen in traditional designs that place the researchers as experts and participants as subjects. Rather, in accordance with coinquiry, I worked to create an environment in which both Ruth and I were seen as experts in our specific fields (researcher with theory and teacher in relation to practical application). All dialogic interviews took place the week following a classroom observation.

Beginning in March 2017, I shifted dialogic interviews using CRT as a lens to discuss interactions and outcomes seen with students in Ruth's class based on their race/ethnicity, as well as topics of systemic inequity, White privilege, and racism. At the beginning of these conversations, Ruth and I established "loose rules of engagement." Specifically, we agreed to listen and respect each other's perspectives, not interrupt when the other was talking, and do our best not to make moral judgements about the other individual.

Observations. Similar to my role in manuscript two, I was a participant observer by observing and interacting with Ruth, her students and colleagues in the classroom activity system. I also made my intentions of observing student/teacher interactions known to the class.

Observations lasted approximately 60 minutes and took place bi-weekly throughout the school year. I rotated days and times I observed to capture interactions in the classroom on different days of the week.

  Focus Group. The focus group took place at the end of the 2nd semester (May) 2016-17 to allow possible relationships to form between the students and Ruth. She gave students in her class IRB approved assent and parental consent forms to be signed by their parent or guardian in order to participate in focus groups. The document explained participation would not have any effect on student grades, and take place outside of instructional time. Ten students returned the forms and participated in the focus group (one bi-racial male; one White male; one Black female; seven White females). In order to avoid answers being affected by other student responses, I asked students to write down how they felt about Ms. Austen. I then asked if they would like to share aloud. All did.

Data Analysis

  Erickson (1985) and Corbin and Strauss (2014) explained key linkages should be searched for throughout analysis to understand possible patterns. To do this, I analyzed data by generating and testing assertions (Erickson, 1985). These were verified through repeated reviewing of field notes, write-ups, analytic memos, and interview transcripts.

  I analyzed data through the process of analytic induction (AI) based on the generation and testing of assertions. AI is a strategy that allows researchers to develop explanations of interactional processes through which individuals develop distinct forms of social action (Smelser & Bates, 2001, pp. 2-3). Further, "initial cases are inspected to locate common factors and provisional explanations. As new cases are examined and initial hypotheses are contradicted, the explanation is reworked" (p. 1). This iterative process allowed me to test initial

hypotheses based on the examination of new data (Smelser & Baltes, 2001) through a search for disconfirming evidence.

Analytic Memos. I used early memos to address possible patterns seen in the interactions between Ruth and her students collected in field notes. I shared the memos with Ruth during dialogic interviews to discuss her interpretation of the interactions observed. Moreover, analyzing data recorded in these memos allowed me to determine if and how Ruth's and my own thinking about issues of systemic inequity, White privilege, and equity-based teaching strategies shifted throughout dialogic interviews.

Results

Using the conceptual framework provided above (Figure 2), I believe Ruth and I developed a trusting relationship by getting to know each other through two-years of interaction. While in the process of creating phronesis, development of racially conscious equitable teaching praxis was hampered based on our differing ideologies in relation to how race and ethnicity contributed to Ruth's students' experiences. Based on the data presented below, I generated the following assertions and verified each with Ruth:

- *Ruth's impoverished familial background and interpretation of individuality impeded her ability to acknowledge systemic oppression in society.*

- *Based on the context of Hay Bale Elementary (e.g., administrative and faculty emphasis on testing and relationship with surrounding community), Ruth did not believe a student's racial or cultural identity contributed to their overall experience at the school. Therefore, she did not equate the development of equity-based praxis with a student's race or ethnicity, and rather sought to support students based on her perception of her/his individual academic and personal needs while in her classroom.*

Ruth's Family and Background

Ruth explained she grew up in a rural area. The home she lived in all her life until entering college was located in a secluded area without any "actual neighbors," whom Ruth explained were, "a mile away" (Interview 1, 12/18/2015). Ruth described being relationally close to her immediate family and maternal grandparents. She explained she visited her grandparents, who lived about five minutes from her house, at least once a week.

Ruth described both her parents as hard working. Her father's formal education ended after high school and her mother holds a bachelor's degree in social work. Her father, "worked his way up" at the housing company in which he was employed. She explained, "He started on the actual construction of houses, and he got that by the grace of God, and just worked his way up, he's a very hard working man" (Interview 1, 12/18/2015). He now works as a sales associate for the company, selling building trusses to contractors and other developers. Ruth's mother worked as a social worker at a local hospital until Ruth was in middle school, when her mother quit to spend more time at home because, "the economy was doing good" (Interview 1, 12/18/2015).

Ruth kept the same core group of friends throughout elementary, middle and high school. In terms of racial diversity, Ruth described the high school as not having much, ". . . there was hardly any [diversity], um a few kids that were Latino, I had two black students in my whole graduating class and they had very much assimilated to the White culture in the area." She continued, "they would come in like, 'hey y'all how ya doing?' and with the flannel and boots. I wouldn't normally associate that with the Black culture, like that kind of stuff like square

dancing" (Interview 1, 12/18/2015). She described her community growing up being centered in the Christian faith:

> That's [religion] been a very big part of my life depending on that to get me through. We're very big with prayer, my mom and my mom's whole side of the family is like, you know, something's going wrong, make sure you pray about it. Make sure you keep in touch everyday with your Father [God], so it's definitely had an impact on my life. (Interview 1, 12/15/2018)

Ruth went on to explain her family would take beach trips each summer when she was a child, however, when they started "hitting hard financial times" the vacations stopped.

Ruth's family financial situation seemed to weigh heavily on her during our first interview. Multiple times, she described her family as having a hard time in terms of money. For example, she explained before she was born, her father, "had some job scares where he got switched from companies and they weren't paying as well, and it was just, not a great time financially" (Interview 1, 12/18/2015). She described their current financial situation as, ". . . stagnant. It's not bad, but it's not super great. There's been times when we've hit overdraft, things like that" (Interview 1, 12/18/2015). Later during dialogic interviews, Ruth described in more depth her perception of her family's financial hardships:

> On both my parents' sides, they didn't have any… my grandmother was fed by the Black people in her neighborhood. They didn't have literally anything. She got pregnant at 14. . . my grandparents, it was apparently really embarrassing, but my grandmother would go to the Black families to be fed when she was little. (Dialogic Interview 12, 5/3/2017)

Ruth's family background and observation that her parents pulled themselves out of poverty through hard work and "the grace of God" seemed to produce a strong sense in her toward the importance of individuality, faith and meritocracy.

Our Differing Worldviews. Based on my adherence to CRT and belief in the endemic nature of racism, I believe the concept of individuality is fallible. Moreover, experiencing life as a member of the Jewish faith provides me with a different racial and religious experience than Ruth. Based on these differences, I contend we are all products of larger structures and systemic forces that contribute to our daily experiences, as well as perceptions of reality (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Zemblyas, 2003). Ruth, however, held a much different understanding of our world and adhered to tenets of meritocracy and individual agency.

During first-year interviews, Ruth expressed a desire to treat students as "individuals:"

. . . I think it always has to be individual based. When I was in school and from all the schools I've seen, every person has their own learning style and their own interests, so I think everything has to [be individually based]. (Interview 2, 11/9/2015)

When describing how White privilege might affect students in her future classroom Ruth responded, "I don't think that would be a problem because I approach everything, or try to approach everything on an individual basis" (Interview 4, 3/20/2015).

During second-year dialogic interviews, Ruth explained her definition of individualism in a more nuanced way:

For school, I'm thinking it's more of how you interact with them, and in life it's like what makes them an individual. Like in their individual life things that make them, like their heritage, home life, economic status, their particular interests, and the people who are home with them . . . In the classroom, I think you have to take those things into

consideration, but I'm thinking more of like my interactions . . . like you can think about

the things that go on at home but it's more about my experience with them when I'm

saying they're individuals. (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017)

This perception of individuality was part of Ruth's adherence to colorblindness.

Ruth defined colorblindness as, "not taking the race of the person into consideration

when you're looking at things (Dialogic Interview 8, 3/28/2017). This view affected her

interactions with students:

It's not like I don't recognize [Sean] is Chinese, but I don't want that to be really

affecting how I view him . . . I'm not looking at, OK he's Chinese . . . It's, OK, he

speaks another language at home, I don't really take into consideration that it's Chinese.

(Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017)

In terms of how race was being presented in the curriculum, Ruth believed African Americans

were being "typecast" to be connected only with oppression when compared to other populations

of color. She explained, ". . . the Chinese, for instance, were mistreated in America as well, but

that's not what they're known for. And I feel like the way that we're [educators] setting it up

and the way that we're teaching it, they're [African Americans] getting known for having to fight

for civil rights and being oppressed" (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017).

Ruth also described being extremely uncomfortable when discussing issues of race and

racism with her students of color. She explained her willingness to work on her own

apprehensions in terms of discussing race, but believed it was difficult for White people to do so:

I'm going to have to work on me . . . so long you've been told, 'Just don't talk

about that. Don't bring that up. Don't do that'. . . a lot of the times talking about

other races, you're kind of told that's not your right to get to talk about. Like, as a

White person, you don't really have a right to talk about [race]. (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017)

Ruth went on to describe being confused when it came to understanding what systemic inequities were. She seemed to try and connect White privilege to systemic oppression, and asked me to explain the concepts further in our dialogic interviews:[8]

I think I'm honestly confused. Sorry, I just – I feel like I just don't really understand a lot about it [systemic oppression]. It's like this mythical beast that you hear about of black oppression still in America. This is white privilege. Would you say that those are the main two, or do you feel like there's more? Because I guess it's called systematic?

(Dialogic Interview 12, 4/21/2017)

I replied by describing the history of Black populations, not limited to African Americans, but anyone who has been perceived to have Black or Brown skin within the United States, in relation to discriminatory federal policies. After a lengthy explanation of my understanding of systemic oppression, Ruth replied:

Anything that you see that's presented is just like there's another culture as well that would have to be combated, especially in city areas of like – I mean you hear about it, and I'm not sure how much of it is true, but just this culture of – I mean, gangs, obviously, one; and then also fathers leaving families; and so single parent families; and the riots and looting; and stuff that you see on TV. So, how do you get that culture to change to – when you help those people – get them right back on the right track?

(Dialogic Interview 12, 4/21/2017)

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[8] This conversation took place within HBE and could have been affected by contextual factors such as fellow colleagues walking by Ruth's door whom she hoped did not hear our conversation, which may not have affected us in a similar way at the coffee shop.

I tried to reiterate to Ruth that any concentration of Black populations within cities was

purposively designed by the federal government. She replied:

> Now that it's [systemic oppression] here, how do you get it to – I don't know – get the
>
> things that you do to help them actually help change the whole culture that's been created
>
> . . . And I'm not saying them – I'm saying I understand that it's been created because of
>
> what – the situation they've been under, but how do you fix it? (Dialogic Interview
>
> 12, 4/21/2017)

I took the "them" Ruth referred to as communities of color affected by the systemic federal

oppression I was describing. We ended the conversation discussing possible solutions to the

problems, such as government funded job training and affirmative action policies, however, we

returned to the topic of systemic inequity in our next dialogic interview.

I began by asking Ruth if she reflected on our last dialogic interview and how she felt

about it now. She explained jokingly, "my head hurt after that conversation," but was still

willing to engage in a discussion of the topic again (Dialogic Interview 12, 5/3/2017). This time,

rather than discuss systemic oppression in terms of housing regulation, our conversation centered

on discriminatory policing. I explained my perception that many Black parents have to talk with

their children about the proper way to conduct themselves around police in order to avoid being

racially profiled, falsely arrested, or shot. Ruth explained she could relate to that:

> My parents told me about that too . . . You pull over. You put your hands on the wheel.
>
> You don't unlock the door. You roll down the window to let them talk to you to verify
>
> that they're cops first and to not give anything until they tell you to . . . that's not
>
> abnormal to me. (Dialogic Interview 12, 5/3/2017)

In response, I explained that my parents also spoke with me about how to act around police,

however, the difference in these conversations and the ones Black parents may have with their

children was race did not play a role in the reasons why we were told to act a certain way. Ruth

replied, "I don't think cops are going to see you that way [as a suspect] because of your race.

Cops don't necessarily do that." She continued, "Is that something people are assuming, or do

they have the data on it (Dialogic Interview 12, 5/3/2017)? She went on to describe her

perception that Black populations commit more crimes than Whites, and questioned if the same

amount of unarmed Whites were shot by the police as unarmed Blacks. I recommended we both

research the topic and discuss our findings in our next dialogic interview. In our next

conversation, Ruth explained she thought about researching the topic but "didn't see it"

(Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017). I looked into the topic and found there were no reliable data

on the race/ethnicity or number of people shot by police each year (Lowrey, 2014). Based on

these data, I generated following assertion:

> *Ruth's impoverished familial background and interpretation of individuality*
>
> *impeded her ability to acknowledge systemic oppression in society.*

Analysis of Activity System

Using the CHAT component of rules, administrative regulations and unspoken norms in

the school and district in which HBE was located seemed to affect Ruth's perception of how she

could support her students. For example, at the beginning of the school year, Ruth reached out to

all of her students' parents to introduce herself and set up a line of communication. She

explained it was difficult to contact Sean's parents, the Chinese American student mentioned

above. I asked Ruth how she tried to get in touch with his parents, and she described staff in the

front office told her she would not be able to reach them. They claimed that even if she was, it

would not matter because they did not speak English (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017). Ruth

seemed to agree with their sentiments, and went on to describe that Sean's parents were

extremely busy because they ran a local restaurant (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017).

After hearing this, I told Ruth of a White teacher in Arizona who taught in a school where

the majority of students came from Hispanic backgrounds (Parades, 2010). The teacher, aided

by an interpreter, provided materials and support for parents during an evening parent/teacher

conference in order to show how they could help their children academically at home. I also

explained that anecdotally, a principal I worked for took the whole staff by bus into the

community to meet parents and students before the school year began. I asked Ruth if she might

consider these strategies in the future. She replied:

> I think it helps, too, when you have a school system behind you that's doing that. I don't
>
> know how comfortable I would be as a lone teacher trying to find the addresses, showing
>
> up, knowing if they'd be uncomfortable or not, especially if you can't talk to them on the
>
> phone. (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017)

The community surrounding the school seemed to influence the rules Ruth felt she

needed to follow related to teacher/family relations. She described her perception that having

grown up in a similar community to that of HBE, individuals would find a teacher coming to

their home unannounced as invasive. In such a rural environment, Ruth explained, "you make

sure the persons know you're coming. You're not gonna show up randomly on some person's

doorstep" (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017). Although Ruth had difficulty connecting with

Sean's parents, she still hoped to support him in her classroom in relation to her definition of

equity.

Ruth described Sean entering her class at the beginning of the year having scored at

grade-level on previous benchmarks. She explained, "His ELL (English Language Learner)

teacher said he met everything he needed to meet. And the year before he apparently did really well [on benchmark tests]." About half way through the year, however, Ruth noticed Sean's scores were slipping on reading benchmark assessments. I asked Ruth why she might not have caught Sean's difficulties earlier, and she explained she became cognizant of them when another student who, "was on a kindergarten reading level," moved away and allowed her to spend more time with Sean. Also, she explained, "when you have a quiet kid like Sean who seems to be following along and looking at you when you're talking, and not talking while you're talking, and then gets up and goes and does work, you don't [notice he's falling behind]" (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017).

Ruth described Sean as "hands down" her favorite student. When I asked why she felt so fondly of him, she explained:

> Because he does everything you say. And he does it quietly. And he does it to the best of his ability. And he's like always just silent fingers in the hallway. And like you just don't even really know he's there half the time. (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017)

Based on this, I asked Ruth if she was familiar with the "model minority" stereotype (Lee, 2008; 2015). I explained, "A lot of literature, a lot of stereotypes of Asian students, Chinese-American mostly, that they are normally really quiet. They're not behavioral problems. And so, teachers don't really see they might be having problems" (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017). She replied this may have been "part of" the reason why she was not aware of Sean's academic difficulties, but she felt more blame should be placed on the test scores given to her at the beginning of the year.

In terms of the division of labor within HBE, it seems administrative emphasis on testing contributed to how Ruth interacted with her students. Ruth explained the school administration's

emphasis on testing made her "hate" her students at times. She described how administrators in

the district created the requirements for the amount of benchmark examinations each teacher was

required to give her/his students throughout the year. She then explained, "They're [students]

not being evaluated on anything else" (Interview 10, 3/7/2017).

Based on this perception of the value placed on testing, Ruth felt standardized test-prep

was important to her students' wellbeing. She explained, "test readiness is a priority because it

affects so much in these students' futures. Once put on the low track it's hard to get out"

(Personal Email Communication, 8/9/2017). In the same email, Ruth described how testing also

played a role in determining how her colleagues perceived her: "As a teacher, once you've gotten

consistently low test scores, you get moved around among the grades and are deemed

unqualified by other staff." I was unable to verify if this perception was true, however, it showed

how Ruth's belief that the administration stressed the importance of test scores affected her view

on what defined an effective teacher. This, in turn, contributed to Ruth's definition of equitable

praxis, which was at odds with my own.

Differing Definitions of Equitable Praxis

Unlike myself, Ruth did not associate acknowledging a student's race or ethnicity as

being a part of creating equitable praxis, nor did she adhere to the CRT tenet of racism as

endemic. When asked to define the concept of equitable teaching she replied:

My hierarchy is as follows: the basic needs of my students are met (i.e. like the student

who needed to take naps and have snacks because they didn't have food at home), then

emotional needs (i.e. the student who needed a special lunch with me or the student that

needed to hold my hand to feel secure in the hallway). I don't feel like in my school

[students'] emotional needs were directly related to their cultural identity or awareness

(Personal Email Communication, 8/9/2017).

During a dialogic interview, I asked Ruth if she felt the Hispanic students in her class (Johnny

and Phillip), had different experiences at HBE than Sean, her Chinese-American student. She

explained:

> Yes . . . but then it's like . . . I think Phillip's life at home and Johnny's life at home,
>
> because they have similar languages and things, may have similarities, but I think they're
>
> also very, very different. (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017)

Aligning with her definition of equity above, she went on to explain that rather than take into

perspective all of her student's cultures, she would, ". . . just look and say, 'Okay, this is what I

know about Phillip . . . Okay, this is Philip to me. This is how he needs me" (Dialogic Interview

11, 3/28/2017).

In a later dialogic interview, I explained to Ruth my observation that whenever she

seemed to talk about Phillip or Johnny during our dialogues, she often compared them to each

other. To this she replied,

> I think because . . . when we were talking about them – we were talking about the two
>
> Hispanic kids in my class and how they were so different. Which made me think that you
>
> can't just base it off of, I didn't wanna group them based on their race . . . And so, what I
>
> was tryin' to say, every time I was connecting them is like they seem so very different.
>
> (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017)

Our conversation then became a back and forth related to how Johnny and Phillip's Hispanic

identity might affect them differently at HBE. I described the concept of within-group

differences (Williams & Deutsch, 2016) by explaining that members of the same racial or ethnic

group were not monolithic and therefore group experiences cannot be generalized. Ruth agreed

with the concept and explained Phillip and Johnny, "aren't the same in the classroom."

Therefore, she concluded, "There's some factor, other than their cultural background that makes

them [act in certain ways] in my classroom" (Dialogic Interview 13, 6/6/2017). Based on her

perception that race or ethnicity did not affect a student's experience in her classroom and other

factors played a bigger role, I observed Ruth to interact with all her students in the same basic

ways.

In an effort to create more of a horizontal division of labor in her classroom, students

were allowed to move freely to throw trash away or get water from a fountain in the back of the

room. Ruth also allowed students to use the restroom without asking by providing a yellow cup

as a hall pass. If the cup was gone, students knew they were not able to leave until it was

returned. Classroom rules were displayed on a poster in the back of the room (e.g., Be

respectful; Be Kind; Be an Active Learner), and were co-developed between Ruth and her

students. Each student agreed to abide by the rules by signing the bottom of the poster.

I never observed Ruth to be angry or frustrated, and students always seemed to respect

her directives. Student responses during our focus group supported my observation that all were

treated with kindness and affection by Ruth. The one Black female in the group described Ruth

as, "Pretty, silly, nice and sweet. The best teacher ever." The bi-racial male described her as,

"really nice." All White students in the group had nothing but positive things to say about Ruth

as well, with comments such as, "Ms. Austen is like a bright rainbow" and, "Best teacher ever"

(Student Focus Group, 5/15/2017).

Being that I knew Ruth did not feel a student's race or ethnicity affected them at HBE, I

provided research that supported how acknowledging a student's race can be beneficial to

students of color. I shared Cohen and Garcia's (2008) article entitled *Identity Belonging and Achievement* as another mediating artifact. A central finding of the research was that when teachers affirmed students' identities (racial, ethnic, gendered, etc.) by acknowledging and empowering a student's background, students of color were able to work past barriers of identity threat (Steele, 2010) and academically achieve at higher levels. Moreover, the authors highlighted the work of Purdie-Vaughns, Steele, Davies, Ditlmann, & Randall-Crosby (2008) in their statement that, ". . . colorblind messages may undermine minorities' trust and belonging, particularly if such messages occur in the absence of actual institutional diversity or convey that the distinctive qualities of one's culture will be ignored or should be suppressed" (Cohen & Garcia, 2008, p. 367).

Before discussing her reaction to the article, Ruth shared a situation that occurred the week prior she explained I would be "very interested to hear" about (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017). For an assignment in which students wrote letters to loved ones, Johnny turned his letter in written in Spanish. When I asked how she reacted, Ruth explained, "I told him for things that we grade that I would like it to be in English because I have to grade them on English, but for other things like that I don't really care." She went on to explain that Johnny, who at times she felt acted in problematic ways, was seemingly, "having a really good week, actually" (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017).

In reaction to the Cohen and Garcia (2008) article, Ruth explained that it made her think about the way African Americans were represented in the state's standardized test prep. Based on this, I asked Ruth if she would be willing to infuse multicultural teaching strategies (Banks, 2008) in her curriculum, specifically the transformative approach. Ruth replied jokingly, "Oh Lord. You make it sound like a butterfly" (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017). After I explained

what the transformative approach entailed, Ruth contended it would be extremely difficult to bring marginalized perspectives into her content based on the emphasis on standardized test prep at HBE:

> It's so hard because it's so hard to, it's hard enough to get all the social studies and science standards in there [the curriculum] and cover what they have . . . I don't feel like I have a lot of extra time to go into some of the other things that you may want them to learn about (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017).

In response to this, I contended that the reading comprehension sections of most standardized tests assess skills that could be taught no matter the content (such as identifying a thesis statement). Therefore, it would not matter the content of the books she used to teach these skills. To this she agreed, and I asked if she could ask the librarians or reading specialist in the school to try and order more books that represent multiple perspectives. Again, rules within HBE seemed to affect her perception in relation to providing a more culturally diverse curriculum.

Ruth explained, "Where it's hard is because it's not really even their [the reading specialist's] fault because they're getting things to support the SOL standards" (Dialogic Interview 11, 3/28/2017). She continued by explaining the "big concern" of administrators and others who determined the reading curriculum in the school was getting students to pass state standardized reading tests, of which students had not passed in previous years. Therefore, she explained her perception that including multiple perspectives would take "second priority" when the administration planed how to address failing reading scores. These data lead to the generation of the following assertion:

> *Based on the context of Hay Bale Elementary (e.g., district, administrative and faculty*
>
> *emphasis on testing and relationship with surrounding community), Ruth did not believe*

a student's racial or cultural identity contributed to their overall experience at the school.

Therefore, she did not equate the development of equity-based praxis with a student's

race or ethnicity, and rather sought to support students based on her perception of

her/his individual academic and personal needs while in her classroom.

Personal Reflection

Though our differing views about how systemic inequities, race, and ethnicity affected

her students impeded our ability to develop racially conscious equitable teaching praxis, our

discussions still appeared to have affected Ruth's overall worldview. She explained, "Even if we

didn't make concrete teaching strategies, the way I think and approach things are probably a little

different" (Dialogic Interview 14, 7/11/2017). She described that as a first-year teacher, it was

difficult for her to think outside of strategies she felt were practical for students to pass the state

standardized test. When I asked her to explain further how her approach to teaching might

change after our conversations, she stated, "I think overall the change of my thinking and maybe

about what literature I'll pick this [coming] year . . . hopefully that will change a little bit this

year since I've been through it once" (Dialogic Interview 14, 7/11/2017). Ruth went on to

explain she would likely discuss negative aspects of U.S. culture with her future students.

In relation to the students in the class I observed, Ruth also seemed to begin to think more

critically about their experiences as racialized human beings. In reference to Joy, the only

African American female in the class, Ruth explained she did believe Joy "probably" had a

different experience at HBE than White female students, however, Ruth qualified that statement

by providing her belief that Joy did not have the same ostracizing experience Black students had

when Ruth attended school. The following is her explanation of this. I provide it at length

because I believe it reveals the crux of Ruth's evolving worldview, as well as how her previous

contentions still affect her present perception:

> I mean, if all of her [Joy's] friends are White, then she might start comparing herself.
>
> And the majority of the population's White and so magazines, models are White. I think
>
> it may not be great but I think it's getting better because I think even [in this community]
>
> there's more of a mixture. It's better than I remember it, but I'm sure probably she's
>
> going to have to deal with some self-conscious things kind of coming to her own identity
>
> of what is beautiful. It [race] is going to be a factor, but I think there's probably other
>
> things in Joy's life, I mean, from what I've picked up on. And I tried to watch her
>
> throughout the year, she didn't seem uncomfortable with that [race]. It doesn't mean that
>
> she's not, but she wasn't really showing that she was uncomfortable with that. But she
>
> had other things that she was uncomfortable with more so, I think, like with her friends
>
> and she would kind of do little cliques with Heather or, you know, with Rachel, and I
>
> think it was that normal girl thing. So, I think there were bigger priorities for her that
>
> made up her identity this year rather than just her race (Dialogic Interview 14,
>
> 7/10/2017).

Discussion

After this study, I began to question if the two types of phronesis (common and

uncommon) described by Tabachnick (2004) can still be differentiated in our current politicized

society. The "uncommon" phronesis Aristotle described based on political experience,

education, and contemplation was relegated to a specific type of privileged individual –

specifically male and well-born. What might be considered "common" phronesis today, meant

to be reserved for running a "household" and "apolitical," to me seems far more effected by

politics. Therefore, Ruth's contention during first-year interviews that her classroom would be

an "objective" area was fallible. The sort of phronesis we created was neither common or

uncommon, but both.

Working with Ruth, I also began to question how phronesis can be created while working

with individuals whom researchers believe do not acknowledge important aspects of society such

as race, power and systemic oppression. I contend power affects students differently based on

her/his racialized experience. Ruth did not. Therefore, the phronesis we created was at odds

with my beliefs about how teachers should interact and support students. As Tabachnick (2004)

discussed, phronesis is ultimately tied to action – merely thinking about the right way to act is

not enough. Our dialogic interviews allowed us to discuss phronetic action in terms of racially

conscious equitable teaching praxes, but these conversations did not result in action related to

Ruth's praxis. Ruth and I did, however, develop a relationship that lead to her personal growth,

and allowed me to constantly reflect on my own bias and research goals.

The relationship created between Ruth and myself was, in large part, a product of our

ability to trust one another. Over a two-year period, Ruth and I were able to listen and respect

each other's stances for a variety of reasons. First, the dynamic I tried to create with Ruth based

on a mutual respect, and getting to know her both as a preservice and inservice teacher, seemed

to allow her to look past the traditional polemic roles of a researcher and subject and see me as a

colleague or partner. I believe our shared White racial identity, common career path in

education, and my personal transformation from denial to acknowledgement of race-based

structural privilege also contributed to the trust that was created. To an extent, we could

empathize with each other's experiences merely based on these basic characteristics. Moreover,

I sincerely enjoyed Ruth as a person. If I were to have undertaken this coinquiry with an

individual of whom I did not feel the same way, the outcome of the research would most likely have been different in that I may have not been as open to listening to her/his perspective, and that she might feel the same about me.

Having said that, my personal views toward the importance of critique and adherence to a multicultural ideology obligate me to be critical of Ruth's colorblind ideology as it relates to her interactions with her bilingual and students of color. As the subject shifted between Ruth and myself throughout our dialogic interviews, I continually questioned if a colorblind ideology was best for the needs of Ruth's classroom. Within HBE, 85% of the student body was White, and only five students (26%) in Ruth's classroom were students of color. I questioned if viewing all students as "equals" by believing all had the same basic needs might be the most effective way to support students in her room. Further, I questioned if Ruth could meet the needs of her students even if she was not racially conscious. Placing Ruth as subject of analysis during my search for disconfirming evidence within the data and using CHAT and CRT as lenses, I realized even though she cared for her students deeply and believed all could succeed, her colorblindness seemed to impede her ability to fully acknowledge possible hindrances to the achievement of her students of color.

First, using CRT Ruth's adherence to a colorblind ideology and perception of individuality ironically seemed to impede her ability to acknowledge certain aspects of a student's individuality (i.e., the racial and cultural intersections of their identity). An example of this can be seen in the demographic information that Ruth provided to me about her class. Ruth listed her Hispanic student Johnny's nationality as "Unknown." I believe this can be linked to Ruth's adherence to a colorblind ideology. In her eyes, it did not matter if Johnny was Mexican, Guatemalan, or Peruvian. To her, both Johnny and Phillip, the Mexican-American student,

spoke Spanish and therefore needed support. It did not seem to matter that ethnic differences of

the students might have contributed to vastly difference experiences in her room and at HBE.

Next, Ruth's comment during our second interview that, ". . . every person has their own

learning style and their own interests, so I think everything has to [be individually based]," is

indeed considered good teaching praxis. Differentiating based on an individual's learning has

been shown to be an effective teaching strategy (Tomlinson, 2008), and Ruth did this very well.

I contend, however, that when a teacher fails to acknowledge how race plays a central role in a

student's experience, any sort of "individual teaching" strategies fall short of being truly

individualized. For example, stereotype threat (Steele, 2010) and microaggressions (Sue,

Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal & Esquilin, 2007) have been shown to adversely

affect minoritized groups (Cohen and Garcia, 2008). An example of this could be seen in Ruth's

reaction to Johnny when he submitted his paper written in Spanish. Rather than use this as a

chance to empower Johnny through his ethnic and racial background as recommended by Cohen

and Garcia (2008), Ruth's reaction to Johnny that she "did not care" if he wrote in Spanish on

certain assignments, but needed to write in English on assignments she "graded" because that

was the language he would be assessed on could have subconsciously relayed to him that his

native language was not as important as English. Even though this did not seem to be Ruth's

intention, it is an example of how colorblind teachers might contribute to what Ladson-Billings

(2017) referred to as "marginalizing knowledge" through language.

Similar to Gorski's (2016) contention that understanding how a person defines a problem

is important to know what sort of solutions they might create, Aristotle explained, "Those who

consider things in their first growth and origin . . . will obtain the clearest view of them" (Arist.

Pol., 1252b26, trans. Jowett). When teachers do not acknowledge how perceptions of a student's

race can contribute to her/his achievement, they may assess the need to develop strategies to support student academic growth based on a misplaced understanding of the genesis of the problem. I see this as similar to a doctor treating the symptoms of a disease rather than diagnosing the source in order give better treatment. This strategy may help in the short-term, but symptoms could resurface based on the doctor's (or teacher's) failure to understand the crux of the problem.

A specific example of how Ruth's strategies were aimed at symptoms rather than a possible source of a student's academic difficulties can be tied to her decision to not acknowledge a student's race or ethnicity as part of their salient identity. In the case of Sean described above, Ruth explained she did not realize he was falling behind in reading until another student who required a lot of one-on-one attention moved away, and did not accept the "model minority" theory as contributing wholly to her experience with Sean. I suspect if Ruth had gone against her colorblind tendencies and seen Sean for the Chinese American he is at the beginning of the year, she might have been able to be more vigilant in looking for specific difficulties Sean may have had in reading based on the fact that his family speaks Chinese.

Based on Ruth's adherence to colorblindness, she seemed to believe that all of her bilingual students needed the same supports based on the fact that each spoke a different primary language. Viewing all bilingual students as needing the same supports based merely on the fact that each speaks a language other than English negates the differences in those other languages. For example, the characters that make up Sean's Chinese language are completely different than those in the Johnny's Spanish alphabet. Therefore, a student who can read Chinese might have a much different experience looking at English letters than a student with a Spanish speaking background, of which the letters in the languages are the same.

Ruth's colorblindness also contributed to her understanding of the concept of within-group differences. My observation that Ruth was connecting Johnny and Phillip based merely on their shared race was indeed correct, however, the reasons behind such a practice were not based on what I first thought. I believed the fact that Ruth often compared her Hispanic students was proof that her colorblindness inhibited her from even realizing she was comparing her students based merely on their race. In reality, Ruth explained she was indeed conscious that she was comparing Johnny to Phillip in our discussions. This was done (somewhat ironically) in an effort to justify her colorblindness. Her goal was to highlight how students from the same race were different. To her, this proved that race did not affect students in the classroom, and therefore other variables were actually affecting them more.

In other words, it seemed Ruth believed that if race was actually affecting Phillip and Johnny, they would act in similar ways because she felt they were the same race. Therefore, within-group differences proved race did not contribute to a student's experience at HBE. This example shows that even when researchers and teachers who hold different ideologies agree on the basic validity of a concept, such as within-group differences, they can come to vastly different conclusions about what that concept means in relation to praxis. On the surface, certain conversations may seem like agreements, however, in reality they are ideological divisions.

Ruth's adherence to colorblindness and belief in the value of individual effort also seemed to affect her ability to acknowledge the systemic nature of oppression in the United States. Her description of "Black culture" in relation to life in the inner-city was steeped in an individualized perception of oppression. What I mean by this is the examples she provided of "problems" within Black communities related to gangs, single family homes, riots and looting were all in reference to an individual's choice and actions. Such an understanding, however,

takes effects of systemic oppression and places them as causes for a community's problems. Moreover, even though Ruth described herself as colorblind in that she hoped not to make judgements about a person because of their race, both her depiction of "Black culture" and her earlier description of Black students at her local high school being "assimilated to White culture" by wearing flannel shirts and using southern slang showed she had a preconceived notion of what it means to be "Black" in the United States.

Another factor that seemed to inhibit Ruth's acknowledgement of systemic oppression was based on her personal experience with familial wealth. Ruth found it difficult to view her family as privileged in the sense of obtaining generational wealth of which she could benefit, and therefore did not personally feel privileged. In her comments related to police brutality and other examples of systemic oppression, Ruth seemed to try and overlap her experience with that of a person of color. When Ruth described having similar experiences as Black youth who were told how to act around police by her/his parents, I thought this might be a connection that would create the sort of compassion necessary to begin to understand how race differentially affects individuals in U.S. society on a systemic level. Rather, Ruth's explanation seemed to be aimed more at invalidating the magnitude of such an experience by people of color.

The final quotation from Ruth provided above shows how this played out with her students in the context of HBE. Ruth did not believe Joy's race affected her in the classroom although she admitted it might in the future. Similar to her description of Black youth being told how to act around the police, Ruth seemed to believe she could understand Joy's experience based on her own, and therefore dismissed the role of race in creating personal experiences for students at HBE. Ruth did not seem to consider how her identity as a White female possibly hampered her ability to understand Joy's experience as an African American female, or the fact

that Joy might not have been comfortable speaking with Ruth about her racial identity. In our focus group, Joy expressed nothing but admiration for Ruth, however, she was also the only student who described Ruth as "pretty." This was the very point Ruth made in our final interview: Joy might reflect on her own identity based on stereotypical Western standards of beauty.

Even though Ruth seemed to be beginning to grapple with such contradictions, her belief that race and ethnicity did not contribute to her students' overall school experience contributed to her placement of multicultural approaches to curriculum design in the background of her pedagogy. Moreover, using CHAT, it seems Ruth's perception of a lack of support from colleagues in her school also affected her willingness to reach out to parents of students in more personal ways. The perceived importance of student achievement on standardized tests also seemed to impede Ruth's belief in her ability to develop racially equitable praxis. As I argued during our dialogic interviews, I contended that such tests usually assess skills such as reading comprehension, which could be taught using a variety of content including readings from multicultural perspectives. Ruth believed the book, no matter the content, created equity in her class if it met the needs of the students based on their academic ability.

Finally, Ruth's lack of institutional knowledge based on being a first-year teacher likely affected her perception of what she was allowed to do in terms of curriculum design and student supports. In our final interviews, Ruth discussed the possibility of bringing multiple perspectives into her future classrooms in the form of books and discussions. Ruth is still learning how the school, and staff within it operate on a daily basis. She is building relationships with her colleagues that likely will grow stronger with time. As she develops these relationships and a better understanding of her responsibilities within the school, she might feel differently about her

ability to develop praxes to augment the administration's strategies on test preparation or state-wide assessment protocols.

Limitations

I agree with Cho and Trent (2006) that bias always affects our work in the social sciences. I did my best throughout this study to be upfront with Ruth about my biases and subjectivities, however, doing so might have affected her own perceptions. In terms of such transformation, I cannot be certain the answers Ruth provided about becoming more critical about herself and the world around her were not mainly statements she thought I wanted to hear.

Based on the small size of the town, Ruth could have been worried about being overheard during our conversations about systemic inequity and White privilege while in the coffee shop and in the school. As such, she might have withheld information from me throughout our dialogic interview process. Because I could not continue to observe Ruth in her classroom, I do not know how such a new critical stance, if sincere, will affect her interactions with students, or if she will continue to reflect on concepts such as race and oppression.

Conclusions/Implications

This study leaves me contemplating ways future research aimed at developing phronesis for classroom application might be undertaken. The first scenario entails researchers passionate about racial justice avoiding the problems I encountered in this study by only working with teachers who already hold similar worldviews. This would create phronesis likely more aligned with racial equity and the coinquiry might lead to practical strategies for the classroom at the time of the study rather than for future students.

Although I believe this first scenario might be easier in terms of collaboration and outcomes, I also contend racial equity researchers should continue to work with individuals who

hold similar worldviews to those of Ruth. In these studies, much more time is necessary to discuss how systemic factors contribute to an individual's daily experience in society. The two-year study presented above showed a start to such work. In the beginning of our first-year interviews, Ruth denied White privilege and systemic inequity in contemporary society. By the end of our second year, she acknowledged privilege and systemic inequity, however, still was unwilling to contend either affected her students in ways that required a shift in her praxis.

When racial equity becomes a central goal in educational research for P-12 schools, complications are sure to arise when working in environments in which such a goal might not be shared by those in power. In these instances, time is necessary to create trust on both sides of the ideological divide. The coinquiry Ruth and I developed shows such relationships are possible. Whether it be between teacher educators, colleagues and preservice teachers, or educational researchers and teachers, faculty and staff, these relationships must be longitudinally designed and based on mutual respect.

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Table 1
Manuscript 1

Characteristics of Identified Studies [b]

	%	n
Difficulty Connecting Race-Based Privilege and Systemic Inequities	46%	*12*
Ability to Connect Race-Based Privilege and Systemic Inequities	23%	*6*
Goals of Connecting Whiteness with Systemic Inequities	23%	*6*
Goals of Understanding Whiteness to Teach in Diverse	46%	*12*

Settings

Critical Race Tenets		
Endemic Racism	15%	*4*
Systemic Inequities/Societal Injustice	46%	*12*
Institutional Racism	54%	*14*
Whiteness as Property	8%	*2*
Counter-Narratives	15%	*4*
Racial Positioning	8%	*2*
Interest Convergence	0%	*0*
Realist Descriptors		
Social Activism	35%	*9*
References to Social Justice/Change	39%	*10*
Idealist Descriptors		
Deficit Language/Thinking	27%	*7*
Changing Attitudes	54%	*14*
Goals of Empathizing	31%	*8*
Understand Whiteness	54%	*14*
Develop "Anti-Racist" Identity	15%	*4*
Realist Implications		
Social Action	23%	*6*
Political Action	0%	*0*
Increasing Opportunities for Minoritized Populations	15%	*4*
Importance of Unions	0%	*0*
Increasing Immigrant Quotas	0%	*0*
Idealist Implications		
End Deficit Mindsets	8%	*2*
End Negative Language	4%	*1*
More Empathy Between Races	42%	*11*
More Understanding of Whiteness	50%	*13*

[b] 26 total articles.

Appendix A
Quick Discrimination Index

Quick Discrimination Index
QDI

Items

(1). I do think it is more appropriate for the mother of a newborn baby, rather than the father, to stay home with the baby (not work) during the first year.

(2). It is as easy for women to succeed in business as it is for men.

(3). I really think affirmative action programs on college campuses constitute reverse discrimination.

4. I feel I could develop an intimate relationship with someone from a different race.

5. All Americans should learn to speak two languages.

6. It upsets (or angers) me that a woman has never been president of the United States.

(7). Generally speaking, men work harder than women.

8. My friendship network is very racially mixed.

(9). I am against affirmative action programs in business

(10). Generally, men seem less concerned with building relationships than women.

11. I would feel O.K. about my son or daughter dating someone from a different racial group.

12. It upsets (or angers) me that a racial minority person has never been president of the United States.

(13). In the past few years there has been too much attention directed toward multicultural or minority issues in education.

14. I think feminist perspectives should be an integral part of the higher education curriculum.

(15). (Most of my close friends are from my own racial group.

(16). I feel somewhat more secure that a man rather than a woman is currently president of the United States.

17. I think that it is (or would be) important for my children to attend schools that are racially mixed.

(18). In the past few years there has been too much attention directed toward multicultural or minority issues in business.

(19). Overall, I think racial minorities in America complain too much about racial discrimination.

20. I feel (or would feel) very comfortable having a woman as my primary physician.

21. I think the president of the United States should make a concerted effort to appoint more women and racial minorities to the country's Supreme Court.

22. I think White people's racism toward racial minority groups still constitutes a major problem in America.

(23). I think the school system, from elementary school through college, should encourage minority and immigrant children to learn and fully adopt traditional American values.

24. If I were to adopt a child, I would be happy to adopt a child of any race.

Appendix A
Continued

Quick Discrimination Index
QDI

Items

(25). I think there is as much female physical violence toward men as there is male violence toward women.

26. I think the school system, from elementary school through college, should promote values representative of diverse cultures.

27. I believe that reading the autobiography of Malcolm X would be of value.

28. I would enjoy living in a neighborhood consisting of a racially diverse population (i.e., African American, Asian American, Hispanic, White).

(29). I think it is better if people marry within their own race.

(30). Women make too big of a deal out of sexual harassment issues in the workplace.

Note. Item numbers in parentheses have been reversed scored. Write to the senior author for scoring guidelines and the actual instrument.

Appendix B
Interview 3 Scenarios – Manuscript 3(Year 1)

1) A student is absent on a daily basis. You see them in the hall after your class and ask why they missed again. The student tells you they couldn't make it.
- How would you respond to this situation?
- How would your response be different if the student was White, Black, Hispanic or another race/ethnicity?

2) A student blurts out in your classroom, "Where did all the Black people go?" when the lights are turned out to watch a video clip, disrespectfully implying that their dark skin made them invisible.
- What would you do?

3) A student comes to school and is visibly dirty and disheveled. He often falls asleep and appears to be disinterested in the course content and class discussions.
- How would you respond to this situation?
- What other information, if any, do you need to know about the student?
- How would the student's race/ethnicity play a role in your response?

4) An African American student comes to you for advice. They feel they are being discriminated against by another teacher and want you to stand up for them.
- How might you handle this situation?

5) During a discussion in class about affirmative action, a White student says affirmative action discriminates against him and is a form of reverse racism. They argue that opportunity is equal for everyone today if some people would just stop being lazy and work hard. A Latino student speaks up and tells the White student they need to check their privilege and don't know what they're talking about.
- What would you do as the teacher in the room?

6) A white student in your AP class tells the lone Latino and African American in the class they are only there because the school is trying to increase the number of minority students in AP classes.
- You know this is an issue in the school. How would you respond?