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Eric C. Sheffield, Founding Editor
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The mission of the Academy for Educational Studies is to foster a community of inquirers and provide a public space for debate and dialogue about important questions in education. The Academy encourages those interested in education, teaching, and learning to engage in thoughtful reflection, discussion, and critique of educational theory and practice. Involving people from across the state, region and country, the Academy promotes this vital dialogue by arranging education conferences and symposia and by creating publishing opportunities connected with Academy events. The Academy supports research efforts of graduate and undergraduate students and assists in the design and delivery of teacher education courses at both the graduate and undergraduate levels.

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** Our thanks to the cadre of scholars who serve as reviewers without whose services the journal could not exist.



Critical Questions In Education: Volume 6, Issue 1

The Academy for Educational Studies
Springfield, Missouri

January 15, 2015

Colleagues and Friends of the Academy:

Welcome to Volume 6, Issue 1 of CQIE! We are excited to mark the beginning of our sixth year in existence. Before getting to an overview of this issue, we have a couple of Academy updates.

If memory serves, in introducing our last issue we outlined several major Academy “developments” including most importantly our move away from Missouri State University and toward establishing the Academy as a national nonprofit organization. Academy Director Steve Jones and the Executive Board have been hard at work with that ongoing endeavor. In the next several weeks you will see two fruits of that labor: a second *Critical Questions Conference* in San Diego and a new web site not connected to Missouri State University. This second *Critical Questions Conference* of this academic year will feature Academy Talks with Gary Orfield of UCLA’s Civil Rights Project and Francisco Ramirez of Stanford University’s International Comparative Education Program. As for the new web home, we hope you will remain patient as we move in to academyforeducationalstudies.org—it will be a work in progress for at least the next month or two if not longer.

And, with that news out of the way, onto *Volume 6, Issue 1*. As with several past issues of *CQIE*, this latest has a theme holding it together: preparing teachers for racial and ethnic (in)justice. We never plan such themes (excepting, of course, in the case of our special theme issues), but it is nice when articles work in concert as these certainly do. This theme is particularly interesting and timely in light of the recent national fervor that began in Ferguson Missouri—a quick three hour drive east of Springfield. The first piece is an examination of utilizing “race dialogues” in teacher preparation classes as the means to understand poverty’s impact on our pre-service teachers’ future students. This engaging pedagogical journey is followed by another: incorporating service-learning field experiences into a social foundations class. Our third and final manuscript of this issue once again takes up questions of ethnic/racial justice in examining the value that a “funds of knowledge” understanding can have for teachers preparing to teach Mexican and Mexican American students. We also have our regular book review piece; Austin Pickup reviews Benjamin Baez’s recent monograph on “Governmentality” in the “Information Age.” Finally, we once again have a spotlight video essay—an *Academy Talk* with comparative educator Stephen Heyneman of Vanderbilt.

In closing, we once again extend our gratitude to our peer reviewers: without their thankless work, this project would simply and quickly die on the vine.

PAX,

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UNDERSTANDING POVERTY THROUGH RACE DIALOGUES IN TEACHER PREPARATION

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Anita S. Zijdemans Boudreau, Pacific University*

Abstract

This study used critical dialogue within a teacher preparation program to address the dilemma of preparing pre service teachers for educational arenas in which they will interface with students who are socially and economically disadvantaged. Using Critical Race Theory as a lens, the study addressed the following research questions: What were the candidates' responses to the experience of engaging in a day of dialogues designed in part to explore how economic disparity is promoted through institutional racism? Were any of the participants' assumptions challenged? Did the dialogue change candidates' thinking about how they might engage future students in learning?

Keywords: *Critical Race Theory, poverty, pre-service, teachers*

Introduction

Teacher education programs committed to social justice are designed to prepare candidates to work with the increasingly diverse students they will be encountering in Pre-K-12 classrooms. In the small private university setting in Oregon, where this study took place, Glenda and Anita, two teacher educators, were particularly concerned with how to engage pre service teachers in a dialogue designed to help them understand and deconstruct what it means to be a minority or disadvantaged student in America. In Oregon, almost 1 in 4 children live in poverty. Minority groups face the highest rates of poverty in the state. Broken down by ethnicity, 9.2% of Asians, 29.8% of Native Americans, 29.8% of Latinos(as), 29.7% of African Americans, and 36.2% of Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islanders live in poverty compared to 14.8% of Whites (Oregon Center for Public Policy, 2011). The disparities in poverty by race continue to widen, as the recent recession disproportionately affected communities of color. In addition, the disparities found in Oregon are mirrored through the United States, which makes this study relevant for pre service teachers and teacher educators throughout the country who are committed to social justice education.

The purpose of this dialogical research project within a teacher preparation program was to address the dilemma of preparing pre service teachers for educational arenas in which they will interface with students who are socially and economically disadvantaged. The following describes the outcomes of a collaboration between Anita (biracial) and Glenda (Caucasian) that involved using a three-part film series on race in combination with a diversity study circles (DSC)

framework (Moss, 2008) to help raise awareness amongst majority White teacher candidates preparing to work in schools comprised of increasingly diverse student populations. Larry, a teacher educator and Critical Race Theorist, joined the project two years later to lead in the CRT analysis of the data.

The context for the study was an 18 month cohort based teacher preparation program designed for individuals who were working full-time, or had other commitments during the day, and studying towards licensure two nights a week and occasional Saturdays. The activity took place early into the candidates' first semester during Learning Communities, a series of three two-credit courses—*Learning Community I: Personal awareness*, *Learning Community II: Meeting the needs of diverse student populations*, and *Learning Community III: Emerging as a professional practitioner*—that candidates take during each semester of the program. These courses create space for candidates to explore personal identity, culture, diversity, and reflection on practice within a learning community and experiential approach.

In the study we addressed the following research questions: What were the candidates' responses to the experience of engaging in a day of dialogues designed in part to explore how economic disparity is promoted through institutional racism? Were any of the participants' assumptions challenged? Did the dialogue change candidates' thinking about how they might engage future students in learning?

This paper reports on the outcomes of two sets of data collected with different cohorts during the Power, Privilege, and Difference segment of the Learning Communities I course. Aggregated over the two-year implementation period, the composition of the pre service teachers included: 24 White; 3 Asian; and 3 Latino/a ranging in ages from their early 20s through 40s. Thirteen students were male and 17 female, 2 of whom also self-identified as LGBT. Two local Latina teachers (female) joined our class for one event. One African American educator (female) joined our class for the other. Ensuring the presence of educators of color was a critical component to engaging pre-service White teachers to become conscious of their whiteness and how that whiteness is defined by privilege. Glenda, Caucasian (female), also played a critical role of reassuring students that the films were not designed to make White people feel guilty. Her presence as co-facilitator helped the White students to not feel immediate resistance due to skin color that Anita, as a bi-racial educator, had experienced in previous courses whilst exploring issues of power, privilege and difference with her White students.

Critical Race Theory as a Story Backdrop

When we framed our study, we wanted to establish a lens that would support the need for pre service educators to become more conscious of their culture and the social culture around them. In addition, we wanted pre service teachers to embrace culture as a living entity; one that is necessary to experience and make part of their daily lives rather than viewing culture as simply a 3-hour course they once took. The mentality to answer how to engage others from different cultures hinges on the idea that in order for one to do, one must know, and for one to know, one must have experienced. We wanted pre service educators to have authentic experience versus simulated ones due to a large amount of information that is lost when the experience is simulated. For these reasons, Critical Race Theory satisfied our inquiry into how to engage pre service teaches in race conversations, which have been ongoing in the United States since the birth of the nation.

As the height of civil rights movement peaked (during the late 1960's), scholars, activist, and political figures searched for new methods where they could continue articulating and contesting the appalling social, political, and economic treatment of African Americans. Delgado (1995) noted that previously successful legal tactics had become increasingly unsuccessful, thus a number of interdisciplinary advocates met to resolve the occurrence of failing arguments. Outcomes of this collaboration gave birth to the framework currently known as Critical Race Theory (CRT), which is the first descendant of Critical Legal Studies (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). The goal of CRT is to protest inequality and its condition and treatment of oppressed people by arming the voices of the oppressed and establishing that racism is ordinary and serves as a powerful determinant in how individuals are situated and treated. This "tool," CRT postulates that darker skin equals different and/or inferior status and treatment (Sleeter & Delgado-Bernali, 2004; Delgado 1995; Parker, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Crenshaw, 1988; Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Matsudo, 1996; & Solorzano, 1989).

Parker (2000) asserts that CRT is grounded in six tenets, which are maintained as deconstructive tools to dismantle fundamental mainstream concepts of raced people. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) echo the voices of scholars (Matsuda, 1996, Crenshaw, 1988; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Bell, 1987; & Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995) through the summation of CRT's tenets of: (1) racism realism, (2) interest convergence, (3) social construction thesis, (4) differential racialization, (5) intersectionality, and (6) voice-of-color. The following expounding of the tenets serves as Delgado and Stefancic's (2001) synthesis of many CRT writers' understanding of the tenets:

1. **Racial realism.** Racism is ordinary, not an aberration; racism is the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country. This means that racism is difficult to cure or address. Color-blind, or "formal" conceptions of equality, expressed in rules that insist only on treatment that is the same across the board, can remedy only the most blatant forms of discrimination that stand out and attract our attention.
2. **The phenomenon of interest convergence (or material determinism).** Most CRT theorists would agree that white-over-color ascendancy serves important purposes, both psychologically and materially. Because racism advances the interests of both White elites (materially) and working-class people (psychologically), large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it.
3. **The "social construction" thesis.** Race and races are products of social thought and relationship. Not objective, inherent, or fixed, they correspond to no biological or genetic reality; rather, races are categories that society invents, manipulates, or retires when convenient. People with common origins share certain physical traits such as skin color, physique, and hair texture. But these traits are extremely small when comparing what human beings have in common. The small amount of difference has nothing to do with personality, intelligence, and moral behavior. That society frequently chooses to ignore these scientific facts, creates races, and endows them with pseudo-permanent characteristics are of great interest to critical race theory.
4. **Differential racialization.** Critical writers in law, as well as social science, have drawn attention to the ways the dominant society racializes (uses different minority groups at different times, in response to shifting needs) populations for their benefit in such areas as the labor market. At one period, for example, society may have little use

- for Blacks, but much need for Mexican or Japanese agricultural workers. As needs change over time, popular images and stereotypes of various minority groups shift as well. In one era, a group of color may be depicted as happy-go-lucky, simple-minded, and content to serve White folks. A little later, when conditions change, that very same group may appear in cartoons, movies, and other cultural scripts as menacing, brutish, and out of control, requiring close monitoring and repression.
5. **The idea of intersectionality.** Each race has its own origins and ever evolving history. No person has a single, easily stated, unitary identity. A White feminist may be Jewish, or working-class, or a single mother. An African American activist may be gay or lesbian. A Latino may be a Democrat, a Republican, or even a Black. Everyone has potentially conflicting, overlapping identities, loyalties, and allegiances.
 6. **The voice-of-color.** The voice-of-color thesis holds that because of their different histories and experiences with oppression, Black, Indian, Asian, and Latino/a writers and thinkers may be able to communicate to their White counter-parts matters that the Whites are unlikely to know. Minority status, in other words, brings with it a presumed competence to speak about race and racism.

According to Bell (1980), collectively the tenets articulate the inferior treatment based on race as an everyday occurrence, yet they provide solace and direction to understanding oppressive institutions, while offering critical, constructive and creative frames to examine and develop resolutions. The inequitable realities are the critical foundations that compel CRT writers to adopt a form of oppositional scholarship.

It is within this design that Ladson-Billings and Tate (1994) are credited with introducing CRT to the field of education. Donner (2003) explains that CRT, as an investigative lens, offers a theoretical framework that challenges popular notions and discourses in education through rich and deep deconstruction of racist policies and procedures. Additionally, Sleeter and Delgado-Bernal (2004) argue that race is examined ahead of other physical characters because Eurocentric values and morals place a higher acceptability on race than other factors used to marginalize a person. These scholars (Bell, 1987; Crenshaw, 1988, 2011; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1994; Dixon & Rousseau, 2005; & Parker, 2000) and their scholarship use CRT to reject the dominant discourse of implicit Eurocentrism and naïveté in regards to embedded power relations in education. Instead, the aforementioned scholars use CRT to assist in the eradication of oppressive devices in education, thus making a more equitable experience for all. Through careful awareness training, CRT may assist educators in the elimination of racial and other forms of oppression. CRT and its central tenets offer the foundational lens to investigate race in concert with culture. The tenets are the basis for such an examination, which analyzes racial oppression and cultural misinformation as potential factors in creating oppressive education. Although CRT may contain limitations, it does provide a compelling tool to examine oppression in education.

Setting the Context for Learning through Documentary and Dialogue

As a first step to cultivating personal awareness in our candidates, Anita and Glenda held a full-day workshop at Glenda's home to view and respond to a three-part film series, *Race: The Power of An Illusion*, a provocative documentary including: *The Difference Between Us*; *The Story We Tell*; and *The House We Live In*, a set of three videos that challenges our assumptions about race and looks at the "underlying social, economic, and political conditions that dispropor-

tionately channel advantages and opportunities to white people” (http://www.pbs.org/race/000_About/002_04-about.htm). Through these films, candidates broached important and challenging issues such as the social construction of race, the pervasiveness of systemic racism, the history of American public policies and social practices, and how those policies and practices advantaged the families of many of the students in the room and disadvantaged minority groups to create the wealth gap and a lack of opportunities.

We introduced race dialogues as an experiential learning piece to afford pre service teachers the opportunity to gain knowledge and sensitivity about themselves through dialogues about race as a social construction. We assumed that White pre service teachers would not begin the workshop with knowledge of their privilege. We were cautious to the sensitive nature of engaging pre service teachers in exploring their personal identities. In practice, the full day’s event with our students involved using a diversity study circles (DSC) framework – an approach designed to foster dialogue on race with the goal of critical self-reflection in response to interfacing with diverse multicultural experiences (Moss, 2008) – in conjunction with the PBS documentary series.

The format of the day’s event included alternating between the three films and critical dialogue. A discussion after each film provided an opportunity for participants to share responses, talk about thoughts or feelings that came up during the viewing, and contribute personal experiences. We took field notes and participated by sharing our personal experiences and facilitating the open dialogue to ensure everyone had a chance to talk. We stressed the role of listening for understanding (Burbules, 1993; Isaac, 1993; Jenlink & Carr, 1996) as a key to building a learning community. Discussion continued through a shared lunch hour and informally at the end of the all-day workshop.

We analyzed the data through the lens of poverty within a CRT framework and our own experiences in the project. This paper presents our critical stories of experience and an analysis of pre service teachers’ reflections’ on the third film, *The House We Live In*, for evidence of awareness of issues of poverty tied to historical and current racism. The third film, *The House We Live In*, showed how housing loans after World War II advantaged White people to become home-owners, and zoning laws further worked to the advantage of White people gaining home equity while people of color were disadvantaged. Today, wealth among White people is eight times more than accrued wealth among African Americans. These were hard ideas for White students to face. Glenda, Caucasian, played a critical role of reassuring the candidates that the films were not designed to make White people feel guilty but rather to help them to understand how Whites reached a point of economic disparity in the United States.

Researcher’s Critical Stories of Experience

As we analyzed pre service teachers’ reflections on the films, we discussed how we were impacted by the project. We found this to be a powerful experience and decided to present our critical stories of experience with education and poverty before presenting our analysis of pre service teachers’ reflections on the race film, *The House We Live In*.

Anita’s Story

Participating in this research has reminded me how privileged my life circumstances have been. Frontline’s 2012 episode on social issues highlighted some harsh truths about American

society: the nation's poorest children come from households headed by a single mother, nearly 47.6 percent, and Black children are more likely to live in poverty than children of any other race, at 38.2 percent. I am a person of color who was raised by a single mother, but I was fortunate to have never lived in poverty.

I was raised by a driven, determined woman of Jamaican heritage who—robbed of her dreams of higher education when taken out of school to help support her family—was determined that her child would have every opportunity to get an education and succeed in life. When I was a baby, she studied to put herself through nursing school. During my childhood she worked as a hairdresser by day and cigarette girl in a club at night until she was eventually able to open up her own hair salon. When we moved to Canada in the 1970s, she worked her way up through the organizational ranks, from the residential to the commercial division, to become the first Black female commercial real estate agent in Toronto (a highly male-dominated profession at the time) and, subsequently, the top earner for several years in her firm. My mother describes herself as a woman lacking in formal education: I see a successful woman who has spent a lifetime breaking down barriers.

My career path didn't start out in education; however, as I came to realize that I wanted to help make a difference in people's lives, my heart and mind eventually led me to it. In my 17 years as a minority educator, I have taught in predominantly White institutions. As such, my students have been accustomed to seeing themselves over-represented in their teaching faculty. In fact, for many of them I have been their first teacher of color. Growing up, I had a different experience to that of my students. I recall having one Black South African teacher throughout all my K through higher education schooling. I had her for one year in middle school, for one course, and yet to this day I still remember and appreciate the positive influence she had upon me.

For many minority students today, the reality is that it is highly unlikely they will see themselves reflected in their teachers. So, as a teacher educator, one of my goals has been to prepare candidates to meet, as best they can, the needs of students from diverse backgrounds. At times, it has been challenging to lead and encourage my White students to openly and critically engage issues of power, privilege, and difference with me. The first year that Glenda and I held this workshop, the difference was palpable. Glenda brought a level of conviction and life experience that added a rich dimension to the dialogue. The White candidates appeared much more responsive to discussing these issues with a co-facilitator in the room who looked like them. They were also more openly curious about my experiences as a person of color. It was at this point that I recognized we had tapped into something that was potentially transformative.

I feel that our work is just beginning and acknowledge that this pursuit requires challenging not only my students to move out of their comfort zone, but myself as well. Moving forward, I hope that we can find creative ways to provide authentic inter-cultural exchanges that will enrich our experiences and lead us to think more deeply about our role as social justice advocates for our marginalized youth.

Glenda's Story

Understanding education and poverty has been a moving target for me. I grew up in a family of eight children during the fifties and sixties. My dad was 35 and my mom was 28 when they married and had eight children in eight years. My dad attended public schools in a one-room school house in a rural community in Louisiana until he completed grade eight. He joined the navy at age 17 to keep from starving during the depression. When WWII broke out, he reenlisted

and served for 10 years. He later attended a monastery to become a Jesuit. I am a little fuzzy on his goal. I think he hoped to maybe teach, but I am not sure. All I know is that he was guided out of the order before he could make his final vows. He was encouraged to marry and have a family, which he did.

Our family of seven moved to Texas in October of 1952, when I was nearly three. In September after I turned five in December 1955, my youngest sibling was born. I had five younger brothers and sisters, and my mom had to go to work full-time to make ends meet. We never missed a meal and could always have a snack at night if we were still hungry after an early supper. We were crowded in a less than 1,400 square foot house. Eventually I became conscious of social and economic disparity when I was about eight years old.

Earnestine, who was African American, came to our home each day while my mom worked. She cleaned the house, did laundry, and served as our childcare provider. We referred to her as our maid. She also had babies like my mom. I remember going with my mom to visit Earnestine and bring her family a meal when she had her sixth baby. It was during one of these visits to her house, which was smaller than ours, that I began to wonder who took care of her children while she worked the same hours as my mom. I knew she was only paid \$22 a week, probably a fourth of what my mom earned at the time. I often felt conflicted as a teenager, feeling like we were poor in comparison to many other children, yet knowing we had so much more than most. I do not think that I can really understand true poverty.

I worked every summer in high school and all through community college and senior college to successfully pay for four years of higher education. I was then awarded a teacher assistantship to teach two sections of American history and complete graduate work in American history. It was more than enough to meet living expenses and pay a note on a new car. I came under the illusion that anyone in America could make it into middle class if they just worked for it. That was the line that I preached each day that I taught poor African American middle school students in East Texas during the late eighties and nineties.

It was not until I began to read critical scholarship in 1998 in a doctoral program that I began to look at my experiences differently. I began to realize that when I earned college money in high school, African Americans were not being hired as servers in restaurants. I do not remember African Americans eating in the restaurants where I worked. After all, we had separate water fountains during my elementary years. Even though I had truly believed that my students could become anything they wanted, in reality, most did not find very many supportive White teachers or as diverse opportunities to get ahead.

After completing a doctorate in 2001, I transitioned to higher education to prepare classroom teachers in Indiana. During the eight years I was in that position, I only had 10 African American pre service teachers; and only two were male. When I moved to Oregon, where I worked with Anita, I saw a distinct separation between the affluence that supported the pre service teachers at our private university and the disadvantaged local community citizens who were primarily Latino/a.

In my current position in Texas, I see poverty across ethnicities. The majority of the pre service teachers are Latina. Many of our students are moms, trying to juggle family and education in the midst of poverty. I have two White male students on welfare. One is a single parent, and the other is married with one child. The one married with a child recognizes that living in his grandfather's house provides him an advantage over his African American neighbors who struggle with paying rent or a mortgage note. For the first time in my career in higher education, I have the opportunity to work with a diverse population of students who can engage in open dia-

logue concerning issues of poverty, race, gender, culture and language. I have grown to be very conscious of the economic privilege I experienced by being born White and growing up in a White dominated community. I continue to learn about the obstacles that poverty puts in front of people from my pre service teachers.

Larry's Story

Given my 20 years of teaching, I have learned that knowing the essence of culture is a vital aspect of working with students and their families. In addition, I have learned and most importantly experienced the effect of poverty on a family and a student's educational outcome. During my life of experiences there have been many instances where I was situated in poverty. Here I want to share two such instances with you to assist in providing insight into how I have come to understand poverty and how it has been constructed in my life as social and economic poverty.

Born in the Mississippi delta to a family of generational poverty offered me my introduction to poverty. Even though I was two when we moved from Mississippi to Chicago (following the race charged murder of my dad), I weave between my experiences in these two places to capture my worldview. In Chicago, I lived in the Robert Taylor Projects along with a number of families who had migrated north. Later, I will give more details about our struggle to get into the Projects and life there. According to my mom, it was for better educational and economic opportunities. It seemed to me like everyone in the Projects was from Mississippi. Even though Chicago was now home, every year until I was fourteen, I spent my summers with my granddad in Greenville, Mississippi. Most folks in Greenville knew me as Peggy's boy, giving continuity to my life in Chicago, where everyone in the Projects seemed to know each other from Greenville.

Because of my long summer visits with Granddad, I recall living in impoverished conditions of the rural south even though I was in Chicago from September through mid-June every year. Granddad's home was a structure without running water. I remember during summer-visits having to transport water to and from the house. My granddad's house was actually two houses pulled together to form a larger structure. There weren't any designated rooms, but my family partitioned the space in order to make appropriate living quarters. We had to go outside to get water prior to heating the water to do laundry or take a bath. The tin "tub" served for both functions. I last saw the structure when I was a young adult. At that time the house had begun to collapse into itself due to rotting wood.

In addition, I remember the outhouse being my least favorite place to go, especially at night. It was a dark and frightening place with several mysterious and daunting sounds. Furthermore as outhouses are concerned, this one was seemingly a mile of darkness away from the house. It was in these conditions that my mom, four siblings, and I lived along with my grandparents and two of their sixteen children lived during the summers of my formative years. I remember chickens running in the front yard, a few pigs and especially the large pecan tree that stood in the front yard. Later, I learned my family depended on those items for food. These incidents formed my early views social poverty.

It was in the early 1970's, when my dad was killed, that my family began to think about a move. I was two. My mom learned that the Social Security Act of 1935 (which was part of President Roosevelt's New Deal) allowed African American women to participate in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. That began my lesson in economic poverty.

With this new “opportunity” my family engaged in the great northern migration of African Americans.

We initially moved to Milwaukee but almost immediately moved to Chicago. I don’t really have any memories of living in Milwaukee. My mom tells me we struggled initially due to her age. A rule of AFDC at that time was one had to be an adult of twenty-one years in order to receive the service. Since my mom was only nineteen and no longer lived with her parents, we were not eligible for AFDC. It wasn’t until my mom encountered an old friend from Mississippi that she was able to get the aid we so desperately needed. During this time, my mom recalls receiving a voucher for furniture, food, clothing, and utilities. In addition, social services granted us a rent deposit and first month’s rent. At this point, we moved into Chicago’s Robert Taylor Projects, where we became part of a perpetual revolving institution of economic poverty.

In the Projects we were subjected to violence, and most opportunities for upward and outward mobility eluded us for many years. As a young adolescent, I recall having to shop at thrift stores for clothing and grocers, all while barely obtaining life’s other necessities (i.e., soap, laundry powder, towels, and deodorant) to assume a regular existence. The institutionalized cycle of poverty surrounding the projects was supported by the social service agencies, the public schools, the medical building, and the Bronzeville Shopping Mall. At first glance one might imagine a sight of convenience; however, an unintended consequence of this action perpetuated and reinforced economic trapping and deprivation.

The second example I want to share begins with my mom telling me a story from her childhood. This story bears similarities to events I experienced. She recalls seeing neighbors with bags of fruit, containers of water, and sacks of nuts. As she inquired of my grandmother what they were and how they obtained them, my grandmother replied, “From the fields.” My mom wanted to know more and soon began to insist that she wanted to go to the field. She recalls, “Every day we wanted to go to the fields; that’s all we could dream about. We really wanted to go out to the field.” One day my grandmother reluctantly agreed. However, she knew my mom would not like it and also knew my mom was not aware of the context of “going to the field”. Once my mom was at the field, she maintains, it was torture...pick/chop cotton; clean houses, cleaning under the house, planting flowers, pulling weeds, killing and cleaning chickens and fish to name a few of the tasks associated with “going to the field”. Needless to say, my mom quickly abandoned the desire to go to the field.

Fast forward to my experience of social poverty, it was after my seventh grade year. I was proud to be of age to work in the city’s summer youth program. I begged my mom for a full year to register me. I knew I could do it; and besides, I would then have money to buy nicer clothes, shoes, and more importantly a cool Trapper Keeper. Mom and I got to the local registration hall and registered. It was an agonizing two weeks to learn if I was chosen as a recipient to work in the program. When the news finally came, I was beside myself to learn I had in fact been chosen for the summer youth work program and could report back to the registration hall for a work assignment. I did not give any thought as to what I would have to do; instead I focused on my dream of having nice clothes, shoes, and the cool Trapper Keeper. I was assigned to a maintenance detail at an area high school. Waxing floors, cleaning walls, steaming shower rooms and lockers, cleaning the chemistry labs, transporting trash, degreasing the boilers, cataloging books, erecting chalkboards and maps, and cleaning and resurfacing desks, was not what I had in mind. My job assignment reminded me of my mom’s story—that of wanting and longing for vertical access and not seeing the pitfall of horizontal attainment. Socially, the city perceived manual labor as the only labor I was good for. My perception was influenced by later learning that

while participating in a study conducted by faculty from the University of Chicago, there had been White students around my age who were assigned desk jobs or jobs in the bank and even one at the university. I was not pleased by this news and wanted to know how that happened; now I know I should have wanted to know why.

These personal accounts have been a large part of my poverty framework and continue to leave a lingering reminder of just how brutal circumstances can be. My experiences allow me to have empathy and compassion when working with pre service educators who may not have had experiences with poverty. My lived experiences allow me to be credible and authentic with students who may not have any exposure to impoverished situations.

Critical Narrative Analysis of Pre Service Teachers' Reflections on Experience

Using Critical Race Theory (CRT) as the backdrop, we provide our narrative analysis (Polkinghorne, 1995) utilizing responses from the pre service teacher participants. Under careful and repeated analysis, we articulate how students found it difficult to establish a framework that was outside of their native frameworks concerning poverty. Although the pre service teacher participants identified underpinnings of poverty, they did not allude to any strategic understanding of how poverty intersects with race, gender, ethnicity, and the like. Meaning, they were not able to engage in empathy for the plight of individuals who have been systematically discriminated against through the thoughtful usage of social and political policies.

Many pre service teacher participants, however, indicated the information they were exposed to through the film series was in fact novel. One pre service teacher participant suggested, while at Glenda's house,

I learned that members of a race cannot be identified by blood group, skin color, or genes. From that class, I realized that race has nothing to do with these physical characters. From the movies, I felt that I should be color blind to all kinds of students first before I start my teaching. It used to be very easy for me to tell which "race" students are from by looking at their appearances. But I could not tell which nationalities they are from. To students who have similar skin color with me, I will feel familiar. It used to make me feel that we are from the same race. But now I know that I cannot have that kind of feeling any more. In my teaching, I will eliminate such bias and stereotypes to my students with different skin colors. What I need to do is try my best to help them to have a better life.

Although this pre service teacher participant claims a desire to eliminate flawed thinking and become more aware of impoverishing actions, it is not certain that the pre service teacher participant has the skills to make any substantive change in actions.

Furthermore, this pre service teacher participant interpreted the race video as authorization to become "more color blind" when interacting with students. CRT would point to the fact that those who are in a position of privilege would not want to see the individual's color, thus to not acknowledge their lived histories. How can an individual consciously ignore the fact that Larry is Black and has a history-like most Blacks, a history that is cloaked in race based sub-standard treatment and on-going social, educational, and political deprivation. Particularly, choosing not to see Larry as a Black man relegates him to a status of invisibility rather than a status of transparency. If Larry is transparent, one would look at him and see that he is Black and

remember the history he represents. This form of critical epistemology could assist pre service teachers in organizing and arranging a socially just interaction with PreK-12 students and families who are living in poverty.

To the contrary, the next pre service teacher addresses the role of race and indirectly positions race as a basis for inferior treatment. The next student deeply contemplates his role as a history teacher. Although we did not follow this secondary social studies teacher into the classroom, perhaps this student's consciousness will result in action in the classroom. The pre service teacher offers the following remarks:

The movies that we watched today were an interesting refresher on the inhumanities that humans continue to inflict on each other because of differences in their skin color. The idea that much of the formal discipline of science as it is practiced in the US arose from attempts to prove the inferiority of blacks is a powerful and sobering piece of knowledge. Although many of these "scientific" endeavors made their way rapidly (and rightly) enough to the realm of superstition and racist circular reasoning, simply the fact that much of the field arose from such poisoned roots should be enough to encourage us to be aware of the roots of all our disciplines. History, for example, I have heard described as "written by the victors." In the case of US textbooks, media reports, etc., this is obviously the case much of the time-- subjectivity is the rule rather than the exception.

For many of the pre service teacher participants, the race films explored a fashion of life that evoked complex feelings. Another pre service teacher participant explains the experience in the following manner:

The videos also revealed to me the practice of "redlining" in the mortgage industry, an especially interesting thing to listen to after I reviewed two articles about housing and mortgage availability to minorities vs. whites. This concept underlies a larger issue: the institutionalization of racist, sexist, and otherwise discriminatory policies. We must be aware of their existence, and even if we cannot change them ourselves, must keep in mind how they may be affecting our students—how the notion of race, even if irrelevant genetically, is still very much a pertinent construct from a social standpoint.

Many pre service teacher participants' responses, like this pre service teacher, could very easily be analyzed and transcribed as feelings of guilt. For example,

For me, the rest of the afternoon was spent in a little quiet reflection and I didn't really want to contribute more. I journaled, "I think, by then we were all feeling angry and guilty because of our past heritage of violence towards other peoples, and our present feelings that we realized we still need to change." The whole experience was interesting, thought provoking, and sometimes sad when I thought of how much my nation as well as the American nation has victimized others, and pillaged their lands.

Like many pre service teacher participants, instead of punishing themselves, the pre service teachers could work on creating an awareness which would recognize that they could play a tremendous role in readdressing discriminatory policies and practices, beginning with curriculum and instructional practices in schools that seek equity for all students.

After acknowledging the existence of discriminative practices, this pre service teacher reverted to tacit, reflexive thinking that secures a privileged status by suggesting that learning about impoverishing and discriminative tactics could be reduced to “a few pages of an interesting article.” The pre service declared,

I felt a little frustrated sitting and watching videos for three hours, like the time could have been better used in other ways. The content was interesting, but not that rich; what took them three hours to say could have been written about in a few pages of an interesting article.

It is difficult to analyze such comments because our own biases and extended knowledge of the students interferes. The student’s focus on the critique that the article could have been much shorter and to the point did not give us much insight into his/her perspective on the critical issue of poverty. Similarly, the student did not share with us what would have been a better way to use Saturday’s time. It sounds like the day’s activities did not meet the student’s needs.

Under the guidance of CRT, this pre service teacher’s comment reflects the ongoing view of interest convergence. Here this pre service teacher clearly understands that racism and poverty discriminative practices, however, illustrates an unconscious interest in maintaining poverty so to continue advancing the agenda of privilege. This form of psychological trapping only serves a deviant outcome; individuals who knowingly or unknowingly engage in white-over-color practices will target actions that are designed to advance status quo agendas over providing liberated justice. In addition, this privileged position will be employed to assure the maintenance of control over resources and materials. Thus, players become married to a cyclical pattern where one group is privileged and the other group is impoverished.

During our analysis we discovered that there was room for improvement in the lives of the pre service teacher participants. Armed with this knowledge, we faced the dilemma of how to offer the information, how should that information be administered, and, most important, would the experiences be authentic or simulated. We drew this conclusion after coding this pre service teacher participant’s account of the workshop experience.

Although everyone in our class seemed to agree that the basis for racism was outrageous, it was surprising to realize how many racist tendencies each of us has. One cohort member made a comment about how we can include “them” in our classroom activities, but Glenda would not allow this student to finish their thought. She pointed out the student’s unconscious habit of using the word “them” to reference a racial or ethnic or whatever type of group of people different than their own. I do hope the student did not take offense at Glenda’s comments because I do not believe that was her intent. Plus, her comments really helped our class to think about the language we use without thought every day.

CRT asserts that individuals use privilege to make comments in regards to those they discriminate against, with complete disregard of any consequence. Although the cohort member may have inadvertently used the term “them” multiple times, without Glenda’s presence of mind to create a teachable moment, this cohort student and other pre service teacher participants may have reinforced their privileged position and continued to subject individuals from diverse populations to discriminative policies. This pre service teacher participant went on to say,

One final thing that stood out to me was learning about the immense struggles non-white people went through in our country, even as early as a few decades ago. I had no idea that African-Americans were not able to legally purchase homes until fairly recently, or that I was raised with privileges like speaking English. I always assumed that my life is the way it is because of the hard work I do every day, but that is certainly not representative of the whole picture. Even access to resources like the Internet and other job advancement opportunities are not accessible to everyone, no matter their ethnicity. I assumed that everyone knows how to access information on the Internet, how to get loans for college, or how to do anything they want. But this just isn't reality...[this is] mind boggling but it makes me grateful for what I have and makes me want to help others discover their resources.

This reflects the on-going maintenance of privilege and access to resources and materials. CRT asserts that individuals with privilege will nearly do anything to keep that privilege. By the very nature of this phenomenon, the eradication of poverty cannot be entrusted to the individual; instead social and political policy must be investigated and transformed in efforts to restrict the impact of privilege, while discouraging disenfranchising practices.

Final Reflection

While collaborating on this project regarding poverty, we came to recognize that we may be unintentionally taking part in the vicious cycle of the privileged and the oppressed. In addition, we grew in awareness to the fact that as we read, studied, and worked towards equality, we were (and still are) simultaneously working against it. Glenda brought to light that as we investigate the lives of those that are negatively affected by poverty, whether through social, political, or educational policies, we ultimately benefit from their stories. For example, our project is built upon the continued economic disparity in society, and we receive a kind of academic capital by presenting a paper at AERA and possibly eventually publishing an article. This will undoubtedly advance our career paths as a side product. We would like to think that we are engaged in social action by developing pre-service teachers to be aware of inequities and to take action to provide an equitable education to all students.

What now happens to the individuals whose stories of poverty formed the basis of our critical agendas? What becomes of their position in society? After becoming conscious of this thought, we began to question our motivation. What brought us to this critical project?

In analyzing our worldviews, collectively we share sympathy for the individuals who have not had the opportunity to advance in society as we have. Additionally, we recognize that merely having sympathy does not provide the means to enhance or enrich the lives of others. Again, we reflect upon our worldviews and attempt to ascertain if our project constitutes action. Our collaboration assisted our understanding of each other's motivation and further commitment to creating and providing an equitable environment where we can further transform with our pre service teachers, such that together we can bring about equity in PreK-12 classrooms.

Given the analysis of the pre service teacher participants' responses, we see evidence that action needs to occur. As we move forward with this knowledge, we have to create innovative methods and strategies to make social justice a part of our pre service teachers' everyday experience. Furthermore, the experiences need to be framed in such a way that our pre service teachers

are comfortable with stepping outside of themselves in order to provide social justice without the fear or guilt of being victimized.

If we could guide our pre service teachers to examine phenomenon such as poverty under a critical lens, coupled with a social justice frame, education could prove to be a powerful equalizer of the privileged and oppressed. We believe that pre service teachers want to have empathy and compassion, and we want to increase their awareness of the destructive policies, practices, and patterns to which students and their families are subjected. We imagine if a pre service teacher could know how their actions or lack of actions could demoralize a student's future, their conscience would compel them to move towards action that would provide equality in the available materials and resources. At the conclusion of this work, we would hope we are assisting our pre services teacher with gaining this level of awareness so they will go forth and support all students in the learning process.

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THE IMPACT OF A SOCIAL JUSTICE SERVICE-LEARNING FIELD EXPERIENCE IN A SOCIAL FOUNDATIONS COURSE

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Abstract

This interpretive study examines the outcomes of using a social justice service-learning field experience in a social foundations course to help illuminate for teacher candidates the often "invisible" institutionalized inequities of public schools. The findings demonstrate how social justice service-learning can be used as a field placement to increase preservice teachers' exposure to diversity, to help refocus attention on the needs of individual learners, and to assist teacher candidates in understanding and questioning existing school structures.

Keywords: *service-learning, field experience, teacher education, diversity*

Introduction

Many teacher education programs in the U.S. are dealing with the push to remove social foundations coursework from the curriculum (deMarrais, 2013) in favor of more pragmatic courses that support the testing-based accountability movement (Neumann, 2009). At the same time, there is a growing movement in the field of teacher education to restructure teacher preparation programs around clinical practice (NCATE, 2010). Since there has historically been a divide between methods courses and foundations courses in teacher education (Grossman, Hammerness, & McDonald, 2009), the focus on clinical practice may result in a corresponding focus on methods courses to the exclusion of foundations. In addition, foundations courses that critically examine the societal structures of schools may be perceived as too political (Westheimer & Kahne, 2007). What can teacher education programs do to justify maintaining social foundations courses? Morrison (2007) described how one state added course content to required foundations courses to meet state-required competencies. Another strategy may be to incorporate a field experience that is aligned with specific curricular considerations in the foundations course. Since many states are increasing required field experience hours in response to pressure from accrediting bodies (Goddard, 2004), foundations courses that incorporate a field component may be less likely to be removed from the curriculum.

Though it is not unusual for social foundations courses to include a field experience component, those experiences are typically traditional observational field experiences in public

schools that do little to challenge teacher candidates' thinking about the nature of school structures and institutionalized practices (Morrison, 2007; Renner, Price, Keene & Little, 2004). We need to identify field experiences that prompt candidates to move beyond their own schooling experiences in order to examine the context of schools and begin to identify institutional structures that create inequities in education. A social justice service-learning field experience can provide opportunities for this kind of examination.

We designed a social justice service-learning field experience as a companion to a social foundations course. The service experience was designed to expand the array of field experiences in the teacher education program and to support the social justice goals of the course. The students in the foundations course are required to complete at least ten hours of tutoring (with at least five tutoring sessions) with pupils at a local Job Corps Center who are working to attain a high school diploma or the General Educational Development (GED) high school equivalency diploma. This interpretive study examines the outcomes of using a social justice service-learning field experience to help illuminate for teacher candidates the often "invisible" institutionalized inequities of public schools.

Review of Literature

There is a growing movement in teacher education to incorporate service-learning experiences into teacher preparation programs (Butin, 2007b), and research is providing evidence of the impacts of service-learning on preservice teachers. Some of these benefits include increased knowledge of the developmental needs of students (Vickers, 2007) and increased knowledge of practice and improved instructional skills (Hart & King, 2007). The benefits also include gains in self-efficacy (Wade, 1995; Wasserman, 2009). There is evidence that service-learning impacts preservice teachers' awareness of and receptiveness to diversity (Anderson, Swick, & Yff, 2001; Bell, Horn, & Roxas, 2007). This includes fostering openness to students who have traditionally been marginalized within the K-12 system (Clemons, Coffey, & Ewell, 2011). However, research has also shown that service-learning experiences can, at times, reinforce stereotypes for some preservice teachers (Boyle-Baise, 1998).

As service-learning is expanding in teacher education, it is also being incorporated in social foundations courses. According to Anderson and Erickson (2003), 21% of service-learning experiences included in teacher education programs are located in foundations courses. There are researchers who have explored the use of service-learning field experiences to support the social justice outcomes of social foundations courses. Boyle-Baise and Langford (2004) documented the effort to support a social justice orientation through a service-learning component completed as an alternative spring break. They found that students learned from each other and from the community and that for some students the experience increased their motivation to serve. Brabant and Hochman (2004) incorporated service-learning in a social foundations course, and one important outcome for teacher candidates was an increased understanding of the political nature of schooling. Finally, Renner, Price, Keene and Little (2004) found that service-learning can support a multicultural/antiracist stance in a social foundations course. This study seeks to add to the small, but growing, body of literature on social justice service-learning field experiences in social foundations.

There are a range of typologies that service-learning practitioners have used to situate their work. These typologies relate both to the underlying theoretical foundations of service-learning as well as their enactment in practice and resulting impacts (Tinkler, hannah, Tinkler, &

Miller, 2014). Morton (1995) defined three paradigms of service. These include charity (which focuses on direct service), project (which focuses on defining problems and seeking to enact solutions), and social change (which focuses on societal transformation). Morton viewed these paradigms not as a continuum of practices but rather as three different approaches to service that meet different purposes. He believed that all three paradigms have the potential to have positive impacts on individuals and communities, though he differentiated “thick” and “thin” forms of each of these types of service. According to Morton (1995), thin forms of service “lack integrity or depth” (p. 21), while thick forms of service “have integrity and depth” (p. 21). Thin forms of service can have negative outcomes, whereas thick forms align “values and action” (Bringle, Hatcher, & McIntosh, 2006, p. 5) within each of the three paradigms.

Butin (2007a) introduced a typology based on four models of community engagement. The first is a technical model that focuses on enhancing “content knowledge” (p. 36), the second is a cultural model that focuses on enhancing “civic engagement and cultural competency” (p. 36), the third is political which focuses on enhancing “social and political activism” (p. 36), and the fourth is anti-foundational that focuses on “cognitive dissonance” (p. 36). Butin (2007a) contends that each model of community engagement has its limitations. For example, the cultural model has the potential to foster a deficit perspective of service recipients and reinforce a privileged stance, while the political model can be viewed as supporting particular political ideologies. Finally, the limitations of the anti-foundational model stem from the possibility that students might become disillusioned by completing a community-engaged experience without a clear sense of possible solutions for issues/problems.

Mitchell (2008) categorized service-learning experiences as either traditional or critical. According to Mitchell, the literature on service-learning included “an unspoken debate that seemed to divide service-learning into two camps—a traditional approach that emphasizes service without attention to systems of inequality, and a critical approach that is unapologetic in its aim to dismantle structures of injustice” (p. 50). Mitchell identified three areas of distinction between these two camps: “working to redistribute power amongst all participants in the service-learning relationship, developing authentic relationships in the classroom and in the community, and working from a social change perspective” (p. 50). Sheffield (2011) questioned the distinction between traditional and critical service-learning given that community service-learning (CSL) is “inherently critical” (p. 139). Instead, he proposed a conceptualization of weak versus strong community service-learning. According to Sheffield, “in its strong form CSL has the radical potential to reconstruct individuals, communities and institutional structures that are currently oppressive” (p. 125), whereas in its weak form, “CSL is a reform rather than a radical departure from current practice or an educational revolution that would fundamentally change the way public education (or other institutions) operates in this country” (p. 125).

Seeking to achieve the aims of strong community service-learning (Sheffield, 2011), we structured the service-learning field experience with social justice goals in mind. Drawing from the service-learning literature, we identified important elements of what we conceive of as social justice service-learning; one important element is a focus on reciprocity (Donahue, Bowyer, & Rosenberg, 2003). As Sheffield (2011) pointed out, the challenge of supporting reciprocity (or mutuality) lies with moving past the perception of service as attending only to the needs of those being served. It is important that the experience is structured in such a way as to support the “understanding that the server is also in need and receives a service as well as providing one” (Sheffield, 2011, p. 78). In addition, social justice service-learning seeks to empower those being served by fostering relationships that challenge rather than support stereotypes and deficit think-

ing (Donahue, 2000; Marrullo & Edwards, 2000). In framing the service-learning experience around these principles, we hoped to provide a lived experience to help our students “unlearn” what they learned from their own experience with schools, as well as the lived experience needed to truly grasp new concepts about schooling they would be exposed to in the course. Working from Vygotskian theory, we recognize the need for intermental understandings scaffolded by those who have intimate knowledge of the concepts before intramental understandings are achieved (Newman & Holzman, 1993; Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992). When the teacher candidates interact with the students at Job Corps there is “the exchange of funds of knowledge” (Moll & Greenburg, 1993, p. 344) each has about schooling that can further our teacher candidates’ understanding of schooling that differs from their experiences. In other words, our students cannot truly understand new concepts about institutional structures of schooling without first engaging with others in dialogue about those structures.

Methods

Participants and Pedagogical Context

The teacher education program described in this study is located in a small, public university in the Mid-Atlantic region. The program has a commitment to social justice, and the theme is integrated throughout the courses in the program. The social foundations course is the second course in the education course sequence and is completed during the first or second year of coursework. The course includes topics such as the historical, philosophical, and sociological foundations of education, as well as school governance and finance, and was designed to promote a critical perspective. Course goals include: a) to increase awareness of systemic oppression based upon color, culture, ethnicity, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and socio-economic status, b) to foster a dispositional commitment to meeting the needs of all learners and to increase knowledge of how to do so, c) to increase knowledge of strategies to interrupt oppression, and d) to develop problem posing strategies. Course readings, such as essays from *Rethinking Our Classrooms* (Au et al., 2007, Bigelow et al., 1994, Bigelow et al., 2001), are selected to challenge students’ conceptions of schools and schooling and to provide a point of reflection for the service-learning experience.

In order to provide a lived experience to challenge and expand our preservice teachers’ conceptions of education, we decided to add a service-learning component. The service-learning field experience includes at least ten hours of tutoring with students at a local Job Corps center. The students at the Job Corps Center are predominantly students of color (78% of the Job Corps students are African American males), and many of them come from urban areas in the region. Though most of the Job Corps pupils are high school age, some are in their early twenties. Job Corps students enter the federal, residential facility to pursue a trade. However, if they do not have a high school diploma upon entry, they are also required to pursue a high school diploma or GED. The students are tested upon arrival to determine basic skills in reading, writing and mathematics. The academic manager at the Job Corps center (at the time the data were collected) told us that it is not unusual for students to test at 3rd or 4th grade levels, this includes some of the students who enter with a high school diploma.

The preservice teachers were introduced to Job Corps when the academic manager visited campus with several Job Corps students to discuss the tutoring experience. The Job Corps students discussed their goals and ambitions and described how the preservice teachers could work

with them and their peers to help them reach these goals. The next step of the preparatory phase was an orientation at the Job Corps Center which included a tour led by Job Corps students. The preservice teachers primarily tutor Job Corps students who are studying for the GED or working to complete courses in the high school diploma program. The preservice teachers are required to complete at least ten hours of tutoring with a least five tutoring visits. Since most of the preservice teachers completed at least seven tutoring sessions, they had a consistent, sustained experience across the semester when combined with the preparatory interactions at the beginning of the semester.

When determining the time commitment for the project, we worked from the perspective of the 9th principle of the *Wingspread Special Report* (Honnet & Poulson, 1989). The report states: “The length of the experience and the amount of time required are determined by the service tasks involved and should be negotiated by all the parties” (p. 15). Since we offer four or five sections of the foundations course each semester, we can have as many as 100 students being placed for tutoring at the Job Corps Center. With this number of students, we are able to provide tutoring coverage throughout the week. However, if the university students were required to complete additional tutoring hours, it would potentially challenge the capacity of the Job Corps Center. In addition, since many of the preservice teachers work part-time while attending school, keeping the time commitment to a reasonable level means that there is less resistance to this added field component.

The participants of this study were 37 preservice teachers (28 females and nine males) from two different sections of the foundations course. All but two students agreed to participate in the study. The participants included elementary, secondary, and k-12 candidates. Three of the students were graduate students completing an MAT program, and the rest were undergraduates. The participants ranged in age from their late teens to early thirties, but most were traditional students. There are a variety of socioeconomic levels represented at the university, and some of the participants were first generation college students. However, the majority of the students in the teacher education program are white and middle class which was reflected in the demographics of the participants. Most of the participants came from rural or suburban towns in the region.

Data Collection and Analysis

In order to explore the impact that this social justice service-learning field experience had on the preservice teachers and assess the outcomes of using this service-learning field placement, we used an interpretive framework. As Denzin (2001) stated: “The focus of interpretive research is on those life experiences that radically alter and shape the meanings persons give to themselves and their experiences” (p. 1). In order to explore the meaning that the preservice teachers made from this experience, multiple forms of data were collected. One of our data sources came from reflection papers that students completed in the course. We concur with Sheffield (2011) that reflection “binds” (p. 107) the service experience with the academic objectives of the course, and we embed reflection (both oral and written) consistently into the campus component of the course. Several times during the semester, the preservice teachers wrote reflection papers that required them to consider their experiences with their Job Corps tutees in relation to content we were examining in the foundations course. We included three sets of these reflection papers (111 papers in total) as part of our analysis. In addition, at the end of the semester the preservice teachers wrote a more extensive reflection of their overall assessment and analysis of the experi-

ence. This final reflection asked the preservice teachers to describe their experiences at Job Corps, then to critically examine their learning growth. We included the final reflections of all the participants (n=37) in our data analysis.

In order to triangulate our data (Creswell & Miller, 2000), we administered a brief anonymous questionnaire (with open-ended and closed-ended response items) at the end of the semester. This questionnaire asked participants to describe what they learned from the experience, to explain connections they made between course content and the experience, and to evaluate their ability to work with students from diverse backgrounds. The first and second authors coded the papers and questionnaires using an open coding process (Benaquisto, 2008). We then identified broader themes that emerged through this coding process.

After coding the papers and the questionnaires to develop tentative themes, the first author then interviewed six students (some from each section of the foundations course) to either confirm or refute our tentative findings. We selected six students with a range of previous experience with diversity and included five female students and one male student. The interviews were conducted in the semester following the completion of the course to allow some distance from the service-learning experience. We used a semi-structured interview protocol (Galletta, 2013) which asked participants to reflect on their experience, to explore their learning in relation to diversity, to examine how the experience supported (or failed to support) course content, and to compare the experience to current traditional field experiences they were completing that semester. The interviews were recorded and transcribed and were then coded by the first and second author using the same coding process used previously with the papers and questionnaires.

Findings

After analyzing the data from the reflection papers, questionnaires, and interviews, we determined that there were three primary outcomes from the social justice service-learning experience that support the social justice goals of the foundations course. These include: 1) greater exposure to diversity, 2) a more comprehensive emphasis on learners as individuals, and 3) a broader view of the social context of schools. In addition, we found that there was an unintended outcome of the experience that provides some cause for concern. We found that the service-learning experience may have fostered paternalistic attitudes for some of the preservice teachers.

Exposure to Diversity

One of the predominant themes of accrediting agencies is the need for teacher education graduates to be able to meet the needs of all learners (NCATE, 2010). We have positioned this service-learning experience in several ways, operating from a more expansive definition of diversity. Not only do we want our students to understand diversity in terms of ethnicity, culture, or first language, we want our students to understand that people approach life situations in different ways. We also want our students to understand that existing social structures, such as schools, are developed to meet the needs of some and not of others, that socio-economic status can influence not only what is offered in schools but how individuals engage with schools (Carter & Welner, 2013). Finally, we want our students to understand that the blending across categories of diversity will lead to alternative experiences. Since our students have met with relative success with existing institutions of learning, we believe that in order for them to meet the

needs of all learners, they need to interact with and learn from students for whom the existing school structures have not worked.

One of the challenges our university deals with is finding field placements in the region that provide significant experiences with diverse populations. We live in an area that is rural and predominantly white. Though we are able to facilitate some experiences in diverse schools, we are careful not to overburden these schools with too many placements. As mentioned before, our preservice teachers are predominantly white and middle class, and many of them come from towns or suburbs with similar populations. A consistent theme that appeared in the papers, questionnaires, and interviews was the power of this service-learning experience in relation to creating greater awareness of diversity. One participant said, "In the time I have spent [at Job Corps] I have learned more about educational diversity...than I could have ever hoped to learn in a classroom." For many of the students, this was their first significant experience interacting with students from diverse backgrounds. In fact, 12 of the participants (32%) noted on the questionnaire that this was their first or most intensive experience with diversity. One student wrote, "I think I came into contact with more diversity in my ten hours and twenty minutes at Job Corps than I have my entire life; it was an extremely eye-opening experience." Another wrote, "I had never worked with students who were racially different than me before Job Corps."

In written reflections, the students often used the terminology of culture shock to describe how they felt when they first began their tutoring at Job Corps. One student wrote, "For me, this experience was sort of culture shock." Another participant stated, "Well, for one, my school was almost completely white. It was a culture shock at first to go to Job Corps." Though we sought to provide what Sheffield (2011) calls "readiness" (p. 88) for the experience through the initial orientation activities, it is clear that some of the preservice teachers were not fully prepared for what they experienced. Some of the participants described the experience of being the minority for the first time. One participant wrote, "Having the opportunity to tutor at Job Corps placed me in a situation I had never been in before. The tables were turned on me; instead of being the majority I was the minority and put in an unfamiliar environment." Another wrote, "Tutoring at Job Corps was an eye-opening experience. Growing up in an agricultural, rural area I was surrounded by the white middle class of society. I was never placed in a situation where I was the minority; until Job Corps." For some of the participants, this experience of being in the minority helped them develop some understanding and empathy for what it feels like to be the minority. One student wrote, "After the first few visits to Job Corps I became more comfortable being the minority in a majority, and my initial feelings will remind me of how a lone African-American may feel in an entire school of white children."

Not only was this the first experience with diversity for many of the preservice teachers, they also viewed this as a positive experience. In the anonymous questionnaire, only two students out of the 37 expressed negative feelings about tutoring at Job Corps and felt that they did not learn from the experience. Since this was a positive experience for the majority of the participants, they viewed diversity as a positive aspect of schooling. One student wrote, "I now realize diversity can be a tool for teachers to connect with students." Another student said, "I realized how diversity should be celebrated and embraced and how I should open my mind to new kinds of people." This positive experience also challenged some of the preservice teachers to rethink stereotypes that they held. In fact, 14 participants (38%) wrote statements on the anonymous questionnaire that were coded as reconsidering stereotypes. One student wrote, "I was exposed to a very diverse group of students at Job Corps, and each student I worked with helped break the stereotypes I had previously held."

Emphasis on Learners as Individuals

When our teacher candidates enter their profession, they are expected to be able to focus on the individual learners within the classroom, not just the class as a whole. Often in a teacher education program, including in a social foundations course, the rhetoric is about groups of students, or whole classes. This focus on the whole class instead of the individual is often only challenged in courses that examine students with exceptionalities. In traditional field placements at this level, preservice teachers often sit at the back of the room observing the teacher's interactions with the class. The unit of analysis is the classroom as a whole and the focus tends to be on issues of classroom management rather than student learning. The challenge for teachers (and observers) is discerning whether individual students are meeting instructional goals. Lawrence and Butler (2010) conducted a study of a service-learning experience and found that preservice teachers realized that when they were teaching the full class, they thought students understood. However, when faced with the challenges of helping one individual student understand the topic/content, the preservice teachers realized that many students were not "getting it" during whole class instruction. This is an important realization that we would like our preservice teachers to develop early on in their field experiences.

The second outcome of this social justice service-learning experience was that the experience placed a greater emphasis on learners as individuals. When tutoring at Job Corps, the preservice teachers were working one-on-one with students. As stated by one participant who was interviewed, "Those are not the students that you get in a traditional field observation. Even now we're observing we don't get that one-on-one time with the students. You don't get to talk to them, interact with them." The preservice teachers were not passive observers; they were actively involved. As one student stated, "the service-learning forced you to like not just go and look at the world through a glass mirror, but to actually go in." Through this active involvement, the preservice teachers were able to see each student as a unique individual and learner; therefore the unit of analysis became the individual learner. The data support the idea that the preservice teachers developed an awareness of the importance of seeing learners as individuals.

Through recognizing learners as individuals, the participants also realized that diversity is not limited to cultural differences. One student wrote, "I also realize that diversity is not simply about race or gender...Many students are just as intelligent as the rest of their peers but require...a different technique." They recognized that students have different experiences, different learning styles and learning abilities, and different values. Twelve respondents (32%) wrote comments on the questionnaire that were coded as recognizing differences in learners. One student said, "I learned that each student is an individual that thinks, learns, and acts differently." Another wrote, "I worked with a variety of students who were all at different levels and all had different learning styles."

This one-on-one interaction provided the preservice teachers with the opportunity to get to know their tutees and better understand their learning needs. One student wrote, "I really learned what made students of all kinds 'tick.' What motivated them and what discouraged them." The data provide evidence that the preservice teachers began to understand what it really means to be a teacher for an individual that they care about and want to learn. We also encouraged the preservice teachers to ask their tutees questions about their experiences in schools so they could begin to understand how their schooling experiences had impacted their tutees' lives. These dialogues helped the preservice teachers to recognize that their tutees' prior schooling experience had not always supported their tutees' success. Many of them wrote passionately about

how they had worked with students who had been failed by the system and they were able to see first-hand the impact of inequitable education. Their frustration was compounded by the fact that they realized the intelligence, strength and resilience of the Job Corps students with whom they worked. Twelve participants (32%) wrote statements on the questionnaire that were coded as recognizing the abilities of the Job Corps students. One student wrote, “I learned that the students at Job Corps are just as capable and determined to succeed as I am.”

With this recognition of the abilities of the Job Corps students came the realization of a teacher’s responsibility for all of the learners in a classroom. One student said, “I think if more teachers made the effort to be available on a one on one basis, the number of students dropping out, failing, or seeking alternative means of education would be lessened.” Another participant wrote, “I learned a lot about the huge responsibility of the teacher and about how every student is so unique and requires a unique approach to be successful.” Many of the students wrote about the difficulty of finding a way to connect with and communicate with their tutees. With this came the realization that a teacher has to communicate with a student in a way that the student can relate to in order for learning to occur. One student wrote, “The teacher must be an active force of learning in the room. They must interact with the students and adapt to each individual need. There is no room in the classroom for a one size fits all strategy to teaching.” Some of the students were able to make connections between their tutoring experiences and the ideas of culturally relevant instruction. One participant stated, “You must make adjustments to work with the diversity in your classroom and to take full advantage of all it has to offer.” Another wrote, “This experience helped me realize that as a teacher I will have students from diverse backgrounds and their personal experiences will not always be like my own. If I want my classroom to be an equal opportunity classroom, I must be aware, have an open mind, and allow flexibility in my classroom so that I do not ignore the needs of some students.” The service-learning experience allowed the participants to grapple with these ideas in a very concrete way rather than simply considering them as an abstract construct.

View of the Social Context of Schools

The last positive outcome of using a social justice service-learning experience, one which is particularly important for a social foundations course, is that the experience provided the preservice teachers with a broader view into the social context of schools. An important goal of most social foundations courses is to provide preservice teachers with an understanding of the sociocultural context of schools. The foundations course described in this study included content that is typical in many social foundations courses. During the semester, we examined some of the inequities in education that are problematic in the American public school system. Some of the issues we examined included the funding of schools, the challenges urban schools face in hiring and retaining quality teachers, the impact of low expectations on student achievement, and factors that lead to students dropping out of school. As mentioned, most of the preservice teachers in this study came from rural or suburban schools. If the preservice teachers had completed a traditional field experience, they would have spent time in schools not that different than the schools they had attended. Instead, they were able to interact with students who had, for the most part, been failed by the public school system. We asked them when they were tutoring to make a point to ask their tutees about their experiences with schools before Job Corps. The stories they heard forced them to examine whether or not we provide equal educational opportunities for all students and gave them concrete examples for some of the content examined in the course. One

student wrote, "This experience gave me a personal look into the problems in public education. Without this Job Corps experience, I don't think I would have understood the problems in education to the extent that I do now."

The data provide evidence that the service-learning supported the content/topics studied in the foundations course. One of the questions on the questionnaire asked whether the service-learning experience supported an understanding of the issues we studied in class. Thirty-six of the 37 respondents (97%) replied in the affirmative. One area of increased knowledge related to greater awareness of educational inequalities. There were 26 respondents (70%) who made statements on the questionnaire that were coded as showing a heightened awareness of inequalities. One student wrote, "I received the opportunity to work closely with students who had been cheated by an inadequate education system. The statistics are not just statistics to me anymore. The numbers represent real students." One area of heightened awareness related to school financing and how systems of financing lead to profound differences in schools. During the semester while we examined the topic of school finance, the preservice teachers were prompted to ask their tutees about the facilities and resources available at the schools they attended prior to Job Corps. Many of the preservice teachers heard stories that directly supported what we were reading and discussing in the foundations course. One participant wrote, "We discussed this in class (overcrowded, under-resourced schools) but I heard about it from a Job Corps student firsthand." Through interacting with the Job Corps students, these issues became real to the preservice teachers. One participant stated, "It was like living out the articles we were reading." Another wrote, "It showed me the real world side of everything. It gave me a chance to experience things other than what I know."

Unintended Outcome

Though the data provide evidence that the service-learning experience, for the most part, supported the social justice goals of the foundations course, the data also provide evidence of an outcome that raises concern. When we coded the responses to the questionnaire, 11 of the participants (30%) made comments that we coded as representing a paternalistic perception of their relationship with their tutee. One participant wrote, "If you can make your students aware that you care and give them someone to look up to, you might make a bigger difference." We also found evidence in the final reflection papers that the experience fostered paternalistic attitudes for some of the preservice teachers. Some of them perceived their role as *I will save you* versus *I recognize that you are capable of saving yourself*. This makes us wonder whether we fully met the goal of reciprocity in the experience. Though the data provide evidence that the preservice teachers recognized their learning growth, some of them may have perceived the experience as giving more than they gained. Though we encourage dialogue between our preservice teachers and their Job Corps tutees, and there is evidence in the data that the preservice teachers engaged in dialogue, we are working to further support dialogue in the course from the outset of the experience. As Sheffield (2011) pointed out, "It is the understanding that in any service situation there must exist a dialogue between server and served, and the line between the two groups is blurred in that dialogical interaction" (p. 84).

We hope that by encouraging increased dialogue we can further blur that line so that the experience is viewed as mutually beneficial and empowering for both sides. This is important, since, as stated by Macedo (1998), "The real issue is to understand one's privileged position in the process of helping so as not to, on the one hand, turn help into a type of missionary paternal-

ism and, on the other hand, limit the possibilities for the creation of structures that lead to real empowerment” (p. xxix). We want our preservice teachers to come away from the experience with the goal of empowering their future students. Listening to the stories of the Job Corps students, who have chosen to make a positive change in their lives, may help our teacher candidates develop an understanding of the importance of facilitating change that comes from the students themselves. And we hope that they will come to value the importance of the sociocultural understandings of what is needed and what may work within the unique life circumstances of the students receiving the support.

Implications

Teacher educators with a social justice perspective often struggle to find ways to help their students understand oppressive structures endemic to our education system, particularly if these structures have benefitted the teacher candidates and are thus “invisible” for scrutiny since they are part of these students’ culture of schooling. Social justice service-learning is one avenue to provide this perspective when it affords the opportunity for teacher candidates to interact with and learn from students who did not benefit from these structures. This study demonstrates how service-learning can be used as a field placement to increase preservice teachers’ exposure to diversity, to help refocus attention on the needs of individual learners, and to assist candidates in understanding and questioning existing school structures. By incorporating this service-learning experience as a field component, the teacher education program can meet state requirements for additional field hours while also supporting the social justice goals of the foundations course.

From a constructivist point of view, if in a foundations class we present information on schooling as a body of knowledge or as a set of intricately connected facts that stay within the college classroom and we make no effort to help our teacher candidates contextualize and experience the impact of these facts, the knowledge they gain may remain inert and unavailable for reflective analysis. We must also prepare them to deconstruct this information in light of populations of students who have been marginalized or “pushed out” (Tuck, 2012) of the education system, which is purported to be an inalienable right of all children in the United States. If our teacher candidates are going to be effective as teachers, we believe that they need to go beyond their “single story” (Adichie, 2009) of schooling in order to develop an understanding of how educational systems affect the students for whom these systems do not work, as well as for the students, like themselves, for whom these systems do work.

Though the data provide evidence of positive impacts of this experience on the preservice teachers’ professed knowledge and beliefs, we do not currently have evidence that these beliefs will lead to improved practice. Further research is warranted to examine how or whether these beliefs are enacted in practice. As stated by Sheffield (2011): “In the end, the distinction between weaker and stronger conceptions of CSL is in the degree to which CSL projects focus on both inward self-reconstruction relative to the outward *and* the degree to which that self-reconstruction is carried over into acting to reconstruct, to transform, community” (p. 139). The authors are currently considering a longitudinal study that would follow the preservice teachers into student teaching and possibly their first year of teaching to determine whether the service-learning experience has long-term impacts. In addition, we are considering how to bring the voices of the Job Corps students into the research process. The second author has been pursuing permission from the federal government to interview the Job Corps students. Though the academic manager at Job Corps has pointed to evidence of improved test scores and GED pass rates

through the partnership, it is important that we fully explore the impact of the partnership on Job Corps to ensure we are not simply using the Job Corps students to support our program goals.

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Funds of Knowledge and Community Cultural Wealth: Exploring how Pre-Service Teachers can Work Effectively with Mexican and Mexican American Students¹

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Abstract

This article examines how pre-service teachers can work effectively with Mexican and Mexican American students. Using the foundation of funds of knowledge (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) and the critical race theory concept of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005), the article weaves together these ideas to discuss how they can be implemented in teacher education programs. Added to the conversation is the importance of historical context in better understanding current educational situations affecting specific communities. Given the specific Southwest location, this article focuses on mostly white female pre-service teachers working in schools with a primarily Mexican and Mexican American student population. The purpose is to educate pre-service teachers and provide a close analysis of funds of knowledge and community cultural wealth as ways to give pre-service teachers tools to investigate their own practice.

Keywords: *pre-service teachers, teacher education, funds of knowledge, community cultural wealth, historical context, Mexican and Mexican American students, culture*

We [teacher educators] need to expose new teachers to the cultural and social realities their students face, as well as the historical and systematic forces that have contributed to our deeply unequal public schooling system (Harding, 2013).

Introduction

I begin this article with a few of my reflections as an instructor of pre-service teachers during one semester in particular that raised the questions I address in this article. During this semester I was teaching a course about different methods of classroom instruction to a group of mostly white female pre-service teachers. For this course pre-service teachers were required to complete

¹. For the purposes of this paper Mexican refers to students who were born in Mexico and Mexican American refers to students of a Mexican background born in the United States. Valenzuela (1999) articulates this distinction well in her study of high school students in Houston, Texas, and addresses how Mexican and Mexican American (U.S.-born) youth in the United States divide themselves according to language, place of birth, etc. I realize that identities are highly contested, complex, and fluid depending on context. My intention is not to simplify these identities.

a certain number of hours of fieldwork at local schools in the Tucson, Arizona area. Most students in these classrooms come from a Mexican or Mexican American background. For some of the pre-service teachers in this course their classroom experiences during that semester may have in fact been their first experience with students of color. Some of the pre-service teachers spoke of culture shock when entering these classrooms for fieldwork and used othering language when discussing the experience and the different students that they interacted with during fieldwork. Different in this case means non-white, from another socioeconomic background, and in some cases non-English speaking. As the above epigraph suggests, pre-service teachers need to deal with sociocultural issues that they may have never faced before. I define sociocultural issues as the complex and often times overlapping issues such as race, language, gender, socioeconomic status, family values, documentation status, country of origin, religion, ethnicity, and sexual orientation. In this paper I am looking specifically at language, socioeconomic status, family values, country of origin, and ethnicity.

As mentioned earlier some of the pre-service teachers I worked with during that semester used othering language and often talked about culture shock when they stepped into their fieldwork. The concern is that perhaps later they will enter their own classrooms without critically questioning their own beliefs and ideologies surrounding race. Many also seemed to have an underlying sense that their experiences were typical of all people and considered normal. Furthermore, they did not critically question race itself and took it as a given. King (1991) refers to this thinking as dysconscious racism. She defines dysconsciousness as “an uncritical habit of mind (including perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given” (King, 1991, p. 135). This dysconscious racism was further exemplified by some pre-service teachers in the course who viewed school segregation not by race but instead by wealth. However, they did not question who has the wealth and why; inequities in society simply are as they seem. Examining their own beliefs and ideologies through a critical lens allows pre-service teachers to use these skills to analyze larger issues present in their students’ lives. This opportunity for pre-service teachers is vital to how they think about their teaching, students, and society. If they take the opportunity and invest the necessary time, they will have an informed worldview. In this article, I offer several ways for pre-service teachers to think about the perceptions they hold about students and their families in ways that are more educationally supportive.

I use this commentary to set the context for the question of whether or not traditional teacher education programs are preparing teachers to work effectively with students of color. I define traditional teacher education programs as four-year Bachelor’s programs where pre-service teachers take general courses first and then progress into education specific courses that concentrate on student assessment, instruction, classroom management, and child development, for example. A requirement for several of these education specific courses is fieldwork experiences in classrooms at different grade levels. After completing these courses, pre-service teachers enroll in a semester of teaching methods where they learn how to specifically teach content areas such as science, social studies, math, and language arts and create lesson plans which they implement in their fieldwork classrooms. The final semester before graduation is when the pre-service teachers student teach in a local classroom. Upon graduation, pre-service teachers have successfully completed their programs, passed all teaching proficiency exams required by the state, and have become certified in the particular state in which they received their undergraduate education.

This writing will examine the funds of knowledge framework (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005), in particular González's chapter on culture, and the critical race theory concept of community cultural wealth proposed by Yosso (2005). I add to this conversation the importance of historical context to better understand current educational situations. I then weave these ideas together to discuss how they can be implemented in teacher education programs. Given the specific location within the Southwest context and contemplating these ideas since having those conversations with the pre-service teachers in my course mentioned earlier, this article focuses mostly on white female pre-service teachers working in schools with a primarily Mexican and Mexican American student population. My purpose is to educate pre-service teachers and provide a close analysis of funds of knowledge and community cultural wealth as ways to give pre-service teachers tools to investigate their own practice.

Situating Funds of Knowledge along the United States-Mexico Borderlands: Educational Implications

Funds of knowledge has its roots in the economically changing landscape of the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992) write that "historically, these households [along the border] not only produced or bartered for much of what they consumed, but their members also had to master an impressive range of knowledge and skills. To cope and adapt to changing circumstances and contexts, household members had to be generalists and possess a wide range of complex knowledge" (p. 317). In order to ensure a sense of economic security households made an effort to control their labor and resources (Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992, p. 314). Social networks also became vital in coping with changes. As a result, the many forms of knowledge and skills that families possessed were transmitted to the children of the household which can be used by educators in the U.S. These cultural funds assist educators in understanding the cultural systems which U.S.-Mexican children bring to the classroom (Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992, p. 313).

González, Moll, and Amanti (2005) advance this work as they define "funds of knowledge" as the notion that "people are competent, they have knowledge, and their life experiences have given them that knowledge" (p. ix-x). In order to draw on students' funds of knowledge teachers can create activities, projects, and lessons that allow for students to further the different types of knowledge that they have gathered from the home and their lived experiences and connect it to what they learn in school. This particular framework presses some pre-service teachers to change their view of Mexican and Mexican American households in poor communities as lacking knowledge. Instead, these households have several resources that can be utilized by the teacher in the classroom.

Funds of Knowledge actually began as a pilot project in 1990, in Tucson, Arizona, with the goal of using the households' knowledge, cultural funds, and skills to inform classroom practices (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005, p. 91). The project was a collaborative effort between local Mexican households in working-class neighborhoods, university researchers, and four teachers primarily from the elementary school level. The teachers assumed the role of researchers and conducted three interviews with selected families with open-ended questions. These interviews were used to collect information about the household's funds of knowledge. The teachers made note of their experiences and got together as a large group with other teacher researchers and university researchers involved in the project to discuss their findings. What they gathered from each household was used to guide the classroom curriculum. As the next section high-

lights, teachers also had opportunities to expand their understanding of culture in ways that viewed culture as processes that occur every day in the lives of students.

Culture

It is important to introduce the concept of culture at this point and I will revisit it later when discussing how to connect it to teacher education programs. In the volume about funds of knowledge (González, Moll, & Amanti, 2005) there is a chapter by González (2005) in which she traces the history of culture in society and the field of anthropology. Before 1900, culture was used in ways to promote racism and was equated with race (González, 2005, p. 30-32). González proposed a new way to look at culture as dynamic and changing. Often in the education field, culture is used to explain the failure of students or as the culture in students' households being "deficient in cognitive and social resources for learning" (González, 2005, p. 34). Through the funds of knowledge approach, the role of the household upholds this view of culture as a process. González (2005) affirms how the daily activities of everyday life "are a manifestation of particular historically accumulated funds of knowledge that households possess. Instead of individual representations of an essentialized group, household practices are viewed as dynamic, emergent, and interactional" (p. 41). This notion can further be applied to viewing communities through the same lens as vibrant and resourceful.

Community Cultural Wealth

Closely connected to funds of knowledge is a critical race theory concept, community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005), which further challenges the notion that households and communities of color are deficient. For the purposes of this article the discussion is to engage this concept with teaching Mexican and Mexican American students. Community cultural wealth offers a more expanded view of thinking about the resources and knowledge that students of color bring to the classroom. Yosso describes community cultural wealth as a way to think about the knowledges, resources, skills, and abilities students bring to the classroom. Many times specific knowledge is valued in a family context but not in the school context (Yosso, 2005, p. 76). For example, a student who translates documents for her parents who do not speak English and assists them with transactions at stores among other tasks goes to school only to find that in the school context her knowledge of two languages is not as valuable.

Yosso (2005) offers a critique of Pierre Bourdieu who argued that the knowledges held by middle and upper class families are *capital* that is valuable in a stratified society (p. 70). If someone is not born into a middle or upper class family (i.e. with cultural or economic capital), one could still access these knowledges through school (Yosso, 2005, p. 70). Bourdieu advanced the notion that some people (including working class or people of color) do not have the capital needed to succeed in society. Yosso (2005) argues against this notion and highlights six forms of capital that communities of color possess: aspirational, linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant.

First, Yosso (2005) stated that *aspirational capital* is the idea of having dreams and hope for the future despite the real or imagined barriers that exist (p. 77). Second, *linguistic capital* refers to "the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style" (Yosso, 2005, p. 78). *Linguistic capital* acknowledges the languages students bring to the school setting and realizes that these students may also have ac-

quired certain skills such as memorization, rhyme, vocal tone, and volume associated with various storytelling traditions in the home (Yosso, 2005, p. 78-79). Art, music, and poetry fit under *linguistic capital* as well. Third, *familial capital* is the “cultural knowledges” that are fostered among family “that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition” (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). Yosso references “funds of knowledge” in her discussion of *familial capital*. Fourth is the concept of *social capital* which is the networks of people including peers and community resources (Yosso, 2005, p. 79). *Navigational capital* is the skills needed to traverse through institutions such as schools (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). Lastly is *resistant capital* which “refers those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behavior that challenges inequality” (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). These six forms of capital together are known as community cultural wealth and the recognition of this wealth by schools and teachers has the potential to radically transform how students of color are educated. Introducing pre-service teachers to Yosso’s concept of community cultural wealth allows them to begin to think about and discuss forms of capital students bring, along with their funds of knowledge, to the classroom. I will expand on this idea later in the article.

Setting the Historical Context

I add to the funds of knowledge and community cultural wealth conversation the significant role history has played (and continues to play) in structuring the educational opportunities for students of color. In this section I emphasize the educational experience of Mexican and Mexican American students historically in schools in the Southwest. This history demonstrates how imperative it is for educators to shift their perceptions of students by drawing on their funds of knowledge and community cultural wealth.

Socioculturally the United States-Mexico border region has been an area of fluidity given historical ties, family networks, communities, labor, exchange, and migration (Vélez-Ibáñez, 1996). In 1848, the United States signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico which extended the United States’ territory to include the Southwest. After 1848 public schools began to segregate white students from their Mexican American peers (Valencia, 2010). Valencia (2010) asserts “The treatment of Mexican Americans as nonpeers allowed Whites via deficit thinking and racist policies to maintain their system of privilege and domination” (p. 11-12). Mexican and Mexican Americans were viewed as inferior and traditional. Deficit thinking is the idea that people of Color, in this case Mexican Americans in particular, have limited intellectual abilities, poor behavior, and linguistic deficiencies (Valencia, 2010, p. 6-7). Mexican Americans were subjected to various forms of prejudice and discrimination. Applied to the educational context, the culture, home life, language, and behavior of Mexican Americans are to blame for their failure to achieve in education. This model clearly does not take into consideration the historical background of these communities and the various ways schools and society structure inequality.

One way in which schools have been utilized historically to educate Mexican and Mexican American students is through the Americanization program (Gonzalez, 1990, 1997) which focused on the acquisition of English skills, adopting so-called American ways, and ridding students of their culture. Gonzalez (1997) writes about the Americanization program in the Southwest throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The integration of Mexican and Mexican Americans into society was crucial and without this integration, in this case known as assimilation, they were seen as a threat to “modern” society (Gonzalez, 1997, p. 160). A common language was seen as a necessity to this cohesion of society and became a fundamental part of the assimilation process.

In this case English was to be the language of instruction and Mexican and Mexican American students were to learn it and utilize it. Gonzalez (1997) sums up the Americanization process at the end of his chapter with these words:

Through the program of Americanization, the Mexican child was taught that his [or her] family, community, and culture were obstacles to schooling success. The assumption that Mexican culture was meager and deficient implied that the child came into the classroom with meager and deficient tools with which to learn. This implication was quite consciously woven into the methodology and content of instruction. (p. 170)

Throughout the Southwestern United States Americanization programs were established and supported by State Departments of Education. Gonzalez mentions one researcher who examined the teaching methods of thirty teachers in southern California who actually encouraged students in the classroom to make fun of Mexican students who were “lazy” and “dirty” (Gonzalez, 1997, p. 165-166). One school in East Donna, Texas, serving Mexican students required “morning inspections” and if students did not pass inspection, they had to wash before beginning the day (Gonzalez, 1997, p. 169). If students had dirty clothes, they were to borrow clean clothes from the school (Gonzalez, 1997, p. 169).

Language was a crucial element of the Americanization programs and a focus for both educational literature and policy (Gonzalez, 1990, p. 37). The foundation of the Americanization programs was built on assimilation theories (Gonzalez, 1990). Instead of addressing language as a way to help in educating Mexican and Mexican American students, the goal of school officials was to resolve the larger issue of Americanizing Spanish-speaking students (Gonzalez, 1990, p. 37). For many school directors and superintendents the common language of English was viewed as unifying the United States as a whole (Gonzalez, 1990, p. 37-38).

The intertwined relationship between language and culture signified that the so-called poor habits and customs of bilingual children negatively impacted their learning “therefore, assimilation could not be realized until Spanish was eliminated” (Gonzalez, 1990, p. 38). Gonzalez (1990) writes of how in one school in Harlingen, Texas, the principal organized an English Club where students who had not spoken Spanish for six weeks could join. Students were given special privileges such as picnics that were not available for only Spanish-speaking children. Teachers at this school would check daily as to the language the student used. During roll call, students were to respond with either “Spanish” or “English” as opposed to “present.” If students lied, there were offenses that ranged from being suspended or expelled from the English Club.

Language continues to be a fiercely debated issue in the Southwest, particularly in Arizona. In the year 2000 voters passed Proposition 203, known as “English for the Children,” which was an anti-bilingual education initiative (Combs, 2012). Given the historical context and politics of the Southwest, Arizona in this case, it is crucial that pre-service teachers understand this history and the community in which they are teaching. This background is important to not only the instruction that will take place in their classrooms but also the relationships pre-service teachers will form with students, families, and communities.

Educación

It is imperative at this point to explain the cultural definition of the Spanish term *educación* in Mexican and Mexican American communities to provide further framing; perhaps an-

other tool, for pre-service teachers to be cognizant of when working with students from these backgrounds. The meaning of *educación* goes beyond its English translation which refers to school in a particular context. Instead, *educación* has a much deeper significance (Valdés, 1996). Valenzuela (1999) writes that *educación* “refers to the family’s role of inculcating in children a sense of moral, social, and personal responsibility and serves as the foundation for all other learning” (p. 23). Manners are also a part of *educación* (Valdés, 1996, p. 125). The concept further references respect and dignity for others (Valenzuela, p. 23). Thus, both formal education and other forms of knowledge, such as familial values, provide an individual with skills to live in society “as caring, responsible, well-mannered, and respectful human beings” (Valenzuela, p. 23). An understanding of this concept assists pre-service teachers in the ways in which they will interact and relate to students. Understanding the concept of *educación* also helps pre-service teachers to shape student-teacher relationships that are more reciprocal (Valenzuela, 1999). Disregarding a deep sense of what *educación* means to students, teachers can at the same time dismiss an embedded Mexican cultural value of students. Students may view this act as a rejection of their culture (Valenzuela, 1999, p. 23) and I would argue further that it threatens students’ sense of self and who they are in the world.

This section highlights the importance of pre-service teachers understanding the concept of *educación* when working with Mexican and Mexican American communities. Although this is a specific example it can be applied to other cultural contexts. The significance is that pre-service teachers can become familiar with the local community in which they are working. Knowing the values of both the community and families connect pre-service teachers to these resources. It also aids pre-service teachers in expanding their view of the multitude of factors that inform students’ perceptions and ways of being in the world.

Connecting Culture, Funds of Knowledge, and Community Cultural Wealth in Teacher Education Programs

Returning to the discussion of culture highlighted earlier in the article, it is beneficial for pre-service teachers to be exposed in their teacher education programs to ways that allow them to both question and analyze their own beliefs. Some pre-service teachers see culture as static and as something that is only celebrated during certain holidays. Yosso (2005) defines culture as the “behaviors and values that are learned, shared, and exhibited by a group of people” (p. 75). She explains how culture can serve as a resource for students of color. Thus, it is part of their funds of knowledge.

Pre-service teachers can be aware and take part in the dialogue occurring around them regarding students and culture. Gloria Ladson-Billings is a prominent scholar in the field of education and some of her work addresses how teachers can work effectively with students of color, most notably African American youth (1994), and culturally relevant pedagogy (1995a, 1995b). Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) are credited with bringing Critical Race Theory into education. Ladson-Billings (2006) notes how culture is used to explain everything from behavior issues to school failure of students (p. 104). Pre-service teachers can develop a critical awareness of the various ways culture is utilized to justify certain thinking patterns such as the deficit thinking model; this awareness is imperative to their practice. Culture and race are often used interchangeably and these terms refer to students who are non-white. Yosso (2005) also notes how “race is often coded as ‘cultural difference’ in schools” (p. 75).

Based on her research with mostly white pre-service and new teachers, Ladson-Billings (2006) underscores three recommendations for teacher education programs to assist pre-service teachers in developing their ideas about culture in the classroom. First, they need to relate to students in non-school settings such as at community centers, teams, or after-school activities where students may be more successful (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. 108). I would add that pre-service teachers should interact with students in other social settings such as religious venues and during community events. Identifying what is important and of value in the lives of students would enrich lessons in the classroom and draw on students' funds of knowledge and their different forms of capital.

Second, Ladson-Billings (2006) discusses how essential it is for pre-service teachers to be cognizant of their own culture:

Thus, teacher educators need to structure experiences and activities so that our students can take a close look at their cultural systems and recognize them for what they are—learned behavior that has been normalized and regularized. As they begin to recognize the cultural underpinnings of their own beliefs, attitudes, and practices, they may become more open to the power of culture to shape the learning and experiences of the students they will teach. (p. 109)

Two ways that pre-service teachers can become more cognizant of their own culture is through journaling exercises and discussions with peers about their beliefs and practices. Journaling exercises can have prompts for pre-service teachers such as “How do you define culture? What does culture mean to you?” or free writing about the subject. Discussion with peers can be structured around guiding questions such as “How have your perspectives on culture in the classroom been informed? What does this mean for classroom practice?”

Lastly, Ladson-Billings (2006) emphasizes the need for pre-service teachers to be exposed to a more global perspective in which they see schools in other parts of the world. An opportunity to work in schools in another country at some point during pre-service teachers' preparation program can help expand their views not only about culture but also education. This experience can create greater awareness and a more informed viewpoint among pre-service teachers.

Funds of knowledge and community cultural wealth are tools that pre-service teachers can apply directly to classroom practices. Weaving the funds of knowledge framework throughout teacher education programs for pre-service teachers can inform their teaching philosophy on a larger scale. This foundation can establish more effective teaching of all content areas and positive teacher-student relationships. Pre-service teachers can also visit households to conduct interviews on its funds of knowledge as the teacher-researchers in the Tucson study. Doing this would help pre-service teachers develop an expanded definition of knowledge. They can then implement this new knowledge in their lesson planning to create engaging lessons that draw on students' lived experiences which in turn transforms curriculum. Curriculum, in this case, refers to the content taught, the way in which that content is taught, materials and resources used, and the interactions that take place in the classroom among students and teachers. Curriculum should go beyond rote learning and include opportunities where students can use their knowledge and apply it to a real world context or what Brazilian educator Freire (1970) calls problem-posing education which encourages creativity, reflection, action, and transformation. Often for students of color there is a disconnect between their lives and the curriculum when they are offered a curriculum focused on memorization and remediation of skills (Cammarota, 2007). Cammarota

(2007) provides an example of the Social Justice Education Project (SJEP) with high school students in Tucson, Arizona. The SJEP is grounded in Freire's work and engages students in a meaningful, relevant, and challenging curriculum which connects to their lived experiences. This connection in turn leads to higher levels of academic achievement among students.

Underscoring the importance of community cultural wealth, pre-service teachers can have fieldwork experiences where they map out the various forms of capital that students possess. They can obtain this knowledge through active research—interviewing students, families, teachers, school administrators, and community members, and take detailed notes about these experiences along with participant observation. Having an awareness of this wealth allows pre-service teachers to reach a deeper understanding of students and the multiple sociocultural issues embedded within their lives.

Pre-service teachers need to be encouraged to develop a more expanded view of what constitutes education and knowledge for that matter. I would add that pre-service teachers can also challenge mainstream ideologies of knowledge (Delgado Bernal, Elenes, Godinez, & Villenas, 2006). Teachers' emphasis should always be on the specific population of students in which one is working—their needs, hopes, histories, and experiences. Within this expanded view of education, pre-service teachers need to identify community resources and the resources the families possess. Perhaps families can work together on in-home projects or investigate questions they have about the community in which they live. The projects could take a social justice and participatory action research approach (see Cammarota & Fine, 2008, for examples with youth). Dyrness (2011) offers an example of a group of Latina immigrant mothers, calling themselves *Madres Unidas* (Mothers United), in Oakland, California, who through participatory research became educational advocates for their children and created a space of transformation in their own lives and the lives of their children. Both parents and children could work together, through a participatory action research approach, to address a social problem in their community.

Concluding Thoughts

I began this article with a few reflections on ideas I have been contemplating since that one semester in particular with pre-service teachers. I encourage pre-service teachers to challenge their beliefs and ideologies about students. Developing these critical questioning skills as a pre-service teacher will better prepare them when they begin as teachers. Without this critical questioning there can be a tendency for some pre-service teachers' beliefs and ideologies to lead to deficit thinking. Both the funds of knowledge framework and community cultural wealth destabilize this deficit thinking model that some pre-service teachers, teachers, administrators, and other educators hold about students of color. By using the funds of knowledge framework and community cultural wealth, pre-service teachers are provided with the tools to develop a more informed view of students' strengths and resources. These tools, along with knowing the specific values of the community and the community's history, provide an added benefit for pre-service teachers to be able to examine situations in both schools and society through a critical lens. The focus of pre-service teachers on the experiences of students is not only valid but also valuable as a key to more effective teachers with students who are motivated to learn. González (2005) writes "by drawing on household knowledge, student experience is legitimated as valid, and classroom practice can build on the familiar knowledge bases that students can manipulate to enhance learning in mathematics, social studies, language arts, and other content areas" (p. 43). All

educators can keep this in mind as they work with youth to create more authentic and meaningful learning experiences.

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Technologies of Government
Politics and Power in the “Information Age”
By Benjamin Baez

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Reviewed by Austin Pickup, Aurora University

One of my requirements as a first-year faculty member is to participate in a new faculty course requiring bi-weekly class sessions and a range of assignments focusing on improving instruction. As I began my new position, my feeling was that this course would function as more or less of a mentoring program for new faculty to receive support both from their own departments and from university administration. However, as I began the course, I soon realized that the requirements would be much more pervasive and evaluative. Once a semester, each new faculty member is formally observed and evaluated by a university administrator according to a pre-determined rubric. At the same time, the faculty member's students complete a similar rubric of the teaching “performance” for that particular class session. Though I am well aware of, and in agreement with, the numerous criticisms of reducing the phenomena of teaching and learning to isolated techniques and quantitative data, I found myself anxious to know the results of my first evaluation. As I perused the student's and administrator's responses, I began understanding my teaching in terms of the constructed categories that were part of the evaluation and in terms of quantitative data. I wondered to myself, “How many responses characterized my teaching as ‘needs improvement,’ ‘meets expectations,’ or ‘exceeds expectations’? Are there more ‘exceeds expectations’ responses than ‘needs improvement’ responses? What is my overall average score and how are the responses spread out relative to this average?”

Reflecting upon this experience later, I began to recognize the power that such information and data hold upon professional practice. Though I am unaware if or how this information may be used in the overall evaluation of my own or my colleagues' job performance, the possibilities certainly exist for such information to be stored, analyzed, and compared to statistical norms. The aura of objectivity presented by this tangible “evidence” of teaching produces opportunities for administrative governance and for holding faculty members accountable to constructed criteria. Perhaps more distressing, such a reduction of teaching and learning to numerical data about isolated practices has the power to shape how practitioners understand themselves. As mentioned previously, soon after my first evaluation, I thought of teaching only in terms of numbers, data points, and pre-determined categories rather than through my own intuitive judgments, my interaction with students, and a higher moral imperative of making content applicable to students' experiences. Thus, the logic of understanding the individual through a mass of collected information, which can be turned into data, analyzed statistically, and used to hold practitioners accountable, creates productive (and dangerous) possibilities for both external governance and self-governance.

I began to understand these personal experiences through the notions of governmentality and its corresponding techniques after reading Benjamin Baez's new book, *Technologies of Gov-*

ernment. In this work, Baez examines a series of distinct, yet connected, “technologies” which shape contemporary politics. These technologies, he argues, function within neoliberal rationalities to create a particular reality in which individuals’ lives are understood primarily in terms of economic efficiency, risk management, statistical probabilities, and other logics which depend on information, databases, statistics, and accountability. Though clearly critical of the neoliberal rationality which pervades political and educational discourse, Baez’s (2014) analysis seeks to move beyond mere critique by illuminating how these technologies make “reality thinkable, and consequently, governable” (p. xviii). More precisely, he attempts to disrupt the notion that the technologies at issue—information, statistics, databases, economy, and accountability—are ahistorical entities which exist outside of the discourse which makes them intelligible. Thus, the goal of the book is to problematize this taken-for-granted reality so that we might think differently and create new realities about ourselves and our practices.

The book is composed of six chapters. Chapter one lays the theoretical groundwork for the understanding of key terms such as *government* and *governmentality*. Though the title of the book may imply an analysis of the contemporary nation-state, Baez makes a clear distinction between *the State* and *governmentality*. Following Foucault, he states that governmentality is the way in which various institutions and actors, which may or may not include those tied to the State, direct the conduct of individuals for particular objectives. This is an important distinction as Baez contends that the technologies he examines are major forms of governing in an era where the nation-state plays a less important role in the process of subjectification (Baez, 2014, p. 6). With this explanation of the key role of governmentality in his analysis, Baez proceeds by discussing each particular technology in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter two focuses on information, specifically on the notions of the information age and the information society. Baez refers to arguments that the information age represents a radically new society and to those which claim otherwise to illustrate how the idea of a society in these terms privileges ideas about information and prevents us from asking questions about the role of information itself. He contends that, rather than assuming the fixed nature of information, we should question, among other things, the monopolization of information by corporate entities, the idea of information as a commodity, and the ways in which information itself frames individual identities. Chapter three moves to a discussion of statistics. In this chapter, Baez examines the prevalence of *technorationality* in Western societies, how it has privileged scientism, and how it has mathematized experience in a way “that makes what is knowable that which is calculable” (Baez, 2014, p. 49). By quantifying experience, the individual can now be understood relative to populations, in terms of probabilities and risk management, and according to categorizations of normalcy which create new forms of governing behavior. Chapter four extends the arguments made about information and statistics to the database. Baez describes how databases create the opportunity for masses of quantitative information and subsequent statistical generalizations. The logic of the database, he points out, is one of power because it has come to constitute knowledge and support political discourses about how individuals should think and act. In chapter five, Baez connects each of the previously discussed technologies with the economy, specifically neoliberal rationalities of government. The main focus of this chapter is to distinguish neoliberalism from both classical liberalism and new liberalism in that neoliberalism interprets all human domains, including social ones, as economic. Thus, contemporary politics characterized by neoliberal rationality incorporate the technologies of information, statistics, and databases to allow individuals to make choices for maintaining self-reliance, even within domains of social services. Baez concludes the book with a discussion of accountability as a technology

of government in chapter six. Using personal experiences in higher education as an introductory example, Baez suggests that the notion of accountability has become interconnected with technorationality and a consumerist logic of social services. Now, he argues, even university academics must calculate themselves in economic terms and become accountable to the standards and objectives emphasized by a managerial audit culture.

Baez succeeds in this book by illustrating how each of these technologies produces the construction of particular identities and subsequent governmentality, and how each is a sociocultural phenomenon rather than a fixed reality. Though there certainly are additional salient features, the themes which stand out in my mind connect to these overarching notions. Regarding the construction of identities, Baez points out that not only do information, data, and statistics frame the way external entities (e.g. state and private institutions) view individuals, but they also frame the way individuals view themselves. Additionally, these technologies generate emotional responses, such as when one feels overwhelmed by information or when one feels they have fallen short of (or surpassed) statistical norms. Referring to the work of Kathleen Woodward (2009), Baez (2014) states that sociocultural changes produce emotions, thus rendering our feelings as more than just psychological phenomena, but as a register of shifting social forces as well (p. 58-59). Certainly, any student who has experienced test anxiety or any teacher who has experienced dismay from low teaching evaluations can relate to this concept. The point is that these technologies construct reality to an extent that individuals are controlled, not only by external forces, but also internally by the way they understand themselves relative to these constructs. Consequently, individuals react to these constructed identities both rationally and emotionally.

Baez helps us to see how ideological social forces, and thus technologies of government, shape individuals' rational responses as well. In his explanation of the technology of the economy, Baez discusses that, at present, neoliberalism defines what it means to act rationally. The rational individual is a self-reliant consumer who makes choices based on economic efficiency as supported by the technologies of information, statistics, databases, and accountability. This, of course, need not be the case. Information, statistics, and data can (and are) used for more democratic and egalitarian purposes such as identifying income inequality or unequal access to health care. However, decisions about social services are becoming more and more about the rational consumer choices embedded within neoliberal logic. The selection of a university, for example, becomes a simple cost-benefit analysis (i.e. how much will it cost and is it worth it relative to the probability that my degree will result in lucrative employment?) which relies upon information, data, and statistics about the school relative to other schools. Again, this illustrates that these technologies both construct identities relative to a particular reality and govern behavior accordingly.

As Baez indicates, the way these technologies frame how individuals view themselves and others may represent a greater danger than external forces. For example, he states that academics might reinterpret the present crisis concerning increasing administrative oversight in higher education as not necessarily a loss of power, but as a reinforcement of power, as academics cycle back to the very institutions which provide power and governing rationalities. He writes, "Academics may want to see their struggles with accountability as being against external actors—business or state bureaucrats—but their real 'opponents' in these struggles, so to speak, come from within" (Baez, 2014, p. 139). Thus, there is a need to move beyond simply criticizing current measures of accountability for their dubious validity to understanding how these technologies shape identities and govern practices. But more than that, there is a need to question the nature of these technologies within academic discourse rather than making critiques which,

though well-intentioned, may simply reify the existence of these technologies as givens. This, more than anything else, is what Baez provides. Early in the book, he writes,

Contrary to most social and political analyses of these terms...I do not take the notions of information, statistics, the database, the economy, or accountability as given, as reflecting empirical realities independent of the ways they are put into discourse and made intelligible and practicable. I will treat these concepts in terms of (the sometimes oppositional) rationalities for rendering reality thinkable, and consequently, governable. (Baez, 2014, p. xviii)

In other words, it is not necessary to understand education (or any other field) by these technologies because they are social and ideological constructs rather than fixed realities. Thus, the question becomes, how might we think and govern differently? In Foucauldian form, Baez refrains from presenting normative answers to the questions raised by his problematization of these technologies. However, he does offer vague suggestions of refusing to calculate ourselves or to even “miscalculate” ourselves (Baez, 2014, p. 140). The excitement (and frustration) with these uncertain answers is that there now exists the potential for a new discourse; the rendering of a new reality in which we may think differently about governing.

References

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