PRESERVICE TEACHERS' ENTERING BELIEFS AND PRECONCEPTIONS ABOUT TEACHING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

by

Sophia Ra
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Dedication

This is dedicated to the preservice teachers who are just beginning their journey to become teachers for *all* their future students.

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Abstract

PRESERVICE TEACHERS' ENTERING BELIEFS AND PRECONCEPTIONS ABOUT TEACHING FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

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The purpose of this mixed-method study was to explore preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice in two pathways to teacher licensure: a traditional, university-based teacher preparation program and an urban teacher residency (UTR) program. Participants were enrolled in a post-baccalaureate education program and beginning an initial licensure program (n(Traditional)=21); n(UTR)=20). Data collection included a survey, consisting of background questions and the Learning to Teach for Social Justice Belief (LTSJ-B) Scale created by Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow, and Mitescu (2008), and interviews with participants from each program (n(Traditional)=3; n(UTR)=6) who had the highest, middle, and lowest overall score on the LTSJ-B Scale. The objectives of this study were: (a) to better understand the beliefs and preconceptions of candidates from UTRs and traditional teacher preparation programs; and (b) to determine the need for additional research on differences that may

exist. Survey and interview findings did not indicate large differences in preservice teachers' endorsement to teach for social justice between the two pathways. Participants enrolled in the traditional program had a slightly lower average score (45.71, $s = 5.01$) than did the participants enrolled in the UTR program (47.75, $s = 5.73$). All participants held similar general beliefs and preconceptions about, and were beginning to endorse, teaching for social justice, but were unfamiliar with concepts such as democratic education, equity pedagogy, restructuring or systemic change, or critiquing power structures. Thus, further research on how to better align with preservice teacher's entering and developing beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice is imperative.

Chapter One

Introduction

> The quest for equality and social justice over many centuries is worked out in the open spaces of that proclamation, in the concrete struggles of human beings constructing and contesting all kinds of potential meanings within that ideal. Nothing is settled, surely, once and for all, but a different order of question presents itself: Who should be included? What do we owe one another? What is fair and unfair? And always, the enduring questions in education: Education for what? Education for whom? Education toward what kind of social order? (Ayers, 2008)

The purpose of this study is to explore preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions concerning teaching for social justice in two pathways to teacher licensure. One pathway is through a traditional university-based teacher preparation program, and the other is through an urban residency program. In this era of accountability for general student achievement and for closing achievement gaps among White, African American, Hispanic and Asian students among others, much attention and some blame has been directed at teachers (Angus, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Sindelar & Rosenberg, 2000). Further, there are concerns that traditional, university-based routes into teaching are not preparing enough qualified teachers for hard-to-staff schools, as most graduates are from suburban hometowns and choose to teach close to home (Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2005). This leaves leaders of highly diverse school districts to find new teachers who are disposed to use their teaching to achieve equity and social justice for all students.

One innovation that is gaining a foothold as an alternate route to providing teachers who are prepared for teaching in urban schools is urban teacher residency programs (UTRs). These are routes to teaching that follow the medical residency model (i.e., post-baccalaureate programs with extended time in the field and intensive mentoring) and focus on preparing teachers for specific urban and socioeconomically diverse schools and school districts (National Center for Teacher Residencies, 2015a). UTRs join the list of alternative programs like Teach for America and The New Teacher Project, which have enjoyed public attention and large amounts of public and private funding (Strauss, 2015). However, one of the challenges that cannot be overlooked, regardless of the pathway, is that each class of newly enrolled preservice teachers enters their teacher preparation programs with their own beliefs and preconceptions towards teaching in general (Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Graber, 1996; Holt-Reynolds, 1992; Joram & Gabriele, 1998; Kagan, 1992a; Nettle, 1998; Pajares, 1992; Wubbels, 1992), and teaching for social justice specifically (Agarwal, Epstein, Oppenheim, Oyler, & Sonu, 2010; Castro, 2010; Causey, Thomas, & Armento, 2000; Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow, & Mitescu, 2008; Frederick, Cave, & Perencevich, 2010; Kapustka, Howell, Clayton, & Thomas, 2009; Lee, 2011). As Gerber and Green (1999) noted, it is important to know and understand what perspectives and content preservice teachers will either accept or reject because they might conflict with their initial beliefs about teaching. Some evidence has already revealed that traditional teacher preparation programs do impact preservice teachers' beliefs about social justice over time (Enterline et al., 2008; Causey et al., 2000; McDonald, 2005), thereby giving hope that teacher education, again

regardless of the route, can affect the beliefs and conceptions that they will eventually carry with them into the classroom.

Therefore, if teacher education programs expect to influence these beliefs, then there is a need for more research that explores preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice and the traditional and alternative pathways to teaching. The objectives of this study are: (a) to better understand the beliefs and preconceptions of candidates from UTRs and traditional teacher preparation programs, and (b) to determine the need for additional research. This study explored the following two research questions:

1. What are preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice upon entry into Harper State University (HSU), a traditional teacher education program, and New Dimensions Teacher Residency (NDTR), an urban teacher residency program?
2. Do these beliefs and preconceptions differ between preservice teachers enrolled in the two programs? And, if so, why and how?

Changing Student Demographics and Persistent Teacher Demographics

The story of education reform can be examined through the changes in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965; it is a story of seeking equity and social justice for all children. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) into law (U. S. Department of Education, n. d.) in 1965. The law focused on special education, provided federal money to improve K-12 education, and provided grants to help districts that serve disadvantaged students through

the Title I program (Klein, 2015; U. S. Department of Education, n. d.). In 1968, programs and titles for migrant children, neglected or delinquent children, and the Bilingual Education Act were included (Klein, 2015). Then, in 1978, President Jimmy Carter signed the reauthorization of the law and allowed Title I money to fund schoolwide programs for schools with a poverty rate at or exceeding 75%. That year, the U. S. Department of Education was also created. Later, in 1981, President Ronald Reagan separated Title I as Chapter 1 ushering in the era of accountability, when the effectiveness of Chapter 1 requirements was measured by students' test scores. In 1994, President Bill Clinton renewed ESEA as the Improving America's Schools Act, which turned Chapter 1 back into Title I and called for states to create and implement academic content standards in English, history, science, and history/social studies. Eight years later, in 2002, President George W. Bush signed the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB), thus beginning the requirement for annual standardized testing for grades 3-8 and once in high school, Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) reports, interventions for those schools that failed to make AYP, and requirements for highly qualified teachers. In 2009, after the renewal of NCLB went unaddressed for two years, President Barack Obama provided stimulus aid through the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act creating Race to the Top (RTT) and the opportunity to receive federal grants, all outside the reauthorization of ESEA. Also, there was grant money allocated to design tests for Common Core State Standards. In 2011, ESEA flexibility for NCLB requirements was offered through federal waivers "in exchange for rigorous and comprehensive state-developed plans designed to close achievement gaps, increase equity, improve the quality

of instruction, and increase outcomes for all students" (U. S. Department of Education, n.d.). Why all these changes? As the data were collected and analyzed, it became clear: demographic gaps existed between teachers and students, and when the data were disaggregated by race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), gender, exceptional needs, and facility with the English language, students across the United States demonstrated differential levels of achievement, which were labeled "achievement gaps." Most notable were the gaps between Black and Hispanic students and their White counterparts. The achievement gaps were identified, labeled, and targeted as areas for improvement, as were the social injustices from which they could stem (Rothstein, 2004). Congress recently faced the reauthorization of ESEA, and on December 10, 2015, it passed the bipartisan measure Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). This brief policy history demonstrates a federal recognition that many aspects of our system of educating children were in need of reform. While the new reauthorizations focused on student achievement, another possible factor, the teachers, also became a focus of scrutiny, specifically, whether teachers had the skills and dispositions to provide with the equitable education implied by ESEA through the decades.

Teacher-Student Demographic Gaps

Recent data consistently indicate there is a gap between the ethnic, racial, and gender composition of the teacher workforce and the student population. Some have located part of the issue of teaching for social justice at this gap (Dee, 2005; Gay, 2010a; Lee, 2011). According to the National Center for Education Statistics' (NCES) most recent School and Staffing Survey (NCES, 2012b), in 2011–2012, slightly more than 3.3

million teachers taught in public elementary and secondary schools. It also reported that 76.3% were female, and 81.9% were White, 7% were Black, and 8% were Hispanic. In comparison, recent findings reported in *The Condition of Education*'s (NCES, 2015) survey of public school students in pre-K–12 showed these teachers served 49.8 million students in the 2012–2013 school year. Of those students, 51% were White, 24.3% were Hispanic, 15.7% were Black, 5.13% were Asian/Pacific Islander, 1.07% were American Indian/Alaska Native, and 2.8% identified as two or more races. In addition, the survey showed that 9.2% of the students were English Language Learners, and 12.95% were identified as having special needs. Of the students who received special needs services, 16% were American Indians/Alaska Natives, 15% were Black, 13% were White, 12% were two or more races, 12% were Hispanic, 11% were Pacific Islander, and 6% were Asian. In 2013, 20.7% of school-age students were living in poverty. In 2012, the percentage of Black males ages 0–17 living in poverty was 38%. It was 33% for Hispanic boys, and 12% for White and Asian boys. For the 2012-2013 school year, 24% of public schools were considered high-poverty schools, and higher percentages of Black (45%), Hispanic (45%), and American Indian/Alaska Native (36%) students attended high-poverty public schools than did Pacific Islander students (26%), students of two or more races (17%), Asian students (16%), and White students (8%) (NCES, 2015, p. 110). About 40% of urban students attended a high-poverty school. Two years earlier, the U.S. Census Bureau's (2013) American Community Survey (ACS) results showed that about 79.2% of children 5 years old and older spoke only English, and the remaining 20.8% spoke a language other than English. In 2009, ACS (2012) results had similar

percentages: 80% spoke English only and 20% spoke at least one of the other 39 identified languages. In another report, the U.S. Census Bureau (2015) sought to project the changing demographics of the nation and showed a slower growing, yet more diverse, nation. By 2060, the Hispanic population was projected to more than double from 55 million to 119 million, the Black population was projected to increase from 42 million to 60 million, and the Asian population was projected to more than double from 17 million to 38 million. In addition, for the first time, the report projected the U. S. to become a majority-minority nation in 2044, and a NCES (2014) report projected the shift to a minority-majority to begin in fall 2014 for grades pre-K–8 and in 2017 for grades 9–12. So, while the composition of the nation's public school teacher workforce has stayed relatively stable over the past years (i.e., White women with middle-class backgrounds), the students are becoming more diverse and classrooms will be comprised of a much different demographic makeup than the classrooms in which teachers were raised. As noted above, and further discussed in Chapter 2 and in the next section on achievement and opportunity gaps, some have argued that these differences can influence teachers' conceptions of social justice toward equal educational opportunities and outcomes (Dee, 2005; Frederick et al., 2010; Gay 2010a; Lee, 2011; Sleeter, 2008). It is important to note that as the general population becomes more diverse in the future (especially if the U.S. becomes a majority-minority nation), the teacher workforce is likely to become more diverse and, therefore, have potentially shifting conceptions of social justice in education. However, at the time of this study, the concern of these researchers is that the majority of teachers come from White middle-class homes and their conceptions of diversity and

teaching for social justice ought to be a topic of inquiry if we are to challenge teachers' perspectives as attributing to gaps in student achievement (Ferguson, 2007).

Opportunity and Achievement Gaps

As noted above, data on student achievement continually show gaps among disaggregated racial and ethnic subgroups, to the point that there is a movement to shift the focus from achievement gaps via test scores to opportunity gaps inside and outside schools. Lalas (2007) asserted that inequitable educational opportunities such as equal access to resources as well as to highly qualified teachers, pedagogy, and pedagogical resources compound the achievement gap for different racial, linguistic, and socioeconomic groups. Starting in kindergarten, NCES (2015) reported that teachers rated students' behavior using the Approaches to Learning Scale differently by race or ethnicity. The Approaches to Learning Scale measures learning endeavors, such as completing tasks independently and paying attention in class — skills that are valued in public schools. These teachers rated Asian kindergarteners the highest, followed by White students, American Indian/Alaskan Native students, Hispanic students, and Black students. In recent reports on the Hispanic-White achievement gap and the Black-White achievement gap released by The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), data showed that the gaps in student achievement were slightly narrowing but still existed between Hispanic and White students and Black and White students in reading and math in both grades 4 and 8 (NCES, 2011; Nation's Report Card, 2013). Further, *The Condition of Education* (NCES, 2015) reported similar trends for fourth and eighth grade math and reading scores from 1990 to 2013, with the gap narrowing between White and

Black students in fourth grade and between White and Hispanic students in eighth grade. The gaps between the sexes still exist but are also slightly narrowing. Male students outperform female students in math by age 9, and female students outperform male students in reading by age 13 (NCES, 2015). Gaps in access and persistence in higher education also exist for these groups (NCES, 2012a).

According to NCES data (2015), in 2014, 91% of 25–29 year olds had completed high school or higher, 34% had obtained a bachelor's degree or higher, and 8% had earned a master's degree. NCES also reported that in 2013, the percentage of men aged 25–29 who had completed a bachelor's degree or higher was 55% for Asians, 29% for students of two or more races, 17% for Blacks, and 13% for Hispanics (NCES, 2015). The median annual earnings of 25–34 year olds was $23,000 for those with less than a high school diploma, $30,000 for those who had only completed high school, and $50,000 for those who had earned a bachelor's degree or higher. Looking at socioeconomic status (SES) data in the report, 14% of students with a low SES earned a bachelor's or higher degree within eight years of completing high school. In contrast, 29% of middle SES students and 60% of high SES students achieved the same level of education. These data support Ferguson's argument that both out-of-school factors and in-school factors influence student achievement and have lasting impact on their socioeconomic well-being.

Returning to first-time kindergartners' average teacher ratings using their Approaches to Learning, the data are similar. The scale asked teachers to rate students on the following range of scores: 1 (never), 2 (sometimes), 3 (often) and 4 (very often).

When looking at students' scores to parents' highest level of education, students whose parents held a bachelor's degree or any graduate education received a rating of 3.1. In contrast, kindergartners whose parents had some college or vocational training were rated at 2. 9 (NCES, 2015), and students whose parents completed high school and students whose parents had not completed high school both were rated at 2.8 (NCES, 2015), seemingly small, but possibly impactful differences that could affect classroom interactions, but much more research is needed on this particular point.

When looking at students' average ratings by household poverty status, teachers' ratings on the Approaches to Learning scale were highest for kindergartners in households with incomes at or above 200% of the federal poverty level (3.1) and lowest for those in households with incomes below the federal poverty level (2.8). Thus, it can tentatively be concluded that there may be links between disparate opportunities to learn and academic achievement outcomes among different student subgroups, where the level of education correlates to lower pay (Ferguson, 2007). Furthermore, the teachers rated kindergarteners in households with lower incomes at lower levels in their approach to learning as their older elementary schoolmates also show gaps in achievement and opportunity, suggesting an in-school influence. The NCES (2015) report acknowledged:

> Research suggests that living in poverty during early childhood is associated with lower than average academic performance that begins in kindergarten and extends through elementary and high school. Living in poverty during early childhood is also associated with lower than average rates of school completion. (p. 11)

Reardon (2013), using other analyses across standardized test scores in math and reading to examine the cumulative effects of inequitable treatment of students in schools and classrooms, reported an increase in what he labeled the "income achievement gap" (p. 10), which is large when students enter kindergarten and stays relatively unchanged as students move through K–12. He also found larger gaps between low-income students and their more affluent peers in enrollment at the most selective colleges and universities, despite having similar test scores and academic records, and college completion. He also noted a widening social-class gap in other areas like "soft skills" and civic engagement, described as participation in extracurricular activities, volunteering, and self-reports of social trust, factors he argues contribute to social and economic well-being post-high school.

Another NCES (2013) report, *Access to Effective Teaching for Disadvantaged Students*, revealed that students in grades 4–8 in English/language arts (ELA) and math had less access to effective teaching, an opportunity gap that can help to explain differential student achievement. In agreement with Lalas (2007), Carter and Welner (2013) stated, "educational disparities and intergenerational economic inequality are highly correlated with skin color, ethnicity, linguistic, and social class status," (p. 1) where achievement gaps are seen as stemming from opportunity gaps that widen with rising income and wealth inequality. They also noted that where achievement gaps focused on outcomes, opportunity gaps focus on inputs (e.g., opportunities provided in formal schooling, safety, nutrition). Further, Ladson-Billings (2006) cautioned against overemphasizing achievement gaps it may restrict the options for solving the problem.

Rather, she urged the field to focus on a concept she labeled “education debt” (p. 5), which is composed of historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral dimensions that have amassed over time. These types of gaps were also captured in the three new spotlights for the NCES (2015) report: “learning behaviors for first-time kindergartners, disparities in educational outcomes among male youth of color, and differences in postsecondary degree completion by socioeconomic status” (p. iii), the data for which were cited above. To put a finer point on this discussion of school effects and possible teacher influences on those effects, Villegas (1988) stated, “As long as school performs this sorting function in society, it must necessarily produce winners and losers. Success and failure are both ingrained in the current organization of education” (p. 262). As such, it is asserted in the present study that teachers need to be aware of the inequitable practices and structures that may constrain student achievement, and therefore their levels of success in their adult years. If our schools are to be places that prepare all children for success, then all school personnel, and especially teachers, must confront how their views about teaching for social justice and equity might influence their interactions with their students. Teachers make decisions about students’ opportunities to learn on a moment-by-moment basis, and it can be argued that these decisions that are influenced by their own conceptions of social justice, a topic that needs further examination. As such, it is important to explore aspiring teachers' preconceptions of teaching for social justice, including what they are and why they hold the views they hold. This study seeks to explore that in two settings for preparing teachers. One is a traditional university-based setting and the other is an urban teacher residency program, each which claims to be

explicitly focused on preparing teachers to help all students achieve at high levels, which it has been argued above, may include being disposed to teach for social justice.

Teachers' Beliefs about Social Justice and Teacher Education

Sindelar and Rosenberg's (2000) *Serving too Many Masters: The Proliferation of Ill-Conceived and Contradictory Policies and Practices in Teacher Education* began with the sentence, "Teacher educators get no respect." In the argument that followed, the authors noted stakeholders' arguments that, "Our schools are not what we want them to be because our teaching force is undersized and ill-prepared, and teachers are ill-prepared because teacher education doesn't work" (p. 188). Angus (2001) described the phenomenon of "teacher bashing," or blaming educational failures of the nation on teachers. Stakeholders like Levine (2006) and Walsh (2002) argued teacher education programs and their teacher educators bear the responsibility for underprepared graduates becoming teachers of record. Angus (2001) asserted that other reformers also place responsibility on teachers, but said teachers are the solution rather than the source of the problem, "without their knowledge, help, and cooperation, no fundamental reform is possible" (p. 10). Darling-Hammond (2010) echoed a similar sentiment, noting that various reforms to improve school conditions depend on teachers as the tipping point of student success or failure, especially with rising diversity. A few years earlier, Darling-Hammond (2006) wrote, "Growing evidence demonstrates that—among all educational resources—teachers' abilities are especially crucial contributors to students' learning," and that because of increasing demands on teachers in the 21st century, "Teachers need not only to be able to keep order and provide useful information to students but also to be

increasingly effective in enabling a diverse group of students to learn ever more complex material" (p. 300). Others have argued for a wide range of variables and influences on the effects of teacher education. These include, situational factors, such as planning and instructional time, materials, and work assignments (Kennedy, 2010); evaluative measures used to measure teachers' performance (Darling-Hammond, 2010); teacher capacity, including their knowledge, skills, and dispositions (Howard & Aleman, 2008); and past beliefs, a form of dispositions, (Kagan, 1992a). The present study is concerned with those beliefs and preconceptions for how they might inform faculty about their preservice teachers.

Research on Preservice Teachers' Beliefs

As many have noted, prospective teachers do not enter teacher education programs *tabula rasa.* They enter their programs with established beliefs and preconceptions about teaching and learning that many researchers have examined. Researched extensively in the 1990s, their prior beliefs were coined as folk pedagogies (Bruner, 1996), personal history-based lay theories (Holt-Reynolds, 1992), and world images (Wubbels, 1992) that are deeply ingrained and hard to change (Calderhead & Robson, 1991; Kagan, 1992a; Wubbels, 1992). That research has shown that preservice teachers hold their own beliefs and values about learning and teaching, including their own future role as teachers. Causey et al. (2000) categorized findings by researchers like Nieto, Finney, Orr, Hamovitch, and Sleeter about preservice teachers entering beliefs into three concepts: "optimistic individualism," or the idea that hard work and individual effort can conquer anything; "absolute democracy," which is the idea that all children are

the same and that good pedagogy is effective for all children; and attitudes of "naïve egalitarianism," meaning that people are created equal and should be treated that way (pp. 33-34). Looking specifically at whether preservice teachers are prepared to teach in urban areas, Bleicher (2011) found candidates who lacked prior experience in urban schools that were dissimilar to their own upbringings were nervous about teaching in urban schools. Kagan (1992b) found that these beliefs acted as filters, and could serve as potential obstacles to accepting new and discordant information. She noted, "Candidates tend to use the information provided in course work to confirm rather than to confront and correct their preexisting beliefs" (p. 154). Further, Jervis (2006) asserted that attitudes and opinions involve an evaluative component, which often dominates and can include causal claims, which may be unsubstantiated in real practice. Jervis also stated that these beliefs can refer to their perceptions of inner states and outer realities, can translate to exhortatory statements, as well as have components of commitment and faith (not necessarily religious). Jervis further asserted that there is an "inextricable role of emotion in sensible thought" (2006, p. 642) and that people "have difficulty taking seriously beliefs with which we disagree" (p. 643). However, although it is not the focus of the present study, some research indicates that teachers' beliefs can be changed through teacher education programs (Graber, 1996; Nettle, 1998), and that changing those beliefs should be one role for teacher educators.

It is worthy of note that currently, no researchers have explored the differences between beliefs, perceptions, and preconceptions. The terms "beliefs" and "preconceptions" were chosen for this study because of the observation that preservice

teachers enter with ideas about teaching, learning, children, and schools. Since these ideas are formed before their experiences in a teacher preparation program, the term "preconceptions" captures this concept best.

Teachers' Beliefs about Social Justice

Preservice teachers' entering beliefs about social justice have also been explored. Enterline et al. (2008) found that preservice teachers entered believing concepts of social justice at an individual level, and easier to endorse, like that it is important to examine your personal beliefs. However, they also found that they do not necessarily endorse harder concepts of social justice (e.g., that teachers are meant to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead). Reagan, Chen, and Vernikoff (2016) and Castro (2010) found deficit-based thinking among preservice teachers who placed blame for problems on students, families, and communities. Researchers also found that preservice teachers' prior beliefs about teaching for social justice included changing students to fit school structures (Reagan et al., 2016) and avoiding topics or direct language because students may lack the emotional capacity or capacity to make political judgments (Kelly & Brooks, 2009). Preservice teachers were also unsure of their ability to bring about structural change (Cochran-Smith et al., 2009). In sum, with schools across the nation becoming more diverse in terms of ability, income, language, race, gender, sexual orientation, and ethnicity, the need for teachers who can recognize issues of equity and create strong learning opportunities for all students is paramount. Teacher education programs, traditional and alternative, are the expected sites to prepare teachers concerned with equity and social justice. The present study explores aspiring teachers' beliefs and

preconceptions of teaching for equity and social justice upon entry into their programs. The results can reveal what teacher educators who are committed to social justice face as they seek to prepare the teachers the nation will need.

Definitions

Many different terms found throughout this study contain multiple meanings for different audiences. Specifically, terms such as beliefs and preconceptions have not been sorted out in the literature well enough to allow their use without some parameters and caveats. The following section provides a definition for these terms as they are used in this study. As will be discussed further in Chapter 2, we are treading lightly with these terms as they best approximate the "softer" side of teachers and how they may influence the behaviors we observe and their possible effects on student achievement.

Beliefs: "Any simple proposition, conscious or unconscious, inferred from what a person says or does, capable of being preceded by the phrase, 'I believe that ...'" (Rokeach, 1968, p. 113)

Preconceptions: Conceptions made before experience or concrete knowledge ("https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/preconception")

Teacher Education for Social Justice: "*Teacher education for social justice* (italics original) has the deliberate intention during the preservice period of providing the social, intellectual, and organizational contexts that prepare teachers to teach for social justice in K-12 educational settings and also support them as they try to live out this commitment as educators." (Enterline et al., 2008, p. 270)

Teaching for Social Justice: "in K–12 schools has as its primary consideration promoting pupils' learning (academic, social, emotional, and civic) and enhancing pupils' life chances, including challenging the structures, curriculum, labels, and school arrangements that limit or inhibit life chances" (Ludlow et al., 2008, p. 194).

As described in detail in Chapters 2 and 3, beliefs about teaching for social justice are measured by Enterline et al.'s (2008) Learning to Teach for Social Justice- Belief Scale (LTSJ-B), and preconceptions are measured through semi-structured interviews.

Summary and Significance

As Akom (2007) noted, schools are not neutral institutions, and they are always affected by events that occur in larger society. Shifts in the demographic, socioeconomic, and cultural composition of the United States require that we remain mindful of what it will take to achieve equity for all learners. As Ferguson (2007) argued, student achievement in school affects one's life out of school and far beyond. If schools are to serve as society's equalizers, then it is incumbent upon education researchers to grasp more fully the effects that teachers have on students and how a presage variable, such as their beliefs about teaching for equity and social justice, influences how they approach their teacher education coursework. As noted above, there is little research on entering preservice teachers' views on this important dimension that becomes an in-school factor affecting student achievement.

But first, the present study takes the approach that it is important to know those entering beliefs so that teacher educators can redesign their programs to seek the best

possible impact on the increasing number of teachers who will teach students who do not share many common racial, socioeconomic, and cultural backgrounds. Establishing those entering beliefs will open the door to confronting them, inquiring into them, and seeking opportunities to revise them so that new teachers enter the classroom more prepared to teach in the increasingly diverse classrooms across the nation.

As Cochran-Smith et al. (2015) noted, current research lacks evidence of a profound shift in thinking among preservice teachers, regardless of the type of teacher preparation program. As a crucial piece standing between concepts of social justice that are new to, and possibly counter to, the beliefs of the average preservice teacher who has a different background and lived experiences than her or his students, an understanding of how candidates entering a traditional and UTR program endorse teaching for social justice may provide insight into the essential program elements needed to educate for social justice. This pertains to both shared and contextually nuanced program characteristics, with the goal of nurturing a candidate's willingness to make the cognitive change needed to embrace the requisite components of teaching for social justice. While there is some research on this topic regarding preservice teachers in traditional programs, there is scant inquiry for UTRs. The UTR alternative route to teaching was chosen for this study because of the increasing attention they are receiving from educational institutions, (e.g. CAEP), outside stakeholders (Strauss, 2015), and researchers (e.g., Zeichner, 2010). Exploring what preservice teachers who are entering two different programs believe about teaching for social justice builds a better understanding of what barriers exist, what beliefs need to be nurtured and pushed, and which beliefs should be

reinforced. The hope is that, when preservice teachers become practicing teachers, the challenges of teaching in general and teaching for social justice specifically will not deter them from enacting the principles of teaching for social justice for their increasingly diverse students. Therefore, the significance of the present study is that it seeks to understand the similarities and differences among two groups of aspiring teachers, one from a traditional program, and one from a UTR, which are the foci of the two research question posed earlier in this chapter.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The purpose of this study is to explore preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice in two pathways to teacher licensure. With the increasingly diverse population that is projected to make currently minority students the majority, there is a need to understand how their future teachers perceive social justice's place in education. Cochran-Smith et al. (2015) published an overview of the research on teacher preparation and found three different clusters of research. Cluster A analyzed research on teacher preparation accountability, effectiveness, and policies; Cluster B analyzed research on teacher preparation for the knowledge of society; and Cluster C was research on teacher preparation for diversity and equity (although social justice is not directly named, the citations for this section show a focus on social justice). After analyzing the types of research currently available, the researchers offered a critique of what was still missing: evidence of a profound shift in thinking among preservice teachers, innovative research on how to do so, and a focus on practice as well as beliefs. An awareness of preexisting beliefs for which teachers that are held responsible, therefore, is important to understanding what evidence will conflict with their initial beliefs and be rejected (Gerber & Green, 1999). Furthermore, understanding preconceptions that are shaped by beliefs reveals whether people follow a Bayesian

learning model, which holds that the probability of an event is based on conditions that might be related to the event, and take in new information in an unbiased way or are selective. Thus, an explanation of how social justice has been viewed as a solution is provided, followed by existing literature on the influence of preservice teachers' beliefs and perceptions. Then, the history of social justice and definitions are provided. Next, the debate over social justice in teacher education is explored, and a description of how teacher education programs include social justice, with emphasis on traditional and urban teacher residency programs, is provided. Finally, what has already been revealed about preservice teachers' beliefs specific to social justice is explored and an overview of UTR programs is given.

The two research questions for this study are:

1. What are preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions of teaching for social justice upon entry into Harper State University (HSU), a traditional teacher education program, and New Dimensions Teacher Residency (NDTR), an urban teacher residency program?
2. Do these beliefs and preconceptions differ between preservice teachers enrolled in the two programs? And, if so, why and how?

Teachers as the Problem and the Solution

In the past, policies have focused on improving teacher quality and teacher education; these policies implicate teachers as both part of the problem of disparate student outcomes as well as part of the solution. Darling-Hammond (2010) wrote,

> For more than two decades, policy makers have undertaken many and varied reforms to improve schools, ranging from new standards and tests to redesigned schools, new curricula and new governance models. One important lesson from these efforts is the repeated findings that teachers are the fulcrum determining whether any school initiative tips toward success or failure. Every aspect of school reform depends on highly skilled teachers for its success. This is especially true as educational standards rise and the diversity of the student body increases. (p. 1)

At the federal level, the NCLB makes highly qualified teachers, defined as those preservice and practicing teachers who have primary preparation in the subject matter they teach, as a requirement (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.). Ingersoll (2004) emphasized this point when he wrote, "There is a general consensus that the quality of teachers and teaching matter– both are undoubtedly among the most important factors shaping the learning and growth of students. Moreover, there is a general consensus that serious problems exist with the quality of teachers and teaching in the U.S." (p. 528). This assertion can also be seen in the first few sentences of an archived page on the U.S. Department of Education's (2004) web page from the Bush administration titled *NCLB/Proven Methods: The Facts About…Good Teachers*: "The Challenge: Nothing is more important to a child's success in school than finding well-prepared teachers. But millions of children do not have the benefit of a well-prepared teacher in their classrooms."

Then, in 2009, the Obama administration's American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA), through its Race to the Top Assessment Program, focused on changes in accountability to ensure teacher quality is tied to student outcomes (U.S. Department of Education, 2009). The language in the first few lines of *Our Future, Our Teachers: The Obama Administration's Plan for Teacher Education Reform and Improvement* are markedly different from the ones above, although also from the U.S. Department of Education's (2014a) page:

> In the next 10 years, 1.6 million new teachers will be needed to take the place of teachers who will retire. Many of these educators will pass through traditional teacher preparation programs. While there are many good teacher education programs in this country, far too many of the programs that prepare our teachers are inadequate. Improving these programs is essential to ensuring our nation's students receive the education they deserve. (http://www.ed.gov/news/press-releases/us-department-education-proposes-plan-strengthen-teacher-preparation)

Here, like the quotation from Darling-Hammond (2010) above, the language suggests that teachers are part of the solution, instead of the problem; however, the teacher education programs preparing them come under scrutiny.

Kennedy (2006, 2010) also explored the idea that the problem or solution lies with teachers and found that the hypotheses that the quality of teaching depended on: (a) teachers' personality; (b) teachers' beliefs and values; and (c) the belief that teachers are made rather than born are flawed because teaching is influenced by situational factors. Gay (2010a) looked at the ramification of the teacher-student demographic gap and

asserted that “most culturally diverse students and their teachers *live* in different worlds, and they do not fully understand or appreciate one another's experienced realities” (p. 144). Lee (2011) asserted that these disparities result in a limited understanding of race, class, culture differences, as well as the educational history of different marginalized groups and its lasting effects, and Dee (2005) indicated the gap negatively affects student achievement. Sleeter (2008) maintained that teacher and student race can counter ongoing lived experiences in relatively homogeneous neighborhoods, ongoing classroom life, and everyday conditions of teacher work that take on a banking model of teaching and learning. The banking model is where students are passive recipients of knowledge imparted by teachers (Freire, 1970). However, Frederick et al. (2010) argued preservice teachers have little recognition of the need to consider teaching strategies for working with diverse learners, let alone an awareness of what those strategies might be. However, Ferguson (2007) argued that difference in race itself is not necessarily an issue; teacher capacity for teaching students of diverse cultures, races, academic needs, languages, etc. has been seen by many as a subject needing more research (Grant & Agosto, 2008; Howard & Aleman, 2008; McDiarmid & Clevenger-Bright, 2008). Bates and Glick (2013), who looked at teacher ratings of student behavior by teacher and student race, found this: Although White teachers did rate non-White students (Blacks and Hispanic students, but not Asian) less favorably than their White peers, this was also the case with teachers of other race backgrounds (e.g., Asian teachers tended to rate non-White students as exhibiting significantly more externalizing behaviors than their White peers). They also found that when matching student and teacher race, the magnitude of

externalizing behavior decreased. And the solution? Preparation of preservice teachers has been tied to many dimensions of student needs, including facilitating intercultural sensitivity (Causey et al., 2000), culturally responsive teaching (Mohatt & Erikson, 1982), stopping the perpetuation of cultural inequity and taking on a superman stance (Dilworth & Brown, 2008), cultural synchronization (Irvine, 1990), community-based learning (Mooney & Edwards, 2001), and activism with critical consciousness (Freire, 1970). Although much of the teacher-student discrepancy data focuses on the gap between White teachers, who make up the majority of the overall teaching workforce, and students of diverse backgrounds, the teaching force too may become more diverse in the future, considering the overall U.S. demographics is projected to tip to a minority-majority in the future. Thus, the complexity of the teaching and learning relationship and the substance of a teacher education program with regard to social justice includes preparing teachers of diverse backgrounds for teaching students of diverse backgrounds, something the two sites used for this study both openly relay is their intention when recruiting. Furthermore, the focus of the research mentioned here has been on what teachers and teacher candidates need before entering the classroom. Other research takes it further back to focus on what preservice teachers believe upon entering a teacher education program and the implications their beliefs have for teacher education. With educator preparation programs being held accountable for the outcomes of their graduates' pupils, research on preexisting beliefs creates an understanding of what programs face and what they must address.

Teachers' Beliefs and Perceptions

Pajares (1992) claimed, "Few would argue that the beliefs teachers hold influence their perceptions and judgments, which in turn, affect their behavior in the classroom" (p. 307). Pajares also asserted that clear definitions distinguishing these conceptions are hard to come by:

> Educational psychology does not always accord its constructs such precision, and so defining beliefs is at best a game of player's choice. They travel in disguise and often under alias-attitudes, values, judgments, axioms, opinions, ideology, perceptions, conceptions, conceptual systems, preconceptions, dispositions, implicit theories, explicit theories, personal theories, internal mental processes, action strategies, rules of practice, practical principles, perspectives, repertories of understanding, and social strategy, to name but a few that can be found in the literature. (1992, p. 309)

However, Pajares does state that knowledge and beliefs are not the same, and researchers have explored how beliefs influence cognitive knowledge. Nisbett and Ross (1980) suggested the concept of generalized knowledge is a structure made up of a cognitive component that is schematically organized so new knowledge can be incorporated into existing knowledge structures without substantial alteration, and a belief component that has evaluation and judgment characteristics. Explaining their conception of generic knowledge, Pajares writes:

> As such, belief is viewed as knowledge of a sort. All human perception is influenced by the totality of this generic knowledge structure–schemata,

> constructs, information, beliefs– but the structure itself is an unreliable guide to the nature of reality because beliefs influence how individuals characterize phenomena, make sense of the world, and estimate covariation. (p. 310)

But, Pajares contends that an affective and evaluative piece of cognitive knowledge might be missing. Turning to the work of Rokeach (1986), who incorporated knowledge as a component of beliefs, Pajares contrasts this with Nisbett and Ross' interpretation of beliefs as a type of knowledge. According to Rokeach, there are three components of beliefs: cognitive (knowledge), affective (emotion), and behavioral (action).

Thus, the literature on beliefs sketches a blueprint of how beliefs and perceptions reciprocally influence one another. And, by Pajares' claim, then an understanding of preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions, or thoughts about something (e.g., preconceptions about what teaching for social justice entails, what it looks like, and who is responsible for it) may occur. This, in turn, provides an understanding of subsequent action or inaction. It also helps identify ways to break the perpetuation of the status quo. To date, no researchers have explored the differences between beliefs and perceptions; the work remains speculative. That is also true for preconceptions, which might be perceptions and therefore related to beliefs. The decision to use preconceptions is grounded in the observation that entering preservice teachers already have ideas about teaching, learning, children, and schools, and they can be seen as conceptions before experience, or preconceptions. As will be seen below, different researchers use different terms, which is another sign of a developing area of work.

Osguthorpe and Sanger (2013) found that beliefs affect preservice teachers' decisions to choose teaching as a career. They concluded that the desires expressed by preservice teachers could be categorized as moral altruism and positive regard for others. Candidates wanted to make a positive difference in the lives of students and be a role model. They also believe teaching itself is both rewarding and challenging. Sharing a love of learning and wanting to work with children were also reasons they chose the profession. Past experiences with teachers and family influenced their reasons, along with coursework, volunteering, and field experience. When it came to their beliefs about the purpose of schooling, participants said the main purpose was to prepare students for the real world, including college, jobs, and general citizenship. The second and third most reported reasons were to strengthen academic capacity and encourage moral and prosocial development, respectively.

Calderhead and Robson (1991) reported that images of teaching were particularly impactful. The term "images" was chosen for its emphasis on experience-based knowledge and because images "represent knowledge about teaching but might also act as models for action, and in addition they frequently contain an affective component, being associated with particular feelings and attitudes" (p. 3). As Osguthorpe and Sanger (2013) found, past experiences play a crucial role in shaping beliefs. Preservice teachers come into teacher education programs with preexisting notions about the profession itself, the act of teaching, and students. These images were based on episodic memories, general beliefs synthesized from different experiences, or associated with a conception about a subject or how students learn (e.g., students are inquisitive and ask questions to

learn). Preservice teachers reported being influenced by their own teachers, either wanting to emulate them or being motivated to be the opposite. Calderhead and Robson concluded, “Images of teaching appeared to be ways of representing knowledge that could readily be translated into action, sometimes synthesising [*sic*] quite large amounts of knowledge about teachers, children, teaching methods, and so on” (p. 7).

After reviewing studies on teachers’ self-efficacy and content-specific beliefs, Kagan (1992a) defined teachers’ beliefs as personal knowledge that is “tacit, often unconsciously held assumptions about students, classrooms, and the academic material to be taught” (p. 65). Kagan explained that teachers' beliefs are hard to capture and cannot be inferred directly from behavior. However, she recognized semi-structured interviews, Likert-type attitude scales, and close analysis of language used to describe thoughts and actions as indirect methods—three of which will be used for this study. Thus, like Posner, Strike, Hewson, and Gertzog (1982), who claimed that college students' well-established beliefs are relied on and can act as filters for new information beliefs, Kagan found that preservice teachers’ beliefs often do not change with readings but only with actual practice. The necessity of a conceptual change in beliefs so learning can occur was also applied to preservice teachers. Kagan applied Posner et al.'s assertion to teacher educators; he claimed that they needed to help students make implicit beliefs explicit, confront inadequacy or inconsistency of their beliefs, and create extended opportunities to integrate and distinguish between old and new knowledge.

Posner and colleagues (1982) found initial plausibility of a new concept, one they described as the “anticipated degree of fit of a new conception into an existing conceptual

ecology" (p. 218). The intelligibility of a new concept and its plausibility are two of four conditions that make it possible to accommodate the new. Plausibility depended on the consistency of the new information with existing metaphysical beliefs and epistemological commitments, with other theories or knowledge and past experiences, whose image can be created to match one's sense of the world as it is or should be and can resolve a known problem. In addition, dissatisfaction with existing conceptions and the potential "fruitfulness" of a new conception serve as motivation to accommodate new information (p. 223). This is akin to Kuhn's (1996) idea of a paradigm shift when he wrote, "… a new theory, however special its range of application, is seldom or never just an increment to what is already known. Its assimilation requires the reconstruction of prior theory and a re-evaluation of prior fact …" (p. 7), and "… an older paradigm is replaced in whole or in part by an incompatible new one" (p. 92). To that end, Posner et al. (1982) used the word "accommodation" to describe a step beyond assimilation where change occurs:

> Accommodation may, thus, have to wait until some unfruitful attempts at assimilation are worked through. It rarely seems characterized by either a flash of insight, in which old ideas fall away to be replaced by new versions, or as a steady logical progression from one commitment to another. Rather it involves much fumbling about, many false starts and mistakes, and frequent reversals of direction. (p. 224)

The difficulty of reconciling new information with previous conceptions is also found by researchers who are looking at preservice teachers and beliefs about social

justice. However, research also indicates that change is possible and does occur. Garmon (2004) found prospective teachers' prior dispositions about diversity, multicultural awareness sensitivity, and commitment to social justice may determine their readiness to learn from educational experiences. She wrote, "if students are not dispositionally 'ready' to receive the instruction and experiences presented to them, even the best-designed teacher preparation programs may be ineffective in developing appropriate multicultural awareness and sensitivity" (p. 212). This can also be seen in a change-over-time analysis conducted by Castro (2010). After analyzing more than 55 publications on cultural diversity, multicultural education, and social justice in peer-reviewed journals from 1985 to 2007, Castro found a positive shift in the attitudes of millennial-generation preservice teachers towards teaching students from various cultural backgrounds. They showed increased acceptance of cultural diversity, civic participation, and advocacy for social justice issues. Castro also found the studies suggested that millennial college students are different in "historical location" because factors like the Internet, interconnectivity, globalization, and a more diverse population which may positively influence their propensity to accept and appreciate cultural diversity. However, this positive shift did not represent all preservice teachers. There was a continued focus on the lack of complexity in preservice teachers' views in how they understand institutionalized racism and oppression, as well as multicultural education. Although they were more positive, there was still only minimal understanding of cultural diversity and its components because background experience continued to affect preservice teachers' views. There were conflicting perceptions among the preservice teachers about cultural diversity, with some

maintaining a deficit view. Maintaining a deficit view means they continued to believe that issues resided in students, their families, or their backgrounds. Some kept stereotypical beliefs (i.e., children of color are hard to teach), while others held a positive view. Some saw "the privileged classes as being more able to stop inequities but placed the burden for ending injustice on the oppressed classes," and others saw it as a burden on the privileged classes, "but also felt that the members of the privileged classes had less power to change society" (Castro, 2010, p. 204). Castro also found a contradictory view about student learning and achievement, specifically students' intellectual ability versus schools' potential to help.

Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow, and Mitescu (2008) also looked at preservice teachers' perceptions of social justice and found that they mildly endorsed concepts of good teaching, such as examining their own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation. These are concepts of social justice that the researchers pre-determined were "easy to endorse." However, the preservice teachers were uncertain whether economically disadvantaged students bring less to school and were skeptical about their ability as teachers to bring about structural change, conceptions of social justice that the researchers categorized as more complex and harder to endorse. Which, as Pajares (1992) noted, these beliefs can affect their perceptions and, subsequently, their actions. In the constructivist tradition, effective teaching is informed by prior beliefs; therefore, attending to these beliefs in teacher education is important when knowing how to teach (Osguthorpe & Sanger, 2013). Gorski (2012) looked at how stereotypes created by selective evidence are used to understand out-groups and are

applied to economic achievement gaps. Gorski stated: “The function of deficit ideology is to justify existing conditions, such as the socioeconomic achievement gap, by identifying the problem of inequality as located within, rather than as pressing upon, poor people” (p. 313). Omitted evidence included sociopolitical evidence that affects individual opportunities and comparative evidence that can counter the stereotypes that claim a phenomenon is true more often in out-groups than the group to which a person belongs (e.g., poor people are lazy, poor people are substance abusers). Gorski asserted that at an individual level this can cause teachers to feel afraid or accusatory towards disenfranchised students and parents, hold low expectations, and even blame them “for their ‘misfortune’” (2012, p. 309). At a systemic level, this can misdirect efforts that attempt to alleviate socioeconomic inequities in schools by aligning with deficit ideologies, “In essence, deficit ideology defines the problem in terms of students’ inabilities to achieve and their families’ inabilities to help them achieve rather than the many barriers that impede their achievement or the hegemony evident in the very way we construct the notion of ‘achievement’” (Gorski, 2012, pp. 313-314). Exploring a culture of a poverty paradigm and blaming the victim, Gorski emphasized the dangers stereotypes pose because they uphold structures that perpetuate poverty, especially when held by members of a dominant or privileged group — a phenomenon that may influence preservice teachers’ conceptions of diversity and learning to teach for social justice.

Putting together the work of Shulman et al. (1986) and B.O. Smith (1961), Gage (2009) included the following diagram (Figure 1, below) in his book, *A Conception of Teaching.* The diagram shows a conceptual model for the study of teaching where

presage variables (i.e., teachers' personality and beliefs) and context variables (local and larger environment) and an antecedent to process variables (how the teacher teaches) and outcomes (i.e., student achievement) interact with one another, thereby positing multiple studies of teachers and teaching.

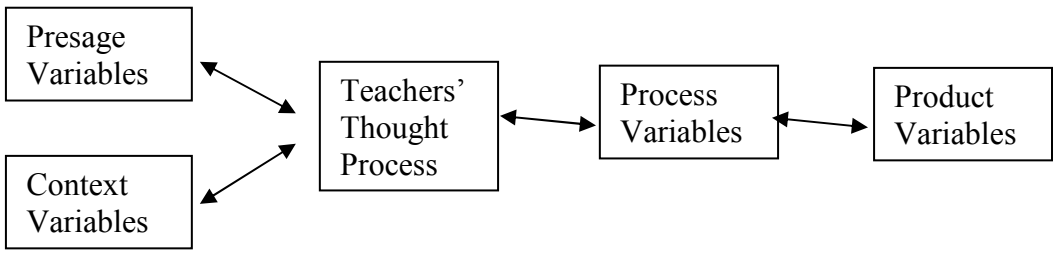

Figure 1. Gage's (2009) Teacher's Thought-Process Model

Gage prepared another, more complicated, model that also included students' thought processes as factors in teacher/teaching quality (p. 51). Gage is directly asserting that teachers' personal characteristics, of which teachers' perceptions are a sub-category (and has been established are influenced by beliefs), can and do influence their teaching, their students' achievement, and, it can be speculated, how they learn to teach. Their preconceived beliefs about teaching, it can be argued, may affect their views of certain student groups and prevent them from seeing the inequitable structures and opportunities that are specific to those groups, which may then lead to the gaps mentioned earlier.

If teaching candidates have no interest in seeing, revealing, addressing, etc. the characteristics of students who are often identified as needing advocacy, more equitable learning opportunities, narrowed achievement gaps, and the like, what does that mean for

teacher education? Pajares (1992) concluded, “Research on the entering beliefs of preservice teachers would provide teacher educators with important information to help determine curricula and program direction” (p. 328). Joram and Gabriele (1998) noted that when instruction in their teacher education programs specifically targeted these beliefs, they could be altered. Garmon (2005) asserted that the key factors to changing preservice teachers’ attitudes and beliefs included dispositional factors (e.g., openness, self-awareness/self-reflectiveness, and commitment to social justice) and experiential factors (e.g., intercultural, educational, and support groups experiences). After all, some of the practices and pedagogies meant to address these inequities are also seen as good practices for *any* learner and as part of teachers’ responsibility to know what their students need. Also, policies, like ESSA, require schools to make it mandatory for teachers to gather such revealing data and address them. But there is the presence of preservice teachers’ view that they are teaching “other people’s children” and the effects of that view (Gomez, 1994), such as their willingness to teach and live in communities with them. These findings, when coupled with the understanding of self-fulfilling prophecy via Rosenthal and Jacobson’s Pygmalion Effect (1968), in which they found that teachers’ perceptions of individual students influence their academic achievement, offer a reason to look deeper into preservice teachers' beliefs and the implications they have for the teacher education programs and educators that prepare them. One focus for teacher education that seeks to impact preservice teachers’ beliefs about their future students and their own practice is confronting their preconceptions of social justice.

Developing the Concept of Social Justice

One solution to preparing teachers for the challenges of an increasingly diverse student population is by making social justice a focus of teacher education programs. Focusing on social justice can be traced throughout the history of the human rights movement, as well as the history of teacher education. Schools are not neutral institutions (Akom, 2007) and are affected by the events occurring in the larger society.

History of Social Justice

The term social justice was coined by Italian Catholic scholar Luigi Taparelli d'Azeglio in his *Theoretical Treatise on Natural Rights Based on Fact,* published in 1840–1843 (Grant & Agosto, 2008). Grant and Agosto traced social justice to John Stuart Mill's *Utilitarianism* (1863), where he wrote about social and distributive justice, and then to John Rawls' *A Theory of Justice* (1971), where he wrote that the greater good of society should not infringe on those of individuals. Grant and Gibson (2013) tied social justice education to the human rights movement, specifically identifying the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and its sister documents from 1945 to 1951 as "an antecedent social justice manifesto" (p. 82).

The reason for a focus on social justice was attributed to the need for a universal moral code in response to injustice and economic collapse after the world wars and Great Depression. The researchers stated:

> This remains as true in education as in other justice movements. While critics decry calls for social justice as class warfare, the rise of the welfare state, or even

> anarchy, we believe that calls for social justice are simply calls for fundamental human rights. (Grant & Gibson, 2013, p. 81)

Rather than focus solely on individual rights, as is the case in Western rights traditions, the UDHR also emphasized economic opportunity, protection, and development rights with states responsible for actively taking a role in ensuring citizens' economic and social welfare, as well as governments responsible for guaranteeing a certain standard of living (Grant & Gibson, 2013). According to UDHR, a human rights culture would be created through an education for freedom that cultivated respect for human rights.

The researchers acknowledged that the concept of social justice within the UDHR was imperfect and was criticized for an embedded American exceptionalism ideology, as well as for being culturally imperialist (Grant & Gibson, 2013). However, the UDHR was created to align with cultural pluralism; thus, the social justice commitment was also a commitment to diversity and fighting against discrimination, institutional racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia (Ignatieff, 2003; Osler & Starkey, 2000).

> Many social justice protest movements grew in direct response to the stubborn persistence of institutional racism. In doing so, these protest movements articulated and fought for a vision of the world in which cultural pluralism was realized and in which diverse voices and experiences were not only honored but also made integral to civil society. (Grant & Gibson, 2013, p. 91)

Grant and Gibson (2013) further write that, “In a pluralistic society, cultural difference and disagreement are not threats to a socially just civil society; rather, they

enrich and ensure a civil society committed to social justice" (p. 91). Therefore, the diverse demographic makeup and panoply of cultures within the United States would be considered an asset to building a socially just society. However, as Figueroa (2000) explained:

> Citizenship (in a plural society) involves commitment to the society in its diversity; openness to, and indeed solidarity with and respect for, the different other, in particular the "ethnically" different; acceptance of the basic equal worth of all people, of the rights and responsibilities of all; and a rejection of any form of exploitation, inequitable treatment or racism. (p. 57)

Social Justice in Education

The American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education's (AACTE) 1973 policy statement *No One Model American* is credited with the incorporation of diversity, or "pluralism," in teacher preparation, thus starting attention towards social justice in teacher education (Nieto, 2000). It was followed four years later by the development of standards focusing on diversity in curriculum, instruction, and field experience by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). At the time, the goal was to appreciate differences rather than acknowledge inequity stemming from systemic structures of domination and subordination; however, few substantial shifts are noted during this time (Wiedeman, 2010). Wiedeman's literature review of the past decade revealed that changes in student population and local and global economies were catalysts for refocusing and renewing interest in teacher preparation for social justice, termed "multicultural education." Inequities were revealed and the Civil Rights

Movement brought focus to freedom, political power, and economic integration through school culture transformations and further curricular changes. The argument was that culture acts on all aspects of human behavior; thus, classroom inequity can only be addressed when cultural diversity is seen as a school resource. Fast forward to 2000, when NCATE named social justice as a desirable professional disposition in its standards, which prompted intense scrutiny and controversy until the language was removed in 2006 (Enterline et al., 2008). In 2008, diversity became the fourth NCATE standard. However, in 2013, when NCATE and the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) consolidated into the Council for Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP), the new accreditation standards for educator preparation programs in colleges and universities did not have a separate diversity standard (NCATE, n. d.; CAEP, 2013b). Instead, as presented by Gollnick (2013) at the 2013 CAEP Conference, diversity (as well as equity) was embedded into drafts for standard one about inclusive classrooms helping "all P–12 students," standard two on diverse clinical experiences, and standard three about the recruitment of diverse teachers. However, the current CAEP standards, approved five months after the CAEP conference, do not include the standard one draft subsections that Gollnick said addressed equity. Social justice language has continued to be absent; in fact, professional dispositions are not even defined (CAEP, 2013a).

Definitions of Social Justice

Despite the absence of social justice in teacher education preparation accreditation standards, it has been gaining a lot of traction in education research. Social justice is defined in different ways, which remains part of the problem: There is not one widely-

accepted definition. The concept of social justice is generally credited to Rawls' distributive theory of justice that was grounded in political and economic structures that cause exploitation and material deprivation and prevent self-actualization, all common expectations of schools. From this point, scholars have taken their own turns on the concept. Young (1990) defined social justice as eliminating institutionalized oppression and asserted that a common distributive framework of social justice that "defines social justice as the morally proper distribution of social benefits and burdens among society's members" (p. 16) veiled institutional practices of domination and oppression and therefore needed to include social process and relations, or institutionalized social injustice.

Taylor (1994) proposed that the significance of recognition lay in its relationship to identity. According to Taylor, one's identity is somewhat shaped by recognition or the absence of recognition, with the latter being harmful. Recognition is seen as a vital human need. Furthermore, aligning with Hegel, a person's identity is formed inter-subjectively, where "significant others'" affect our sense of self in a dialogic model. Taylor identified two views of recognition: equal dignity (blind to differences) and the politics of difference (which recognizes difference). He supports the latter. Honneth (2001) aligned with Taylor's view of recognition as a central component of self-realization. Also, expounding upon Hegel, Honneth identified three "spheres of interaction" imperative to positive self-realization: love, rights, and solidarity. Love refers to physical and emotional needs met by others that make up primary relationships; rights refers to developing a moral responsibility through a mutual mode of recognition;

and solidarity refers to recognition of traits and abilities to develop self-esteem and individuality. All three pieces are needed to develop a positive sense of self, and the denial of recognition provides motivation and justification for social struggles. Honneth also "locates the core of all experiences of injustice in the withdrawal of social recognition, in the phenomena of humiliation and disrespect" (Fraser & Honneth, 2003, p. 134), and asserted that the recognition of dignity is an important piece of justice (Honneth, 2001). Honneth believed that issues of recognition can reconcile issues of distribution (Fraser & Honneth, 2003), and that distribution is a derivative of recognition. Taking an alternate dualistic view, Fraser views redistribution and recognition as equal pieces of justice, where recognition is one piece.

Fraser (2003) added the dualism of the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition. Fraser (2005) also built upon Hegel's conceptualization and identified three dimensions of social justice: economic, cultural, and political. Economic injustice stems from maldistribution, cultural injustice from misrecognition, and political injustice from misrepresentation. Fraser contended that in a globalizing world there is "no redistribution or recognition without representation" (2005, p. 17), although misrepresentation can occur in the absence of the other injustices (p. 8). Also, economic injustice requires redistribution politics, cultural injustice requires recognition politics, and political injustice requires representation politics. Unlike in Honneth and Taylor, misrecognition is not tied to impeding self-development. Instead, Fraser sees the denial of status as an outcome of a culture's institutionalized patterns in which all are not able to equally participate, thus creating and disparaging individuals' characteristics or those assigned to

them. Fraser looked to transformative strategies to deconstruct current structures. The idea of representation was also included in Bell's (1997) definition of social justice as the full participation by all groups who co-create the society they live in so that all needs are met through equal distribution of resources and everyone has a degree of self-determination and interdependence. Also, Rawls (2001) stated social and economic justice comes when positions are "open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity" (p. 43). This was echoed by Barry (2005) who made social justice synonymous with equal opportunities, where inequities of any kind are addressed by increasing opportunities for participation. Going beyond representation and distribution, which were prominent in her earlier works, Fraser (2005) included the political dimension of each concept, which establishes "the procedures for staging and resolving contests in both the economic and the cultural dimensions: it tells us not only who can make claims for redistribution and recognition, but also how such claims are to be mooted and adjudicated" (p. 6).

Exploring Fraser's dualist framework, North (2006) credited Fraser for identifying tensions of redistribution and recognition in social theory, and built upon her theory to suggest that there were three multidirectional and intersecting spheres of social justice: (1) macro/micro, (2) redistribution/recognition, and (3) sameness/difference spheres. North (2006) proposed that the, "seemingly dichotomous categories often overlap and remain in tension with each other. By introducing the possibility of friction and contradiction within and among sphere, I am attempting to challenge reductive readings of the complex social world" (p. 509). North supported Young's (1990) view that

acknowledging institutionalized social justice was imperative to countering the danger that "a focus on recognition can distract from the ongoing exploitation of workers and the marginalization and powerlessness of impoverished people," without confronting underlying issues (pp. 510-511). More recently, Grant and Gibson (2013) asserted that enhancing the voices of the marginalized is a product of social justice and credited the social justice movement in the 20th century with advocating for economic and social rights. As can be seen from this brief discussion of the various efforts to define social justice, although there is not agreement on one definition, a common thread exists of focusing on equitable practice for all.

In teacher education for social justice, definitions became more focused on the necessary educational inputs by teachers and teacher educators. In fact, Grant and Agosto (2008) reviewed publications in the teacher education journals, *Action in Teacher Education, Equity and Excellence, Journal of Teacher Education,* and *Teacher Education Quarterly* from 1985 to 2006 and found 39 articles with social justice in their title or abstract. These articles mostly did not provide a definition for social justice, leading the field to a place where we have an important concept that lacks clear attributes, yet it appears to influence the opportunities afforded school children, and potentially, what and how much they learn.

Definitions of Social Justice in Education

Villegas (2007) saw the overriding goal of social justice in education as preparing "teachers who can teach all students well, not just those traditionally well served by schools, so that as adults, all are able to participate equitably in the economic and

political life of the country," and that cannot be "reduced to dispositions" (p. 372). Thus, content knowledge, skills, understanding of structures and inquiry, pedagogy, and how students learn in different contexts become the focus of teacher education. According to Villegas (2007), it is imperative to teach preservice teachers how to look critically at how schools are unjust for some and to analyze the policies and practices that might perpetuate such injustices. Carlisle, Jackson, and George (2006) as well as Dover (2009), defined social justice education as a conscious and reflexive mix of content and process to augment equity across multiple social identity groups, critical perspectives, and to promote social action. Dover (2009) also adapted Cochran-Smith's (2004) six principles of teaching for social justice for K–12:

1. Assume all students are participants in knowledge construction, have high expectations for students and themselves, and foster learning communities;
2. Acknowledge, value, and build upon students' existing knowledge, interests, cultural and linguistic resources;
3. Teach specific academic skills and bridge gaps in students' learning;
4. Work in reciprocal partnerships with students' families and communities;
5. Critique and employ multiple forms of assessments; and
6. Explicitly teach about activism, power, and inequity in schools and society (2009, p. 509)

Dover also adhered to a pedagogical and theoretical framework for teaching for social justice that integrated democratic education, critical pedagogy, multicultural education, culturally responsive education, and social justice education. Agarwal et al.

(2010) specified that teachers for social justice: (a) enact curricula that integrate multiple perspectives, question dominant Western narratives, and are inclusive of racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity; (b) help students develop a critical consciousness of injustice; and (c) scaffold opportunities for students to be active participants in democracy, civic engagement, and deliberative discussion. Nieto (2000) saw social justice as an ideology and pedagogy where teacher educators needed to "(a) take a stand on social justice and diversity, (b) make social justice ubiquitous in teacher education, and (c) promote teaching as a life-long journey of transformation" (p. 187).

Social justice principles can also be seen in the conceptions of teaching offered by other scholars (Villegas, 2007), including culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010b), culturally relevant teaching (Ladson-Billings, 2009), teaching for diversity (Zeichner, 1998), multicultural education (Banks, 1991; Fox & Gay, 1995), and civic education (Banks, 2004). As Nieto (2000), Lee (2011), and Gorski (2013) note, this does not mean the terms are interchangeable. Rather, the foci on culture, equity, equality, race, or diversity are ways in which you can teach social justice, but teaching one does not automatically ensure the other is taught. Dover (2013) provided a conceptual framework for how democratic education (or progressive education), critical pedagogy, multicultural education, culturally responsive education, and social justice education play a part in teaching for social justice.

The definition of social justice for teacher education for this study was taken from Enterline et al. (2008), who was echoed by Cochran-Smith et al. (2009). Enterline et al. (2008, p. 270) stated:

> *Teacher education for social justice* (italics original) has the deliberate intention during the preservice period of providing the social, intellectual, and organizational contexts that prepare teachers to teach for social justice in K–12 educational settings and also support them as they try to live out this commitment as educators.

Enterline et al. also acknowledged Fraser and Honneth's (2003) distributive notion of justice as explicit or implicit in key education literature where "it is assumed that the bottom line of teaching is enhancing students' learning and their life chances by challenging the inequities of school and society," and that "this perspective is based on recognition of significant disparities in the distribution of educational opportunities, resources, achievement, and positive outcomes between minority and/or low-income students and their White, middle-class counterparts" (Enterline et al., 2008, p. 270). As Ludlow, Enterline, and Cochran-Smith (2008) asserted, although there are a range of definitions, they:

> have in common explicit recognition of the marked disparities in educational opportunities, resources, achievement, and long-term outcomes between minority and low-income pupil groups and their White, middle-class peers. This is coupled with the position that teachers have the potential to be both educators and activists committed to the democratic ideal and to reducing the inequities in American society. (p. 194)

Thus, for this study, social justice means recognition, representation, and redistribution. Each must be acknowledged and practiced equitably for structural and

systemic injustice of wealth, power, means, and self-actualization to be recognized culturally, socially, and economically (Fraser, 2005; Fraser, 2007; Grant & Gibson, 2013; Maslow, 1943; North, 2006; Young, 1990). According to Ludlow et al. (2008), "Teacher education for social justice, then, is teacher preparation deliberately designed to provide the social, intellectual, and organizational contexts to foster teaching for social justice in schools accommodating students in kindergarten through 12th grade (K–12)" (p. 194). To answer Ayers's (2008) questions quoted at the start of this study: education for social justice includes all students from any background (socially, politically, or otherwise constructed) in an effort for a more pluralist society. Thus, *teaching for* social justice "in K–12 schools has as its primary consideration promoting pupils' learning (academic, social, emotional, and civic) and enhancing pupils' life chances, including challenging the structures, curriculum, labels, and school arrangements that limit or inhibit life chances" (Ludlow et al., 2008, p. 194). This can be done through pedagogy, knowledge, interpretive frameworks, strategies, methods, skills, reflective practice, and advocacy. However, as McDonald (2005) emphasized, there is no prescriptive format that fits all settings.

Social Justice and Teacher Education

As Cochran-Smith et al. (2009) noted, social justice has been included and excluded from policy and has seen shifts in its definition — and its inclusion in teacher education has been up for debate. Various stakeholders look to schools as public agencies and, therefore, look to teachers to reconcile known issues of injustice in student outcomes. We know that preservice and in-service teachers' personal backgrounds do not

align with the students they are charged to teach. Neal, Sleeter, and Kumashiro (2015) stated that "the demographic gap between teachers and students reflects how the institutional life of racism has dominated the profession" (p. 2). With *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision was overturned and segregated schools became unconstitutional. Afterwards, as schools began to be desegregated, displacement of Black teachers between 1950 and 1970 (Fultz, 2004) began by "dismissals, demotions, forced resignations, nonhiring, token promotions, reduced salaries, diminished responsibility, coercion to teach subjects or grade levels other than those for which individuals were certified or had experience" (p. 14). *A Nation Prepared (*1986), by Carnegie Forum, wanted to mobilize resources to prepare minority teachers.

The Role of Teacher Education in Social Justice

In *Teacher Education and the Social Conditions of Schooling*, Liston and Zeichner (1991) described four traditions of practice that overlap: academic, social efficiency, developmentalist, and social reconstructionist. Writing further about these four traditions, Zeichner (1993) expounded, "It is my contention that efforts to reform teacher education in the twentieth century have always reflected, often implicitly, varying degrees of commitment and affiliation to several distinct traditions of practice" (p. 2). The academic tradition emphasized subject matter through a liberal education, and the social efficiency tradition promoted placing the scientific study of teaching at the foundation of teacher education curriculum. The developmentalist tradition, or progressive approach, arose from the child study movement where the natural order of

development ought to establish when and what was learned by the teacher and student. The fourth tradition, the social reconstructionist tradition, “defines both schooling and teacher education as crucial elements in the movement toward a more just and humane society” (Zeichner, 1993, p. 6). Social justice in education is said to stem from this tradition: “Schooling was seen as the vehicle by which social injustice would be redressed and the evils of capitalism corrected” (Zeichner, 1993, p. 6). This tradition rose to prominence in the 1920s and early 1930s. Teachers College Columbia in the 1930s was seen as the hub of this tradition, and Professor George Counts' (1932) *Dare the School Build a New Social Order* is a seminal work describing the stance. John Dewey and Holmes are recognized as proponents of this tradition. Zeichner (1993) asserted that the economic depression and social unrest strengthened their position and

> stressed the role of the school, allied with other progressive forces, in planning for an intelligent reconstruction of U. S. society where there would be a more just and equitable distribution of the nation's wealth and where the “common good” would take precedence over individual gain. (p. 6)

However, like the other traditions, there was disagreement as to the extent that teachers and teacher educators should indoctrinate students with socialist and collectivist values. Also, there was debate about reflective inquiry and experimentalism as the mode of instruction. The commonality between the different views was the desire to help future teachers become aware of the social and political implications of their actions, to understand their work context, and know that their choices link to “social continuity and change” (Zeichner, 1993, p. 7). According to Liston and Zeichner (1991), all teacher

education programs can be understood through parts of all four traditions because they each concern a different facet of teaching. Variance lies in the degree and meaning, which depends on a program's philosophy.

Considering research in tandem with what is known about this misalignment, preservice teachers' preexisting conceptions, and the various approaches on addressing them through different methods of teacher preparation, it is evident that a better understanding of how beginning preservice teachers conceive teaching and its role in promoting social justice would help in the design of teacher education that would escalate pupil diversity in schools.

Criticisms and Support of Social Justice in Teacher Education

Ayers (2008) wrote, “Education is contested space, a natural site of conflict–sometimes restrained, other times in full eruption–over questions of justice” and that:

> The work, of course, is never done. Democracy is dynamic, a community always in the making. Teaching for social justice continues the difficult task of constructing and reinvigorating a public. It broadens the table, so that more may sit together. And we engaged what Bernice Johnson Reagan called “the sweetness of struggle.” (para. 4)

Social justice is one lens through which beginning preservice teachers and the programs that prepare them can be can be looked at to explore their preconceptions and how these might be influenced in a positive way. This next section will highlight the key arguments found for and against including social justice, an argument that occurs outside and within the field of education (Chubbuck, 2010).

> A journey presupposes that the traveler will change along the way, and teaching is no exception. Moreover, if we expect teachers to venture on a journey of transformation, teacher educators must be willing to join them. Until we, as a profession and within our individual schools of education, take stock of ourselves by questioning and challenging our own biases and values, little will change for prospective teachers. (Nieto, 2000, p. 194)

Criticism. Cochran-Smith et al. (2009) identified four main criticisms of a social justice agenda: (a) vague terminology; (b) student learning as dichotomous with social justice; (c) the indoctrination of progressive education ideals (their response to each is described in the next section); and (d) the lack of rigorous, evidence-based research. The first category can be seen in Kapustka et al. (2009). They reviewed 96 conceptual frameworks created for the NCATE accreditation process and revealed that even the inclusion of social justice language, or a social justice agenda, did not necessarily guarantee enactment. Zeichner (2006) stated:

> It has come to the point that the term social justice in teacher education is so commonly used now by colleges and university teacher educators that it is difficult to find a teacher education program in the United States that does not claim to have a program that prepares teachers for social justice. (p. 328)

Grant and Agosto (2008) found that some programs adhered to social justice in name only. Additionally, Chubbuck (2010) supposed that even if the terminology for social justice has yet to be reconciled, few would argue for its opposite: injustice in education. Instead, the debate lies in the cause of inequity and, thus, what its solution

would entail for socially just teaching, transformation of educational structures or policies, and structures at the societal level. Controversy also surrounded the inclusion of social justice as a disposition. This brings the second criticism of student learning as dichotomous with social justice.

Mac Donald (1998), Leo (2005), and Will (2006) speak to the second category. The former writes, "Schools are about many things, teacher educators say (depending on the decade)–self-actualization, following one's joy, social adjustment, or multicultural sensitivity–but the one thing they are not about is knowledge." Leo (2005) lobbed an accusation of promoting group think and leftist ideals and Will (2006) wrote:

> In 2002, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education declared that a "professional disposition" is "guided by beliefs and attitudes related to values such as caring, fairness, honesty, responsibility, and social justice." Regarding that last, the Chronicle reports that the University of Alabama's College of Education proclaims itself "committed to preparing individuals to"–what? "Read, write and reason"? No, "to promote social justice, to be change agents, and to recognize individual and institutionalized racism, sexism, homophobia, and classism," and to "break silences" about those things and "develop anti-racist, anti-homophobic, anti-sexist community [*sic*] and alliances." (para. 3)

The third criticism Cochran-Smith et al. (2009) noted was that social justice sought to indoctrinate preservice teachers with progressive education ideals. This was also proposed as a reason behind NCATE's removal of social justice in 2006 after

meeting with the U.S. Department of Education's National Advisory Committee on Institutional Quality and Integrity (NACIQI) to be reauthorized as a teacher education accrediting agency (Heybach, 2009). Although dispositions had been added to the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium (INTASC) in 1992 and to NCATE standards in 2002 (Sockett, 2009), controversy arose when NCATE added social justice as a value related to dispositions necessary for effective teaching and, therefore, opened the door to it being assessed (Chubbuck, 2010). Although, then NCATE president Arthur Wise maintained that social justice was never a required disposition (Hines, 2007). At the meeting, several groups in attendance had already declared that social justice dispositions language promoted a political ideology, as did the inclusion of diversity. Pushback came from educators and stakeholders outside the field at the annual meeting (Glenn, 2007). Some wore red in protest against the language of dispositions and social justice, and The National Association of Scholars and Foundation for Individual Rights in Education were present in opposition (Glenn, 2007; Hines, 2007). Hines (2007) wrote a scathing response for *Education Week*, where she stated, "As a historian, I am most struck by the parallels between the dispositions assessments of today's aspiring teachers and the evaluations of teachers' mental hygiene and personality that began in the 1940s and continued for two decades" (para. 4). And, although the terminology was ultimately excluded and replaced by "fairness" and "believing all students can learn", Hines noted many teacher education programs continued to include social justice in their program and course descriptions.

The fourth criticism on methodology was supported by the work of Crowe (2008), who held the viewpoint that as teaching seeks to become a profession, beliefs and moral issues should not be a focus of teacher preparation because they actually undercut legitimacy and professional status. He wrote, "As a substitute for empirically-based and scientifically-acceptable knowledge, the set of values loosely coupled into 'social justice' may be best understood as the latest manifestation of 'pedagogical romanticism' (Sedlak, this volume) to beset the field" (Crowe, 2008, p. 992).

Supporting Literature. Going back to the purpose of education, Goodlad (2003) wrote, "If our moral ecology encompasses equality and social justice, and if we want that moral ecology to guide our society, then equality and social justice must be taught—carefully taught" (p. 19). Sleeter (2008) looked at the Whitening of the teaching force, which the demographic data at the beginning of this paper demonstrate persists. Addressing the disparity in racial diversity of teachers in comparison to students, Sleeter stated:

> This gap matters because it means that students of color—especially Black and Latino students—are much more likely than White students to be taught by teachers who question their academic ability, are uncomfortable around them, or do not know how to teach them well. (2008, p. 559)

A colorblind approach, deficit thinking, and seeing racism as interpersonal interactions that can be solved through relationships, rather than as patterned institutionalized structures, are cited as issues arising from this gap. Gay (2010a) explained that when pushed, preservice teachers have a hard time providing reasons for

taking on a colorblind approach beyond platitudes (e.g., people are people) and have not thought about cultural divides between themselves and their students. Supporting Sleeter's assertion, Dilworth and Brown (2008) looked at what teachers of color (specifically African American, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American teachers) bring to their classrooms in contrast to the majority White teachers in terms of social consciousness and a commitment to racial uplift and assimilation of different cultures. They wrote, "We acknowledge that for the foreseeable future, the teaching force will remain largely White. Research and knowledge of diverse cultures and ways of knowing are now at a premium in teacher education and professional development" (p. 439). These researchers emphasized the importance of including the cultural teaching styles of teachers of color in the education of these teachers for their increasingly non-White students of diverse cultures, as well as understanding the different viewpoints and needs that the minority teachers of color in education programs possess. Advocates for the integration of social justice in teacher education often directly answer to the four criticisms raised above. Cochran-Smith et al. (2009) and Enterline et al. (2008) argued that student learning was a key focus and designed longitudinal, quantitative studies on teaching for social justice. Applebaum (2009) answered the criticism that social justice was indoctrination of a progressive ideology, stating that the term "ideology" has become an empty slur or pejorative, but it can also be seen as non-evaluative and descriptive: "Ideology involves the way the real is constructed" (p. 390). Furthermore, Applebaum asserted, "Charges of liberal bias often gain plausibility because they are based on caricatures of what social justice education is all about," (p. 398). However, she does own

that social justice education is biased and ideological, just not pejoratively; it has an agenda, but it is not automatically indoctrination because of its partisanship. Instead, it is evenhanded and *encourages* critical reflection. Ayers (2009) wrote:

> Education is where we decide whether we love the world enough to invite young people in as full participants and constructors and creators, and whether we love our children enough to give them the tools not only to participate but to change all that they find before them. Educators, students, and citizens might press now for an education worthy of a democracy, including an end to sorting people into winners and losers through expensive standardized tests which act as pseudo-scientific forms of surveillance; an end to starving schools of needed resources and then blaming teachers and their unions for dismal outcomes and an end to "savage inequalities" and the rapidly accumulating "educational debt"—the resources due to communities historically segregated, under-funded, and underserved. (p. 7)

Putting it all together, the following section looks at two methods for teacher preparation. Research on what preservice teachers' beliefs of teaching for social justice are as they enter their program and how they develop during their time in traditional and urban teacher residencies are also included. The studies describe how teacher education programs are striving to provide preservice teachers with the experiences, knowledge, and pedagogy they need to teach all learners.

Teacher Preparation

There are various avenues for teacher preparation, including universities, schools and communities, and free-standing teacher education programs (Zeichner, 2006). From traditional schools to today's university-based teacher education programs, teachers have received their professional education and certification through different avenues (Fraser, 2007). Around the same time the push for highly qualified teachers through NCLB and reformations in traditional education programs came, alternative methods of teacher preparation were being explored. Teacher residencies are one such alternative method that was supported by the National Education Association (NEA): "The best way to ensure that every teacher is 'profession ready' from their first day as a teacher-of-record is for preparation programs to incorporate teacher residencies" because there is more time in student teaching and "a mutually beneficial partnership between preparation providers and districts, one in which the integration of clinical experiences and coursework throughout the preparation program is co-designed to strengthen teacher preparation and improve schools and learning in the particular district" (NEA, 2014, p. 1). According to Zeichner (2010), the key elements for the success of a residency program is the creation of a third space "where academic and practitioner knowledge and knowledge that exists in communities come together in new, less hierarchical ways in the service of teacher learning" (p. 89), as well as being able to tie theory to practice. The following subsections will explore how traditional, university-based teacher education programs and teacher residencies tackle teacher education for social justice. Also, the current literature on preservice teachers' beliefs about social justice and program influences are included. Of

note, no research was found that looked at traditional education programs without a specific social justice agenda.

Social Justice in Traditional Teacher Education Programs

There have been different approaches in traditional teacher education programs to preparing preservice teachers to tackle social justice issues. Thinking back to the definitions for teaching for social justice and teacher education for social justice, many of the strategies are meant to prepare preservice teachers to be able to do. Ludlow et al. (2008) identified six core components of social justice. They are: “teachers' knowledge, skills, interpretive frameworks; teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and values; classroom practice and pedagogy; community participation; teachers' learning in inquiry communities; and promoting pupils' academic, social-emotional, and civic learning” (p. 195). To address these components, researchers have suggested teacher education programs incorporate and integrate the components into their programs. Dover (2013) believe that five conceptual and pedagogical philosophies are drawn from. They are: democratic education (or progressive education), critical pedagogy, multicultural education, culturally responsive education, and social justice education. Her conceptual framework and a breakdown of each component is below in Figure 2. The pieces can also be seen in this and previous research about preservice teachers' beliefs about social justice.

Figure 2. Dover's (2013) conceptual and pedagogical framework of teaching for social justice.

Democratic education focuses on schools' civic function (i.e., community engagement) (Dover, 2013). Westheimer and Kahne (2004) identified three types of citizens that are promoted: a personally responsible citizen, a participatory citizen, and a justice-oriented citizen. Aptly named, personally responsible citizens act at the individual level, obeying laws and helping people in times of need. Participatory citizens are more active and take on more organizational roles to help their community and government. A justice-oriented citizen takes their activism further, assessing structures and seeking out ways to address and rectify root causes of injustice. The researchers were transparent in their predisposition towards programs that aim to support the development of

participatory and justice-oriented citizen as the goal of education programs as adequate for advancing democracy and identifying root causes of social issues. They also emphasized the need to understand the political perspectives and consequences behind educating for democracy.

Critical pedagogy was the second influence on teaching for social justice. Freire (1970) explained critical pedagogy as enabling students to think critically about their own consciousness, take constructivist action, and take part in transforming their reality through problem-posing education. This allows a shift to occur; "the students—no longer docile listeners—are now critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher" (Freire, 2000, p. 62). Thus, Liston and Zeichner (1987) asserted that teachers are not only foremost educators, but also hold the role of political activist in classrooms. They further asserted that "schools are where social, political, and personal meanings are conveyed and created," and, therefore, teachers should help students develop and critically look at moral beliefs (p. 122). Liston and Zeichner encouraged radically oriented teacher educators to take on a critical and emancipatory approach through specific instructional practices. Those practices included action research, ethnographic studies, journal writing, curriculum analysis and development, and supervised field placement. Ellsworth (1989) cautioned that practicing critical pedagogy can lead to perpetuating relations of domination, despite goals like critical democracy, challenging oppression, individual freedom, social justice, and social change. One common practice that Ellsworth (1989) spoke against was leaving out historical contexts and political positions, and asserted:

> Realizing that there are partial narratives that some social groups or cultures have and others can never know, but that are necessary to human survival, is a condition to embrace and use as an opportunity to build a kind of social and educational interdependency that recognizes differences as "different strengths" and as "forces for change." (p. 319)

According to Banks (1995), multicultural education is an idea, an educational reform movement, and a process that is "meant to create equal educational opportunities for students from diverse racial, ethnic, social-class, and cultural groups" so that every student can obtain the "knowledge, attitudes, and skills needed to function effectively in a pluralistic democratic society and to interact, negotiate, and communicate with peoples from diverse groups in order to create a civic and moral community that works for the common good" (p. xi). The five dimensions of multicultural education include content integration by drawing on examples and content from various cultures and groups; knowledge construction process, which is using methods, activities, and questions to help students understand how knowledge construction is influenced by culture assumptions and other factors; prejudice reduction by using strategies and students' racial attitudes to help build their democratic values and attitudes; equity pedagogy which Banks and Banks (1995) defined as "teaching strategies and classroom environments that help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups attain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within, and help create and perpetuate, a just, humane, and democratic society" (p. 152); and empowering school culture and social structure. Pedagogies like culturally appropriate (Au & Jordan, 1981), culturally congruent (Mohatt

& Erikson, 1982), culturally compatible (Vogt, Jordan & Tharp, 1987), culturally relevant (Ladson-Billings, 1995), and culturally responsive teaching (Cazden & Leggett, 1981; Gay, 2010b; Villegas & Lucas, 2002) emphasized building on students' cultural knowledge and experiences to link school and culture. Developing multicultural awareness was also advocated (Fox & Diaz-Greenberg, 2006). Gay (2010a) encouraged teacher education programs to help prospective students read and analyze scholarship about cultural diversity, particularly authors of color, self-study, and using culturally diverse examples to serve as meaningful bridges. White, Fox, and Isenberg (2011) suggested teacher educators give support, opportunities for reflection, and provide teachers with meaningful professional experiences. For developing multicultural awareness, Fox and Diaz-Greenberg's (2006) work highlights the importance of listening to teachers' voices and their opinions about the difficulty reconciling what they know are important aspects of teaching that help students grow in their multicultural awareness and the realities of teaching resources, time, and other factors. Nieto (2000) suggested that programs encourage their preservice teachers through encouragement and incentives to become multilingual and have multicultural viewpoints, and Gay (2010b) and Sleeter (2008) promoted opportunities to experience diverse communities and counter ideas of deficit thinking.

Teaching preservice teachers culturally responsive teaching (CRT) consciousness means educating them on how to include students' diverse cultures, experiences, and perspectives as filters through which to teach (Gay & Kirkland, 2003). CRT also means preservice teachers need the ability to analyze unequal distributions of power and

privilege, and self-reflect on their own teaching beliefs and practices in ways that allow for introspection and reconstruction of knowledge, beliefs, and skills. Gay and Kirkland (2003) and Villegas and Lucas (2002) proposed that teacher educators need to provide their students time for guided practice in self-reflection to break through barriers to development. An example of a challenges to this process were the difficulty in shifting preservice teachers' belief that "teaching is an objectifiable craft" (Gay & Kirkland, 2003, p. 182) rather than contextualized process and looking at macro factors, such as racism, influencing students. Lucas and Villegas (2002) emphasized the need for sociocultural consciousness, to gain understanding of one's own sociocultural identity as well as the relationship between schools and society. To help prospective teachers gain an affirming attitude, they suggested helping them understand the impact of teacher attitudes on student learning and confront negative attitudes they may have towards their students. They argued that preparing candidates to become change agents involved understanding that change is needed, which is challenging but possible through collaboration and conflict resolution, and results in more equitable spaces. They also asserted that the moral dimension of education should be emphasized. To foster the fourth characteristic of adopting a constructivist view of learning, teacher educators need to give future teachers opportunities to learn through the same constructivist process. The last two characteristics are connected, in that prospective teachers need to be encouraged to get to know their students inside and outside of school, to connect past experiences with new ones, and to understand how to use culturally responsive teaching practices that are based on their own learning and cultural backgrounds. This allows them to tailor lessons that have

personal meaning and use their background knowledge to access learning. They recommended that teacher educators expose their students to different cultures through readings, discussion, and field experience.

Hansen (2008) argued that social justice as a purpose for teacher education can manifest as "a commitment to rectify, through teacher education and (hence) schooling, historic injustices in society based on racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, and other forms of systematic prejudice," and "equipping new generations of teachers to play a part in societal transformation" (pp. 13-14). Carlisle, Jackson, and George (2006) created five Principles of Social Justice Education in Schools: (1) inclusion of equity in the school and community by addressing oppression; (2) high expectations for all students; (3) reciprocal community relationships; (4) a system-wide approach that included the allocation of resources, policies and procedures, as well as the physical environment; and (5) direct social justice education and intervention through liberatory education, advocating, and confronting oppression. As included in Chapter 1, social justice education looked at concepts of social identity, oppression, distribution, participation, and inequity. Like the four other pedagogies identified by Dover (2013), teacher educators tackle social justice education in various ways.

Gorski (2009) explored cognitive dissonance (when new information coincides with established beliefs) as a means to teach social justice. Through his experience as a social justice educator, he found that fostering a supportive environment for adopting a new frame of reference and explicitly teaching about cognitive dissonance were necessary:

> These realizations—that my educational work is the facilitation of and the facilitation through cognitive dissonance—has been the most important revelation of my life as a social justice activist. It has changed virtually everything about how I teach about poverty, racism, sexism, imperialism, nationalism, heterosexualism, and other oppressions, not because I want to protect the feelings of those who are experiencing cognitive dissonance related to one or more of these issues, but because *everybody* (italics original) experiences cognitive dissonance related to one or more of these issues. (pp. 54-55).

One suggestion for teacher educators was to take on a collaboration-based approach where future educators learn to work together to solve problems and plan together, have a social justice focused curriculum that is coherent and consistent, and support graduates after entering the classroom (Henning, 2013). Also focusing on space, Lynn and Smith-Maddox (2007) found that preservice teachers benefited from having an alternative learning space, or a situated learning experience, in their education program where they can challenge existing teaching and learning beliefs, assumptions, and understandings.

The suggestion of providing preservice teachers with the opportunity to reflect was also made by Sonu, Oppenheim, Epstein, and Agarwal (2012) and Brown (2004). Sonu et al. (2012) stated that, “Teachers' points of entry to the endeavor of teaching for social justice are not, and will never be, considered of equal value” (p. 187) and, therefore, reflection through autoethnographic work allows them to be introspective about how different experiences lead to positioning or make meaning about interactions

with others. The expository and dialogic aspects of autoethnography may also help preservice teachers think about membership and commitment, learn from differences between their own experiences and that of their students, and see justice positions as constantly evolving. Brown (2004) proposed increasing awareness, acknowledgment, and action in preparation programs by interweaving Adult Learning Theory, Transformative Learning Theory, and Critical Social Theory pedagogical strategies, specifically critical reflection, rational discourse, and policy praxis.

Rather than a specific strategy, Chubbuck (2010) offered a theoretical framework through which links can be made between dispositions reflection behavior and social justice as a goal of teacher education. Chubbuck acknowledged the dimensions of what it means to be a socially just teacher and a teacher for social justice that were outlined by researchers like Nieto (2000), Carlisle et al. (2006), and Cochran-Smith (2004), who were included in Chapter 1. The framework (see Figure 3, below) includes both an individual and structural lens through which preservice teachers can analyze causes and solutions to students' learning difficulties beyond a deficit view. Chubbuck included the following figure to visually portray the framework:

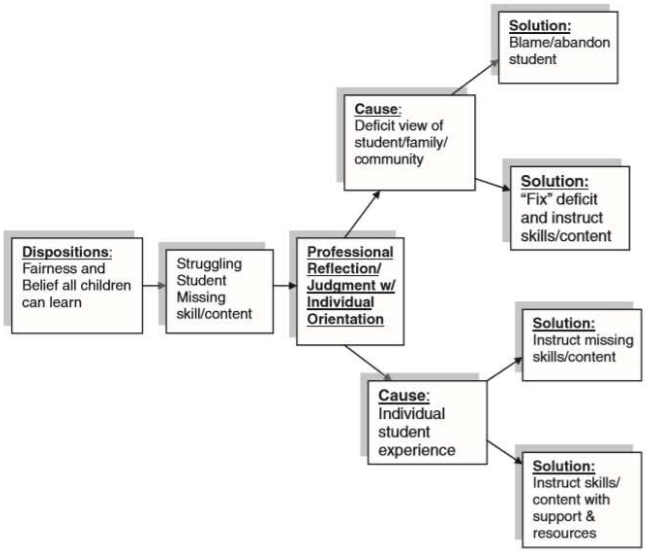

Figure 3. Chubbuck's (2010) professional reflection on cause and solution of student learning difficulty using individual orientation

The figure depicts the reflection process that precedes decisions about how to solve student learning challenges when considering the individual student. In Figure 4, the structural dimension is added to the reflection process.

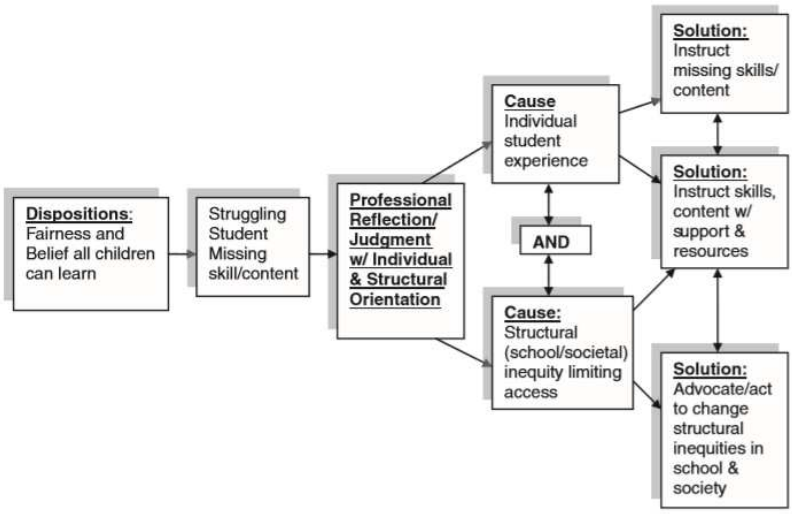

Figure 4. Chubbuck's (2010) professional reflection on cause and solution of student learning difficulty using an individual and structural orientation

With the inclusion of a structural orientation, the preservice teacher can now reflect on influences beyond the student that are also affecting their struggle to learn. To foster this type of reflection, Chubbuck suggested that teacher educators be careful not to underestimate the emotional intensity of self-examination, self-awareness, and confronting of personal biases. To do so, teacher educators can normalize these experiences by sharing their own experiences or those of others, and can emphasize that their students should learn from them and move forward rather than be fearful of their own emotions. Chubbuck and Zemblys (2008) proposed taking on a critical emotional praxis, or engaging emotions, in teaching for social justice. Noting the work of Westheimer and Kahne (2004), Chubbuck (2010) claimed that, as teachers become justice-oriented citizens, they will seek greater equity through structural and institutional reform and provide curriculum and pedagogy to empower students to also become proactive agents. Also, teacher educators need to provide opportunities for preservice

teachers to examine critically societal structures that shape their experiences, as well as those of their future students, to see beyond their own personal experiences. Like Lucas and Villegas (2002) and Sonu et al. (2011), Chubbuck (2010) said that chances to reflect, as well as field placement in a culturally, racially, and socioeconomically diverse context, was important. Further, placement should take place with a mentor teacher and university support for implementing equity pedagogy like those mentioned (e.g., culturally relevant pedagogy). Seidle and Friend (2002) advocated for equal-status, community-based experiences and McDonald, Bowman, and Brayko (2013) promoted community-based placements to develop preservice teachers' abilities to reach across differences and create relationships with their diverse students.

Another method for fostering a social justice perspective is through service learning (Marullo & Edwards, 2000; Tinkler, Hannah, Tinkler, & Miller, 2014). Service learning is distinct from charity service in that the former focuses on reciprocal learning between preservice teachers and the person they are serving and the latter is the potentially paternalistic idea of charity. Mentoring, field placement, normalizing, and teaching strategies that help aspiring teachers learn by experiencing the same processes all fit under Conklin's (2008) idea of modeling pedagogy, or “demonstrating in action” (p. 661), and attends to the two dimensions of modeling made explicit by Loughran and Berry (2005). Loughran and Berry asserted that teacher educators must explicitly model the teaching practices they want preservice teachers to practice, and allow students to learn about the pedagogical process and the reasons behind those practices. This can be done by thinking aloud and discussions. Teacher educators normalizing by sharing their

own racialized experiences and taking "part of the parade of teacher education" was echoed by Lachuk and Mosley (2012).

Boylan and Woolsey (2015) focused on identity and engagement in social justice issues. They defined social justice identity in teacher education as the relationships that teachers and preservice teachers have to issues of social justice (e.g., lack of awareness, refusal to engage, dis-identification from the issues). Boylan and Woolsey identified three theoretical frameworks under which research on education for social justice falls: (a) where beliefs and identities about social justice are polarized to committed or resistant; (b) a linear model of development that shows growth over time; or (c) a view of multiplicity and indeterminacy. Boylan and Woolsey cite some of the research included below, and asserted that the work of Enterline et al. (2008) and Ludlow et al. (2008) fell in the middle category with their scale of growing complexity and beliefs. Instead, Boylan and Woolsey aligned with Sonu et al. (2012), taking a positioning theory where identity is a process of ongoing movement in relation to personal histories that support or hinder teaching for social justice. Their stance supports the idea of smooth, fluid social and identity spaces that are marked with "striated discrete positions" on social justice (Boylan & Woolsey, 2015, p. 65). They found that, "A feature of smooth identity spaces is the emergence of unpredictable juxtapositions that can appear to be contradictory" (p. 69). They defined space as a psychosocial space where different identities and commitments develop and relate to one another. Smooth spaces are "unbounded, unpredictable, and not locked into binding patterns" (Boylan & Woolsey, 2015, p. 65). Preservice teachers took stances on social justice (e.g., recognition of contributions by

diverse cultures, importance of opportunity equality), but also gave up space as they shifted their focus on different issues. Boylan and Woolsey asserted that the movement among them is where seemingly contradictory stances are taken. Thus, "the concept of striated and smooth identity space describes the landscape in which determinate and indeterminate identity are shaped" and "striated identity space is the ground where identity is performed in relationship to these markings" (p. 65). Boylan and Woolsey suggested teacher educators take a pedagogical approach of compassion and respect, along with the pedagogy of inquiry and discomfort traditionally taken when considering teacher education beliefs and identity about social justice. Citing Frederick et al. (2010), a teaching pedagogy of inquiry focuses on personal positionality and the roots of injustice to facilitate an understanding of social justice. The related pedagogy of discomfort is aligned with the work of Boylan (2009) and Tatum (1992) on the practice of opening up opportunities for degrees of discomfort about ideas like privilege and the reproduction of injustice. The researchers based the addition of pedagogies of compassion and respect on the fact that "the identity work needed to negotiate changing identity is uncomfortable and challenging," and because "identity is rooted in personal histories and given that some of the underlying fixed positions are deeply held ethical positions" (Boylan & Woolsey, 2015, p. 63). Adaptation or translation might involve prospective teachers having to reconcile new positions that contradict their existing ones; therefore, Boylan and Woolsey suggested considering both the linear and discrete, as well as the complex and ambiguous, aspects of preservice teachers' identity positions about social justice.

According to Dover (2013), teaching for social justice shifted the focus to the P–12 setting. This can be seen in Enterline et al.'s (2008) definition of "providing the social, intellectual, and organizational contexts that prepare teachers to teach for social justice in K–12 educational settings and also support them as they try to live out this commitment as educators" (p. 270). An area of research that accompanies this shift is on preservice teachers' beliefs and the impact that teacher educators have had on them. Brown (2010) emphasized the importance of understanding prior beliefs as she reviewed studies of diversity, social justice, and equity. As proposed in this study, Brown insisted on the need to be aware of where they begin to develop education programs that can help teachers become more equipped to teach for social justice.

Teaching for social justice at the P–12 and higher education levels is complex and made of different dimensions (Dover, 2013). As the literature showed, each dimension of teaching for social justice comes with a slightly different focus and suggestions for how to prepare preservice teachers. However, overlap also exists because the purpose of the dimensions is to create more just experiences for students and there is an emphasis on strategies like reflection.

Preservice Teachers' Beliefs about Social Justice

Acknowledging the political push for the accountability and evaluation of teacher preparation programs through measurable outcomes, as well as the trend towards social justice education for aspiring teachers, Enterline et al. (2008) created the Learning to Teach for Social Justice-Beliefs (LTSJ-B) scale, analyzed through the Rasch Item Response Theory (IRT) model. The developmental scale study, part of a larger survey

series, was done at Boston College's (BC) Lynch School of Education (LSOE), which explicitly included social justice as a school mission. The LTSJ-B scale was a 12-item survey with Likert scale response (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Uncertain, 4 = Agree, and 5 = Strongly Agree). Enterline et al. measured changes in beliefs about teaching for social justice across multiple groups over time. Each item focused on teacher candidates' and beginning teachers' perceptions, expectations, and beliefs about teaching, plan for teaching and expected career trajectories, sense of preparedness, and reported practices and strategies once in the classroom. The researchers were explicit that the scale was meant to measure beliefs and perspectives, not account for the entire concept of learning to teach for social justice, content, practice, relationships, pedagogical knowledge, advocacy, or pupil learning outcomes. Furthermore, they stated that the scale was meant to be used as one piece of portfolio evidence among other instruments and assessments. As noted earlier, the IRT model (Andrich, 1978; Wright & Masters, 1982 as cited by Enterline et al., 2008) was used to yield total scores for individual survey items. The reliability of this scale was provided in Ludlow et al. (2008), and will be detailed in the methods section of this paper. The survey was administered at several points before and after the teacher education program, as well as after each of the first three years of teaching. For this particular study, the survey was conducted with several cohorts of undergraduate teacher candidates. Three cohorts completed Entry surveys from 2005 to 2007, and four cohorts completed Exit surveys from 2005 to 2008. Each survey included about 125 participants, each in a cross-sectional design. The same students did not participate in the Entry and Exit surveys. However, comparisons were made between Exit

surveys completed by two cohorts of teacher candidate graduates (2005–2006) and their One Year-Out surveys (2006–2007). The researchers used the 2005 Exit survey taken by undergraduate teaching candidates exiting the program ($N = 110$) as the baseline. The sums were converted into logits that corresponded to individual levels of belief to teaching for social justice; average "difficulty" endorsing each survey item; and difficulty responding to threshold estimates. The researchers then made a graphic portrayal of the latter to create a variable map for each that analyzes and interprets scores. The map also provides empirical evidence of the extent to which a continuum of learning to teach for social justice was created. As noted on the provided scale, some items were positively worded and others negative worded (these were reverse scored). Table 1 below shows a breakdown of these items.

Table 1

Positively and negatively worded items on the LTSJ-B Scale

Social Justice (SJ) Item	Positively Worded	Negatively Worded
	SJ1 An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation	SJ3 For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature.
	SJ2 Issues related to racism and inequity should be openly discussed in the classroom.	SJ5 The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society.
	SJ4 Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions.	SJ6 It's reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don't speak English as their first language.
	SJ7 Part of the responsibilities of the teacher Is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities.	SJ9 Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in schools because they bring less to the classroom.
	SJ8 Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions.	SJ10 Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society.
		SJ11 Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work.
		SJ12 Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead.

The negative wording prevents response bias from students who want to respond in a socially desirable manner. The negatively worded items on the left side of the table were reverse scored, where scores closer to five indicate a stronger commitment to teaching for social justice. Items that were positively worded were those assumed by the researchers to be easy to endorse (e.g., concepts of social justice at the individual level). Items that were worded negatively were assumed to be concepts and experiences that only experienced teacher candidates would have encountered and that participants would need to carefully consider due to the way they were written. They were seen as concepts harder to endorse (e.g., concepts of social justice at the institutional level). Higher scores indicated students believe in more complex, sometimes controversial, beliefs and have a greater understanding of inequities at the macro-level (both institutional and societal), whereas lower scores indicate weaker endorsement and social justice at the individual level. The ordered construct of increasingly more complex beliefs and ideas was determined after multiple administrations of the scale, which produced consistent psychometric results across surveys. However, because data for the entering and exiting cohorts did not come from the same students, actual change in beliefs was not measured. The researchers found that the logit scores were similar in value across the three entering cohorts (0.45 in 2005 Entry, 0.34 for 2006 Entry, and 0.49 for 2007 Entry), which they asserted were approximately akin to a mean raw score of 3.39 on a five-point Likert scale. The three scores corresponded to the same level of belief on the variable map, as well as the same response pattern on the 12 items (mildly endorsing the five beliefs that are easiest to endorse on the scale, unsure of five items in the middle of the scale, and

rejecting those categorized as hardest to endorse). The researchers concluded that learning to teach for social justice is a complex concept that can be measured through complex instruments. Candidates were most likely to agree that it is important to examine your personal beliefs and incorporate diverse cultures and experiences into the curriculum (both individual-level items) and disagree that teachers are meant to prepare students for lives they are "likely to lead" and that school success is primarily dependent on individual effort (both macro-level items). After comparing scaled scores of preservice teachers at entry and exit, as well as their first-year-out scores, they found differences among the cohorts. Those exiting the program scored substantially higher on the LTSJ-B scale than entering candidates. The entering candidates, as described earlier, had mean belief scores of 0.45, 0.34, 0.49, or about a 3.39 on a Likert scale. The exiting candidates had mean belief scores of 1.36, 1.44, 1.40, and 1.36, or about a 4.01 on a Likert scale. The exiting participants selected Strongly Agree to examining one's own beliefs, discussing inequity openly, incorporating diversity, and challenge inequities; Agree to critically examining the government; Disagree to the idea that multicultural topics are limited, assimilate ELL into society, lower expectations for ELL, that economically disadvantaged bring less, that their job is not to change society, and that success primarily due to effort. The Exit cohorts were "uncertain" about preparing students for the lives they are likely to live. The responses indicated that, where entering participants were uncertain about some structural and societal inequity beliefs, exiting candidates more strongly endorsed them.

When Enterline et al. measured actual change by comparing the scale score data from the two cohorts (2006 and 2007) exiting the program and their One Year Out surveys, they moved from an Exit mean belief of 1.39 to 1.40 and 1.27 to 1.14 respectively, showing a consistency in beliefs after completing the first year as a teacher of record. Therefore, the entering cohorts were somewhat sympathetic to beliefs about teaching for social justice, agreeing with the easiest items on the scale, and unfamiliar or uncertain about more complex beliefs. The higher scores on the Exit surveys showed a stronger endorsement and more understanding of the complexity of teaching for social justice. The researchers noted that these findings are not surprising given Boston College's school mission and integration of teaching for social justice into the program. The differences were not attributed to group demographics because university records showed commonalities from year to year in geographic representation, gender, age, standardized test scores, socioeconomic status (SES), and reasons for entering teaching. In conclusion, the researchers maintained that social justice teaching can be measured with validity, and can therefore be an outcome of teacher education. Enterline et al. (2008) concluded that, "The underlying assumption behind the LTSJ-B scale is that teachers' beliefs matter because they mediate teachers' practices in schools and classrooms—that is, teachers' practices, strategies, actions, interpretations, and decisions are always filtered through their beliefs, perceptions, and values" (p. 286). It would be interesting to see how survey responses differ when given to teachers entering and exiting general teacher preparation programs versus an urban teacher residency.

Reagan, Chen, and Vernikoff (2016) conducted a mixed methods study to examine teaching residents' beliefs and articulations about social justice before and during their enrollment in an urban teacher education program with an explicit social justice mission. The researchers defined articulations of social justice as “ways in which teaching residents think, talk about, and describe teaching for social justice” and operationalized beliefs as “the ways in which residents endorsed ideas related to teaching for social justice” (Reagan et al., 2016, p. 214). The former was measured before and during the residency program and the latter at the end of the program. The intention of the study was to explore the process of making sense of and becoming advocates for social justice, not to examine social justice enactment or the impact of the residency program on residents. Moreover, beliefs and articulations were viewed as components of teaching practice. The study entailed two cohorts (N = 37) that were diverse in gender, race, and educational background. The two cohorts were purposefully selected because they provided a full data set for the study. The data sets included admissions essays completed before the program, autobiographical analysis papers midway through the program, and responses to the LTSJ-B scale at the end of the residency program. The admissions essays and autobiographical analysis papers were open coded and then categories, patterns, and themes about social justice were found, including Cochran-Smith, Barnatt, Lahann, and Shakman's (2009) social justice themes (student learning, relationships and respect, teachers as activists, and recognizing inequities). Additionally, the researchers looked for tensions within themes, differences between participants' articulations and between documents, as well as divergence from the themes (Maxwell,

2013). The LTSJ-B responses were measured as described by Ludlow et al. (2008) and Enterline et al. (2008), with Rasch rating scale analysis. The researchers found that prior to entry, participants held a wide array of ideas about teaching, students, schools, and education, as well as what teaching for social justice means.

Their participants articulated beliefs about how and why to teach for social justice, which shifted over time. In regard to theme one about where the problem related to urban education arise, 24 residents showed deficit-based thinking in their admissions essays, with problems stemming from students, families, and communities. Teaching for social justice meant changing urban students to fit school structures, with the purpose of teaching "to give all students the opportunity to acquire dominant cultural norms by doing school" (Reagan et al., 2016, p. 219). By the time of the autobiographical analyses, this number had decreased to five participants who were articulating similar views. The majority thought about the impact of White privilege and cultural capital on students' experiences with school; therefore, participants argued that "teaching for social just must give students the tools to be successful within dominant cultural norms, while also honoring students' own cultures and giving students tools to fight oppression" (Reagan et al., 2016, p. 219). Schools became places where resistance to structural inequity could take place by challenging structures affecting student learning, the role of teachers, and role of language, rather than a place to compensate for deficits in students, their families, and communities. For theme two, which was about their individual backgrounds and experiences in relation to students and teaching, the researchers found that participants moved from thinking about wanting to relate and empathize with students to "articulating

the needs to address feelings of discomfort around talking about issues such as race, privilege, and social class with students in order to *teach* for social justice" (Reagan et al., 2016, p. 220). And data falling under the last theme about ideas regarding what and how students should learn indicated that residents began articulating the complexity of supporting student learning, expressing that having high student expectations and ensuring high quality learning was an important piece of teaching for social justice. However, some noted that political and social structures can cause tension (e.g., high stakes testing, differentiation for different student learning needs, teaching a multicultural curriculum). A variable map of the LTSJ-B survey responses after participants had completed the program showed that participants varied in their endorsement of ideas related to social justice. The mean estimate was +2.05 logits (raw mean score = 4.49/5.0, *SD* = 0.31), which the researchers concluded meant that on average residents left with a strong commitment to teach for social justice. The researchers also noted that the Rasch half-point threshold estimates that indicate the average likelihood to endorse a statement, 50% of residents were likely to strongly endorse nine positively and negatively worded items (SJ1, SJ2, SJ3R, SJ4, SJ5R, SJ6R, SJ7, and SJ9R) and moderately endorsing three negatively items (SJ10R, SJR11, and SJ12R). The researchers concluded that as participants left the program, they were aware of, and endorsed, all aspects of teaching for social justice at both the micro and macro levels.

In another study done at LSOE by the Boston College Teachers for a New Era (TNE) evidence team, data for one study among the Qualitative Case Studies (QCS) six-study portfolio were used (Cochran-Smith et al., 2009). The first author, Enterline, of the

LTSJ-B scale study mentioned above, had been a research fellow of TNE, where Ludlow was her dissertation chair and Cochran-Smith also served on her committee. The QSC project was described as a longitudinal case study done over three years whose purpose was to look at teacher candidates' entry characteristics; coursework and fieldwork; developing perceptions of teaching, pupil learning, and social justice; teaching practices during student teaching and the first two years as working teachers; pupils' learning; and overall effort to teach for social justice. This particular study comes from the preservice and first-year teacher data. Participants included 12 volunteers representing the larger population; most of the participants were White (N = 5), female (N = 7), with a liberal arts/humanities undergraduate major (N = 8). All but two were considered highly qualified at the time of licensure. Data included seven interviews during the preservice year and first months into teaching to reveal what teachers say about social justice, as well as case material from a cohort of three teachers (identified through themes described later) to look at what teachers did. Through consensual qualitative data analysis, 27 codes were developed, put into matrices, and analyzed for themes. All data were collected with the same protocol, and a team of researchers worked to arrive at consensus judgments. Across 79 interviews, Cochran-Smith et al. reported that 206 comments directly relating to teaching for social justice were made. Interviews revealed four major themes around social justice: pupil learning; relationships and respect; teacher as activists; and recognizing inequities that the researchers asserted were in direct contrast to common criticism of teaching for social justice. The researchers noted that within the 27 codes, not all candidates touched on all topics and that the idea of teaching civic engagement and

democracy was absent. The researchers also found that contrary to past criticism (Schrag, 1999; Will, 2006), all candidates did emphasize pupil learning; this included talking about differences, teaching basic skills as well as critical thinking, expanding their worldview, and having high expectations. Cochran-Smith et al. (2009) also found that contrary to Crowe's (2008) and Leo's (2005) criticisms that social justice was another word for indoctrination and promoting progressive educational ideas and political activities, the participants did not allude to indoctrination; rather, *they chose* the program for its emphasis. Also, there was no mention of meeting these goals through anti-White, anti-Western, or anti-American stances as has been feared (Stotsky, 1999). However, the researchers did find an absence of criticism about larger structures and school practices that can contribute to inequitable practice, although some did exist at their schools (tracking, labeling, etc.). When thinking of their impact, participants reported feeling they could have an impact on their classroom, but were skeptical of their ability to bring about structural change. From the 12 participants, one elementary and two secondary teachers were interviewed and observed in the classroom. They were chosen for the study because their interview responses represented the larger group as a whole. The purpose of the case studies was to ascertain what teachers said about social justice as well as what they did in their classrooms. The researchers also explored how the experiences and knowledge they brought into the program related to what they learned and what they did during their practicum and first year as an in-service teacher. The first case study included a secondary history teacher candidate who was considered highly qualified; she majored in history and continued taking master level courses. A career switcher, she demonstrated a

belief that history content was fluid and contestable — a contrast to a knowledge delivery view where content is neutral, static, and value-free. The participant felt that teaching methods should vary and depend on student interests and resources. Her view was that her students should critique facts and understand how history was constructed. She provided several examples to corroborate how she put this into practice by creating assignments and using primary sources and readings to question content. Therefore, Cochran-Smith et al. asserted that her critical view of knowledge and methods were consistent with teaching for social justice.

The second participant defined teaching for social justice as "reaching the pupils 'at the back of the room'" by actively trying to engage all students and leaving none behind (Cochran-Smith et al., 2009, p. 366). Like the first participant, his actions during his student teaching experience substantiated his claims. He designed lessons based on students' interest to motivate students and increase engagement, and he implemented a homework journal where reasons for missing homework were recorded by students. His intention was to raise the students' awareness of their missing homework, learn more about what was impeding completion, and elicit changes both in his own teaching and in the students' ownership. He used the journal as an opportunity to get to know his students and understand their needs so he could make tangible changes (e.g., defining key vocabulary at the start of a lesson to help all students, especially those with limited English). The researchers did note that, ironically, he chose to take a position outside his field of work in an urban high school, despite his lack of knowledge of the curriculum, which "runs counter to the ideals of teaching for social justice, wherein ensuring that all

pupils have a strong teacher and rich learning is paramount" (Cochran-Smith et al., 2009, p. 368). However, he consciously made the decision because of the relationships he built with students and the opportunity to continue working directly with them.

The last case study was a participant whose social justice commitment centered on immigrants and ELLs. She chose BC because of its focus on urban education and earned an ELL teaching certificate. She expressed an interest in culturally sensitive strategies for English language acquisition that respect the ongoing development of students' first language. Furthermore, she believed in a community of learners where the teacher serves as facilitator and has high expectations, as well as where knowledge is fluid and socially constructed. The participant both shared and demonstrated an asset-based view. Within the context of her student placement, she was able to identify the different cultures of her students as well as their language needs. The researchers observed her using Sheltered English Instructional methods learned from her coursework. Strategies included using dialogue journals, graphic organizers, rich discussion, and pictorial representations. Also, although she was aware of the Massachusetts policy replacing most bilingual programs with sheltered English instruction, she did translate instructions in Spanish for students in an emerging stage of language acquisition because she believed that access to the curriculum was more important. Challenges to teaching for social justice at the school included testing pressures as well as the mandated and the highly scripted curriculum. Her first year of teaching was at a bilingual school with mainly Spanish instruction. There she continued to try to meet the diverse learning needs of students with different abilities in their own native languages. The researcher stated,

"We concede that it may well be unrealistic to expect teachers to work as activists during the preservice period or early months of their first year of teaching" (Cochran-Smith et al., 2009, p. 372). However, they did find a commitment to equity and social justice at the individual level.

Frederick et al. (2010) also looked at teacher candidates at a four-year, private undergraduate teacher education program that included social justice as a key element of their school mission. The researchers studied participants' transformative thoughts on social inequity from the beginning to the end of a Foundations of Education course taken sophomore year. The study focused on an understanding of multicultural education, diversity, and the implications for culturally responsive teaching. The researchers looked at how reading material, activities, and experiences influenced shifts in thinking. The course included class work as well as observations in classrooms. The researchers conducted an interpretive case study with 33 candidates, 32 of whom were White, and one who was Korean. Most participants were raised in an upper middle class family and had limited experience with diversity. This is representative of the larger student population at the education school where social justice is specifically named as a school mission. Participants answered three open-ended questions and provided course assignments (a philosophy statement and culminating observation reflection project). The questionnaire, course assignments, and course readings were analyzed through open and axial coding. The study did not include specific details about how the researchers checked for reliability. Each participant was considered a case; however, the researchers chose to report the data thematically. They found that participants expressed little

experience with issues of diversity or social justice, including in their own education, at the beginning of the semester. Initially, they did not think about social, racial, or economic inequity or that racism and economic disparity did not occur in the United States often. Frederick et al. reported that three of the participants mentioned an awareness of economic disparity. The candidates believed that indicators of excellent teaching included academic rigor, safety, and structure; the researchers found that issues of diversity and social justice were absent from discussion. Frederick et al. asserted that prior conceptions of teaching were based on their past experiences with teachers and socio-cultural contexts without various forms of diversity. During the semester, the candidates identified "(1) analysis and reflection about visits to local public and charter schools, (2) learning the educational history of diverse cultures from their perspectives, and (3) simulation activities" (p. 319) as causing shifts in their thinking. However, later in the program, teacher candidates began to reflect on their own school experiences and made distinctions between their experience and type of teachers they wanted to be. The participants began to view education within a larger social context, became more aware of diversity and inequity, and began to see themselves as change agents. Discussing their course readings, the participants demonstrated a growing awareness of the history of education and the role it played in the current context of education for different groups (e.g., American Indians, African Americans, and Asians). The simulations were designed to provide opportunities to learn about controversial educational topics like tracking. Reflecting on topics, participants spoke about privilege, varying expectations, exclusionary practices, and the responsibility of schools to meet the needs of all students.

For their culminating observation paper, 15 of the 33 participants chose to analyze and look at economic equity/inequity in public schools or multicultural education. Frederick et al. concluded that the participants became more aware of multicultural education and began to scrutinize education structures and the historical context that created them.

Lee (2011) studied six teacher candidates in a master's level teacher licensure program during their student placement experience. The purpose of the study was to understand the process of learning that occurs from specific events of teaching for social justice. The program was designed to prepare candidates to teach diverse learners and teach for social justice. The researcher observed that this included integrating issues of diversity and equity into method courses. Focused experiences were also designed to provide opportunities for candidates to learn more through one-week intensive courses or community service learning projects. The capstone project for the program was to describe what they learned about diversity. Through primary purposeful selection, six participants from one of two early childhood cohorts were included in the study. The researcher was transparent about being the participants' supervisor and the potential influence this could have on participants' responses. While maintaining that the researcher tried to hold a critically reflective perspective while conducting the study, specific steps to address validity or reliability threats were not given. Three participants were student teaching in a suburban elementary school, and three were in urban school placements, but both groups had experienced previous placements in the other setting. All participants were female, five were White from working to upper middle class SES backgrounds, and one was Black from an upper middle class background. Data included

recorded conversations, meetings, and semi-structured interview questions. Also included were data from e-portfolio websites, attending methods courses with participants, autobiographies, reflective journals, lessons, and email conversations to answer the questions, “How did teacher candidates understand the goals and approaches of teaching for social justice?” and “What changes in their conceptions of teaching for social justice occurred during the year of the teacher education program?” Lee analyzed the data separately and together, and found all but one student grew up in a racially homogeneous area. Also, participants' ideas of teaching for social justice were influenced by their backgrounds and program experiences, particularly student teaching. The teacher candidates’ definition of teaching for social justice went from nonexistent to focusing on equality and equity for students of different race, culture, SES, and academic ability. They spoke about opportunity, distribution, and access. However, Lee noted that responses to how they could teach for social justice revealed that five of the six participants felt that social justice teaching entailed teaching different cultures as content knowledge outside the rest of the curriculum. The teachers talked about issues of time and teaching diversity to homogeneous classrooms. In terms of changing over the course of the program, the results were mixed, with some expanding their understanding of social justice to include ideas of an inclusive classroom and society, being proactive, and raising their students’ awareness of diversity while others’ understanding remained the same.

Kelly and Brooks (2009) studied preservice elementary teachers' beliefs about children’s cognitive and emotional capacity to learn about equity and make political

judgments. The researchers also wanted to learn how preservice teachers make sense of what it means to teach social justice in a diverse, urban area of Canada. Participants were part of an elementary early literacy/primary cohort and were recruited by the second researcher, who taught a course to the primary cohort. Twelve participants were interviewed through a semi-structured design, and eight were interviewed again at the end of the program. During practicum, eight taught in early primary grades K–3 and four taught intermediate grades 4–6. The participants were asked to tell stories from their student teaching that made them think about their teacher education class discussions on social justice. Interviews were transcribed and analyzed for patterns and themes, as well as anomalies and paradoxes. The researchers then compared concepts and categories expressed by the participants to the anti-oppressive education taught in the education courses. This analysis was shared with participants for comments and clarification. Results revealed that all participants were supportive of teaching for social justice and did not see age as a barrier; however, their conceptualization of teaching for social justice varied from a liberal human-relations approach to a critical anti-oppression approach. Nine participants took the first stance, where teaching for social justice meant anti-bullying and acceptance of differences. Kelly and Brooks found that there was no link between institutional inequity and negative relationships between diverse groups (like name-calling). Although power relations that privilege some were not alluded to, a general satisfaction with societal structures were implicitly conveyed. Participants felt that children were too young to racially discriminate against one another. Three participants were concerned about school's role in perpetuating the status quo, and took

on a more anti-oppression approach by talking of suffering and teachers' responsibility to teach about underlying causes of social issues and collective action. This difference affected what they decided to ask of their students. In follow-up interviews, taken after their field placement, participants were asked the same questions as the first interview and researchers prompted participants to discuss their assumptions about their students' capacities. During their first interview, the idea that childhood innocence should be protected was a spontaneous theme. However, when asked specifically about childhood innocence, the age of the students they taught was a factor. Topics considered "iffy," "scary," or "heavy" (e.g., sexuality, drugs, racism) were ones they would avoid. In contrast, half of the teachers felt that childhood innocence was a myth. These participants talked about incidences during their practicums, as well as their own experiences with how children can be malicious, are aware of concepts like sexuality, and have their own personal negative experiences. They placed emphasis on their approach to teaching these topics based on students' existing knowledge and their time with them. They talked about strategies like linking the topics to a story, movie, or students' sense of fairness. When analyzing participants' responses for their beliefs about students' capacity, the researchers found the concept of developmental appropriateness. From an analytical standpoint, the researchers felt this was distinct from innocence. The idea of a child as a blank slate, instead of active meaning-makers, was correlated to the view of wanting to protect childhood innocence and avoid teaching for social justice. Participants who supported an anti-oppression approach saw a relationship between perpetuating the status quo and their pedagogical decisions about teaching for social justice. When speaking about students'

capacity to form opinions, participants varied in whether they thought students were still forming basic concepts of fairness and inclusion at the local level, making discussions about the wider world too abstract, or that students can make connections to issues outside their community because of commonalities (e.g., kids starving in Africa with their understanding of hunger). Participants' beliefs about the emotional capacity of students also ranged from wanting to avoid eliciting negative emotions by keeping their language generic to those participants who directly addressed social justice issues and made connections for students. One provided example was referring to racist remarks as "inappropriate" and having a conversation about how those actions directly impact classmates of that race. Views on students' capacity to make political judgments were also mixed. The interviewers described a lesson on federal elections where students were asked to watch the news with their parents and talk about political issues with them. Six participants were asked if they would assign a similar lesson to first graders; some agreed that they would, some said they would at a simpler level, and others said they would not. Concerns included their own political views being misconstrued by students and then shared with parents; parental concerns with political topics; parents' ability to engage in the activity; and students simply echoing their parents' views or their views without critical thinking. During the follow up, all eight participants were asked whether they would teach their students about teacher strikes. Again, responses were mixed, with some respondents feeling it provided an opportunity to think about reasons, perspectives, and critical thinking, while others brought up similar concerns as the elections lesson scenario. Finally, the researchers found that, in general, age influenced participants'

decisions for teaching for social justice. The older the child, the more complex the topic, and the more mixed the pedagogical strategies for teaching. However, some of the preservice teachers expressed a more anti-oppressive view and acted out these views during their practicum through lessons, discipline methods, dialogue, and selected curriculum resources. The research on preservice teacher beliefs about teaching for social justice demonstrates that preservice teachers do hold preconceived beliefs and those beliefs do play a role in how they filter teacher education curriculum and experiences. Moreover, the research indicates that these beliefs can persist and be changed over time through intentional instruction and field experiences. Teacher educators make program decisions that can directly affect preservice teachers' opportunities to learn to teach for social justice. If they gathered data on the preservice teachers' entering preconceptions, they might be better situated to help aspiring teachers develop an understanding of the role of social justice in their teaching.

Silverman (2010) looked at preservice teachers' beliefs about diversity. Her intention was to gain a better understanding of what preservice teachers believe diversity and multiculturalism means. Silverman connected this to the identification of who is and should be the focus of social justice. Through structural equation modeling, Silverman examined a theoretical model of the relationship between preservice teachers' beliefs about discrete groups that were categorized by identity saliency (visibility of an identity) and preservice teachers' sense of responsibility for the groups. Groups associated with a strong sense of responsibility and that are visible included race, sex, and gender; groups with less association to responsibility and less visibility were sexual orientation,

disability, and faith. Multiculturalism was described as corresponding with visible identities, and diversity corresponds with invisible ones. Although the idea of a visible identity being partially visible and partially invisible was acknowledged, Silverman explained that the distinction was made because alternative explanations do not exist. She also included preservice teachers' values of conflict, family values, and parental ability to opt out of diversity-related lessons. Silverman hypothesized that teacher efficacy, advocacy, and endorsement of the terms multicultural, culture, and diversity influence their sense of responsibility, and the relationship between identity salience groups and their attitudes predict their orientation of social responsibility and advocacy. Also, she hypothesized that beliefs about parents' ability to opt out were inversely related to the commitment to all students receiving a lesson. The 88 participants included undergraduate and graduate preservice teachers at a university whose faculty self-identified as having a diversity focus. The graduate program sought to prepare candidates for teaching in urban school settings. All participants had some clinical experience in area schools, although not necessarily their student teaching. Silverman administered a survey in class, using The Teacher's Sense of Responsibility for Multiculturalism and Diversity (TSR-MD) scale. It had subscales to capture discrete identity groups and measure the extent participants felt the group was important and warranted being addressed during teaching, not how the groups are constructed or defined. Items measuring the salience of culture, multiculturalism, and diversity were also included with subscales for teacher efficacy, adapted from Tschannen-Moran and Woolfolk Hoy's (2001) Teachers' Sense of Efficacy Scale, and advocacy. Through structural equation modeling, analysis of

variance, and multiple linear regression, the researchers looked at the meaning of multiculturalism and the relationships among constructs of efficacy, responsibility, and advocacy. Silverman found mean individual sense of responsibility was lower than professional teacher responsibility [$F(28, 86) = 7.95$, $p < .00$], and mean school and community responsibility was higher than classroom-based and teacher professional responsibility [$F(28, 88) = 2.522$, $p < .01$ and $F(28, 86) = 5.60$, $p < .001$], respectively. Silverman concluded from these results that responsibility mostly lies with school and community, then with teachers in general, and then with individual teachers. In terms of advocacy, descriptive statistics revealed these preservice teachers felt that, although they were advocates for diverse students, they were not responsible for teaching about diversity.

To explore how preservice teachers conceptualize justice in lesbian, gay, and bisexual (LGB) social justice issues, Schmidt, Chang, Carolan-Silva, Lockhart, and Anagnostopoulos (2012) used Fraser's (2005) framework of justice concerning maldistribution and misrecognition. Study participants were 89 preservice teachers across four sections who were enrolled in a course titled Human Diversity and Education, which covered issues of justice and diversity. Schmidt et al. audiotaped and transcribed 12 sessions devoted to LGB issues to investigate how preservice teachers' beliefs about justice interacted with the intended curriculum by coding preservice teacher statements and instructor statements. This process yielded four theoretical codes to classify preservice statements about forms and remedies for heterosexual injustice: recognition-affirmation (RA), redistribution-affirmation (DA), recognition-transformation (RT), and

redistribution-transformation (DT). The researchers also created a matrix to integrate the four codes into conceptual categories. “In the matrix” included responses under RA, DA, RT, and DT; “getting to the matrix” included responses that revealed an awareness of societal misrecognition or misdistribution but did not include remedies; and “outside the matrix” included responses that revealed an unwillingness to engage in LGB issues or questioned whether they were necessary for teachers. Findings revealed that most of the discussion fell under “getting to the matrix,” with 44.23% of the comments identifying misrecognition. The third most discussed concept (10.99% identified maldistribution) also fell under this category. The second most coded response fell under “on the matrix,” with 27.47% of preservice teachers’ responses falling under RA. From these codes, Schmidt et al. identified three themes. First, preservice teachers’ statements focused on homophobia in schools and adults as the primary perpetuators, and the need for affirmative remedies. Second, homophobia was seen an individual problem between a homophobe and his or her victims that negatively affects students’ experiences in school and needed teachers’ actions and beliefs to be remedied. Third, although preservice teachers did not speak about transforming social structures, they did implicate structures when talking about their ability to act, which sometimes conflicted with the responsibility they felt teachers had. The researchers asserted that, in regard to professional responsibility for affirming recognition, the remedies posed by preservice teachers were affected by whether they framed misrecognition of LGB students as the central injustice in schools. Also, preservice teachers questioned their ability and power to make changes, and questioned their willingness to do so because they saw the risk of losing their job or

being labeled LGB themselves. When juxtaposing these findings with the percentage of the instructors who focused on the same codes, discrepancies can be seen in the intended curriculum and preservice teachers' beliefs. The researchers asserted that the instructors attempted to focus on heteronormativity but, outside of agreeing on a definition of the concept, most of the curriculum focused on homophobia and preservice teachers' own experiences, therefore constrained their understanding and recognition of transformative remedies that require recognition and redistribution (Fraser, 2005). Also, their perceptions about political and social structures surrounding teachers' roles impacted their belief that they lacked agency and the ability to make change, and expressed a fear of being labeled themselves or of losing their job. Schmidt et al. (2012) asserted that preservice teachers "seem to need a different language and a different way of talking about and deconstructing experience to draw out and articulate ways of knowing that don't make sense within existing, familiar structures" (p. 1183).

The next three studies also looked at social justice, but focused on teacher education for social justice. McDonald (2005) conducted a comparative mixed method study to look at how integration is done and what prospective teachers' opportunities to learn entail. Through these questions, the researcher sought to develop a description of social justice in practice. Sociocultural theory was the framework guiding the study, and McDonald adhered to Young's (1990) definition of social justice, which focuses on the role of social relations and how differences in social groups structure relationships. Through purposeful sampling, the researcher conducted the study at two California schools, Mills College and San José State University (SJSU). The programs were chosen

because of their program differences. Mills College had been incorporating social justice for decades, while SJSU had only been doing so for a year. McDonald used a case study design, a pre-post survey identifying beliefs and attitudes about teaching and students, and archival data. The latter included course syllabi and assignments, accreditation reports, and the program missions. Sixty-seven university course observations and 22 faculty interviews were also conducted to learn about the extent of social justice integration and the opportunities to learn through discussion, class activities, and assignments. The data were meant to provide real-life context as well as understand preservice beliefs and perspectives. Moreover, the researcher triangulated data from the multiple sources and performed multiple levels of analysis, including the program as a whole, university courses and clinical placement, and the prospective teachers. Ten preservice teacher candidates (five from each program) participated in the study. They were interviewed three times — at the beginning, middle, and end of their yearlong program — and observed three times during their clinical placement. Selection criteria for the teachers included "demographic characteristics, beliefs about teaching and students, prior teaching experience, knowledge of the program's commitments to social justice, and clinical placement assignment" (McDonald, 2005, p. 423), so that the participants would be representative of their larger cohort. Therefore, the participants were from different races, age groups, and ethnic groups; their teaching experience ranged from none to more than year, and there were participants who chose the program for its social justice focus and those who did not consider it a central focus. These data were provided in the initial survey responses. Through an iterative coding process,

beginning with his sociocultural theory lens and adding Young's (1990) social justice lens, McDonald captured emerging patterns in the observations, interviews, and documents. Along with the descriptive statistical analysis of the survey responses to identify case study participants, paired *t* tests on specific items were conducted. Those relating to their beliefs and attitudes for teaching ELLs and racially and ethnically diverse students were included in his findings. McDonald emphasized two broad themes that emerged from the data. First, observation, archival, and interview data of faculty members from both schools revealed an intention to integrate social justice and equity in their programs. Second, McDonald asserted that the implementation of social justice varied along specific dimensions that affected candidates' opportunities to learn, including emphasis on conceptual tools (pedagogical strategies like scaffolding) or practical tools (how to scaffold for English Language Learners). He also found that opportunities for learning conceptions of social justice were determined by the programs' focus on individual, organizational, or institutional aspects of social justice. McDonald wrote, "This conceptualization of the integration of social justice reflects that there is no best way to adhere to this goal but rather multiple avenues along a set of specific continua" (2005, p. 426). Data suggested that both schools focused on conceptual tools; thus, he asserted, integrating concepts related to social justice was easier for them than integrating practices demonstrating them. When it came to opportunities to learn about different educational groups, the researchers found three key findings. The first was that, at both schools, opportunities to learn were there for some groups (ELLs) more than others (students with special needs). The second finding was that they favored conceptual

tools over practical tools, which in turn affected teachers' views. Differences arose in the opportunities to connect concepts and practices for teaching ELLs. Both Mills College and SJSU afforded students more conceptual than practical tools; however, Mills did have a course where the instructor often linked the two together. For example, students learned about the reciprocal teaching model and how it would look for a group of expert readers and modified to fit the needs of ELL students. SJSU did not do this. This was reflected in the case study data as well as the survey data when participants reported different feelings about being prepared to teach ELLs. Both had few opportunities to learn about working with students with special needs, conceptual or practical. Although, the researcher noted that Mills College did have some opportunities in one course to talk about the need to adapt instruction for students with special needs. The survey data indicated that students from both schools made positive, but not statistically significant, gains in understanding that teachers should adapt instruction to meet the needs of ELLs. Mills College students' average Likert-type scale response on a five-point scale was 4.46 as they entered the year and exited at 4.83. The averages indicated that they continued to strongly agree, with a small, positive change over time. SJSU's pre-survey average was 4.05 and post-survey average was 4.76. But, Mills College students felt more confident in their ability to teach ELL students, with an average score for the question "I do not feel confident in my ability to address the needs of ELLs" changing from disagreeing at 2.88 to 1.96. For SJSU, candidates' mean values shifted from 2.64 to 2.05 (standard deviation values were not reported). Lastly, clinical experience provided further opportunities for prospective teachers to learn; the experience was cited as a reason why some candidates

felt more confident despite their lack of classroom preparation. Opportunities to learn about social justice for students from oppressed groups showed similar results. They had opportunities to learn conceptual tools and not practical tools, but the clinical experience helped serve as a mediator. Mills College instructors did talk about ELLs, their clinical placements were in schools that were not as diverse (they had a high African American population), and their students reported feeling less prepared to teach students of diverse backgrounds. SJSU did not talk about specific student groups as much, but their clinical placement was in diverse schools and their preservice teachers did report feeling prepared to teach diverse students. McDonald concluded that teacher educators' practice, prospective teachers' experience, and program structure influence the integration of social justice and changes in preservice teachers' conceptions of teaching for social justice.

Although the teacher education setting for Mills' (2013) study was described as having a social justice focus, the researchers found they had a more piecemeal, stand-alone approach similar to what was described by McDonald (2005). Mills (2013) explored the work of Garmon (2004) on dispositional factors affecting readiness to teach for social justice and Bourdieu's concept of dispositions, habitus, and field, or acting out of habit built on tendencies when faced with the objective world. Therefore, the purpose of Mills' study was to look at changes in dispositions towards social justice that inform their habit-based actions for diversity. Four semi-structured interviews were collected over the first two years of the longitudinal study, one year as preservice teachers and one year as a beginning teacher. One of the participants was enrolled in a yearlong graduate

program and the other was in a four-year bachelor's program. For the latter, the study took place during their last year of coursework and field placement. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and analyzed for evidence of dispositions of social justice. Further details were not provided. The participant who earned a bachelor's degree moved from a liberal democratic view of simple equality and deficit view to a social democratic model of redistributive justice and complex equality view, where different social goods are needed for different people. However, she also reported how challenging it was to do so. The second participant, who earned her master's degree, also showed change. She moved from a liberal democratic view and retributive social justice that sees individuals as deserving or being punished with different opportunities based on talent to a more social democratic view of redistributive justice. For both participants, the change occurred by their fourth interview at the end of their first year of teaching. The researcher concluded that the data revealed a change in their dispositions towards social justice. Furthermore, both teachers began to make this change as they gained experience as teachers of record and began to make their habitus and field more compatible. While field placement had raised their awareness and given them new knowledge, teaching full time gave them experience and the opportunity to make sense of the knowledge. This allowed both participants to make changes that they did not realize were happening. Mills suggested that the time and scope of preservice practicum and field placement needed to be revised.

Causey et al. (2000) used Vosniadou and Brewer's (1987) framework for conceptualizing new learnings through cognitive schema and changes in preservice teachers. Vosniadou and Brewer's four ways for cognitive change are: (1) accretion

(adding to existing cognitive schema); (2) tuning (evolutionary change in cognitive structures like improving accuracy of schemata); (3) weak restructuring (the enrichment/elaboration of existing theories to make new relationships); and (4) radical restructuring (dramatic changes to memory that can lead to new paradigms and/or new schematic structures). Like Silverman (2010), Causey et al. looked at beliefs about diversity. This was a longitudinal study, mixing together archival data of a larger group and case studies. Participants included 24 preservice teachers in the last year of their undergraduate teacher education program who were taking a middle grades social studies methods class at an urban university. The course included six weeks of class and three weeks of interning in schools that were the lowest socioeconomically and in test scores. Coursework included preservice teacher-led action plans to increase their knowledge and experience with diversity through instructor-suggested readings and attending events in the community that allowed for experience in unfamiliar cultural settings (often with the instructor). This included attending religious services at Korean Methodist and African American Baptist churches, as well as visiting inner city museums. Data included several different written assignments from the course. An autobiographical essay of prior experiences and beliefs and diversity plans were coded to find trends in prior experiences and beliefs on family, school, and religion as they related to diversity, stereotypes about race and class, and readiness for change. Data from post-experience essays and reflection journals were coded for dissonance between prior beliefs and new knowledge. The participants were from different backgrounds (three Black females, two White males, 18 White females, and one Korean American female). They reported low confidence in their

prior understanding of other ethnic groups, as well as their own, and had grown up in a monocultural settings with little interaction with other ethnic groups until college. They expressed naïve egalitarianism with little practice of their idealized beliefs, and some participants relayed stereotypes they believed about others. In general, they were worried about interning because of the low SES and large Black population. However, the clinical experience was the program element credited with having the most impact on their knowledge and attitudes. Participants expressed growing comfort, surprise, frustration, and feeling "'inside' but not a part of the culture," and few held on to beliefs in absolute democracy and optimistic individualism (Causey et al., 2000, p. 37). The researchers used the same framework to conduct a more in-depth analysis of the data and pooled their individual findings. The analysis allowed them to look at students' beliefs and knowledge before and after the program and establish whether a cognitive change took place. Causey et al. identified two White female participants who showed a restructuring of their schemata, and conducted a case study three years after the original when the participants were practicing teachers. They conducted separate audiotaped interviews with each participant to evoke memories that stood out to them about the program in general and about diversity. They were also observed in the classroom by two researchers, where one took anecdotal notes on the setting and behaviors of the students and the participant, and the other charted student-teacher interactions with an observation instrument modified from Sadker, Bauchner, Sadker, and Hergert (n.d.), titled Interactions for Sex Equity in Classroom Teaching (INTERSECT). The instrument was designed to capture the type and number of teacher-student interactions, both student and teacher initiated. One

participant's autobiographical essay had revealed naïve egalitarianism and strong stereotypical expressions (especially concerning social class), although, she also reported many experiences with diversity and demonstrated a reflection on the meaning of those experiences. Her post-essay following experience in an urban school indicated she radically restructured her schemata. She wrote about realizing she did not have adequate knowledge of diversity as she previously thought. She described an increased awareness of racial inequity and adopted a more socially critical position, but maintained some stereotypical vocabulary and talk of "understanding others" or "acceptance from them." Teaching science in a diverse middle school with students of a lower SES at the time of the interviews and observations, her responses indicated she had reverted to a less culturally sensitive stance, expressing lower expectations for lower learners and relating SES to student achievement, behavior, and parental support. She saw the responsibility to resolve school issues as residing with families. In addition, she did not recall much about the program's emphasis on diversity, and this was corroborated during the observations where little focus was given to diversity in terms of setting or interactions. Student- versus teacher-initiated interactions were balanced (33 and 39, respectively). Black female students, who made up 37.03% of the class, were most often the recipients of her initiations (56.76%), and were who she interacted most with overall (53%). Interactions with Black and White males, making up 37% of the class, accounted for 20% of teacher-initiated and overall interactions. Looking at the type of interactions, 70% of her interactions with her male students were remedial. The researchers noted that during her fourth year of teaching she transferred to a middle school in a suburban area where the

students were from upper middle-class backgrounds. The other participant, who was teaching in an upper middle class suburban school that was predominately white, had continued to hold on to her new belief schema. Originally, she shared that she had few prior experiences with diversity, did not believe in any specific stereotypes, and took an additive approach to teaching diversity in her future classroom, which means including curriculum without restructuring it (Banks, 1994). Her post-essay revealed reorganized thoughts, an awareness of dissonance between past and new knowledge about diversity, and demonstrated a more socially critical stance. Through her interviews, the researchers learned that memories of the urban school experience and program continued to influence her. She held high expectations for all and sought out opportunities to keep learning herself; although, the observation revealed more teacher-student interactions with males (70%). Half of those interactions were with White males, although they only constituted slightly more than 38% of the class. Of the interactions with males, the interactions were equally split between acceptance and remediation. Interactions with females were less frequent, and 70% were acceptance interactions. The researcher who observed the setting did not see artifacts pertaining to diversity, but did see mutual respect reflected in classroom actions. The researchers asserted that, although prior beliefs and attitudes are hard to change, they can be altered. Autobiographical narratives, self-developed growth plans, field experience in diverse settings, and opportunities for reflection, self-analysis, and discourse on issues of equity are key professional experiences that can influence teachers in lasting ways. The dispositions of prospective teachers that seemed most likely to be conducive to cognitive restructuring and new learning were thoughtfulness and

reflection. Furthermore, continued partnership between teacher education programs and in-service teachers was seen as important because of the restructuring, growth, or regression that was seen after completing the program.

The research on preservice teachers' beliefs about social justice has been confined to traditional settings for teacher education. So far, there are no data on what preservice teacher candidates enrolled in UTRs believe. Consequently, how these beliefs may affect their practice remains unknown. Hence, the two settings of this study are a traditional and an urban teacher residency program.

Urban Teacher Residencies: What They Are and What They Propose to Do

The NEA (2014) provides the following definition of a teacher residency:

> A teacher residency is a mutually beneficial partnership between preparation providers and districts, one in which the integration of clinical experience and coursework throughout the preparation program is co-designed to strengthen teacher preparation and improve schools and learning in the partner districts. (p. 1)

According to Boggess (2008), teacher residencies are not a new concept. There are parallels between these programs and the Washington, D.C. Cardoza Project in 1963. Founded by Larry Cuban, the project sought to serve college graduates who lacked formal training and state certification and wished to teach in the inner city. Cuban's goal was to provide them with pedagogical skills while apprenticing under a master teacher. Starting in one high school, then moving into several, the project became the Urban Teacher Corps, a 14-month program with summer and academic study, partnered with

Antioch College, Catholic University, Howard University, and Trinity College. During that time, graduate credits could be earned toward a M.A.T degree. The program focused on a supervised internship while immersed in an urban classroom, professional development seminars, and community involvement. Emphasis was placed on pedagogy and curriculum that were geared towards disadvantaged students in urban communities. Ultimately, it was eliminated in the District of Columbia because of its high cost and the call for formally trained teachers. Today, teacher residencies attempt to fulfill the needs of teacher preparation. From here, we will focus on urban teacher residencies. "UTRs are designed to address each of these problems and offer an important alternative to better meet the needs of traditionally underserved urban children" (Berry et al., 2008b, p. 3).

The teacher residency model has been spreading, especially in urban areas across the country. The National Center for Teacher Residencies (NCTR), formerly known as the Urban Teacher Residency United (UTRU), was founded in 2007 (NCTR, 2015a). From here on in this study, the network will be referred to by its new name. According to its website, the two main foci are developing and expanding high-quality graduate and undergraduate teacher residency programs across the nation and influencing and improving teacher preparation practices nationwide (NCTR, 2015a). It defines itself as a national network of district-based teacher education programs that emphasizes: (1) targeted recruitment and selection of residents; (2) rigorous selection and support for mentors; (3) intensive pre-service preparation focused on the specific needs of teachers in diverse schools; (4) aligned induction support; and (5) strategic hiring of graduates (NCTR, 2015c). The U.S. Department of Education's Excellent Educators for All

Initiative was put forth by the Obama administration in 2014; it promotes many aspects of social justice work, such as equitable access to quality education, addressing systemic inequities, and having an equity plan, without ever specifically naming it so (U.S. Department of Education, 2014a). The NCTR network was specifically named as demonstrating "vital leadership in improving teacher preparation" through the clinical experience, preparation standards, and retention rates (U.S. Department of Education, 2014b). The residency model is a key component, credited with creating deliberate pathways to address hiring needs; offering career advancement for experienced teachers as they fulfill mentor roles; and developing new, effective teachers. Integrating theory and practice in an urban classroom alongside a mentor teacher is a unique route to teaching (NCTR, 2015c). From this point forward, the use of the term UTRs will refer to those belonging to the NCTR network.

The central principles of NCTR include moving cohorts of preservice teachers through a prolonged, clinical practice while being well supervised by an experienced and trained mentor who gives residents a chance to integrate theory and classroom practice (NCTR, 2015c). These principles were created based on the research of education professionals like Darling-Hammond, Baumgartner, Koerner, Rust, Feiman-Nemser, Lortie, and Lieberman. This commitment to research continues; NCTR launched its Research and Evaluation Department in 2015 (NCTR, 2015b). The graduates continue to be supported through their first year, and veteran teachers are given opportunities to take on leadership roles. To do so, intricate, complex partnerships have been established between preparation programs, districts, universities, and other organizations.

Residencies recruit college graduates and mid-career professionals that wish to teach in low-income schools. Members must uphold the set principles to be a part of the network. According to the UTRU Network Partner Program Report for the 2014–2015 school year, 557 new residents were selected, of which 37% were career switchers and 38% were residents of color (NCTR, 2015d). Also reported during the 2015–2016 school year, NCTR has prepared 3,000 teachers to date, with 45% of their graduates teaching STEM subjects, ELLs, and special education (NCTR, 2016). Retention data were also released and showed high rates of retention (an 80% three-year retention and 70% five-year retention). Thus, even after a graduate's commitment is over, most candidates appear to be staying.

Partnerships, Policy, and Funding

NCTR programs partner with urban and rural school districts, charter management organizations, institutes of higher education (IHEs), other not-for-profits, and districts across the United States (NCTR, 2017b). According to its website, there are 23 partnering programs to date and six programs are in development (NCTR, 2017a). There are four major budget areas: upfront recruiting; preparation; induction; and costs of running the program covered by private philanthropy, district, and federal funds (Berry et al., 2008a). After the National and Community Service Trust Act in 1993, the federal government created the AmeriCorps program. Additionally, NCTR is keeping a close eye on the reauthorization of the Higher Education Act (HEA), which would mean continued support of the Teacher Quality Partnership (TQP) grants — extending to principals — and “placing a premium” on residencies (Sawchuk, 2014). Sources include the

Partnership Grants for the Establishment of Teacher Residencies in the Higher Education Opportunity Act that was passed by Congress, No Child Left Behind funding that may come with proposal changes, and the Urban Teacher Residency Institute (UTRI). The latter supports communities that want to start a program, builds awareness, and informs state and federal policy that can institutionalize the programs. NCATE considered adaptations to their standards to ensure accountability and make potential improvements in traditional teacher education, which then became standard two when it merged with the Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) to form CAEP, the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP, 2015). However, it is important to note that while the traditional program of study (HSU) cited for this study is accredited by CAEP, the urban teacher residency (NDTR) is not. Meaning, while CAEP writes in support of what NDTR is doing, the program does not have to adhere to their accreditation standards or procedures.

Reports on the program outcomes are becoming more available as the number of graduates increase each year. However, UTRs have been focused on student outcomes (Papay, West, Fullerton, & Kane, 2012); candidates' feelings of preparedness; and overall satisfaction of administrators, faculty/mentors, and candidates (NCTR, 2016), as well as the retention and recruitment of diverse candidates for hard-to-staff subjects (often in comparison to data from traditional programs). No research was found on the beliefs of preservice teachers in UTRs; in fact, the word social justice does not appear anywhere on the NCTR website. What are beginning preservice teachers' preconceptions about teaching for social justice? How are teacher education programs preparing them?

Are teacher education programs impacting their students' prior beliefs? These questions have yet to be explored. The present study examined the first question.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study was developed based on the conceptual framework created by Gage (2009), research on beliefs, research on preservice teachers' beliefs about social justice, Dover's (2013) work on conceptual and pedagogical foundations, and the influence of Vosniadou and Brewer's (1987) concept of cognitive change.

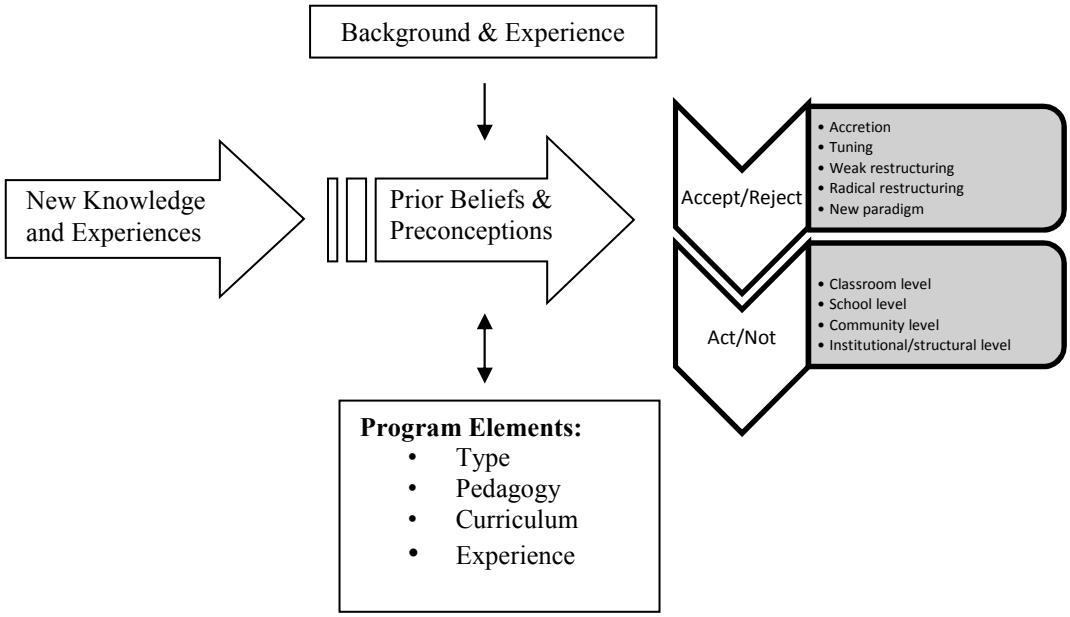

Figure 5. Conceptual framework for this study

The figure depicts the relationship among multiple variables. Preservice teachers' new knowledge and experiences are filtered through their prior beliefs and preconceptions. These beliefs and preconceptions are influenced by their personal

background (e.g., culture, race, SES, gender, religion, academic group label, knowledge), experiences with others from different backgrounds, their school experiences, and relationships, among other factors. Dover's (2013) work falls under a program's curriculum. The two-way arrow between program elements and beliefs and preconceptions represents their reciprocal relationship. Not only does the above research show that programs influence preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions, the reverse can also be true and ought to be studied in future longitudinal studies. The last piece of the conceptual framework, the decision whether to accept or reject new information occurs as prospective teachers undergo the process of cognitive change (Vosniadou & Brewer, 1987). Should prospective teachers accept, the process includes accretion, or adding to existing cognitive schema; tuning, evolutionary change in cognitive structures like improving accuracy of schemata; weak restructuring, the enrichment/elaboration of existing theories to make new relationships; and radical restructuring, dramatic changes to memory that can lead to new paradigms and/or new schematic structures. The strong capability of education programs to bring about dramatic change was supported by Vosniadou (2007). This decision to accept or not accept new information and experiences are then influential to preservice teachers' decisions to act or not act at various levels.

Summary

As noted earlier, Cochran-Smith et al. (2015) found that current research lacks evidence of a profound shift in thinking among preservice teachers, regardless of the type of teacher preparation program. Furthermore, they called for increased use of innovative research methods to study these shifts and a focus on practice rather than beliefs alone.

My own search through various databases (including ERIC; Taylor and Francis Online; JSTOR Arts & Sciences VI; SAGE; ProQuest; U.S. Department of Education; and JSTOR) found a gap in the literature on preservice teachers' beliefs. Thus far, research has focused on the influence of courses and field-based opportunities to learn about diverse students. Emphasis has been placed on a) how teacher candidates from dominant groups entered with their own beliefs, b) strategies to recruit and prepare teachers, c) analyses of pedagogy, content, and structures for teacher preparation, and d) analyses of learning about diversity or experiencing diversity. Furthermore, although there is literature on preservice teachers' beliefs for those who follow traditional routes, even with an urban/social justice focus, there is a lack of literature comparing beliefs of preservice teachers from different pathways to teaching (e.g., alternate routes, UTRs). Preservice teachers who enroll in UTRs are doing so with the knowledge and desire that they will be preparing and dedicating the first few years of their teaching career to meeting the needs of underserved, low SES students of diverse cultural and academic backgrounds. What about those candidates causes them to seek out these alternative methods of teacher preparation over the traditional route? Are those candidates different, and what do these differences mean? What can educators and researchers of traditional education programs learn from the preservice students that are from diverse backgrounds themselves (not necessarily high SES backgrounds) but do see inequity as an issue? This understanding will allow researchers and policymakers to better decide how teacher education for social justice should be structured, set the content and curriculum, and offer field experiences that address preservice teachers' entering beliefs. There is evidence that

what preservice teachers believe affects how they will filter new knowledge and how readily they will accept or reject it. Furthermore, the research demonstrates that change can happen.

Chapter Three

Methods

To better understand the preconceptions preservice teachers hold about teaching for social justice, and what differences may exist between candidates enrolled in an urban teacher residency and traditional program, this study looked at preservice teachers newly enrolled in New Dimensions Teacher Residency (NDTR) and Harper State University (HSU). To protect the identity of the participating institutions, pseudonyms have been used.

Research Design

Taking a conceptual toolkit stance (Maxwell, 2011), I used different tools from different methodologies, and integrated each when appropriate in an interactive model (Maxwell, 1996, as cited in Maxwell & Loomis, 2003). The methodologies employed in this study were thought of as complementary, able to work together to gain a deeper understanding of preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions of teaching for social justice. Researchers have shown that using both methodologies can be done so both are truly an integral part of a study (Goldenberg, Gallimore, & Reese, 2005; Greene, 2006; Kidder & Fine, 1987; Maxwell, 2015; Weisner et al., 2001), and not just numbers among narrative or vice versa (Sandelowski, 2013). As such, different tools were used to measure and analyze their beliefs.

The data collected for this mixed methods study included a mixed-mode survey (a web survey augmented by a paper survey) with background questions and the Learning to Teach for Social Justice-Beliefs scale (LTSJ-B) (Enterline et al., 2008). Other data included memos and transcriptions from audio-recorded, semi-structured interviews with selected participants. A mixed-mode survey was chosen to offset the cost of a traditional paper-only survey (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, & Levine, 2004) and the lower response rate often found with web-only surveys (Manfreda, Bosnjak, Berzelak, Haas, & Vehovar, 2008). Low response rates among college students were also a concern (Porter & Whitcomb, 2005; Tschepikow, 2012). Augmenting a web survey with a mail follow up (or paper version) at the time of final contact has shown to increase response rates (Miller & Dillman, 2011); therefore, for nonresponding participants, a paper copy of the survey was offered at the last contact. However, because of a continued low response rate at the traditional teacher education program site, an instructor-administered, paper-only survey was used. In addition to exploring what participants believe about teaching for social justice, the surveys were also used to identify participants for semi-structured interviews. The interviews, described below, were intended to reveal these preservice teachers' preconceptions about teaching for social justice, as well as the reasons behind them — the *why*. Semi-structured interviews were chosen for their flexibility in allowing the participants' responses as well as the preconstructed questions to guide the interview (Creswell, 2012). Both survey and interview data were analyzed to better understand *how* beliefs and preconceptions differ at the two sites.

This study also combined variance and process theories (Maxwell, Chmiel, & Rogers, 2015; Maxwell & Loomis, 2003). Variance theory "deals with variables and the relationships among them. It is based on an analysis of the contribution of differences in values of particular variables to differences in other variables." In contrast, process theory "deals with events and the processes that connect them; it is based on an analysis of the processes by which some events influence others" (Maxwell et al., 2015, p. 227). Each data source (survey data, background and LTSJ-B items, and the interview data) was meant to inform the others via a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis, which allowed for triangulation and a better understanding of the differences in beliefs about various conceptions of teaching for social justice (e.g., concepts of social justice identified as hard to endorse versus easy to endorse), as well as the process of events that influence others (e.g., prior experience with diversity, beliefs about the importance of teaching for social justice). Further explanation on how this was accomplished is described in the analysis sections below.

The research questions for this study were:

1. What are preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions of teaching for social justice upon entry into Harper State University (HSU), a traditional teacher education program, and New Dimensions Teacher Residency (NDTR), an urban teacher residency program?
2. Do these beliefs and preconceptions differ between preservice teachers enrolled in the two programs? And, if so, why and how?

Settings. The two sites for this study were NDTR and HSU. NDTR was chosen because it is an established residency within the NCTR network, has been operating for several years, and is considered an exemplary program. It has reported success in preparing teachers from diverse backgrounds who have closed achievement gaps in nearby urban schools and who do not leave teaching (U.S. Department of Education, 2014b). Also, no studies conducted at NDTR have explored their preservice teachers' entering beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice. HSU was chosen because it is a traditional teacher preparation program that is known for preparing teachers for positions in its major U.S. city. Although the intention was to study two programs serving the same school district, because researcher access was denied, I was unable to do so.

New Dimensions Teacher Residency. This residency program prepares preservice teachers to work in the surrounding area, which is made up of both rural and urban settings in the western half of the United States. NDTR recruits teacher applicants who are interested in teaching families from low-income and diverse backgrounds. Residents must have a bachelor's degree from an accredited college or university. The program is meant for novice teachers seeking initial licensure. However, they do accept applicants who have previously completed a teacher education program and are seeking additional preparation for teaching, but who were previously not teachers of record (these preservice residents would not meet the criteria for this study). If selected, the candidates move through the program in cohorts, which are separated by the teaching context for which they are preparing (urban or rural). This study included preservice teachers from

all cohorts. Additionally, preservice teachers from various concentrations (elementary, secondary English, special education, etc.) were invited.

Preparation at NDTR aligns with the guidelines set forth by NCTR. NDTR staff and district teachers provide methods instruction during the summer before a yearlong residency with a mentor teacher that includes a stipend. During that year, the residents are also attending content and human development classes taught by partnering university professors. Residents earn a master's degree and commit their first years as a teacher of record to the surrounding district. During that time, they earn a salary and are continually supported by the program.

Harper State University. The setting for the second participant group was HSU, a Midwestern state urban university. The site was chosen because it is a traditional program whose graduates also serve an urban school district with students from low-income and diverse backgrounds. The conceptual framework for the HSU College of Education and its mission statement highlights an urban education focus. In describing the program's values, the college's mission statement mostly emphasizes access to opportunity and diversity. Many of the candidates come from the immigrant neighborhoods in the area and are the first member of their family to attend college. The program focuses on reflective, collaborative, and transformative practice for both their candidates and faculty, based on the work of Dewey (1916) and Freire (1970). An understanding of power and its relationship to social justice, schools, communities, and privilege are recognized as an explicit need in transformative professionals. They also identify themselves as embracing a social reconstructionist tradition and the idea that schools are a political entity.

This study focused on HSU's post-baccalaureate program, which is comparable to NDTR's post-baccalaureate focus. Through the program, graduates can earn teaching degrees, such as a Master of Arts in elementary education with a bilingual endorsement, a Master of Arts in Teaching (M.A.T.) in early childhood education age 0–8, and an M.A.T. in teaching elementary with a middle school endorsement for grades K–9. The M.A.T. at the elementary school level is for candidates who have a bachelor's degree in a field other than teaching. HSU's preservice teachers complete coursework in content and pedagogy, as well as conducting pre-student teaching field work with clinical seminars and a 16-week gradual student teaching experience in the surrounding school district. Candidates are placed in schools with an urban and diverse setting for the expressed purpose of preparing preservice teachers to teach students with special needs; ELLs; and racial, cultural, ethnic, and SES backgrounds different from their own. Students are evaluated throughout their pre-student teaching and student teaching experience. They have to pass certain state licensure exams, as well as submit and pass the edTPA portfolio assessment process as of September 2015. The university also has a non-degree program, which allows students who have earned a bachelor's degree in a non-education related field, but who want to seek initial licensure, to do so through coursework. These students earn a teacher's license at the elementary, secondary, or high school levels. Participants from both HSU programs were eligible for this study.

At the time of this study, the future of many programs at HSU were being affected by a state legislature that was overdue in funding the state's institutions of higher education. The future of the academic year was taking its toll. The dean of the college

with whom I had been working to facilitate the study left for another position. The dean gave me the name of the department chair who also decided to leave. The chair gave my materials to a student services person who was not faculty. Shortly before it was time to gather the data that person found a professor who was willing to assist. By this point, all the planning and commitments were not as secure as they had been for some months. This undoubtedly affected the quality of communications with the students in whom I was interested and may have compromised data gathering.

Gaining access. Leadership at both sites was not previously known to me, nor were any of the participants. I reached out via email separately to the HSU Dean and NDTR Executive Director. A brief message indicating the purpose, rationale, procedures, and measuring tools were shared in the initial email. Both leaders responded that they were interested in learning more, and conference call meetings were scheduled. During those meetings, I was able to give a more in-depth explanation of my study and answer questions about projected timelines for each site. The NDTR Executive Director, Program Manager, and Associate Director attended the initial video-conference meeting. The HSU Dean spoke with me on the phone for our initial meeting. Leadership at both sites were supportive from our first conversation and both took steps immediately following our conversation to gain internal program approval (e.g., from the leadership board). After gaining further leadership approval, I was sent a Letter of Support from each site. The appropriate review procedures were followed at both performance sites. IRB approval procedures at GMU were also fulfilled (see Appendix A). Any amendments and revisions in protocol or procedures were sent to all three institutions

involved in this study until I received approval from all three. Thus, there was consistency across performance sites (e.g., content of Informed Consent forms), although there was also room for customization to make the information both accurate and personalized (e.g., program name information). A follow-up meeting was scheduled with the dean and director at each site to review the procedures and finalize a timeline for sending out the prenotification email letter (July for NDTR, and August for HSU). Both agreed to provide email addresses two weeks prior to reaching out to participants. Preservice teachers were purposefully selected in each program and included those who were seeking a degree in any discipline area and grade level, as long as they were enrolled in a post-baccalaureate education program and earning initial licensure. Email addresses for preservice teachers at HSU were provided directly from the dean. Email addresses for preservice teachers at NDTR were provided through the program director.

Participants. Participants were chosen through purposeful selection, where "particular settings, persons, or activities are selected deliberately to provide information that is particularly relevant to your questions and goals, and can't be gotten as well from other choices" (Maxwell, 2013, p. 97).

Selection criteria. Although both programs allow teachers with a license to enroll in their programs, only preservice teachers who were enrolled in their first semester of a post-baccalaureate education program and earning initial licensure were included. In addition, preservice teachers who were previously employed as a long-term substitute or private school teacher were excluded from the participant pool. These three selection criteria were established because of the potentially confounding influences these

experiences in the classroom could have on their beliefs about teaching for social justice. Therefore, participants could not be a teacher of record or have taught before entering the program. Eligible preservice teachers could be seeking a degree in any discipline area and grade level, as long as they met the selection criteria. The participants at either site were unknown to me before this study. Participants from NDTR were recruited first and then participants at HSU. The time difference in data collection between the two sites was caused by the different program start dates (summer for NDTR and fall for HSU).

NDTR participants. Eighty-four preservice teachers were sent the email invitation to participate in the mixed-mode survey (web with paper augmentation) before summer coursework began. The overall response rate was 34.52% (29 out of 84 potential participants). No participants elected to participate via paper survey. Of the initial 29 respondents who consented to participate, eight were ineligible because of prior teaching experience as a long-term substitute or private school teacher or because they were not enrolled in their first course. Therefore, 21 participants were eligible, of which 20 completed the survey beyond the three selection criteria questions. Thus, the sample population for the urban teacher residency performance site included 20 preservice teachers who answered all 12 LTSJ-B items (see Appendix B) and the remaining background questions (see **Error! Reference source not found.**), although one participant's response to the background question about where the participant attended their undergraduate program was considered a non-response (the participant responded, "nothing"). The resulting eligibility rate for the urban teacher residency performance site was 69% (20/29). From this point forward, only responses from these 20 participants will

be referred to in the survey results and analysis sections for NDTR. Of the 20 participants, 80% self-identified as female (*n* = 16), 15% male (*n* = 3), and 5% none (*n* = 1), thus aligning with the overall trend in national teacher demographics (NCES, 2012b), which show that 74% of teachers are women. The majority of the NDTR participants indicated that they were White (*n* = 19), and 5% were more than one race (*n* = 1), also aligning with the national teacher demographics (NCES, 2012b). The ages of participants ranged from 22 to 39 years old, with an average participant age of 29 (*s* = 6.5).

Six of these preservice teachers further participated in a semi-structured interview. Of the participants who gave consent and provided contact information at the end of the survey (see **Error! Reference source not found.**), a subset of 12 preservice teachers, six from each program, were asked to participate in one semi-structured interview each, estimated to last 45 minutes (Glesne, 2011). They were purposefully selected to represent the highest (*n*(NDTR)=2; *n*(HSU)=2), middle (*n*(NDTR)=2; *n*(HSU)=2), and lowest (*n*(NDTR)=2; *n*(HSU)=2) overall scores on the LTSJ-B scale at their performance site. The highest scores are defined as the highest total individual scores on the 12 LTSJ-B items. The middle scores were those individual total scores that were closest to the respective overall average performance site mean score. The lowest scores were the lowest total individual scores on the LTSJ-B scale. The participants were informed that they were selected to participate in the 45-minute audio-recorded interview and asked to schedule a day and time for the interview over Skype, Google Hangout, or by phone and to provide the appropriate contact (e.g., Skype handle). At the agreed upon

time, the participants were contacted and the interviews were audio-recorded through Audacity Software and a handheld audio recording device.

If a participant with the highest, middle, or lowest score was not interested in participating in the follow-up interview, or did not respond after four separate follow-up emails, then the participant with the next highest, middle, or lowest score, respectively, was chosen. At NDTR, one of the three participants contacted at the lower tier did not respond, resulting in the participant with the lowest score and third lowest score. At the middle tier, seven participants did not respond, and at the highest tier, one participant did not respond.

HSU participants. After being accepted for the fall 2016 academic year, 91 teachers enrolled at HSU were invited to participate through the mixed-mode survey (web with paper augmentation) before courses began. Because there was an insufficient response rate of 9% (n = 8, of which five were eligible), HSU's preservice teachers were also invited to participate via a paper survey (n = 92). The paper surveys were disseminated and collected by introductory course instructors during the first or second class meeting (a detailed description of the procedures for the paper-only method are included in the Procedures section below). I was not in direct contact with these instructors. Instead the HSU Dean reached out to three department chairs in the College of Education, and two chairs agreed. I gained IRB approval for this amendment in protocol at both HSU and GMU, and collaborated with the department chairs via email to determine the best method for data collection. At the chairs' request, participation materials were sent directly to them for their dissemination to five different instructors.

Participants invited to take the mixed-mode and paper-only surveys did overlap; therefore, they were instructed not to fill the survey in twice. Information provided by participants and HSU on the paper-only surveys and mixed-mode surveys were cross-checked (e.g., email addresses given for the drawing, interviews, and potential participant email lists). No participants filled out multiple copies of the survey. Forty-nine surveys were returned, of which 31 were completed and 18 were unsigned, left blank, not taken by aspiring teachers (e.g., future counselors), or selection criteria questions were not all answered. Of the 31 surveys that were completed, 15 participants were ineligible (fourteen did not meet one or more selection criteria, and one was eligible but did not complete the LTSJ-B items). Therefore, 16 respondents participating via paper survey were eligible for this study.

A total of 183 invitations were sent via mixed-mode (n = 91) or paper-only survey (n = 92). Again, since there was overlap in who was invited and no exact number of how many individual participants were invited, I cannot calculate a response rate. However, I was able to verify there was no overlap in who actually participated. Overall, 39 surveys were completed and returned (n(mixed mode)=8; n(paper-only)=31). Of those, 21 were eligible (n(mixed mode)=5; n(paper-only)=16), resulting in an overall eligibility rate of 53.85% (21/39). Of the 21 total participants, 67% self-identified as female (n = 14) and 33% identified themselves as male (n = 7), also aligning with the overall trend in national teacher demographics (NCES, 2012b). Fifty-two percent of the participants indicated that they were White (n = 11), 19% indicated they were Black (n = 4), 10% were Hispanic (n = 2), 10% were Asian (n = 2), 5% indicated they were more than one race (n = 1), and

5% chose not to respond (*n* = 1). The ages ranged from 19 years old to 57 years old, with an average participant age of 31 (*s* = 9.8).

Table 2

Participation response table

	Response Table							
	Web Responses				Paper Only			Total N Count
	Invited	Received	Paper	Eligible	Invited	Received	Eligible	
NDTR	84	29	0	21	--	--	--	20
HSU	91	8	0	5	92	31	16	21

A subset of three participants were interviewed within two months of the first course start date. The intention was to also interview six preservice teachers, two participants representing each of the three levels of endorsement to teach for social justice. However, after going through the invitation process described earlier, no participants with the lowest scores responded and one participant with the highest score did not respond (see **Error! Reference source not found.**).

Procedures

At each site, the LTSJ-B survey data were collected and analyzed first, and then interview data were collected and analyzed, as described below.

Mixed-mode survey. The survey included the informed consent for this study, background questions (see **Error! Reference source not found.**), and LTSJ-B scale (see Appendix B). All students newly enrolled in their respective post-baccalaureate programs

were invited to participate in the survey (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). The survey background questions began with the following three selection criteria questions:

1. Are you currently enrolled in a graduate, initial licensure program, and are taking your first course for the program?
2. Have you ever been employed as a long-term substitute teacher?
3. Have you ever been employed as a private school teacher?

These questions served to check whether each recipient was appropriate for inclusion and that no participants outside of the selection criteria were accidentally included. Immediately following, the Learning to Teach for Social Justice Belief Scale (LTSJ-B), created by Enterline et al. (2008), was administered. Then, the remaining questions, which asked for background and demographic information, such as gender and race, were asked. These background questions were divided from the rest of the survey in an effort to minimize their potential influence on responses to the LTSJ-B scale. As discussed in Chapter 2, the 12-item survey with a Likert-type response scale measures beliefs about teaching for social justice over time. Possible responses were: Strongly Disagree = 1; Disagree = 2; Uncertain = 3; Agree = 4; and Strongly Agree = 5. For this study, all 12 survey items were used. Each item focuses on the teacher candidates' expectations and beliefs about teaching, plan for teaching and expected career trajectories, sense of preparedness, and anticipated practices and strategies once in the classroom. The survey items, by design, increase in complexity, and items that the researchers negatively worded corresponded to concepts of social justice that were hard to endorse.

Ludlow et al. (2008) reported on the reliability of the LTSJ-B scale using Rasch modeling principles to measure learning to teach for social justice. Like Enterline et al. (2008), Ludlow et al. also defined learning to teach for social justice in terms of six core components: “teachers' knowledge, skill, and interpretive frameworks; teachers' beliefs, attitudes, and values; classroom practice and pedagogy; community participation; teachers' learning inquiry communities; and promoting pupils' academic, social-emotional, and civic learning” (p. 195). The researchers' analyses on responses to the Entry Survey yielded a Cronbach's alpha score of .77.

Mixed-mode survey data collection. I first piloted the LTSJ-B scale in a course activity with an undergraduate preservice teacher who was enrolled in an education course I was teaching. However, due to logistics, procedures were modified to fit the context. For example, a paper survey was administered and pre-notification information was said aloud. A pilot of the interview questions was also conducted with an undergraduate student in a course I was teaching and an undergraduate preservice teacher whom I did not know.

To collect the data for the present study, permission was first gained from all human subject review boards and/or decision-making boards (George Mason University, HSU, and NDTR) (see Appendix A). Also, permission to access email addresses for participants that fit the selection criteria for this study was granted by the appropriate program contact at each site.

Survey procedures followed Dillman, Smyth, and Christian’s (2014) Tailored Design Method. On the basis of social exchange theory, Dillman et al. proposed that

lowering perceived costs, raising potential benefits, and establishing trust increased response rates. According to Dillman et al., increasing benefits of participation include providing information about the survey, asking for help or advice, showing positive regard, saying thank you, encouraging the support of group values, providing tangible rewards, piquing questionnaire interest, providing social validation, and/or noting that opportunity is limited. Efforts to decrease the cost of participation include response convenience, subordinate language, length and ease of completion, and similarity to previous experiences. Sponsorship authority, pre-incentives, apparent importance, and confidentiality and security of information are ways to establish trust.

The same procedure was followed for the only participation invitation (mixed-mode) at NDTR, and the first participation invitation (mixed-mode) at HSU. All participants were sent a pre-notification email through my university email address (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). The pre-notification email briefly described the purpose of the study, what participation entailed (a short survey that would take 15 minutes or less), and that participation was both voluntary and completely confidential. In addition, the email highlighted the importance of their participation and how it may impact future program decisions that meet the needs of today's preservice teachers. The pre-notification letter also indicated that participants must complete the survey by the deadline date to enter into a drawing for the chance to win one of two $50 e-gift cards from a major retailer. The only contact information linking survey responses to participants was what was provided by participants entering into the drawing and/or

interview. For practical purposes, I needed to check that the survey was completed, contact participants to interview, and send the e-gift cards.

Two days later, the recruitment letter (see **Error! Reference source not found.**) was sent with an authoritative subject line (Kaplowitz, Lupi, Couper, & Thorp, 2012). Kaplowitz et al. described an authoritative subject line is preferred because "the longer text may convey a more authoritative tone than the shorter text, and/or the longer invitation text may help potential participants understand the elements of the invitation" (p. 8). For this study, the subject line read "Preservice Teacher Beliefs at [Program Name]: Participate in a Survey". The letter reiterated the purpose of the survey, what it entailed, and that the drawing incentive would be emailed to students with an embedded link to the full survey. The link was placed at the bottom of the recruitment letter (Kaplowitz et al., 2012). The first page of the link was the informed consent form, to which the participant had to reply. Those who agreed had direct access to the LTSJ-B; those who did not were instructed to close the browser. Participants could choose to begin the survey, exit, and resume as many times as they wanted until the deadline, which was set three weeks after the advance letter was sent. At any time, the participants could decide to stop participating. At the end of the survey, participants were informed that they had completed the survey, were able to enter in their email information to enter into a drawing for one of two $50 e-gift cards, and were given the opportunity to indicate their willingness to participate in an approximately 45 minute, semi-structured interview (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). If they agreed to be interviewed, they were asked

to indicate that they consented to be contacted to participate, to provide the best way to reach them, and that they were able to enter a second drawing for a $100 e-gift card.

For all respondents, a thank you/reminder email was sent a week and a half before the deadline and then again one week after that (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). After gaining IRB approval to make an additional participant contact, an email providing clarification for the first selection criteria question, "Are you currently enrolled in a graduate, initial licensure program and are taking your first course for the program?" was sent to those participants who initially responded "no" (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). Because of the uniqueness in the residency's program start date, with the summer institute starting before fall coursework, some participants met all of the criteria, but responded "no". They interpreted their enrollment as not current because they were not yet attending the summer institute (set to begin soon thereafter), were not yet enrolled in the fall course, etc.; therefore, at the time the participant began the survey, their enrollment was not current. In keeping with the intention of the selection criteria questions, I felt their impending enrollment satisfied participation requirements, and therefore sent the email. After two weeks of the online survey being available at NDTR, only four of 22 participants answered "no" although the institute had yet to begin. Of the four, no participant chose to change his or her response following the clarification email. This indicated that most participants interpreted their impending enrollment as qualifying them for participation. At HSU, two participants also answered "no" to the first selection criteria question during the first invitation, which also occurred before classes began. After the follow up email, neither participant changed their responses.

At the last contact to all participants, the message informed nonparticipants that a paper copy of the informed consent and survey could be returned via mail in a pre-stamped return envelope (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). The paper mode had the same survey components; however, some wording changed (e.g., "click the box" to "check the box"). Participants responding via paper survey also had the freedom to complete it at a time and location of their choice, but had to turn in the survey by the end date. As long as the survey was mailed by the deadline, which fell a week after the last contact, participants could enter into the drawing for one of the two $50 e-gift cards. Thank you messages were also sent to all participants. After the survey deadline, the two drawing winners from each site were randomly selected among all participants, and were each sent their e-gift card.

Paper-only survey. At HSU, the three-week window allowing participants to respond to the mixed-mode survey garnered an insufficient response rate (n(HSU)=7, of which five were eligible). After IRB approval was gained from all necessary review boards, department chairs at HSU disseminated the study materials to instructors teaching introductory courses. These materials included:

1. An instructor script (see **Error! Reference source not found.**)
2. Manila instructor collection envelope
3. Paper copies of the survey, including participant instructions, informed consent, survey items, and an individual envelope for added confidentiality
4. A prepaid, pre-addressed return box for each chair.

Instructors were asked to disseminate the surveys to the preservice teachers in their introductory course during the first or second class of the fall semester. Instructors read the provided script and disseminated the paper surveys, providing students with time in class to complete the paper surveys. Instructions for participants included a request to not fill out a survey if they had previously filled a web or paper survey. There were also instructions on what to do if they did not want to participate (place the blank/filled survey into the individual envelope, seal it, and then place them into the instructor's collection envelope when they were ready). Department chairs then sent all sealed surveys back to me in the prepaid, pre-addressed return box. Participants who entered were also eligible for one of two e-gift card drawings.

Survey data analysis. Survey results were exported into SPSS. For responses collected at HSU, the paper surveys were entered in by the researcher and double checked for reliability by an outside coder. The paper survey responses were combined with the web survey responses. Data were sorted by selection criteria, and then all data for participants who were eligible to participate were de-identified. This was achieved by randomly assigning a numeric code to each participant. A randomly chosen participant email and a randomly chosen number (ranging from one to the total number of participants at that site) were paired.

The demographic and background data items were analyzed for central tendencies using descriptive statistics. Through SPSS, descriptive statistics provided frequencies for each variable. Statistical analysis gave information about who was represented.

The LTSJ-B scale items were also analyzed through SPSS. According to Ludlow et al. (2008) and Enterline et al. (2008), positively worded items (SJ1, SJ2, SJ4, SJ7, and SJ8) were those that were easier to endorse, while negatively worded items (SJ3R, SJ5R, SJ6R, SJ9R, SJ10R, SJ11R, and SJ12R) were harder to endorse. Ludlow et al. (2008) further explained:

> That is, we expected that it would be relatively easy to endorse positively worded statements with which most students should have some minimal level of experience, even in their first semesters of college. The negatively worded items, however, were intended to address concepts and experiences that only experienced teacher candidate would have encountered. (p. 198)

Some of the items were also negatively worded to prevent response bias by students wanting to respond in a socially desirable manner, and the items were "reverse scored." Those items are noted with an "R" after the item number. Reverse scoring means "Strongly Disagree" corresponded to most strongly endorsing a negatively worded item of social justice. It was scored as a 5 just as a "Strongly Agree" response to a positively worded item would be. "Disagree" means the respondent endorsed a negatively worded item, which was scored as a 4 like a response of "Agree" to a positively worded item would be. "Uncertain" remained the scored as a 3, etc. Once the items were reverse scored, the Likert-scored responses were summed to yield total scores for individuals. The highest possible individual score was 60; 12 survey items with a highest possible score of 5 when negatively worded items have been reverse scored. According to Ludlow et al. (2008), "a higher total score corresponds to a higher level of commitment to

teaching for social justice" (p. 199), and the reverse indicates a lower level of commitment. Finally, a mean and standard deviation across all participants at NDTR and HSU was also calculated to gain an understanding of the overall, average level of endorsement by participants at each site. In summary, a total individual score, a mean and standard deviation for each participant, and an overall mean and standard deviation for each site were calculated.

Semi-structured interview. Maxwell (2013) wrote that organizational categories can be created in advance of actual interviews and serve as "bins in which to sort my data later" (p. 107). Taking the conceptual framework developed by Dover (2013), a question matrix was created using her five categories as initial sorting bins (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). Interview questions exploring beliefs about democratic education, critical pedagogy, multicultural education, culturally responsive education, and social justice education from research included in the literature review of this study (e.g., Kelly & Brooks, 2009; Mills, 2013) were included to ascertain beliefs about teaching for social justice. Due to redundancy, clarity, difference in mode (i.e., a change from a survey question into an interview question), and differences in participant experience (i.e., preservice versus practicing teachers), some items were reworded or collapsed. Participants were also asked if they perceived an influence of their coursework and readings on their beliefs.

The resulting list of questions in order of presentation can be found in **Error! Reference source not found.**. All semi-structured interview questions were piloted and

checked for clarity and consistency with two preservice teachers in an undergraduate course at George Mason University's College of Education and Human Development.

Interview data collection. At the start of the interview, the participants were greeted and informed that the recording had begun (see **Error! Reference source not found.**). They were all asked every semi-structured interview question; however, there was the potential to ask additional questions in response to the participants' replies. at the close of the interview, all participants were informed that within three to four weeks they would be sent a brief summary of the major themes found in their social justice beliefs for their review. To ensure validity by offering the opportunity to member check preliminary findings, I put together a brief narrative of each participants' response to the interview questions and emailed them their one-two page document to the email address provided by the participant and used to set up the interview. Also, participants were thanked for their participation. No participants requested any changes, sending either a thank you in return, confirmation that I accurately captured the interview, or not responding.

Interview data analysis. All audio recordings and memos were transcribed verbatim using Microsoft Word, and I also typed all written memos. They were stored on a password-protected electronic storage device. Identifiers were scrubbed from the transcript and arbitrary numerical codes were assigned to organize the interview files without identifying the participants. During transcription, notes were made about how responses to interview data connected and diverged from their total individual scores as well as initial findings about how responses do or do not align with Dover's (2013)

framework (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Strauss, 1987). Then, they were inductively coded, similar to the process grounded theorists describe when they open-code to look for categories in the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). These categories were based on comparisons for similarities and differences in the data in general that are independent of time and place (Maxwell, 2013). After two transcripts were coded, I enlisted another researcher to independently code the same transcripts for inter-coder reliability and to gain multiple perspectives. Together, we discussed the codes that were found and determined whether additional codes were needed, which codes overlapped/absorbed, and if all codes were clearly named and defined. All transcripts were then coded with the new set of codes.

For each individual site, the interview data for the participants identified as high, medium, and low were analyzed to better understand what participants from each level of social justice endorsement reveal about their beliefs and why they believe what they do. The interview data were also constantly compared against other data, such as memos written on a print out of the interview protocol about tone, speed of responses, and concepts of social justice or potential precluding factors during and right after interviews (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

A matrix was constructed as categories emerged (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Maxwell, 2013), in which verbatim quotations were inserted. Of Wolcott's (1994) categories of three ways you “do something” to data, coding through the use of verbatim quotes allowed me to provide descriptions that stuck closely to what the respondents said, letting their words serve as evidence to reveal codes, themes, and relationships. The

overarching themes and hierarchical categories that span across multiple categories and across interviews were used to sort interview data. Then, through another process of inductive coding, similar to the process of axial coding (Saldana, 2009; Maxwell & Miller, 2008), initial codes were examined to see whether relationships existed. For example, the code for integration. Some participants said the schools they grew up in were diverse and described various degrees of integration. They cited the surrounding context (e.g., forced busing and segregation in the surrounding community) to describe potential influences on integration within their schools.

After, the interview responses were also deductively coded in a new matrix using Dover's (2013) five categories of questions. These, too, were verbatim quotes analyzed for what participants said about their beliefs and preconceptions of each. I analyzed participant responses at the individual, endorsement level (low, middle, and high), and site level. The verbatim responses in the matrix were constantly compared to the full transcript to understand the context in which they were said and any inductive codes from the initial analysis stage. In addition, Enterline et al. (2008) labeled LTSJ-B questions as:

> Key ideas include: high expectations and rich learning opportunities for all pupils; an asset-based perspective on the cultural, linguistic and experiential resources pupils and families bring to school; the importance of critical thinking in a democratic society; the role of teachers as advocates and agents for change; challenges to the notion of a meritocratic society; teaching as an activity that is related to teachers' deep underlying assumptions and beliefs about race, class, gender, disability, and culture; and the idea that issues related to culture, equity,

and race ought to be part of what is speakable and visible in all aspects of the curriculum. (Enterline et al., 2008, p. 276)

Where these categories aligned with Dover's five categories, I looked to integrate how the interviewee rated a particular concept of social justice in the survey to their interview responses to better understand why they gave the rating they did and what the rating meant for that participant. For example, a participant may highly endorse survey item SJ2, “Issues related to racism and inequity should be openly discussed in the classroom,” scoring this as a 5 (Strongly Agree), and then, in the interview, explain that this should only be true for high school students because primary-aged children and middle school students are not developmentally ready. Whereas, another participant may provide a similar explanation, but score the survey item as Uncertain. In addition, a belief indicated on the survey could potentially shed light on what they revealed in the interview. For example, the participant placed responsibility for low achievement on students and family values, SES, and language barriers, revealing evidence of deficit thinking in the interview, but in the survey strongly agreed with item 9R, “Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in schools because they bring less into the classroom.” By looking at what areas of social justice the participant's response indicated a low level of endorsement, as well as medium, and high levels, I could then compare them with what they said in their interviews about those topics to better understand the why and help interpret the meaning. The survey items also seemed amenable to falling under Dover's category of Social Justice Education. However, after trying to see where

each LTSJ-B item might fit, I found insufficient overlap to definitively place each item under one of the five categories.

Also, I looked at the verbatim responses and the original transcripts while using connecting strategies to look for contiguity. According to Maxwell and Miller (2008), unlike categorizing, "Contiguity-based relations, in contrast, involve juxtaposition in time and space, the influence of one thing on another, or relations among parts of a text; their identification involves seeing actual connections between things, rather than similarities and differences" (p. 462). They also asserted, "Connecting analytic strategies do not simply preserve data in their original form. Instead, they are ways to analyze and reduce data" (p. 467). For example, a participant explained that his or her community growing up was diverse with co-existing cultures, languages, religions, and SES; however, the same participant also explained that the people of different backgrounds did not interact with one another. Rather, people of distinct backgrounds lived in segregated neighborhoods. The schools this participant attended were mostly homogenous in student background because they were fed by the distinct neighborhoods surrounding them. The participant witnessed unequal allocation of resources, with students of a lower SES background receiving fewer resources, and students of a higher SES receiving more. The participant pointed to this as their reason for believing in equitable distribution of wealth, opportunity, and access for students of all backgrounds, as well as their belief in the need to educate students on causes of inequity. Therefore, the participant's personal experience with a diverse but segregated community where resources were allocated inequitably led to later beliefs endorsing specific concepts of teaching for social justice.

The third act of interpreting occurred (Wolcott, 1994) when meaning was made by me of preconceptions about teaching for social justice and what their responses meant for teacher education. This was done by looking at responses that revealed what the participants were saying about the need for teaching specifically for social justice and what that entails (e.g., if it is necessary, for whom, and how). As done previously, I analyzed the data at the individual level and looked at what participants representing low, middle, and high levels of social justice endorsement said in their interviews. Additionally, I looked across measurement tools to learn by integrating survey and interview data.

Summary

As found by Sax, Gilmartin, and Bryant (2003), the low response rate to surveys found in this study is not uncommon in survey research with college students. In addition, the differences in procedures that arose from the challenges in response rate to the surveys aligned with Dillman, Smyth, and Christian's (2014) Tailored Design Method suggestion to use multiple modes to reach participants and lower non-response bias. The resulting sample sizes for the survey at each site were similar (n(NDTR)=20; n(HSU)=21). The differences in interview participation means that analysis of differences in beliefs about teaching for social justice could not be conducted between HSU and NDTR participants with the lowest levels of endorsement because they were not represented at HSU. These differences should be kept in mind, but not discount what can be learned through the voices of those preservice teachers included in this study.

Chapter Four

Findings

The purpose of this study was to explore preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice in two pathways to teacher licensure. The following chapter provides the survey and interview findings on these preservice teachers' beliefs about teaching for social justice. I report the results by the two sites, New Dimensions Teacher Residency (NDTR) and Harper State University (HSU). For each site, I report the statistical data from the surveys, followed by data from the interviews. The survey findings are reported in the order of background demographics and then the Learning to Teach for Social Justice-Beliefs (LTSJ-B) scale. Interview findings are ordered by the three levels of teaching for social justice endorsement (low, middle, and high), as available for each site.

New Dimensions Teacher Residency Survey Results

The participants for the urban teacher residency performance site included 20 preservice teachers who answered all 12 LTSJ-B items and remaining background questions. Although, one participant chose to respond “nothing” when asked where they attended their undergraduate program; this was considered a non-response.

NDTR participant demographic information. Participants' responses to the questions “Were the schools you grew up in diverse?” and “Was the community you

grew up in diverse?" are included in Table 3. About half of the NDTR participants reported attending schools that they were not considered diverse, and three-fifths grew up in communities they considered were not diverse.

Table 3

NDTR Participants' Personal Experience in Diverse Schools and Communities

	Response Choice				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
School	1.5%	51%	0	25%	5%
Community	15%	60%	0	20%	5%

Reporting on their undergraduate program, 45% attended universities in the same state as the residency program (*n* = 9), 50% attended universities in a different state (*n* = 10), and 5% was a non-response (*n* = 1). During their undergraduate work, these NDTR participants earned bachelor's degrees in a variety of academic fields, including engineering, theater, history and religious studies, interdisciplinary studies, and scientific and technical communication. No participants received a degree in education.

Table 4 displays the prior teaching experiences of participants.

Table 4

NDTR Participants' Prior Teaching Experiences

Teaching Experience	Percentage of Participants
Tutored	35%
Classroom Aides	50%
Field Experience	20%

Some of the participants reported other teaching experiences, such as coaching (*n* = 3), substitute teaching (*n* = 2), EFL teaching abroad (*n* = 1), a before- and after-school program (*n* = 1), education coordinator (*n* = 1), Sunday school teacher (*n* = 1), peer-education (*n* = 1), and school internship (*n* = 1). Lastly, 40% planned on teaching in an urban setting (*n* = 8), 30% planned on teaching in a suburban setting (*n* = 6), and 30% planned on teaching in a rural setting (*n* = 6).

NDTR LTSJ-B survey data. The total scores for NDTR participants on the LTSJ-B survey items ranged from 40 to 58 (out of a highest possible score of 60 and lowest possible score of 12). The average total score was 47.75 (*s* = 5.73). Each survey participant's individual score can be found in **Error! Reference source not found.**.

NDTR interview data. From all respondents, I selected six for interviews. I divided the entire group into three subgroups: the individuals who scored the highest and lowest, and a group from the middle. I gave each person a pseudonym. Table 5 shows each interviewee's responses to the LTSJ-B scale, ordered from lowest individual total score to highest total score.

Table 5

NDTR Interviewee Responses to the 12 LTSJ-B Survey Items

Participant	SJ 1	SJ2	SJ3 R	SJ 4	SJ5 R	SJ6 R	SJ 7	SJ 8	SJ9 R	SJ10 R	SJ11 R	SJ12 R	Total
Melissa	3	2	4	5	3	5	3	4	3	4	2	2	40
Theresa	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	3	4	2	42
Joseph	5	5	3	4	1	4	4	5	3	4	3	2	43
Ethan	5	4	5	5	5	4	4	5	3	4	3	4	51
Ella	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	5	4	56
Jane	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	58

All interviewees opted for a phone interview, except Ethan, who opted for a Skype interview. Because of technical difficulty experienced by the interviewee, we were only able to use Skype's audio feature. None of the NDTR interviewees reported that the program changed their preexisting beliefs; however, they did say their time in the program confirmed their beliefs and supported them. The interview data are presented below by subgroup and by each interviewee in that subgroup. I organized the interview data according to Dover's (2013) conceptual framework for teaching for social justice.

As described in Chapter 2, Dover said there were five categories of teaching for social justice (democratic education, critical pedagogy, multicultural education, culturally responsive education, and social justice education). Drawing on Dewey (1916, 2007) and Westheimer and Kahne (1998) to define democratic education, or progressive education, Dover argued that it is focused on a school's civic function (e.g., community engagement and experiential learning) and on educators employing participatory pedagogy. Critical

pedagogy has a specific social justice agenda where political neutrality of curriculum, pedagogy, and education systems are challenged and students' sociopolitical consciousness are developed. Based on the work of Banks (1995), Dover (2013) saw multicultural education as having five dimensions (curriculum content, examining the process of knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy, and restructuring of school culture and organization). Culturally responsive education integrates critical pedagogy and multicultural education, focusing on preservice preparation as well as teachers' political ideologies and preparation to teach for social justice. Lastly, social justice education was defined as the five categories previously listed (democratic education, critical pedagogy, etc.) in addition to social, cognitive, and systems theory. The purpose of social justice education is to effect "holistic educational and societal transformation" (p. 6). LTSJ-B survey items that fall under each of these categories are presented alongside interview data.

NDTR Low-Endorsement Interview Participants

Two interviewees, Melissa and Theresa, represented low-endorsement to teach for social justice among NDTR survey participants. **Error! Reference source not found.** displays the individual responses to each LTSJ-B scale item for all NDTR participants.

Melissa. Melissa is a White female in her 20s. Out of a possible 60 points on the LTSJ-B, she scored a 40, the lowest score among her NDTR peers who agreed to be interviewed, which indicates her comparatively weaker endorsement of teaching for social justice.

Her concentration at NDTR is elementary education, and she is hoping to teach in a suburban setting. Melissa chose the program after encouragement from an NDTR faculty member, and because the program offered the opportunity to complete her student teaching while completing her master's degree. She described the community in which she grew up as diverse, with people of different backgrounds interacting with one another, but she also said that there was a larger White population than there were minority populations. She characterized the schools she attended as diverse with "high interaction" among the student body because of sports.

Democratic education. Using Dover's framework, Melissa said the role of a teacher is "to be there to, um, teach the students the, um, different subjects and help them build their knowledge and background in the subjects, but also build a relationship with the students." She said this relationship should be personal "so that way the students can trust to, um, tell the teacher anything, or just help them out." The last role she mentioned was, "Um, just, I think that they are a role model, in and out of school." Her response to survey item 12R was to agree that, "Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead."

For democratic education, Melissa defined good citizenship as abiding by the law: "I think… I just feel that it is someone who is really obeying the law, and kind of following what they are supposed to do." She said a good citizen is a role model "in and out of school." Similarly, a good student citizen is "abiding by their teachers. So, yeah, just following the rule [*sic*]." Melissa further stated, "If they're... coming to school, um, on every day learning, being honest, um... responsible, on time, and... excited to learn."

When I asked her about her experience witnessing good citizenship in the classroom, she described her experience in a second grade classroom, "Um…I… With the time that I have spent, it would just be, um, the students doing their work when they are told to, silently at their desk," as well as "staying in line, straight lines." In the survey, she chose Agree for item SJ11R, "Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work."

Melissa was unfamiliar with the term "civic education," but defined it as "everyone allowed a—the same education." She did say civic education was necessary, "Yeah, I think everyone should be allowed to, um, have the opportunity to learn the same, whether their ethnicity, race, or even any of that is different. I think everyone should be offered that equal opportunity." She did not elaborate on how this might be accomplished. However, in the survey, Melissa agreed with the statement, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions" (SJ8).

Critical pedagogy. Melissa said a characteristic of a good teacher is that "they are knowledgeable in their subject content area," and they are "able to build that relationship and be that positive role model for the student." Melissa explained, "I guess it would be just like not cur—just like not swearing in class, um, kind of stuff like that."

Multicultural education. Concerning the responsibility of the teacher to teach a multicultural curriculum inclusively, Melissa stated it was a teacher's responsibility to ensure that students value and respect diversity: "Yes, I would say that the teacher plays a big role in that." Melissa shared her views on what that responsibility entailed: "I think that a lot of it is creating a classroom community where everyone shares with everyone,

treats everyone with respect, um… is welcoming to everyone." On LTSJ-B item SJ7, which also asked about a teacher's responsibility, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," Melissa selected Uncertain. She also selected Disagree to item SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society."

Melissa did say her own race/ethnic identity would play a role in teaching:

> Not how I see myself, but maybe how other teachers might see me because I am, um, Caucasian, so that might play a role into how they treat me. They might think I might be given better benefits or something like that.

She extended this preconception of privilege to other stakeholders, "just the students' parents, maybe even other teachers of other races." For another teacher, Melissa said race or ethnicity might play a role: "They might treat their students differently just because of their color, maybe." She further explained how they might do that:

> Um, some teachers that say are White, they might not treat the Hispanics the same as they would a White person, maybe they would hold them to different standards. Um, or, like ELL, um, students, I would hold them to like the same standards as, um, other students just because that is how I—wanted to teach. That everyone is equal, and so they should be taught equally.

Asked if she thought parents or other teachers of the same racial background as herself might think she was getting special treatment or benefits, Melissa said, "I grew up in [redacted] so not in that area, but maybe here in [redacted] they would." Her answer choice for item SJ1, "An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's

own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation," was Uncertain.

During the interview, I asked, "Do you believe social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools?" Melissa said, "Yes." She gave the example of unequal access to education:

> Well, for example, like the free and reduced [*sic*] lunch. That has—kind of plays a role in their education just with how other students treat those students, um. And, like, the higher socioeconomic students can go to more private schools whereas the lower can't afford that. So, they can't afford as good as an education.

When I asked if there were any other inequities that exist in U.S. schools, she said, "Um, no, not that I can think of."

Melissa did not agree with teaching the various and possible causes of social and economic class divisions, gender, faiths, and sexuality. Melissa said:

> I think that it is okay to, um, research, like the different ethnicities, and, um, socioeconomic stuff and see, um, why people rank differently, but I would probably wait until middle—end of middle school, high school levels for that to be something that's taught.

She explained, "Just because at that age they are more likely to understand the concept and talk about the socioeconomic rates; that is something you can relate to economics and stuff like that." When I asked her what she meant by rate, she clarified:

> Just saying where they are coming from, and um…, I guess that wouldn't be as important as the economics part, just um, give them a sense that the world is diverse, and how we can—helping all the different diversities and stuff.

She cautioned against digging too far "where the kids start hating the different statuses," and, "Like, um, like, so say a low-income and a high-income student start not liking each other, so that way you aren't drawing separation based on their status." Melissa said, "It would just be something like, different jobs is probably far as I would get into it because... um... I guess, kind of just not drawing that separation between the kids." However, she did not see this as an issue in terms of her future teaching elementary school students:

> So, since I will teach elementary, it is not something that I would necessarily have to worry about, but I feel like at that middle school, high school level, maybe just pointing out that, okay, if you lived in this part of the town, you're gonna have to pay more for housing, kind of thing.

Her response to the LTSJ-B item, "Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom" (SJ2), was Disagree.

In addition, she said she does not support teaching politically, socially, or religiously sensitive topics in class. Melissa stated, "I think now since the world that we are in is such a diverse area, it is probably for the better that you keep your opinions to yourself." Specifically concerning teaching about religion, she said "a lot of the times they tell us to keep religion out of it." She did not identify who "they" are. When I asked

whether she agreed with providing knowledge about different faiths without validating one over another, Melissa said:

> I think as long as you make sure it's everything is taught about the same amount about each different one is taught to the students. So, that way you are not teaching more of one topic to the students, so that way it feels like you are pushing them one way or another.

Gender was also something Melissa did not support teaching: "Um, probably not." She said the reason was not wanting to offend anyone: "Not to draw offense to anyone. I mean if you have like a sex ed class, maybe."

To learn more about how Melissa felt that multicultural education topics could be taught, I asked about the use of multicultural literature and censorship. Melissa described using multicultural literature as a way for students to relate:

> Um, I think there should be different multiculture [*sic*] literature, um, just so students have that chance to relate. Because if you are always reading just the same, and a lot of time they do good making most literature multicultural for the elementary education books.

She was unsure about censorship. Melissa said she would read the texts and materials in advance to make sure they were age appropriate:

> Yes, um, I would make sure as a teacher to read through it to make sure it is appropriate. I don't know that the book should be censored; I just think that you should be able to find books that don't need to be censored.

Melissa answered that family values might influence learning. She said, “Um, yeah, probably.” Asked in what way, she described her own personal experience:

> So, there was an atheist group that was trying to, um, hand out packets towards the kids during school, so it like a big thing in the newspaper. And, the Christian families were unhappy about it. But, they thought it wasn't—was unfair because across the street there would be Mormon students that would come across and like preach and stuff.

She viewed these conflicts as potential distractions from learning: “I think it ended up drawing all the focus onto religion, whereas those students weren't learning the subject matter, like math and English and stuff like they needed to.” Further, Melissa said if students behave in a way that does not match the norm, then they can become outcasts or isolate themselves:

> Um, just like how they speak, um, language-wise, the curse words, um, going out at night. It could just be looked at differently, and kind of be seen as the outcast of the classroom if they don't fit in to what their parents think, their peers think, is normal.

She described the impact on student learning as social. “They wouldn't, say if you have to do group work, they wouldn't partner with anyone. I think they would feel left out and not want to voice their opinion in class,” and academically “they would probably give up and not want to try.”

Culturally responsive education. Melissa shared that all students' cultures should be incorporated. She said, “Yeah, I feel like it should be just so that all the students have

something to relate to." On survey item SJ4, Melissa strongly agreed that "Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions." She said it could be accomplished through different learning activities. "Um, an example I have seen is they are given the opportunity to research different countries for English papers and stuff." She also said, "I think a lot of this is leaving it open to each of the teachers' discretion, but um—and even the students, if they have a topic to write about. Let the students relate it towards their home lives." Asked if their cultures could be incorporated into different subject areas, Melissa said, "Social studies yes, but probably not math as much." However, she selected Disagree on LTSJ-B item SJ3R, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature." When asked whether "the most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society" (SJ5R), she marked Uncertain.

Regarding the influence of a teacher's culture on how he or she views teaching, Melissa did not perceive that her own culture played a role. She shared, "No, not because of how my parents raised me." Melissa also said, "Um, I was raised to treat everyone equally and fairly. And, both my parents are teachers, so…" She explained that treating everyone equally and fairly meant, "Um, just the—give them the equal—uh, fair opportunities to learn, and um, teach them the same as how you would want to be treated, kinda." When asked if a teacher's culture influences teachers in general, she said, "Yeah, um, I think, depending on where you are raised or how you are raised, you might treat students differently based on just race, color, or even your likes and dislikes."

In response to the interview question concerning whether culturally diverse students and teachers respond differently to one another, Melissa said, "Yeah, just because they see that connection, probably." She also said there might be shared norms, "Um... just like the norms of the students. Like, a lot of times, sometimes students—like eye contact for example, you have been taught differently. In some cultures, it is disrespectful to make direct eye contact." This affects teachers and students because:

> With the same culture, I think it would be easier for that teacher to recognize it and know that that's how they were raised, whereas um a different culture, at first, you might not see that. So, you might get upset with that student, but you would need to talk to the student and find out, okay that's how you were raised, so maybe reach a compromise of how.

Social justice education. When asked to define teaching for social justice, Melissa said it was teaching the curriculum so that, "Um, just uh, teaching it so that… you realize the differences but you kind of teach it so that way you are helping the lower income class, um, probably reach equality" and have "the opportunity to reach the same knowledge level as the other students." This also meant helping ELLs, minority students, and students who receive special education services. Melissa explained that because ELL students have often immigrated to the United States, they do not yet speak English and need additional help:

> Because a lot of times they've, they immigrated. So, like the ELL students can't speak as much English, so um, they need help that—they need that additional

> support to help them... strive in America now since America is based a lot around English.

For students of other races, Melissa said, “Just because, like, the Hispanic comes from parents that don't have that background knowledge often.” Although, she said, “I guess it kind of just depends on where they grew up.” I asked if students of different races that are English speaking need this extra help, Melissa said, “Mmm... not necessarily more help, but I think it would just be a matter of the teacher getting to learn the different cultures of the students so that way you understand what their cultural norms are.” Speaking about students of lower SES backgrounds, Melissa also explained:

> A lot of the lower income students come from, um, backgrounds of parents that don't often times have that education. A lot of times those lower income students come from parents that are like, middle school, high school, like that is their highest education that they have received.

Lastly, she described her perception of students with special needs: “It depends on their disability, but often time they're behind because of their disability.” Melissa was not familiar with the phrase “a socially just classroom,” but defined it as, “Um, probably just where everyone's provided with that same opportunity as the others to create that equality.”

As reported above, Melissa did not feel that students were ready for social justice topics during the primary grade years. Although she said that primary-aged students recognize differences, she said, “They can see that students are of different color, but a lot of times at that age they just want to be kids, and play with all the other kids.” Time

was also a factor in thinking that teaching social justice concepts was not for younger students, “Because we have a lot of the other—like the Math and the English stuff that we really need to focus on and make sure that they grasp those concepts.”

For Melissa, treating all students equally entailed initially offering the same opportunity to learn the content. Melissa said, “Um, just the, give them the equal—fair opportunities to learn, and um, teach them the same as how you would want to be treated, kinda.” In addition, Melissa said:

> I think that they should be offered the same, probably like the exact same worksheets and just be taught in the same manner. And then, like I mentioned earlier is, giving that same opportunity to have that chance to learn the material, and then if they need that extra support, provide them with that extra support. But, I think we should all be given that same opportunity to learn the same things.

However, she said this also depended on their ability to understand. “Yes, and then also it comes down to the sense of their understanding, too.” She explained: “Because often times like the special ed students or the ELL need that extra support that others wouldn't need, but I wouldn't make it obvious to the other students in the classroom.” Her survey response to, “It’s reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don’t speak English as their first language,” (SJ6R) was Strongly Disagree. In addition, she selected Uncertain to item SJ9R, “Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom.”

Melissa did perceive that a teacher's SES and gender might influence how she or he teaches. She said, "Um, yeah, probably everyone teaches a little different." Her explanations revolved around gender. Melissa asserted that teachers might have to teach differently because of how their students might perceive them:

> Um, I feel like a lot of times, males look to be at more stern. Um, like um... (long pause) Oftentimes, I know it has been said that the males have to watch with how they interact with just different students because of, um, how they can be taken to court just based on like putting a hand on a girl's shoulder or something like that.

She said that gender might influence the way a teacher teaches because:

> Oftentimes, a lot female teachers seem to be more organized than the males, so they teach in a more organized fashion. Socioeconomic status wise, those higher up teachers often times went to a different school so they might have more of a higher academic level, so they can teach more in depth than lower status teachers can.

At the time of the interview, Melissa was not sure of any concerns she might have for teaching for social justice. She said, "Not currently since I haven't had much background." She also said:

> Um, no, because I, I think that it is all a lot about building that community. So, just building that relationship with your students so that they trust you, so that way you can teach them and help them the best that you can.

Melissa cited potential barriers as, "Um, parents not speaking English, even the students not speaking English," and, "Um, and like that, um... not knowing their norms at

first, so maybe breaking the barriers in the beginning with the students." However, she described the following endorsement of teaching for social justice: "I think support of different teachers in the building, and then principals, speaking with them and seeing how they interact with students when it comes to different situations."

Theresa. Theresa is a White female in her 40s. She is a career switcher who previously worked in communications and chose the program for its reputation and non-traditional route into teaching, and because she perceived the program valued the work she had done in the past. Theresa is preparing to work with K-6 students in an urban population. Out of a possible score of 60 on the LTSJ-B, Theresa scored a 42, which placed her at a lower level of endorsement of teaching for social justice among her NDTR peers. She had the third lowest score of the NDTR students.

She described her experience with diversity as varied because she moved around a lot growing up. "I had kind of a strange growing up. I had actually moved states, school districts and states more than seven times before the seventh grade." She also said, "So I don't have a consistent area that I grew up in, so in that way it's diverse. But, I wouldn't necessarily identify any of those communities as diverse in that encapsulated area." Speaking about the different communities in which she grew up, she said, "I would say, wasn't diverse by geography, that they still had bussed integration at that time." She stated, "I have very distinct, um, memories of 50% of the school showed up on a bus and didn't look anything like me," which she described as difficult for students who were not able to maintain in-school friendships outside of school because of distance. They were

mostly White communities with English-speaking residents of lower socioeconomic backgrounds:

> I'd say it was pretty tight for everyone. Um, like really tight, ha-ha. I would say a lot of times, my friends, and at times my own family, was on some type of assistance either from their church or from like traditional food assistance, government programs.

She said, "I didn't have an opportunity to live anywhere affluent until probably high school." She also shared that she did live in one major U.S. city with a wider community that she described as:

> Yeah, I would say a lot more diversity in like every way. Because—and actually, another thing that I felt was present in [redacted] is that, someone might have the same homogenous affect for their, I don't what you would call, for their affluence rate, ha-ha, if you will. Like, everyone might have been rent—mostly renting, not necessarily homeowners, but then, based on the type of businesses that are in [redacted], there were families that were clearing a lot of cash and had the ability to do things. But, it was like cash and carry, you know?

She explained that this was, "very okay to talk about in that community, too." She said the community, "Um, but just kind of a different, more like transient like, 'Oh so this week my mom can afford—now we can afford a different rental and we are like moving up,' right?" Theresa also described the difference she saw in the rural areas she experienced versus the cities she lived in, "I wouldn't even call it poverty, but low—

low—lower middle class looks very different than lower middle class like urban." Theresa shared her experience with different languages:

> I didn't encounter very many languages different than my own, which is basic English. Until we moved to a rural town in [redacted] that was a farming community. And there was a great number of migrant workers. And then so I was like, "Oh!" Like everyone in my school speaks Spanish, like no one in the building doesn't speak Spanish. So, that's like the first time that language was a thing, and that didn't happen until like eighth grade.

Similar to her experience with bus integration, she described her experiences with other cultures and languages in school as not extending outside of school:

> And, unless they were from the Reservation, because, it was right next to [redacted] Reservation. And, so, that added a whole other component, where, um, you know—You know it is interesting because, yeah, you could point to like groups that would basically represent diversity, but they lived in such insulated areas, like if you lived on the reservation you might go to school at the public school with everyone, but you were back on the reservation and not having the social interactions, or post-extracurricular activity interactions.

She said, "It's not like I was ever invited over for dinner at anyone's house that was different than my house."

Democratic education. Theresa described the role of a teacher as an observer: "So, I really think a teacher is an observer, first and foremost, kind of like you don't know where to serve unless you are paying attention, right?" She said:

> I believe at this point, I am feeling really strongly about a teacher is an observer, and though their primary role is probably instruction in the classroom, the observation piece of it cues them to what they should be instructing their students on. So, are you seeing a group of students who are not prepared to read and navigate and maybe help their parents navigate with literacy? Then, that is what you should be instructing. Obviously, there are curriculum requirements and all of that, but there's more, there is that silent curriculum piece of it where I am observing that my student doesn't know how to process anger management or something like that. Well then, you are giving them coping mechanisms to work through that.

She further explained that a teacher might need to support students in accepting others that are in the classroom:

> Or, am I supporting that this group of students doesn't know how to honor and, um, accept this other group of students that is different from them? Then, I am instructing them on how to reach out and accept and honor the entering into an agreement of trust where we start to talk to each other about each other's differences and similarities.

Theresa cautioned against crossing the line from observing to diagnosing. “I do think that a teacher has to be careful because sometimes we are observing so much in a classroom that it is hard not to be diagnostic, and I don't think that teachers need to be diagnostic.” She also said that while teachers might see signals and alert parents, “they don't need to then actually close that loop and say, ‘Yeah, I am pretty sure it is ADD,’ or,

‘Gosh, he can't read. Maybe it is dyslexia.’ Teachers just have to be really careful of that.” Theresa also described a teacher’s role as a nurturer:

> Um, so definitely nurturer, and I think that is a really broad term. So, nurturing that passion to research content and curriculum, and also nurturing the love for, um, others, like, “Hey, here is how we pattern and model behavior of how to get along in the world,” and want to nurture and grow your little emotional brain to do that.

Theresa did not see this as meaning a teacher is bound to a certain style of teaching, when she said, “And um, does that mean they need to be lovey-dovey, touchy-feely? No, I don't think you need to be like that to be a teacher. Some aren't, because that isn't their style.” However, she did say, “But, you can still nurture like a budding interest in someone. And, I think that is a big part of teaching.”

She also said a teacher is someone who instils a passion for learning: “They carry the torch for being excited about learning new things, and they do it by being excited about the things they are excited about. Like, I love reading and I love math, so I carry the torch for that.” This meant showing how positive it is to be a lifelong learner:

> They have that as part of their role, is to show how fulfilling it can be to learn, how fun it can be to learn, so that learning appears to be something you can do your whole life instead of at the end of the class, or at the end of the term, or at the end of the year, you're done and you don't have to do it anymore.

On the LTSJ-B survey item SJ12R, “Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead,” Theresa selected Agree.

Theresa defined a good citizen as someone who is "alert and aware of the actual situation and, uh, respecting your actual role in that. Like, not overstepping your bounds to the point where it takes someone else's right away to participate." She said that:

> I feel like there are times when, um, as humans we get so excited about something, so passionate about something, that we almost force, um, our pursuit onto someone else so far that they lose their right to be who they are.

She said, "So, in my opinion, being a good citizen is knowing where that boundary is and never trying to force someone to do something." Theresa said a key component of being a "universal good citizen" was to ask two questions about your words and actions: "A good citizen is asking yourself, 'Is this necessary?' and, 'What is needed?'" She explained:

> "Is this necessary?" can be actions as well as words. And, when I am saying, "Is this necessary?" or will this just be toxic, and will it destroy something or someone? And with actions, those can be so far reaching. You know, if you are a corporate citizen, and you, as a company, chose to do something that destroys someone else, like someone's environment or someone's livelihood, or, you know, then you have not been a good citizen. So, "Is that necessary?" "Is that needed," in my opinion are the universal good citizen questions to keep yourself in check.

For a student, she said, "I think that teaching students to be mindful of what makes people comfortable and uncomfortable is good citizenship." This means asking these two questions and being mindful of what makes people comfortable and uncomfortable. Theresa also said ensuring students "insert themselves into a process in a way that is appropriate and actually gets things done is part of their citizenship." She said

“that can look a lot like existing bureaucracies and processes that we have, but it doesn't have to. As long as they understand that, if the entire group agrees upon it, then it is good for the group.” She did not mention specific student actions regarding their academics or learning during the interview; however, her response to survey item SJ11R, “Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work” was Disagree.

Theresa was unfamiliar with the phrase civic education before our interview. However, she said:

> Well, like my first guess would be, umm.... I would just think of what goes down at the civic center, which is like the city council meetings and stuff. So, I would assume that civic education is explaining to children, or students, the processes by which countries, states, run their business, or run their politics.

Asked if we need it, Theresa said, “Do we need it? Yes, we probably need some flavor of it.” In addition, she described what it might look like providing authentic experiences and examples:

> I think it is a really good idea to have sample scenarios for them to experience because I would say the first time I did some of those things like registering to vote, or even showing up at a voting booth, or getting called to jury duty and then sitting it, were very foreign, scary experiences. And, if I had practiced them as a kid with like a fake situation, it would have been a little bit easier.

She also gave examples: “Maybe it is going to a school board meeting and telling them what you want your long-term planning goals to be. … Or filling out like a voter registration card. I mean like, it is amazing to me how many people don't know how to do

that." Theresa selected Agree for LTSJ-B item SJ8, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions".

Critical pedagogy. Regarding using critical pedagogy to teach for social justice, Theresa offered that a good teacher was flexible in both mind and attitude:

> So, like, flexible in that you recognize your brain as a plastic thing that can continue to learn and grow. And, I am talking beyond fixed mindset. I am talking about willingness to embrace modernity and new technologies and new processes to embrace innovation. And, also being flexible in that the day-to-day mechanics of classrooms; you need to be flexible to roll with the punches. So, whatever is happening that day, you might have a plan, but you may need to go off the course of it.

She did clarify that this does not mean planning is unimportant; rather a teacher needs to be prepared in multiple ways:

> I think teachers need to be prepared. Um, you know, they need to do the work. They need to study. They need to know the curriculum inside and out. They need to be prepared to know all the names and faces of the kids that walk through the door, or are going to walk through the door in the form of a sibling.

Lastly, a good teacher is someone who listens to multiple stakeholders and is aware of the larger political context. Theresa explained:

> And, I also think that teachers need to be good listeners. Um, because I think that they are not only, you know, in the classroom listening to students—that they are part of a team, and part of a school, and a community, and a stakeholder across

> the table from another stakeholder, known as a parent. And, they need to be listening to the political climate of their area, which I know—you know, what's the future of their job, what is now being expected. Because, I think there is a big difference between the job of, what, like, executing on whatever the current standards are on being a teacher, and then there is the career and profession of being a teacher that is going to last a longer than the cyclical change that is going to happen with a new administration change or education act.

Theresa suggested being a good listener helped a teacher understand their role: "Keeping your ear to the ground to that, and knowing your part because you have listened and cooperated with your teammates, or your teammate of a grade. I think that is key, totally key." She also tied a good listener to another characteristic, "I actually think that being a good listener is part of that professionalism." About professionalism, she said:

> I love to see a professional teacher. Like, showing a level of professionalism in the way that they speak, and the way that they respect, and their mannerisms in their interactions not only with students, but with student's parents, with their teammates, and the administration. Showing that the profession of teaching is important and is just as important as being a doctor, attorney, or you know, the anchor on a news desk. Those professions carry a level of decorum with them that can sometimes can be lost in teaching, And, I think that's important.

Theresa said modeling professionalism benefited the students in their future success. "And, if they don't have that example at home, for whatever reason, of how to look and act and treat others in like the public setting then they will continue to fall

behind." She also said, "So then, showing them the mannerisms that help them make other people comfortable through their professionalism and showing respect through that, then I don't know that they would be as successful."

Multicultural education. During the interview, I asked Theresa, "Is it a teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity of cultures is valued and respected in the classroom?" She responded, "I do think that the teacher has the responsibility in that I think that all human beings have that responsibility," and, "To have these elevated conversations and be knowledgeable, and aware, and sensitive, and um—to be fair, and to find out what they need to know, and they need to know it." For both SJ7, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," and SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate *diversity*, it is not their job to change society," Theresa selected Uncertain.

Theresa was not sure of the specific role that a teacher's own race or ethnicity plays in teaching, but stated, "I know that it has got to play a role because it plays a role in all your relationships, and teaching is a relationship." She also said, "And I don't know that it is that strong, but the influence itself, of course. You have to always be aware that you are operating under the filter of what you know." She said these "filters" influence the expectations you have for your students as well as what working to meet those expectations looks like. Therefore, depending on a student's action/inaction, a teacher perceives and interprets that child's progress towards that expectation and, in the process, makes a character judgment. Theresa said:

> Um, I think that the role whiteness plays, because you can't get rid of it. Um, I think that the role, for me, that my whiteness plays is that, um, sometimes I think it may—may be that I could...be too comfortable where I am at. It is quite easy to be White. Okay, so, so to never—it's going to be very difficult for me to imagine where the hardship is.

She said, "just a role of privilege, unfortunate privilege, that, um, that you have to live with and then, and then make sure that you are using it for good and not for excluding or exacerbating any existing stigmas or stereotypes." Theresa selected Agree for item SJ1, "An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation."

When asked if inequalities exist in U.S. schools, Theresa responded with a resolute, "Yes." She shared an example of the growing number of charter schools in her area where access and opportunity to succeed are structured so that only certain students with certain backgrounds can:

> When we do that, it sounds like a really cool education option. It has a lottery, anyone can go. But, the truth of the matter is, if you are going to a school that requires that much homework, you definitely need a parent at home that speaks the same language as the dominate culture of the school, and can help you with your homework, or you are never going to survive at that school. And so, it is kind of like, almost like a backdoor way for people to stick with their own.

She pointed to the structure of some charter school processes that creates unequal access: “I think it weeds them out before they even try, because of the process of the lottery itself.” Theresa mentioned the need for certain capital (e.g., language):

> The process of the lottery is a huge documentation kind of a process. Which, first of all, you have to access to the internet to download. Second of all, you have to have very sophisticated English um you know, it wouldn't—you would have to be a proficient English speaker and writer to fill it out. Then to submit it, and have the patience to—the time, if you will, to go and sit at the lottery, because you have to be present to do it.

Therefore, Theresa said, “And if you have a job where you can't take that time off like that, you are not going to do it,” and concluded, “Yeah, it is a burden that weeds people out, for sure.” She also described hardships for students that do gain access:

> Your parent would need to be fluent in the same language as the dominant culture of the school. And, they would probably need to be okay with that level of parent involvement in homework. And, that is not an across-the-board statement, for better or worse, for all cultures or ethnicities. It just isn't.

Theresa did agree that teaching the causes of social and economic class divisions, gender, faiths, and sexuality should be incorporated into classroom instruction. “I am not sure what level they should be taught, but it shouldn't be so scary that everyone is afraid to even mention it. It shouldn't be the Voldemort in the room.” Theresa said, “Even in our country we are uncomfortable about the maturation talk in the fifth grade. Like, it's your body. It's biology. Why are we all wigging out right now?” She did say it was a delicate

balance, “but, I don't think teachers should be so afraid of knowledge, because ultimately that is what it is. That they cannot even acknowledge the curiosity in the student.” Theresa answer to item SJ2, “Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom,” was Agree. During the interview, Theresa also agreed with teaching politically, socially, and religiously sensitive topics. However, she did not elaborate on why or how.

Gender (i.e., norms, identity, and roles) was a topic that Theresa did see as a possible topic for discussion in the classroom. She said:

> I think that is perfectly fine to talk about, you know. I, as an aside, I think there are simple ways that they can start talking about the topic so that it seems normal and comfortable to most children, regardless of their framework.

Theresa again mentioned taking a student’s lead and starting with their curiosity as well as her belief that teachers needed to be prepared. She said:

> I think it depends on what students are in your class that year. Obviously, if you have a student who is contemplating their own identity, and it is starting to be an issue and they want to talk about it with their peers, let them be the guide, of course with their families.

Theresa felt that without this guidance, there could be negative impacts: “But, if you don't guide the conversation, students talk about it outside, and then, it might not be done in a healthy, productive manner.” Her suggestion was for better teacher education on these topics so that teachers receive preparation for these questions as they come up:

> It starts with curiosity with them, it is much easier to guide it. But, then to be, again, prepared for whatever direction is going to go because you are not of the knowledge and you are not afraid to discuss it with kids without getting in trouble. And, you are better prepared to handle it and field it and grow it from where you need to.

She said this should be a part of teacher education:

> I think it should be part of teacher curriculum in that it is part of what we train teachers on, much the same we train our teachers on first aid and CPR, but we don't make them do CPR on kids every year, hopefully they never have to use it. But, then they prepared for the questions as they come.

I also asked Theresa, "What are your thoughts about the use of multicultural literature and censorship?" Theresa said, "I think genuine multicultural literature is written by someone of the culture origin. And, I think about their culture or, how their culture touches others." She did not agree with censorship, she said:

> I think it is like there is a very fine line; my gut reaction is that I am not in favor of censorship in the form of, like, we should never know what the writings of Adolf Hitler are, or we should never know what the Koran looks like, or we should never look at a whatever. I don't think those should be banned outright, or censored, or anything like that. I think in the right scenario, and in the right classroom, with the right protocol in place, and students that can handle it... almost any piece of writing, video, art, can be discussed, a higher-level thinking.

Responding to my question, “Do you feel family values impact student learning?” Theresa said, “I think that the way that you exercise your family values has an impact on student development and learning.” She said:

> So, you can value education, but if the way that you exercise that is I bring you my student, and I drop them at the school, and I honoring you and education by saying, “It is in your hands, and I'm not going to interfere.” And, ha-ha, “oh and by the way, I have never sat, and never had my kid in my lap and read to them because that is your job?” That is going to develop that student’s development and learning. But, if you value education and the way you exercise that is from utero, ha-ha, to kindergarten, you have been reading to your child, making them listen to different types of music, and having them touch and play and do things on an experiential level that is beyond, then you have had an impact on that, too.

Culturally responsive education. In response to the interview question about whether she believed that the culture of all students should be incorporated into classroom instruction, Theresa said, “In as much as there is time and money to do it.” On item SJ4, “Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions,” she selected Agree. At the time of the interview, she said she was just beginning to toy with the idea of the tie between multiple intelligences and teaching about cultures: “You know, I started to think that the introduction to culture and the way that, uh, other cultures address education should almost be used like how we use multiple intelligence modifications.” Theresa said:

> So, when you build a lesson plan around multiple intelligences, course you don't use all of them at once all in the same day. But, you might one or two, and then the next day you have two or three and they are completely different ones. And I am starting to wonder if, cultural differences and ways of doing things and implementing educational experiences could be built on those traditions.

She said that the teacher could integrate different cultures into the curriculum across subject areas or as they are brought up by students or situations. She said, "I am not 100% on what that looks like," but she gave the example: "Like, today we are doing it like they would have done it in Somali. No! No textbooks, all story time and memorizing, and songs, and you know?" She further explained:

> The written word is out of the picture today. We aren't doing it at all. And, I think there could be a value in that, not only broadening the students understanding of the world, but also it would tap into a different, a different flavor of the multiple intelligences that we know. So, what does linguistic multiple intelligences look like in a non-text based culture.

Theresa answered Disagree on survey item SJ3R, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature," and Uncertain on item SJ5R, "The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society."

For Theresa, she did see a teacher's culture affecting how they view students and teaching. She offered that, “I think culture, almost more than anything else, can affect your body language.” Additionally, she said:

> And kind of change how you communicate with people with your body. And so, um... you know... explaining to students why you may or may not do a certain thing and helping them accept that. Or, accept a certain cultural mannerism and learning styles. And, learning how to recognize people's cues, but then, like maybe, it's a cue but it might not mean what you think it means.

Theresa believed that she needed to understand how her mannerisms might be perceived differently. She gave the example of how a Mormon tradition of folding your arms in front of you as an act of deference can be perceived differently by others:

> An example I use, is in my parents' culture, and truthfully in my culture even though I don't live this, it is so ingrained in me. It is a sign of respect and reverence to have your arms folded. It shows people I am listening and you have my complete and total attention. And, it is almost like a service to you. You know, like honor. But, when I stand in front of someone and fold my arms like I am listening to them, people can think I am being very standoffish and trying to start a fight, and being offensive.

She indicated the need to be self-aware of how her students might view her mannerisms, as well as opening the door for discussions with students: “Right, so understanding those signals about myself and changing my own behavior, but also teaching students like, ‘Hey, this is how I interpret this. How do you interpret this?’”

Theresa said the response was different between diverse students and teachers; she said the difference could be positive or negative. She said, “I think it is both ways. Honestly, I think it is both ways. I think if you are a student of the world and you are aware enough of your own filter that you look at the world in and you make an observation about someone else's mannerisms, quirks, culture, you are a student of the world then you will appreciate it.” When asked, she did not offer a negative response at the time this question, but she did talk about potential negative impacts of differences in teacher and student SES backgrounds (described further in the next section).

Social justice education. Theresa saw teaching for social justice as “rooted in feelings.” She defined teaching for social justice as, “Talking to children about the universal truths that they know about themselves, and helping them connect that to the citizenship of the world.” She said, “Social justice can sometimes be led by passion. So, an individual can certainly have a passion for a narrow slice of something that speaks to social justice as a whole.” Theresa explained what teaching for social justice might entail:

> If you are teaching about that, it is historical and current events, I guess, too. Teaching for it—it's, here's how you recognize—here is how you recognize it. Here could be your role in it. Here is something you can be passionate about. You know, it is kind of like for you to say, if you are teaching for social entrepreneurship, would you actually go forward and say, “Okay!”

Theresa was unfamiliar with the phrase “socially just classroom.” When asked what she thought it might mean, she answered with a question of her own, “There would be no social injustice within it?” And added, “That maybe students who are studying

within that classroom are there—are selected to be there, either because they are victims, or they have victimized someone else and are learning to be better at those choices."

Theresa did not think primary children were too young to understand issues of social justice. Additionally, she said that, although they may not quite understand exactly what they are talking about, they do hear grown-ups talking, and they are curious. Theresa said:

> I think—oh, because I hear kids that age talk about those topics in their own, in their own word sense, in terms of what they have. And, they don't realize that what they are talking about is homophobia, and they don't realize that what they are talking about is Trump. But, they are talking about topics that are bigger than them because they hear grown-ups talk about it, and they are curious.

Theresa shared that she felt students should be treated the same in terms of the opportunities they are afforded but, at the time of the interview, she was still thinking about how "treated the same" fits in with what is being measured (e.g., mastery). She said:

> I am confused about it right now on how I think about it. Some of my thoughts surrounding it are that... we make... there is some things that I think should be the same and some things that I don't think should be the same. I mean, there are accommodations and modifications all over the place for all kinds of deficiencies. But, at the same time, I am wondering what are we stamping on that diploma and saying that they learned?

Elaborating further, Theresa stated, “Until we change our U.S. education system to measure you're done with school in a certain way, I am not sure how to answer that question,” and, “Simply because, because not everyone can deliver the same deliverable, and that's okay. Not everyone earns a master's degree, do we give them one? No.” She responded Uncertain to survey item SJ6R, “It’s reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don’t speak English as their first language,” and Disagree to item SJ9R, “Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom.”

Theresa also said that a teacher’s SES or gender might affect what and how they teach. Theresa felt that all students should have teachers of all different genders and different sexualities. She said that teachers of different genders and sexuality can have a different way of relating and reaching students:

> The reason that I say that is because, not just to be gender normative or anything, but there is just... certain things that can identify—it is kind of like I say, I wouldn't ever hire a plumber who has outdoor plumbing. Okay so, kind of like, I will probably have a way of relating to girl students and it is different than how I would relate to guy students. Does not mean I can't relate to guy students, but it is going to be different. So, wouldn't it be great if next year they had a, oh and by the way I am a straight female, so then like wouldn't it be great if next near they can have a lesbian female, and the next year a gay male, and maybe the next year a male. Because, I think that the way that all those teacher can relate to that student is different.

Other ways socioeconomic status can influence teaching were the ability to empathize versus pity, to relate, or even to understand a different value system. She said, “I'm not sure social, where I think that lies and how it influences. I don't think that is big in my head. But economic, that can have a huge impact and influence and play a role.” She spoke about her own experiences growing up, “I have an understanding of what it is like to be financially stressed as a child, and not know where your parents are necessarily renting next,” and said:

> I get that. And so, I can have an empathy for that. But maybe other teachers might not have, and I also remember what it was like to have teachers who could have, in my mind, afforded anything, would act sorry for me, instead of just empathetic and acknowledge that some people just live like that.

She explained how her personal experience with a changing SES also has an effect:

> I do remember what it was like to be pitied. Now I am in a different position, and I think that will play a role, too. Because, I don't want to lose sight of that empathy versus pity thing that is there. And, I also want to be more helpful where I can be.

Speaking about students with humble home situations, Theresa explained that nuances in SES sometimes go unnoticed, “and there are thresholds where there is an economic standing that is a choice. It's lower, and that is lost sometimes.” She explained:

> In, um, like a humble home situation. In some cases, and at some thresholds, it's a choice to be that way. You're choosing, in my parents’ case, they chose for it to be

tight and there would be sacrifice because they valued something else over that, which, you know, whatever. So, you can't just assume that their value system for money is the same as your value system for money.

Theresa's concerns for teaching for social justice were dependent on the area or topic. She found that "knowing it all" and support from a conservative county may make things difficult. To teach for social justice, she said the right preparation was needed, as well as students who want to learn these lessons from you.

Summarizing these two NDTR participants, Melissa and Theresa both represent low-levels of endorsement to teach for social justice. Towards a democratic education, both participants focused on what teacher's do for students (e.g., serve as role model.), as opposed to how teachers support students' participation and responsibility to act. Both participants agreed that teachers are preparing students for the lives they will likely lead and were uncertain if it was their responsibility to challenge school arrangements. During the interview, they both spoke of citizenship in terms of respecting boundaries (e.g., obeying, knowing their place, etc.); although, they both agreed students should be taught to think critically about the government (SJ8). Looking at Dover's (2013) category of critical pedagogy, neither participant went beyond being prepared for what is currently in place (e.g., having content area knowledge) to describe a social justice agenda of challenging the curriculum, pedagogy, education systems, or developing student's sociopolitical consciousness. Regarding Dover's third category of a multicultural education, they both strongly agreed with incorporating a multicultural content that reflected the diverse cultures of their students. They both took on more of an additive

approach. Melissa described separate units, while Theresa envisioned a more comprehensive approach, and did not have a strong stance for systemic reform or an "effort to redress racial, cultural, and linguistic oppression (Dover, 2013, p. 5). Although, Theresa was more open to discussing causes of division, sensitive topics, etc. with her students. Under Dover's fourth category, culturally responsive education, Melissa and Theresa did not emphasize the analysis of their own teacher identity. Additionally, although they both said they believed social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools and provided personal knowledge of unequal access to education, neither spoke in depth about effecting change or interrupting social and educational inequities. Lastly, regarding social justice education, Melissa concentrated on the deficits she believed different student groups bring into the learning environment, and Theresa focused on students' understanding of their place in society. Both participants were unsure what a socially just classroom was. Melissa focused on giving all kids the equal resources first and accommodating second; Theresa focused on accommodating students, but that not all student outcomes can be the same. Additionally, their concerns for teaching for social justice were focused outward (e.g., language barriers, political climate, etc.), rather than inward (e.g., personal biases).

NDTR Middle-Endorsement Interview Participants

Two interviewees, Joseph and Ethan, represented middle-endorsement to teach for social justice among NDTR survey participants. Their individual responses to each survey item can be found in **Error! Reference source not found.**.

Joseph. Joseph is a White male in his 20s who is preparing to teach high school in a suburban area. He chose the program for its responsiveness and professionalism during the application process, as well as the extended time spent in the classroom before becoming a certified teacher. Although different races and ethnicities live in the city he grew up in, he described it as racially segregated. Most residents were from middle to upper-middle class socioeconomic backgrounds. In addition, the area was not diverse in religion or language. Joseph had a total score of 43 out 60 possible points on the LTSJ-B. Of the 20 NDTR participants who agreed to be interviewed, he had the sixth lowest score. To note, Joseph's score falls closely to Theresa's score, with only a one-point difference. Seventeen NDTR residents agreed to a follow-up interview, however, upon being contacted, those participants with a score closer to the mean of all NDTR participants declined my invitation.

Democratic education. Answering the first interview question about a democratic education, Joseph described a teacher as having many roles. He said:

> In my idealistic opinion, um, I think a teacher needs to be multiple things—a teacher needs to be a teacher, a teacher needs to be a role model, a teacher needs to be a mentor, a teacher needs to be a guide, a teacher needs to be a voice of reason, um, a teacher essentially needs to be everything that a kid needs inclusion-wise.

He said that at times teachers need to step into parent roles and shared his experience in the classroom with "a couple of kids whose parents are in jail, the other one is working

like 12 jobs just to provide for them, so they are never home." He described how he watched his mentor teacher helping a student with their homework for other subjects:

> So, she was like, literally, was like helping him with his math homework, which is something a parent should do. And, we had, we sent out probably—I can't even recall how many emails we sent out to the parents of our students just because they—we have several students who are regularly not turning in homework. They're not regularly doing their work, so we are trying to get that support at home. But, that support at home just isn't there, so like the role of the teacher is just kind of—kind of fluctuating all the time.

Joseph selected Agree to item SJ12R, "Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the life that students are likely to lead."

Also under the umbrella of a democratic education, I asked Joseph to define good citizenship. He answered, "Good citizenship, in my opinion, is just being a constructive member, uh, to society, I guess." Joseph said it did not only entail being actively engaged in local government or community activities, "because I mean, people have jobs, people have school you can't always be able to go to, like, uh, city council meetings. Not a lot of people have time for that." Rather, he said good citizenship meant taking care of others:

> Um, but even just like you see something—like even for example, in school, you see bullying in school, shutting down the bullying, explaining why bullying wrong, hopefully making those kids change their view of what, like, appropriate behavior is, even that is just being a good citizen in my opinion. Because that—that—that mentally that, "Oh, I think that I can beat this person, or belittle this

> person," even that mentality can snowball. As—as—it snowballs into something worse that, who knows, maybe, not to jump to extremes, but who knows, maybe that could shut down some delinquent behavior in the future. Um, and just like taking care of one another, that's good citizenship. Um, just being there for your fellow man.

Joseph also said that good student citizenship is helping others both academically and socially:

> A student citizen is a student that is attentive, um, is attentive to what is happening in class, isn't necessarily the best student, but is at least making a very conscious effort to comprehend everything that is happening in school. Helping out—a student who is willing to help out. Maybe they are a better student? Maybe a good student would be willing to help out a student who is struggling to comprehend the material. A student who sees bullying in the hallway and would be like, "Hey, that isn't right." Uh, I think it is essentially the same thing, but inside of the school setting.

On survey item SJ11R, Joseph selected Uncertain for "Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work."

Joseph was unfamiliar with the phrase civic education and said, "Uh... my first initial thought is, just like, um, like a governing class I guess?" Asked if he thought it was needed, he said, "I think it is important. I think it is pretty crucial." Joseph elaborated:

> I think, um, I think just knowing the ways that the United States Government, or any government, works? It has a big impact on—on everything you do. I think—

> like if you look at English, there's a lot of—you can read a text and think, "Oh, this is a piece praising socialism. No, this is a piece criticizing socialism." To fully comprehend that, you need to understand like what types of government there are, how they work, and all that. And, um, it is also just, once you get out of school and out of college academia, um, just knowing how society functions, all the political roles at governmental levels, will help you understand life in the United States, just in general. Yeah.

On SJ8, Joseph indicated that he strongly agreed with the statement, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions."

Critical pedagogy. Joseph identified different characteristics of a good teacher. He said, "Um, a good teacher in my opinion I think... um... has clear expectations," and, "Um, understands that students come from different backgrounds, different circumstances, but doesn't let those differences change the expectation." He further explained, "We should never lower the bar for students who are in bad life circumstances just because their life is bad." Joseph perceived lowering expectations as hurting students, "The best way to get these kids out of their life situation is making them better academically, intellectually preparing them for, like, life. Um, and if we lower the bar, um, that is—that's just hurting them." He saw this as different from making accommodations for students with different learning needs.

> And, I am not—I understand—this is completely separate from making accommodations for students with, like, learning disabilities and such, that's a completely different story. But, in general, I think a teacher has certain

> expectations and inspires, and motivates, and, um, all that just so that their students complete what they need to do and meet those expectations that have been set.

Multicultural education. To explore Joseph's stance on teaching a multicultural curriculum, I asked if it was a teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity of cultures is valued and respected in the classroom. Joseph responded, "Yes, yes." He said teachers do this by providing knowledge, dispelling myths, and correcting culturally insensitive actions, "Just correcting like, like if a kid says 'that's gay' in class. Like saying, 'Whoo, yeah, you shouldn't say that,' and then explaining why you shouldn't say that." He also said, "Um, just stuff like that. Like racial slurs, anything." On the survey, Joseph selected Agree for item SJ7, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," and Disagree to item SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society."

Joseph agreed that his own race/ethnic identity plays a role in teaching. He said, "Um, I think it would be ignorant to say no." He explained:

> Um, just because—ah—today, in today's society, racial issues are just so, are so—so, in—in—I am trying to find the words. I think it is just so—it's everywhere, right? You look on the news, there is always some sort of racial tension building up. Um, and I think—I think—think being conscious of like who you are will, uh, maybe in trying to think of what the other side sees, um—uh, I am just having a really hard time wording this. I definitely think it has an impact.

He also focused on how his race and the races of his students have an impact on teaching and learning. “It makes it so that we have to connect on some different level other than ethnicity.” He explained:

> They need to see me as an individual and not just another White guy. So, I think it definitely does have an impact, or I think it is—has an influence on my teaching, I guess? But, I don't necessarily think it is a negative thing.

Joseph said, “I also need to understand the students and where they are coming from and what their culture is.” He provided a personal experience:

> For example, growing up in all my schools it was Mr. and Mrs. whatever their last name is. So, a lot of my students, I have been told, is kind of a cultural—a Hispanic cultural thing, they just refer to teachers as Miss and Mister. And, I know, I was talking to one teacher, uh, a veteran teacher, and, when she initially got into this situation, she was at first offended about it, that they were just calling her Miss, until she took the time to realize that's respect for them. Just saying Miss or Mister is what they find respectful. So, I think it goes both ways, you need to understand as a teacher—you need to understand what your student’s identity is and they also should hopefully learn what your identity is and not necessarily jump to racial identity. But I still think racial identity is important because it is the easiest one to see. It is the first one they have, have to work with.

On survey item SJ1, “An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one’s own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation,” Joseph answered that he strongly agreed.

Joseph did think social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools. He experienced racial segregation within the communities he grew up in and cited a recent study conducted in his state that indicated institutional racism existed in the public schools:

> Uh, definitely, like, last week I think? [Redacted] Schools released, uh—like they had a third party auditor, I think, assess their school district and they found that minority students—I can't remember the exact thing, but they were essentially proving that there was some level, there was institutional racism in [Redacted] Public City Schools. And, I think that, definitely, within, um, not necessarily every school, but I think the large majority of schools, um, in the United States, and I think also kind of exist on the individual level still. So, I think it still has a big impact on—in schools today. Even today, um, like I was saying about [redacted], even though it is a very diverse city, it is still very racially segregated.

Joseph held that both individual and school-level racism affect schools:

> And, I think that is how schools function as well, um, like maybe not—I think it is getting better, especially like on the student level, but I still see like in schools, it's mainly the Hispanic kids that hang out with the Hispanic kids. It's mainly the African American kids hang out with the—the African American kids, and the White kids hang out with the White kids. And, like, it's still—and even though they get along, there is still some sort of racial divide that exists.

Causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality were concepts that Joseph said should be taught, “I think the majority—the large

majority, the large majority, if not all, of the world's problems revolve around a lack of communication and a lack of education." He saw the classroom as a "great place to have those discussions" and said, "I think—I think—like, looking at these issues, and, like, looking back, helps—helps you understand what is happening currently and what is happening in the future." Joseph explained that this type of discussion also allows students to have an informed stance on something:

> For example, last summer with the Supreme Court's ruling, with the, uh, same-sex marriage, and gay rights movement. You can look at the Civil Rights Movement, and, um, and not, although there's not many, not 100% the same, but there are a lot of similarities. And, I think if people would look back and be like "Oh man, this is totally a civil rights issue." You would definitely see like changed perspectives, and maybe not necessarily be, everybody be like, "Oh, okay, yeah, we're no longer homophobic anymore," but at least, at least make them think about their decision and have a reason for wanting to believe the way they do, rather than them just being right.

He strongly agreed with item SJ2, "Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom." He also said that politically, socially, and religiously sensitive topics should be talked about in the classroom, stating "Um, yes, yeah. I think so. I think and it is absolutely for the same reasons why. Like, just because you ignore a problem, doesn't make it go away." He perceived that communication and starting a dialogue allowed a person to dispel myths and gain a better understanding:

> I think you need to talk about it. I think you need to address it and talk about why these perspectives exist. And then, who knows, maybe it is going to be just a complete misunderstanding about why this, this group hates this other group. It's just, "Oh my God, we thought that you guys were just blah blah blah."

Although, he also explained, "Granted, it isn't going to be that simple. But that's that miscommunication." When I asked what he thought about teaching about gender, Joseph said, "Um, I am also all for that." Joseph viewed gender as socially constructed and as something that can be tied to lessons on diversity:

> Um, I kind of think like it is the same thing, like, I think that is one of those things that if you start incorporating diversity in your classroom and in your materials without like forcing it, um, I think that's one thing that kind of will just essentially kind of work itself, work itself out in a way.

Joseph explained that it should be taught as students bring it up and are mentally/developmentally ready to learn about it. He said:

> Because I know a lot of—a lot of society—like, gender norms, are established because of the way you were raised as a kid. Like, um, and I think, I think just having the first resources and, uh, relating things back to people's cultures, that will have an impact and you don't necessarily need to outright talk about it? Especially like elementary school, freshman in high school, but maybe if a kid starts developing, then you can start talking about it as they have developed enough mentally to comprehend the, like, complex ideas.

When I asked him, “What are your thoughts about the use of multicultural literature and censorship?” Joseph favored the use of multicultural literature. A benefit was allowing students of different backgrounds to see themselves represented in the literature:

> Um, I do think using multicultural, um, sources, I think that's great. Um, because it not only helps like the students who may be who are multicultural minorities, it helps them be like, “Oh, that guy was a Black astronaut! I could be a Black astronaut.”

He also said, “It helps prove the point that this world is a multicultural, diverse world. Not just Black and White.” About this ability to see the world as multicultural, he said, “I think that is super important.” Further, Joseph provided an example of how representation needs to be authentic:

> But then again, that has its limits. Uh, for example, my college professor always complained about how he would always get yelled at because his medieval literature class didn't have enough sources from, uh like, female, uh, female perspectives. And it is medieval literature, so…

Joseph explained how in this instance, explaining his professor’s stance, “Even though he agrees with the idea of using like diverse, multicultural texts, he is, like, ‘I can't because that was the time. I can't change that, like women were working less.’” Therefore, he said, “You have to be reasonable with—You can't just force it.” Asked about censorship he candidly replied, “So, I am super against any kind of censorship.” He added, “Just because you find an idea challenging doesn't mean that that idea is

necessarily wrong," and said, "I think it was Voltaire? 'I may not agree with what you have to say, but I will defend to my death your right to say it' kind of thing." Joseph said there's a benefit to reading challenging materials:

> And, I think reading material that you find difficult, like that you find challenging, I think that is how you better develop your personal views. I didn't develop, I didn't develop my personal, like, philosophy on life…I didn't develop that just by reading books that supported my opinion. I read books that contradicted me, and I digested it, and I thought about it, but then, ultimately, I made my decision. Um, so I don't think censorship belongs in the classroom at all.

I also asked Joseph if he feels family values impact student learning. He responded, "Yeah, I think they definitely do." Joseph said, "Your family values is [*sic*] going to be a part of your culture, I think." He explained how family values can filter how you see new information. "Like, you have these—because of your family values, you are going to also have these predetermined, pre—like preprogrammed ideas about things I guess, or how you go about—so something similar I think." He provided a personal example, relating family values to religion, of how prior beliefs can impact how a person perceives new knowledge as aligning or diverging from them, "I was raised Catholic. And so, when I first heard about evolution, I was like: No, that's not what, that's not what happened. So, I think it's—it's something similar."

Culturally responsive education. When asked about incorporating the culture of all students into classroom instruction, Joseph agreed that it should be done in an authentic way, "I think it goes with real world applicability." He suggested, "Um, um,

and, yeah, so you make the materials relevant to your students. And, sometimes that is looking at their culture and relating why [*sic*] you are learning in class to what their culture is." Regarding how this could be accomplished, he said:

> I think—I think like having the kid go through and write a paper on how they identify, I think that could be good. But, I think that is also dependent on what the subject is? That doesn't make sense in math, that doesn't make sense in math, in science, necessarily.

Although he did not think that a writing assignment on culture fit all subjects, he was open to other methods of integrating a multicultural curriculum:

> But like, finding ways to get that—get some math to the student, if you can do that by relating it to their culture and how they identify, I think that that's—that's great. So, I think both would work. But, the paper, like, having students reflect on their culture? I think that is dependent on subject.

His survey response to SJ4, "Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions" was Agree. Although, at the time of the survey, he selected Uncertain for item SJ3R, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature." He selected Strongly Agree for item SJ5R, "The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society."

Joseph said his culture does affect how he views students and teaching. Having spoken about the connections of race and ethnicity, as well as family values and culture,

he did not say much more beyond confirming that he saw the impact of culture in the same way. He said, “Yeah, I think it is essentially the same thing.”

When asked if culturally diverse students and teachers respond differently to one another than teachers and students who share the same culture or ethnicity, he agreed that there are likely differences. Again, having described this difference in response earlier, he confirmed his previously shared views about the visibility of race, its initial connection (or not) based on previous experiences and the potential need to make connections based on something else.

Social justice education. When I asked Joseph to define teaching for social justice, at first he said, “How do you define teaching for social justice, I guess, teaching... um... uh, that's a hard question.” Then, he followed with:

> Teaching for social justice. Okay, um, I think teaching for social justice is just—is teaching with the conscious knowledge that students come into the classroom with different experiences, different identities, different cultures, and respecting those differences and celebrating those differences. And, connecting those differences into a whole. So, bringing those differences and making them one.

He also said, “So, rather than these differences exist [*sic*], and that is why you are separate, being like these differences exist and that's why we are awesome, I guess. Ha!” He was unfamiliar with the phrase socially just classroom, “No, but it sounds pretty straightforward.” He defined it as, “A socially just classroom, I think that is going back to my belief on egalitarianism. Making sure individuals have the same opportunities to

succeed. And, I think it is the same with students, students have the same opportunities to succeed."

Joseph felt that primary-aged students were capable of learning about social justice at a big-picture level. He said, "I think in general, in a very general term, like, I think yeah, just big picture, generalized all primary school, yeah, I think so." However, he also said, "But, I think it is also dependent on the child—the child, uh, the individual child and their experiences." At a young age, teachers teach by how they carry themselves, interact, and through the messages they send. He said, "I think like more so, and I think more in the elementary they just learn by association." Joseph explained:

> Um, and so I think just how the people who interact with teaching to elementary schoolers, I think the way they conduct themselves can like... I don't know... I think the way they just teach elementary school, the way the elementary school teacher conducts themselves, um, can like have an impact on that. So, like having little girls, like, realizing at an early age that they can be engineers, scientists, mathematicians, all of that, um, because if you don't get that at like a young age, I think it's like fourth grade if I remember correctly? It will be very difficult for them to overcome that—their like ingrained, like subconscious beliefs that they are meant to be like nurses, teachers, homecare—like home-care providers.

Responding to the question, "In your opinion, should all pupils be treated the same regardless of their background (i.e., race, SES, culture, etc.)?" Joseph said, "Yeah, I guess, yeah, I definitely believe in—in an egalitarian society." However, he drew a distinction with students with special needs, "Okay, yeah. Well, I think that it is

important to keep in mind that someone that is wheelchair-bound might not have the same physical capability as someone who is not wheelchair-bound, if that makes sense." He also said, "So, so yeah, so it's like in general equality is good. However, there needs to be, like, adjustments for—so it needs to level the playing field. So, based on some—in some circumstances, if that makes sense." Joseph did not believe in the value of handing out a "participation ribbon" to everyone. Joseph explained:

> No, no I don't think that. Like, children's sports and life—several parts are completely different. I hate that analogy. Like, because, um, some people are better at sports than other people. Some people are better at singing than other people. But, as long as—as long as race—if the same exact person, but the race is different—but, just because this girl's White and she has the same exact voice as her minority counterpart? Just because she is White, she gets farther in life with her voice? That I don't think—that's when you need to level the playing field, if that makes sense.

Additionally, Joseph said, "I also don't think you need to handicap this person with a great talent." Therefore, treating people the same meant potentially adjusting your input, what you provide, to allow for the same output. When taking the survey, Joseph chose Disagree for "It is reasonable for teachers to have lower expectations for students who do not speak English as their first language" (SJ6R). He chose Uncertain for "Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom" (SJ9R).

In addition, Joseph said that a teacher's social and economic class or gender does influence what and how they teach: “I would say yes, kind of, for the same reasons as before.” Because of the visibility of both, he said there was an initial assumption that people might make as soon as they see someone because of their experiences:

> I think—I think it is, kind of, similar with race. It's like, especially like—well maybe not exactly gender, but I—because I—I guess because how you want to identify gender as—I was always told gender is what's in your head and sex is what is between your legs. Um, so, I think less of gender because I don't think that is as, um, apparent.

Joseph also said, “Um, I think—I think sex is the same thing as ethnicity and race. It's something that they see instantly.” Explaining the impact on teaching, Joseph said, “I mean as you progress and build these relationships with your students and what you choose to disclose to them, then maybe it will have an impact on the way you teach or how you teach.” He further explained his reasoning about the visibility of sex and gender, as well as the perception that can come from both:

> So, it is just kind of easy for them to be like, ‘Oh he is a guy, he's going to be a tougher teacher. She's a girl, she is going to be a softer teacher, vice versa’, whatever they had in the past. And so—because—and then I guess same—the way they take gender and SES standing, I think that it is the same way. But I think that is more apparent than gender necessarily, um, just because it is—its not be as easy to see as, let's say, than race, but it’s more apparent than gender.

Responding to the impact of SES, Joseph shared, “So, I think that also has an effect on how you are as a teacher? Student-wise, I definitely think social and economic standing—definitely have an impact on education.” He described the challenges that exist for some students and the potential power of building relationships:

> It may be harder for a kid—maybe he needs—uh, he needs—like some of my students. Dad's in jail, their mom's working three jobs. They’re the ones babysitting their brothers and sisters when they get home. Um, they are essentially being another parent to their younger siblings. So, that is definitely going to affect their—their like, their—their trying to put in effort on what they should be doing for school at home. And, it could even have an effect—they were up late babysitting their—their little siblings while their parents were at work and they were up until 3 a.m., and now they are falling asleep in class. So, I think that would definitely have more so—have more of an effect on—for the students than for teachers necessarily. Um, yeah, it is kind of the same thing as race. I think initially it has a bigger impact, but as the teachers and the students begin to build a relationship, build a rapport, I think it becomes less of a—of a—less of an impact on what happens in schools, I guess?

When it came to the impact on teaching, Joseph asserted, “I guess in what it impacts is perceptions, initial perceptions—student and a teacher.” He said these perceptions might affect the student in the following way:

> Like for example, if in the past, you have had one male teacher. And, he was the no nonsense, like shot everything down, if you like whispered in his class you got

> detention and then, all of a sudden, all the other teachers you've had were all female and they were all kind of different personalities. But, that one male teacher, that one male teacher you had, I am assuming he may just draw the conclusion that all male teachers are hard asses.

For teachers, he saw these perceptions as affecting how they interact, teach, and plan lessons based on what they assume is their students' perspective. Joseph said:

> At least for me, whenever I am trying to think from a student's perspective, I initially want to think about what I did in high school, what happened to me in high school. But, that's not the same thi—what—where I was at in high school and what my students are in high school are completely different. And so, when I am trying to think of the student's perspective, I need to be conscious that what I am thinking is the student's perspective is essentially White middle—White middle class, middle America, male perspective. And, all things—and there is a whole other reason—other slew of things I have to consider how, um, like, if I am looking from that perspective. And, this will ultimately affect how I am giving—um, how I am teaching lessons.

Lastly, Joseph said a teacher must work hard to learn about the students in the room and about their background knowledge and experiences to better reach and teach them. “One of my essential views, just to give this as an example, is background knowledge. West Side Story is a lot easier to teach in like city schools than Romeo and Juliet is.” He explained, “Just because the setting is different. So, you have to, as a

teacher you need to keep in mind your students' experiences and often what they know, rather than what you think they know."

A concern that Joseph had about teaching for social justice was making sure he personally conducted himself in a socially just way, "I guess, like, my concern is, like, my concern with, like, how I conduct myself with co—with these students, I guess. I just—I just feel like I—I need to be a model for my students, if that makes sense?" He also said a challenge was:

> I need to be respectful. I need to be understanding. But then, I also need to be able to, like, hold everybody to the same standards. Um, and so I think that—probably my biggest concern is just like the fact that I—I will say all that, I guess that is my biggest concern.

He saw his own experiences and the potential to be unable to understand a student's experience as potential barriers:

> So, yeah, I am still working on being a better person. Um, I don't think anyone on Earth is—except maybe the Dalai Lama—is like where they need to be on that level of acceptance. And, so I guess that is what I think my biggest barrier is. Even though I am conscious of my experiences and they are different than my students' experiences, I guess a barrier will just be my inability to understand, um, maybe a certain student's experience.

To support teaching for social justice, Joseph named several, "I think support-wise, it's just constantly having—I think constantly just always having a discussion about culture, and diversity, and the importance of it, and like methodology that work, and just

research and such. I think, just having that to fall back to." He saw these discussions as allowing him to learn from multiple perspectives:

> Yeah, so like bringing my experiences and then everybody else shares their experiences. And, we discuss in what ways they are different and in what ways they are the same, and why—mmm, why one experience isn't better than the other, but they are all equal and just as magnificent and all that stuff.

He concluded, "I really think that all the world's problems could just be fixed if people just sat and talked to each other and listened."

Ethan. Ethan is a White male student in his 30s. He is preparing to work with secondary students in a rural area. He chose NDTR for its extended field experience with the support of a mentor and because it was recommended to him by administration at his job as a paraprofessional. The communities he grew up in were somewhat diverse. He described the first community he grew up in as "outside of town" and in a rural area that was a mostly White, affluent population and a school population that had many cliques (skaters, jocks, etc.). He experienced more diversity when he could drive and access the surrounding community and moved to a community he described as "inner city" with more racial diversity (White, Asian, Black, and Hispanic) and diversity in affluence. He described his move as a culture shock, but said he was surprised to see that, "As far as the ethnic groups, nobody seemed to limit themselves to their own ethnic group." Ethan had a middle level of endorsement to teach for social justice among NDTR interviewees; his total score was 51 out of 60.

Democratic education. When I asked Ethan, "What do you think is a teacher's role?" Ethan described a teacher as wearing many hats. He said, "Um, well I think in general teachers wear a lot of different hats. They are surrogate parents; they are kind of a student's first idea of like what a boss might be like." Ethan also said:

> They can be a basketball coach too, you know. So, there are just all sorts of hats that a teacher wears. But the two main ones are the ones that I mentioned, the, uh, I think those should be the primary ones to meet students where they are at and kind of help them along the way.

Ethan explained, "For middle schoolers, helping them socially can be just as—have much bigger impact and bigger immediate returns for them than teaching them something academically." The role of a teacher was also to be aware of their immediate needs. "People coming from extreme poverty, or just people coming from problems at home, people can't—students can't learn because their mind isn't open to it." Sharing his own experience, he said, "That is exactly where I was in middle school! I guess taking my experiences and trying to use those to empathize with where students are coming from now." Ethan emphasized the importance of focusing on "the complexity of the now;" therefore, a teacher's role was to empathize where students are coming from at that moment, rather than look too far ahead or trying to "fix" everything. He proposed:

> I would say just to prepare their students for, you know, the next stage of their life, you know. Like for middle school, I would say focus on getting them to high school. You know, don't worry about, you know—because I know what I was like in middle school, I was a disaster! Ha-ha, you know, so I wouldn't put pressure on

> teachers to, I don't know, change their students to different people in one year. You know, you can't make a seventh grader into an adult by the end of the seventh grade.

On item SJ12R, Ethan selected Disagree to "Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the life that students are likely to lead."

Ethan provided the following definition of good citizenship: "Good citizenship, um, I don't know, I think you should take part in the community to the extent that, um, it's something that you can be passionate about." He also admitted, "Yeah, I have literally never thought about that, Ha-ha." He made a distinction between types of citizenship; "grassroots citizenship where it isn't necessarily politically motivated or anything like that, it is just trying to improve where you live." Ethan described the following example of grassroots citizenship:

> It doesn't even need to be a huge time commitment. One of my favorite stories that I found this summer was about this guy in, um, um, Alabama who just started mowing lawns for free for old folks and single mothers. And, that has just been one my favorite things so far because it isn't this huge amazing thing. He just goes and mows a lawn for 30 minutes, and does it for free, and just wanted to bless you. Not trying to sell anything, not trying to get you to come to our church.

Ethan defined good student citizenship as, "Somebody who doesn't stop learning." Ethan gave the example of his experience working with a program called Kids2Kids, "where, um, uh, I don't know what you would call them, I guess normal kids would come in and buddy up with special ed kids?" He said:

> And, uh, some of them were so good at it. And some of them weren't the traditionally best students that would come and do this. But just the tenderness and sincerity that a seventh-grade student could come in and work with a student with Autism. Oh my gosh, that was just one of my favorite things I saw last year.

He responded Uncertain on item SJ11R, "Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how they work."

Although Ethan said that he was unfamiliar with the phrase civic education, he said:

> I would guess that it had something to do with, like, uh, knowing who your world politicians are, knowing who is on the school board, um, and, I don't know, distributing that information or making sure that kind of thing is, uh, readily available to people who don't know.

He saw this definition changing at the school level, "in school, I would see it as something a little bit different. Like this is how government works and this is how things are set up." Asked if he thought civic education was necessary, he answered, "Yes." To item SJ8, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions," Ethan responded Strongly Agree.

Critical pedagogy. I also asked Ethan to describe the characteristics of a good teacher. Ethan said, "That is a hard one to answer. I would assume that they are someone who connects with students and gets them excited to go to class? That is what I would assume." He also said, "And, I think that, uh, a good teacher should be happy with what they are doing." He perceived this happiness as associated with having other benefits:

> Yeah, and I would hope that if they were happy with what they are doing the other things would kind of fall into place underneath it? They would be getting the student excited to come to class, hopefully they are making administration happy, and hopefully they are making parents happy.

He believed that the definition of a good teacher could depend on the context. For Ethan, there was not necessarily a set assortment of characteristics a teacher must have, or that will fit all students and situations:

> A lot of the expeditionary learning stuff that they are trying to incorporate into schools now? Um, like to me, when I was growing up, the teacher gives the lecture and maybe you do some homework that night, but that was what school was. Like, maybe you take some notes. But now, students are working on projects, and they are taking ownership of their own learning, and kind of the burden of their education is on them. So, I don't—so when you were asking what is a good teacher, I was like well I don't even know if I could even tell if a teacher is a good teacher when it seems like, I don't know, teachers have to do a lot less—I would say lecturing, not teaching, I would say less lecturing.

Multicultural education. Ethan said, "Oh absolutely," when I asked if it was a teacher's responsibility to ensure diversity of cultures is valued and respected. This could be done through cross-curricular instruction:

> I guess it depends on the subject. Like math, on the surface, it might not seem like there is a lot of multiculturalism going on, but if we talked more about where

> ideas and theorems come from, then that opens the door for a lot of multiculturalism discussions.

Additionally, Ethan said you could make sure multiple cultures are represented and included examples:

> Like if you are doing math, don't make every person's story problem like John or Sue, you know. Like even, I don't know, even fake people can—can be—I don't know, can be, I don't know, even represent multicultural—multiculturalism in a story problem.

In the survey, Ethan selected Agree for item SJ7, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," and Disagree for SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society."

Speaking on how his race and ethnicity plays a role in teaching, Ethan said, "Um, I think that it does. Although, I am probably not as aware of it as much as I should be," and described himself as, "just a White guy." He went on to say:

> I think that being White, I—I—I really think I need to be diligent and conscientious of like materials I, you know, like that kids read. And, just making sure that I am not, um… I don't know—I think—I mean, I could come up with a whole year's worth of like reading materials for students to read and they would all be about White guys.

He also said race and ethnicity affected a teacher's expectations, norms, and perceptions. Ethan gave the example of differences in what paying attention looks like.

He described himself: “And like, I am always doodling, like don't turn in anything that doesn’t have comics drawn in the margins or whatever.” However, he said there was a need to be open to other forms of attentiveness:

> But just being aware that, culturally, some students pay attention differently than the way that I do, or expect people to. And, I know, even as an adult, adults have kind of a—expectations of kids, like the kids are the adults, and I don't think that is exactly, like, that makes for a very good classroom environment.

Ethan also strongly agreed with item SJ1, “An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one’s own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation.”

Ethan also believed social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools. He immediately answered, “Oh yeah, definitely,” and gave the example of unequal allocation of resources and funds across schools. The affluent neighborhood he first grew up in received more modern materials, but the inner-city school did not:

> Oh, for sure, like my story of the school I grew up going to was affluent, and they had money. I moved to the inner-city school—they don't have money. You know it is just kind of, uh, I mean it was mind boggling the resources that I took for granted at my first school and just seeing what they don’t—I mean the school I was using they were still using white boards dry erase markers and the other school was still using chalk and erasers and this was like in the 90s, they were using dry erase boards, we are aren't talking about cutting edge resources.

Ethan also supported talking about causes of SES class divisions, gender, etc. “Oh sure. Um, I would say those are discussions that we should definitely be having.” In terms of SES, he alleged that there were multiple factors that cause the “bad side of town.” “I think there are a whole bunch of factors that go into that. But, I think that those are all things that are perfectly acceptable to talk about in school.” Ethan selected Agree for survey item SJ2, “Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom.” Ethan viewed discussing sensitive topics as potentially “edifying for students to, you know, talk about stuff that they might be only familiar with on a really like superficial level.” It was a way for students to hear from their peers and learn another perspective that allows them to reflect on their own actions and beliefs. He gave the example of discussions that were happening in the school he was working in about the presidential race: “We threw out a couple of ideas about, you know, just encouraging the students to just have their own opinions instead of repeating what their parents said.” Ethan also mentioned his experience with students calling each other Muslim or gay as a derogatory slur/joke and the opportunity to learn empathy. He shared a more recent experience. “Especially like, like Muslims are kind of weirding me out because last year there was this big deal about kids bullying other kids by calling them Muslim.” Ethan said, “If we were talking about Muslims, how would you feel—I would be able to have a conversation with a kid in sixth grade about how they would feel if I started to hate on their church or religion.” He also shared an experience from his childhood, “And, I had a friend at my school who was a lesbian and like when I was 16 everything was gay. You

know, ‘Oh, that's gay, he's gay, she's gay.’” Ethan explained his opportunity to learn to empathize:

> And uh, you know, like, even in high school it was like, “Oh, that is not really what I am saying,” but at the same time it is like, “Oh, but I am hurting my friend's feelings.” So, is it really worth it to argue about that?

This approach of learning to empathize was seen as allowing the information to become comprehensible for students:

> And, that is something they can understand without going into this whole geopolitical conversation, you know, about—or even about right—because it isn't even really about right or wrong, discussing cultures is just—this is how some people do it, this is just how some people think.

Ethan also said gender should be taught as part of sex education. “Um, increasingly more important. I don't know if I would have even five years ago, ha-ha, I would have been able to just say that they should be taught.” Ethan said, “But now I definitely think they should be taught. I think gender identity and gender norms should be taught with sex ed,” and specified when: “Like, it should definitely be something that the kids should be exposed to right around the time that their sexuality should be developing.” In terms of extent, Ethan explained:

> Well, I think how you talk about it is age appropriate, I wouldn’t necessarily, um—yeah, I wouldn’t exactly, uh, I wouldn’t necessarily talk about abortion in the sixth grade, but I would maybe talk about, um, why it’s important to—why—

> why—why I think it is important that people have access to a service that, um, I wouldn't necessarily have myself, or I may never use.

When I asked Ethan about his thoughts on utilizing multicultural literature or censorship, Ethan agreed with the use of multicultural literature. Earlier, when he shared that an effect of his race and ethnicity was potentially choosing a year's worth of materials only by a White male, he also said:

> I don't think there would be anything academically wrong with that, but I just think representationally, ha-ha, students should at least, not only engage with materials—er, interact with materials and reading books that are not only engaging to them, but hopefully that they are—I don't know, this is getting hard. I think as a teacher I should be conscious that there's a lot of good books and a lot of good stuff, um, that I haven't read and haven't been exposed to. Probably the best, I don't know, young adult novel probably hasn't been one that I have ever read.

Ethan did not agree with censorship: "In general, I would say no, but I also think that some things aren't age appropriate." He explained, "I definitely wouldn't give my sixth-grade students *Mein Kampf* for reading class now," however, "I would give a senior *Mein Kampf* and say, 'Tell me what you think about it and where do we see people talking like this today.'"

Ethan also believed that family values have an impact on learning, "especially if, like, if the parent even really cares like the kid is doing in school." He said the actions taken based on those values matter. He provided the example of his own family values,

“Like I didn't do particularly well in school, but I wasn't- I still had the expectation of getting like As and Bs.” He explained:

> You know, um, my parents went to parent teacher conferences, but they never sat down with me and did homework, either. So, you know, um, and as a result, I never did my homework. I usually got my assignments done, you know, in maybe study hall or something. But, I never went home and did homework.

He said, “So, it's like, if a students’—if the parents don’t have like that expectations of like how their kid's doing, I don't know how the kid is going to motivate themselves to do well without any outside influences,” and mentioned the absence of the “accountability of that.”

Culturally responsive education. According to Ethan, the culture of all students should be incorporated into classroom instruction as well as be student led. He answered SJ4, “Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences in classroom lessons and discussions,” with Strongly Agree. Again, it was important to him that students not end up feeling singled out:

> I would hope that I would be able to incorporate it just across the board. Um, I wouldn't want to like make somebody uncomfortable by singling them out and being like, “Okay we are going to have culture month,” and everybody's, uh, and like everybody comes from the same place or whatever but except for that one kid who’s moved here from, uh, wherever and it's like, “Oh that is different.”

He described the importance of getting to know his students personally to guide how he incorporates their cultures:

> But, I would, you know um, I think that, I think that ideally, I would be able to, like, have personal rapport, like, with like any of my students. Like, if they are all Navajo, and they all, like, have family that is on the "res", then maybe I would [*sic*], "Okay, maybe I can incorporate some Navajo in here." We have like a lot of, um, uh, [Redacted] and [Redacted] are over here, and definitely that is like culture that you can just incorporate into the curriculum.

He said, "And these are just our neighbors. These aren't strangers that we are never going to meet. These are our neighbors geographically." Ethan explained how he would want to be sensitive to how much the students wanted their culture included in the curriculum:

> But, if there was like one kid that was like a Syrian refugee moved, you know, to school, you know there aren't a lot of Syrians in [Redacted], but it would definitely be a conversation I would approach the student about. You know, "What would you, what would you think about me doing a lesson on, you know, what is going on in Syria, what was your favorite book," or something like, "What would you like to share with the class?" But if they were like, "Oh whatever, I am too shy, I don't want this to be about me," you know, I would do what I can to expose the other students to that culture and what is going on, but don't—don't, like, necessarily have to single out the student who prompted the original idea.

Ethan strongly disagreed with items SJ3R, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and

literature," and SJ5R, "The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society."

Ethan also stated that culture has an influence, but said, "My culture, um… I would, I would say yes, but I wouldn't be able to tell you how." Although, earlier in the interview as he spoke about the effects of race and ethnicity, he discussed how challenging it had been for him to identify his own culture for a paper during the program's beginning summer session:

> I just had to write this paper over the summer for one of my grad school classes. And it was, you know, talk about your culture, and I was like, "This is really hard, because I don't feel like I have one." But then, you know, I had to think about growing up I went to church a lot, so that was my culture. Uh, uh, and being poor, kind of informed a lot of my adult behavior, expectations I guess.

Ethan also said the response between culturally diverse students and teachers would be different. He said:

> Oh, definitely, I think there is all kinds of data that backs that up! I think that—I can't remember what the percentages are, but Black elementary school students get expelled exponentially, ha-ha, more frequently than like White students and for very similar behaviors. I think that that's—So, I don't think there is any question about that.

Additionally, Ethan expressed that the response itself could vary:

> I guess it would depend on how Black student felt about Black adults, whether it was a man or woman teacher, things like that. Um, but definitely, like, uh, out

> here there is like Native American students, and, like, definitely are more at ease with an adult that is Native American than [*sic*] they are, like, an adult that is something else. But again, it is like initially. But, over time you have to build those relationships.

He explained that although this might be initially true for some more than others, it depends:

> These are all questions where I can see that as happening, but it's also not something that I would—like I would never look at a Black student and think, "Oh he will never trust me as much as Mr. Johnson next door because Mr. Johnson is Black." Like, you know, I would never think that. But, but at the end of the year, if he has a better rapport with Mr. Johnson than me, than oh okay, you know, "Oh, that individual student got close to that individual teacher," But, but I don't think that that's like a, um, what is the word I am looking for? It's not like a bias that I have, or an assumption that I have, or something.

Social justice education. Ethan defined teaching for social justice as, "I guess, teaching for social justice would just advocate for the under-represented, or, you know, represent the under-represented, or the unrepresented." He was unfamiliar with the phrase "a socially just classroom," but defined it as, "I think that it would mean that, uh, regardless of like, uh, you know, student's race or economic standing or religion or gender, that it's all—they are all on equal footing when they come to my classroom," as well as, "And, they all have the same opportunities."

When I asked if he thought primary-aged students were too young to learn about topics of social justice, Ethan said, “Possibly like on a very specific level, but I don't think elementary school-aged kids would struggle with the concept of, um, being kind to other people even if they are different.” This aligned with what he said about what he had said about including sensitive topics. More than a matter of whether they should be taught, Ethan focused on the depth and how they are taught.

His initial response to being asked if all students should be treated the same was, “Mmm… ummm… Yes, in the good ways. But, you can always accommodate somebody from another culture. We don't wear hats in our school, but a Muslim lady wants to wear a Burqa, or whatever, I think we should totally accommodate that. I don't think it should be a thing.” But, Ethan believed students should be treated the same in that “I would think you always want to be warm and enthusiastic with your kids.” Expectations should also be the same:

> Um, you are not going to—I mean, I can tell when teachers—like, when I was in school, I could always tell when a teacher had just different expectations of a different student, whether they were higher than me or lower than me.

Regarding differing expectations, he said:

> And, I think that kids are perceptive of that, too. And so, I think it is like, um, I am going to treat all my kids the same, but I am not going to like, um, like it’s like, I can't have the same academic expectations of them, but I can treat them all the same. I think, ha-ha.

He selected Disagree for LTSJ-B item SJ6R, “It is reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don't speak English as their first language,” and Uncertain for item SJ9R, “Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom.” During the interview, he said the following regarding the existence of different opportunities:

> I don't—I think yes, but I mean I would, I would hate to admit it, ha-ha. I would, I would think that just, um, I—I—I—yeah, I think that sometimes, some people have more and better opportunities, and some people just have a lot of grit and can deal with a lot of bullshit, uh, obstacles and stuff.

He shared his personal hope: “I would hope that I would never… give more opportunities, or favor, based on their race or you know social standing. But in general, I think that is—it is probably prevalent.” Therefore, the opportunities students are afforded should be the same, but that they should be given different accommodations and modifications based on their needs. He described this as attempting to “level the playing field” for his students:

> Have you seen that cartoon? It's like, oh, it’s like where three people, one’s really tall, one really short, and one’s medium sized. And they are all trying to look at a baseball game over a fence? Like, equality is giving—equality is everybody, everybody standing on the ground and some of them are just not tall enough to see over the fence. But like, equity is like giving them all the right size box to see over the fence? And so, it's like, I won't be equal with all my students, but I hope to level the playing field enough that everybody gets something out of it.

About the influences of a teacher's social and economic class or gender, Ethan said, “I think it could. Um…” He explained:

> I think that, uh, I mean it doesn't necessarily I mean... I think that anybody that goes into the teaching profession has the capacity to, um, to be good at it. But, I don't know if—I don’t know if it necessarily means that, um, because somebody comes from somewhere that they are going to teach a certain way.

However, he said, “If you were to ask me if a teacher's personality effects how a teacher—I would say, ‘Of course!’ But I guess—or what they teach, not necessarily how they teach.”

Ethan did wonder at how aware a teacher might be of this, “So, I—I—I—guess I would say, yeah, but not consciously, maybe?”

Ethan shared his concerns with teaching for social justice with his future students:

> Um, my concerns would be—I hope—like, I—I would be concerned that something that, uh, gets lost in the mix? Like, it’s something that I—I want to include in my, uh, in teaching in my classroom, um, but it is also not necessarily on the forefront of the standards or, you know, when we are doing lesson plans. So, it is kind of something that I, I need to, uh, uh, you know, I want to be diligent about what I am doing, even when I am planning the lesson for my students.

He identified a barrier to teaching for social justice as the belief that:

> On a basic level, I mean… I would, I mean, just like this is, you know, White man's America? If that makes sense? It’s like, I mean, it’s just kind of, it’s just been so prevalent in this country, going back to before it was even a country. Just

like, um, I mean, it really does feel overwhelming when I really start to think about it. Um, just especially as a White man, that uh, how? I'm—I'm—how am I going to, I guess, I don't know, what is the word, I guess, um, like insecure about my assumptions, ha-ha, because, like, I am always, like, second-guessing myself, like, "Well is this just because who I am?" or whatever.

In terms of support, he focused on the personal responsibility he had and expressed the desire that teaching for social justice becomes a part of his mindset:

Um, I don't think it is necessarily anything like, uh, needs to be in place, uh, I think that the responsibility of it? It just needs—it's just something—like, it's a responsibility that I have. I don't really put that on anybody else. I just want to be conscious of it, until I am not conscious of it, if that makes sense. Like, I wish it was so ingrained in me that I just didn't have to think about it.

Asked to identify what would help make this happen, he said:

I think it is a little bit of training, a little bit of life experience, um, like uh, and just keeping up on issues. Like, I think it would… um, I mean—I—I—I don't mean—I think it would be a huge disservice to my students and I would be a pretty crappy person if like a kid asked me about like, "Oh well what do you think about, um, boys using the girl's bathroom? I saw it on the news," and I was just like, "Oh, those people are crazy." And, you know, kind of just being like dismissive. Or, "Oh those trannys they want all this…" you know, and just using derogatory language just trying to blow off the question?

He said that wanted to stay on top of pertinent issues and topics: "Being able to, um, like, at least be informed enough of these issues so I can avoid making a jackass of myself. You know? Ha-ha." Ethan concluded:

> Even on a more practical level, just like how many black friends do I have? How many gay friends do I have? Do I know anybody who is transgender? Do I know anybody who is—just, just things like that? I was kind of talking to a friend about, about that, and I was kind of thinking about my Facebook page? And, I was like, "I wonder how many non-White people I have on my—that I am friends with on Facebook?" And, I was just scrolling and, I mean, they are obviously there. But it was like, "Wow, there are a lot of White people."

Ethan explained that having friends from diverse backgrounds matter and is beneficial because he is able to find commonalities:

> I think that it just really, um, drives home the point that we are more alike than we are not. I think that the more people that I've met—er, have become friends with who, upon first meeting them, like, I would say we have nothing in common, we are not alike at all.

He also said:

> A lot of experiences that I have had with people who I feel are initially very different than me, not that I would never be friends with them or I would never start talking to them, but just people that I have this—very, very, um, obvious feeling that we are not alike. I don't—but if you talk to anybody long enough you are going to find out that you have more in common than you don't.

Another benefit to meeting and becoming friends with diverse people that Ethan identified was the ability to personalize multiple narratives. "When I think of a Syrian, I am not talking about these people on, I don't know on the news, I am thinking about my friend, Kevin, whose parents moved here," and, "so, just personalizing a lot of these, 'Hey I know that person who is dealing with that.'" Ethan tied this to teaching social justice in that he can say, "I think that because I believe it, this affects my friend, and I care about my friend, rather than just like, 'Oh this is the thing that we are supposed to say.'"

Joseph and Ethan represented middle-levels of endorsement to teach for social justice among those who agreed to be interviewed. However, their total scores do fall eight points apart, and similarities and differences arose between their responses during the interview, as well as on various survey items. Towards a democratic education (Dover, 2013), both participants spoke about the multiple roles that teachers take on for students, including a parenting role. Ethan did describe the need to be student centered and guided by where they currently are (e.g., developmentally, socially) On survey item SJ12R, Joseph agreed and Ethan disagreed that the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they will likely lead. During the interview, they both spoke of citizenship in terms of acts of service and kindness towards others that do not need to be a large time commitment. Their idea of student citizenship was also about serving others; they both talked about students helping other students, and on survey item SJ11R, they were both uncertain whether student success is primarily dependent on how hard they work. They were unfamiliar with the term civic education, but each of them thought it would be a

government class (i.e., learning about how governments work). During their interviews, both agreed it was necessary, and in response to survey item SJ8, each strongly agreed that students should be taught to think critically about the government.

Regarding Dover's category of critical pedagogy, this is where Joseph echoed Ethan's sentiments about the need to be student centered. Joseph saw a good teacher as understanding the unique backgrounds and circumstances of students, but having the same expectations for them. Like Melissa and Theresa, neither participant described a social justice agenda. Looking at Dover's third category of a multicultural education, Joseph and Ethan said that it was a teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity is valued and respected. Joseph described correcting culturally insensitive student behavior, and Ethan described a cross-curricular approach. Their survey responses to item SJ3R were also different, Joseph was uncertain, but Ethan strongly disagreed that covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subjects. They did not specifically discuss systemic reform efforts. During their interviews, Joseph and Ethan both said they did feel that their own identity plays a role in teaching and connecting with students. On the survey, they both strongly agreed that it is important for teachers to examine their own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, sexual orientation, etc. (SJ1). Additionally, they both used the word "definitely" when asked if they believed social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools. Joseph provided knowledge of data on institutional racism and Ethan described his personal experience with inequitable allocation of resources. Both participants supported discussing causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, faith, sexuality, and including sensitive topics, etc. with their students,

which was also reflected in their survey answers (Joseph selected Strongly Agree, and Ethan selected Agree) to item SJ2 about openly discussing issues related to racism and inequity. They saw these as potentially dispelling myths, raising empathy, and allowing students to make informed decisions that they can support with evidence. In addition, they both selected Agree to item SJ7 that part of a teacher's responsibility to challenge school arrangements, and Disagree to SJ10R that, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, their job is not to change society."

Under Dover's fourth category, culturally responsive education, they both saw culture as having an impact on how they view students and teaching, and were in support of incorporating the cultures of all students across the curriculum. Their survey responses to SJ4, whether good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences, reflected this; Joseph selected Agree and Ethan Strongly Agree. Lastly, regarding social justice education, Joseph concentrated on respecting and valuing students' different experiences and backgrounds, as well as making connections, and Ethan focused on representation of the underrepresented and unrepresented. Both participants were unsure what a socially just classroom was, but defined it as having equal opportunities. They both talked about treating students the same and providing accommodations for those who need them to have the same opportunities, and on survey item SJ6R they both selected Disagree. Additionally, unlike Melissa and Theresa, they focused their concerns for teaching for social justice inward (e.g., personal responsibility to model a social justice mindset and actions, losing sight of teaching for social justice). They both identified the need to

continue their own personal growth and engaging in discussions about culture to learn multiple perspectives.

NDTR High-Endorsement Interview Participants

Ella and Jane represented high-endorsement to teach for social justice among NDTR survey participants. Their individual responses to each LTSJ-B scale item are included in **Error! Reference source not found.** with all other NDTR participants.

Ella. Ella is a White female in her 20s who is preparing to teach secondary students in a suburban setting. Ella chose this residency program for its balance between a faster timeline and extended field experience. The opportunity to work in the district in which she hoped to gain employment after graduation was also appealing. She said she grew up in a community that was somewhat diverse, with a majority White population. As a child, nothing particularly stood out, but in hindsight, she recalls more diversity of language and SES in high school. Ella had a total score of 56 out of 60 possible points, representing a high level of endorsement among NDTR participants.

Democratic education. Ella described different roles of a teacher. She said, "I definitely think the role of a teacher is to be able to help students, uh, improve in definitely academic categories," as well as, "help them—help their students, like, take the steps forward that they need to, like, to get to where they want to go." Ella explained that at the high-school level this "could be referring them to a, like, vocational school or technical college, if that is what they want to do. Making it happen for them." She also believed a teacher's role is "making each individual student part of the classroom community." Lastly, Ella said a teacher's role includes "making, like, a safe community

space. So, making each individual student part of the classroom community," where students understand "that, like, you can't isolate your fellow students because you—you know you are all part of the same community." In response to survey item SJ12R, she disagreed that, "Realistically, it is a teacher's job to prepare students for the lives they will likely lead."

Ella defined good citizenship as:

> Good citizen—so basically, well, being a good member of, like, I was talking about earlier, that community. So, um, not, you know, the not bullying, the being inclusive, trying—and going out of the way a lot of times to include people who are, maybe, don't seem to be as included as much. Or, that may be a little more standoffish, ha-ha.

She added, "But, and good citizenship doesn't necessarily mean, Oh, you are always on your best behavior, but, in general, for the most part, that yeah, actions are with good intent" and "even if they don't necessarily end up good, ha-ha. But, um, just trying to be a beneficial member of that community." Ella said student good citizenship was also "trying to be a beneficial member of a community," and "trying to have good intent behind actions." In addition, Ella said, "I feel like just putting in the effort, especially in a school setting of, you know, of not slacking off." Similar to her explanation of good citizenship in general, she said the following about student citizenship: "But then at least putting in effort—that doesn't mean necessarily getting good grades because a lot of time the grades does [*sic*] not reflect the effort put in." She described different ways that effort could be shown, "But, making sure to try, attending

classes, and really trying to better themselves." Her interview response aligned with how she answered Strongly Disagree to item SJ11R, "Whether a student succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work."

I asked Ella if she was familiar with the phrase "civic education" and she responded, "Civic education? Um, no." When asked to define the phrase, she said, "Um, I would guess it's essentially teaching how to be a good citizen." Ella described this type of education: "I would see it probably involving like community exploration, and like community service?" Ella found this form of civic education as necessary. "Um, I–I do think we do need something like that. Whether it is, like, a class on its own, or incorporating it into, like, already existing classes, like having service-hour elements?" She believed that through civic education students would gain a deepened sense of community:

> So, it could get—so essentially students could get a feeling for the community and, like, reasons why you should want to be a good part of that community, and why you should want to be, um, an active and—uh, citizen that's having that positive impact, as opposed to doing stuff like littering.

Ella also explained that civic education allows students to broaden their understanding of the community beyond their neighborhood:

> Really getting familiarized with your community. And, also going—a lot of times like students will be like, "Oh no, I don't leave my neighborhood." So, getting outside of your comfort zone and seeing who else is in your community. Do you know, like, that there's this—like, maybe there is a homeless shelter in your

> community, and you don't even know it. Like, what kind of services are there? Like, how can you help? Like, if you go take an afternoon to help clean up a local park, you will think twice before just leaving your trash when you are hanging out at the park.

Ella selected Strongly Agree to item SJ8, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions."

Critical pedagogy. When Ella was first asked about the characteristics of a "good teacher," she quipped, "Um, well, someone who knows how to teach, ha-ha." Ella went on to say a good teacher, "also understands that students learn differently," and, "is able to adjust and adapt to those different needs." She explained:

> You know, which like—not just like the very basics, like you are visual learner, you are an auditory learner. But, like, they keep expanding, I think it is up to eight now, ha-ha, the eight ways of knowing. And, trying to give lots of variety and options so students can learn how they learn best.

Ella further described a good teacher as "someone that can build a good meaningful relationship with their students," and can have "that relationship where almost building that trust between teacher and student." Ella said both building relationships and building trust is done on an individual student basis. "It will really depend on the student, but whether that's really knowing what is going on in their home life, or, it could just be someone that, you know, it's when they want to talk?" Lastly, she said:

> And then also, being strict when necessary, ha-ha. I know a lot of times, especially with high schoolers, it's like with their favorite teachers, a lot of times it is like, "Oh if you are easy," then you are going to be their favorite. But no, a lot of times they want someone who won't let them get away with stuff.

Multicultural education. Ella considered it a teacher's responsibility to ensure diversity of cultures is valued and respected. She explained:

> Um, well, just helping other students be aware of the other cultures of their classmates. Um, since they don't, you know, making sure they aren't using any derogatory terms, or, if it's something like, maybe they are asking all their friends like, "Oh, what do you do for Christmas?" or "What do you want for Christmas" being like, "Hey, not everybody celebrates Christmas."

Additionally, Ella said, "Um, and just making sure they are teaching that open-mindedness and that awareness about them that there are differences present but it doesn't make differences between them as students necessarily. But, like, not everyone is like each other." Ella selected Agree for item SJ7 on the LTSJ-B scale, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," and on item SJ10R, she disagreed that, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society."

Responding to whether her own race or ethnic identity plays a role in teaching, Ella said, "Um, uh, I—I definitely do think it does play a role in teaching." As she began to describe why, she talked about culture, explaining, "I feel like it is something I have to

be aware of. And, be aware of, like, essentially, what are my cultural differences between my culture and the culture of my students?" About these differences, she said:

> Um, especially since currently right now we are in the, uh, majority of the school I am in is, uh, of Hispanic background. Where I am not. So, knowing that there is that difference and there could be different values and different aspects of our home lives and stuff that I need to be aware are different and that I need to be considerate of.

I followed up by asking why she needed to be aware as a White teacher and what effect she thought this had on teaching. Ella responded by explaining the impact of cultural differences between teachers and students. She said there was potential for miscommunication because of varying cultural norms. "Um, well, just a lot of, like there can be smaller things, like one thing is in some cultures it's—it could be considered rude to look someone in the eye. Where I feel like that is being respectful and seems like you're listening?" Ella said, "So, the little things like that can lead to miscommunication." She saw these miscommunications as potentially causing her students to feel uncomfortable with her until she builds a relationship with them, as she said:

> Um, and then, even the–the bigger parts like, um, knowing that there's a possibility that, you know, that my students may not necessarily feel as comfortable with me as soon, or that I have to work harder to build those relationships so that they can see that, you know, "Oh yeah, you're not… as like

> me as all my friends." Like, "You won't get it, you don't understand." So, really putting in that effort to build those relationships.

Ella strongly agreed that, "An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation" (SJ1).

Ella said that social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools. She gave a personal account of unequal distribution of wealth across schools:

> Even when I was in high school. Um, everyone knew, like, like, whether—which high school, like, [Redacted] high school would fall against, "Oh yeah, like that's the rich high school." Like, they have Burger King in the cafeteria because they are in a high-income neighborhood, ha-ha. So, all the kids that had more money, essentially in their family at least, went to that school? Um, but also though knowing that, um, like, I had a couple of friends that ended up going to those schools. But it's like, but those people aren't, ha-ha, like, they—they don't necessarily—they come from more middle-class income families as opposed to the people that are literally in like million dollar houses, ha-ha.

Ella supported the idea of teaching causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality; she said, "Yes, I do think they should be taught." Ella explained what this might mean for students. She said, "There's a generalization belief that poor people are poor because they are lazy," therefore, "being able to teach someone that believes that like, no look, look at all the underlying causes, of what causes poverty, or what maybe causes that race to be essentially put in a place where it is much

harder for them to get out of poverty." Ella also explained, "Or, you know and that goes both ways, that you know, the idea that like, 'Oh, rich kids are just spoiled, and they get everything they want, and they don't have to work.'" Ella said this was necessary because for some students, "it may not be something that they're necessarily talking about in their home life." She explained that students can come to, "the understanding of, like, some of the kids in your class could very well be in that category that you are making generalizations and assumptions about." She suggested "making the class that can sort of have those sort of essentially civil debates," saying:

> Where it's like they are getting a lot of information from the media, from their peers that they are talking to from their home, but like making a safe place where they can, you know, they can learn about what causes might be and discuss them and think, and talk about how they think that those causes may be affecting people today. Or, maybe they don't think those are valid causes. But, giving that space to voice their opinions, but also, you know, encouraging them to back it up. Don't just say, "Oh, I think this," having that why do you think that? What is your, essentially, evidence?

In the survey, she answered Strongly Agree to "Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom" (SJ2). During our interview, Ella also brought up the 2016 election. "Right, especially a big one, is the election coming up. Being very careful of talking about your views because you don't know what those students are going home with, what their parents believe." Ella said there was a need to be vague, "trying to be the, like, very vague, so it doesn't become, like, a parent calling

you and being, like, why are you telling my kid your views?" She also said, "You don't want to be accused of forcing your beliefs or views on students, but you can't just like ignore what they say, or what they are asking you." However, when I asked her specifically about including politically, socially, and religiously sensitive topics, Ella answered, "I think it is actually important to include them," but reiterated that:

> So, as the teacher, being careful not to choose one side or the other, but letting students voice their opinions. And like I said, backing it up with evidence so they are not just, I mean, "This is my opinion and it is true because I say it is."

She reasoned, "Because, like, there are like a lot of controversial topics that, as you mi—like as a teacher, if you voice your opinion on one side, then, yeah, the students that oppose you may not speak up because they think, 'Oh, you are going to fail me, if I say that I disagree.'"

According to Ella, classroom instruction should incorporate gender (i.e., norms). Ella described how instruction might look as well as reemphasized the importance of discussing how both fitting and not fitting into a norm is okay:

> Um...yeah, that's definitely something that, to me—would be really fascinating to look at old ads and stuff, ha-ha. But, um, really like showing stuff like that—but, like, and also though, discussing how it's okay if it's like, "Oh, my family falls into the stereotypes of, like, gender norms or gender stereotypes." Like, you know, "My mom is a stay-at-home mom and stays home and does all the cooking and cleaning," and how that's okay. Um, but, as long as you are aware that, like,

> that doesn't have to be what all women do. Like, looking at the historical context of it.

Regarding whether or not it should be incorporated into the curriculum, she said, "Um, I want to say yes. I want to say that in my schooling it was part of the health class curriculum." She expressed the importance in allowing students to discuss these topics:

> But so like, giving, I feel like it is something that should be talked about because it's another one of those things that students may not necessarily talk about with each other? But, they may assume that—if their family doesn't talk about it, they could assume like this is what I have to do, my mom stayed at home, you know, and after she was married she had kids, stayed at home with them. That is what I am going to have to do.

Ella agreed with the use of multicultural literature. She shared:

> Well, I definitely feel like—so—at least the way I always felt when we would read and like books about different characters and different folktales and all that stuff, I always thought it was really cool. And, I really feel, for students, it really helps to broaden that worldview? Um, I think that helps them understand the world more, especially for different that, uh, like, different cultures that they may not encounter in their classmates? But, they could very well encounter in, like, after they graduate, like in the—so-called, real world.

Ella explained the benefits that come with students' increased cultural knowledge, "even if they never encounter someone of that culture directly, it—like—the exposure to multiple cultures helps broaden the world view and… make it easier when you come

across someone from a culture you aren't necessarily familiar with." Moreover, Ella said this helps students "to be accepting and willing to learn about their culture." Later in the interview, when asked about whether primary students are too young for social justice topics, Ella shared how multicultural literature could be utilized to subtly incorporate multicultural backgrounds:

> So, making sure, and the more that I, uh, I would say, subtle way. Like, there are plenty of elementary-age books about diverse families essentially. And, it's like, "Oh, this one is about adoption. This is about having same-sex parents", um, but it is like they don't have to read that book if they don't want to. But, if it's available and if someone in the classroom reads it and go talks to them about it, they can go read it for themselves. But, being more careful to—but also answer questions that are asked in class or if a topic gets brought up, you know, making sure it should be talked about. But, just in a more careful way.

Regarding censorship, Ella said, "Um... maybe to some degree?" However, she also said, "I can't think of anything necessarily that I've come across. That I have felt like, 'Oh yeah, it's a good thing that was left out', or like, 'Oh, this should have been left out.'" Although, Ella said:

> I mean certainly to different levels of like—if you are looking at—you know—like essentially, age appropriateness of different things, like we don't necessarily need to give, like, uh... details of, like—like as an example, uh, like, Mayan sacrifices, ha-ha. It was an important part of that ancient culture, but we don't need to teach elementary schoolers, you can wait until an older age.

Asked if family values affect learning, Ella responded, “Oh, I—for sure.” She equated parents who do not value education and do not push to parents who care about perfect grades and push too hard. Of the former, she said it was “a lot harder to get that student to put effort into that work because if they aren’t getting the push from the family to make the effort, um, then there’s not a lot motivation there.” Of the latter, she said, “Whereas, the opposite can like almost be just as bad if the family really pushes like, ’Oh you have to get all As,’” and, “putting all that stress on a kid could be just as bad as like, ’Oh who cares about education, I didn’t graduate, I am fine’ kind of attitude.” Ella described the impact as dependent on how those values manifest, giving the example that “there is also the level of looking at the family involvement.” Ella explained:

> Various levels of family involvement—whether it’s not involved at all because they don't want to be, um, to not involved, but not because they don't want to be, but because they don't have the time, but they do try to do the little things at least, to they are at all their kids’ extracurriculars. They come to all the conferences, whether it is asking you about, like, “Is he doing well like in class?” like, “I tried helping him with his homework,” like all those different levels.

Culturally responsive education. Ella said that all students’ cultures should be incorporated into instruction, “Um... yes. But, not necessarily as a, like, we are going to each, to every single person individually. But, more, uh, using the culture of the students as, uh [*sic*], learning opportunity?” Ella said teachers could accomplish by “having these organic conversations where their cultures are incorporated as opposed to having these separate units on each child and each of their backgrounds.” Ella gave an example:

> So, like if a—like as an example, around Ramadan, if you have Muslim students, giving them that opportunity to talk about the holiday and teach their classmates that don't know anything about it, like, what it is, what it is about, why it is important to them.

On SJ4, Ella said she strongly agreed that "Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions." Also on items SJ3R, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature," and SJ5R, "The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society," Ella strongly disagreed.

When I asked Ella, "Do you think your culture impacts how you view students and teaching?" she spoke about the impact of cultural differences between teachers and students. She said:

> Um, I do think it impacts how I view—like both our students and how I will teach and stuff. But, just because there is that being very aware of, like, differences and, when students say something, you are like, "Oh... I had no idea," which is why I do try to be very mindful of like—not necessarily saying anything that will make me stand out one way or another, ha-ha. Being very, like almost vague, like that belief—that every little kid believes that their teacher lives at the school, ha-ha. Like, you don't have a life outside of being here, while at the same time trying to build those personal relationships, which it is sometimes necessary to talk about things like that.

When I specifically asked whether Ella saw culturally diverse students and teachers responding differently to one another than those who share the same cultural background, she responded, “Oh, definitely.” When asked why, she shared:

> Well, now I am thinking more so along the lines of at least elementary school. Because, um, I do sometimes do volunteer work at an elementary school, and... like… the…ages that like—just as an example, there was a Black student and there was a Black substitute, and it was like, “Oh, like, you're like me!” It was just more like they—at least in my, like, observation—it seemed like they were much more quickly comfortable with that person than necessarily the other students in that class.

About this presumed shared connection, Ella said, “Just because there is, at least assumption of, some sort of shared background, that shared piece that isn't necessarily there.” I asked if she felt this was true of students in high school, and Ella responded with an inquiring tone:

> I guess it still there to a degree? But, by the time you get to high school, at least for kids that have gone through pretty much most of their schooling in that school system, I feel like there is a level of, they are more used to it?

Although, she said this may not be true for older students with less experience, “whereas opposed to, like, students that are, like, recent immigrants? There is still that level of, like, everything feels, like, maybe more foreign? And, when the teacher doesn’t look like you, it doesn’t make you feel any more comfortable.” Ella did not feel that differences in culture necessarily affected teaching:

> Uh… I don't necessarily think that in terms of learning stuff. I mean, with that—if there is a higher level of comfort, they might be more willing to be like, "Hey, I…" maybe voice their feelings on like, "Oh, I'd rather learn it this way."

Ella also contemplated how respect for the teacher might change based on level of comfort with a common background:

> Or, depending on the—if it is like a shared background culture or something, it could be a different showing of respect. Whether that may be showing what seems to be less respect, or more respect, ha-ha, depending on, like, if they are like, "Oh, I feel so comfortable with you, I am going to treat you like one of my friends"

Ella also saw having the same cultural background as potentially countering student groupthink:

> Whether like, it is a cultural background where you really show lots of respect to your elders and stuff that like—that extra respect, because I will also say there is a bit of that like, um, especially with kids that think—kind of assimilate to the culture of their peers? They might not show in their, like, home life? But, it's like when they are with their friends, they will all be acting the same. But, if they get a teacher that may, at least appear to be, someone that shares a similar home life or something, they may feel like, "Oh, this is the way I am supposed to act," as opposed to, "Oh, everybody does this."

Social justice education. Ella defined teaching for social justice as, "teaching to try and get your students to, essentially, view each other as equal? Um, and to start getting that, uh, view of like—people of, essentially of the world. Like, we are all people,

and we all deserve to be treated humanely type of thing." Asked to define a socially just classroom, Ella said it "means somewhere, like, where everyone is, like, treated equally." She clarified:

> Not necessarily—I would not necessarily say that they are treated like they are on equal footing, because that goes back to what I was talking about with, uh, making sure students get the support that they need? But, essentially, that they are all viewed the same.

Ella did not feel that primary-aged students were too young to understand issues of social justice. "No, I don't- I don't think they are too young to understand those. I mean especially in—if they are of a race that gets discriminated against. Or, they may very well come from a family that has two moms, or two dads, or maybe they have a gay uncle." She said, "They are certainly aware enough to know that like, 'Oh, why did that person treat me so badly.' Or, like the Black Lives Matter movement, 'Why are so many black people getting shot?' I mean they are aware. A lot of times, people don't really get how aware young kids can be." Although, she did explain that a teacher needed to be careful because:

> Um, I feel like it should be talked about almost as topics come up. Because, especially at elementary-school age, you are a lot more in danger of, you know, getting the call from the angry parents, "You're pushing your views on my kid. You're like—" because elementary school age, they do go home and say, "We talked about this today."

As mentioned earlier, this is where Ella suggested teachers take a subtler approach and gave the example of incorporating multicultural literature (e.g., book about diverse families, same sex parents).

Ella's first reaction to my question about whether teachers should treat students the same regardless of their background was to ask for clarification:

> So, treated the same? Or—are we trying to talk about the difference between equality or equity? Or, ha-ha, are we talking about like—from person to person? Because like, I feel like, second language learners—like in the classroom, do need extra support. But, um, like English speakers don't necessarily need. But, I don't feel like that translates to, like, being treated differently, which is being almost aided differently to meet their needs.

Her survey response to SJ6R, "It's reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don't speak English as their first language," was Disagree. She strongly disagreed that, "Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom" (SJ9R). During the interview, she explained that treated the same meant "students should have the same opportunity, but some students may need different support, um, to—to get the same benefits out of those opportunities." To give students of different backgrounds the same opportunities, Ella indicated a need for making sure that structures are in place to ensure all students have access. She gave an example of practice in the school she is doing her residency where, for students who cannot go on overnight field trips due to work:

> They make sure that there are options that are not overnight, that are just during the school day, so that they are still getting that experience and getting to do fun things. But, they don't have to risk losing their job.

She spoke about “making sure that fundraising is always an option so then students can still go on the trips that they may not be otherwise be able to afford. Ella also said there was a need to be sensitive to how students may have different cultural traditions:

> Or, um, looking at the necessarily cultural differences, like being careful of picking things that aren't going to be something that, um, like one example, my mom teaches first grade. And, she always makes sure the party right before winter break, she always makes it super clear it is a Winter Party, it is not a Christmas Party.

Ella said that a teacher's social class, economic class, and gender differences influence what and how they teach. She explained:

> Well, essentially, just if it is a personal bias, I mean, it’s once again going back to that teacher needing to be aware of, like, these different pieces of their lives and how it does affect them and how they see things? Because, I mean, especially if they see their students as being on a different, uh, socioeconomic level than them? It could, I mean really, if they aren't aware of it? I mean, you could almost say that talking down type of thing, “Oh, I am here to help raise you up, like, because you couldn't do it without me” type of, just because of that like background?

Regarding the influence of gender, Ella said that teachers might overcompensate. “I mean, depending on, I mean, male teachers can certainly be misogynistic or, I mean, pushing too hard in the opposite direction, ha-ha, of like trying too hard to make sure that everything is equal?” Additionally, Ella shared:

> I've seen the female teachers, that, like maybe they feel like—like, um—a female teacher may feel like a female student never has a chance to talk because all the boys are talking over her, but maybe that student just really is shy and doesn't want to talk, ha-ha.

She cautioned that teachers need to be think about “classroom language” and be cognizant of the different needs of students by “being careful when asking about things. Like, oh what did you do for vacation? Because you have some kids that went off to some fabulous vacation and others that couldn't afford to do anything.” Ella mentioned how, when teachers overshare personal information, they can also affect how students view them:

> And, just being—there is a level of being careful about talking about your own personal life because you don't want to cross a line as far as privacy and stuff. But, also being aware of like, don't be talking about your sports cars and then like—because it will then cause the students to see you differently.

Ella’s response to my question about whether she had any concerns about teaching for social justice was, “I don’t think so?” However, she went on to describe the potential close-mindedness of others a challenge to teaching for social justice as:

> I mean, I would say the biggest concern that I would have is that there are people, um, in the world, I am sure there are students who I could very well have, that are very firm in their own beliefs and in a sense in their closed-mindedness. Like, "No, I don't want to learn about anyone else. I don't necessarily think they are equal than me"? Or, um and it could be how they are brought up, it could be whatever factors that go into that mindset of that closed-mindedness of, "Nope, I don't care essentially about anyone else, or other cultures."

In addition, she saw student's fear of voicing their opinions, referring back to her previous response to the impact of her own identity:

> Like, essentially, my race, my religion sort of a thing, "Oh, you are going to like the people who think like you better." Um, but that's almost always a concern of making sure all students always feel safe and valued in the classroom.

Additionally, Ella saw a barrier to getting students engaged and participating "when trying to maybe get participation in the learning and students voicing their opinions, they might be afraid of what their peers think?" To support teaching for social justice, Ella said, "I don't really know. I mean, definitely trying to have a... usually easier if there is, like, a diverse teaching staff also?" She explained, "Because that helps the students see that, like, 'See, we are all your teachers. We all get along, even though we have all these differences.'" Regarding how a teacher can alleviate students' unwillingness to voice their thoughts, she said:

> Definitely making sure there is some sort of support or good, um, having already made it very clear, like at the start, that, you know, it is a safe space and making

that classroom community? That, you know, it is safe to share opinions, it's okay that people have different opinions. Because, otherwise, I could definitely see that almost silent peer pressure of they don't share my beliefs so if I share it, or if I have differing opinions than them, then they are not going to like me anymore.

Jane. Jane is a White female in her 30s who is preparing to teach elementary students in an urban setting. She chose NDTR for its ongoing support after graduation. She did not consider the communities she grew up in as diverse, although she did experience some diversity in language and affluence. Her total score on the LTSJ-B scale was 58, out of a highest potential score of 60; thus, she represented a high-level of endorsement to teach for social justice among NDTR interviewees.

Democratic education. Jane described the role of a teacher: "Um, I think a teacher is there to guide their classroom, not only in the academic standards that, um that the state puts out, but also in that learning social skills, and um social—socio-emotional support systems" to "guide and direct the students that way in their endeavors." Like Ella, Jane's response to survey item SJ12R, "Realistically, it is a teacher's job to prepare students for the lives they will likely lead," was Strongly Disagree.

Jane defined good citizenship as "taking an active role in your community. Um, be that the school community or your government type community." She also said it meant, "Doing your part to help better others and raise each other up that way. Um, and taking care of your environment." At the student level, Jane defined good citizenship as, "Mmmm, someone who engaged in their—was an active participant in their own learning. But, also engaged in cooperative learning with their peers, and didn't discount,

and was, uh, able to be supportive, and also accept support." She responded Uncertain to item SJ11R, "Whether a student succeeds in school depends primarily on how hard they work," which was the only negatively worded item to which she did not select Strongly Disagree.

Jane was also unfamiliar with civic education. She defined it as, "Civic education, I would think um kind of taking responsibility, or, activity in the government or the management. I don't know." She said, "I guess—I think that was what my civic [*sic*] class was about? Functioning of—essential functioning of the government." Jane did agree that this type of education was necessary. "Yes, because I think it's your way of doing your part to keep things functioning—like jury duty and things like that, like your civic duty. So, I imagine you have your civic duties in your school as well? In terms of being an active participant." She also said in her interview that she thought civic education was necessary, and she strongly agreed with item SJ8, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions."

Critical pedagogy. Jane defined a good teacher as "someone who is engaging, and who is able to engage their students in meaningful learning, and is excited about being there. Um, and goes that extra mile to help kids out in situations that they face." Jane believed that preparation was the mark of a good teacher. She said a teacher should be "someone who is preparing as much for their lessons as they expect their students to learn out of that lesson."

Multicultural education. Jane also stated that teachers were responsible to ensure diversity of cultures was valued and respected. She said, "Most definitely, and I think that

is about making a healthy classroom where children feel safe to take risks in their thoughts and opinions." Jane explained:

> I think it's important to create structure in your classroom and, um, build a sense of community. Um, do they—doing that through literature, and discussing, and modeling behavior, as well as putting an end to, um, things that are emotionally charged, and then helping them. Um, name calling, and things like that, and providing structure in which kids can ask questions and process their opinions in a, in a respectful manner.

Jane described how a teacher should build this environment early on to give students ample time to process as situations arise:

> I think you start on the first day of school, building a positive environment, or demanding a positive environment, building that with your students through their experiences, and not allowing for the—the discrediting, or discounting, or disrespect, putting an end to that quickly. And then, in terms of time of the day, um, I think you have to do it at a point where they still have time to come back and ask questions so that they have time to process throughout the day. I wouldn't start a heavy conversation Friday and not be able to respond to them until Monday.

On the survey, she answered Strongly Agree to item SJ7, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," and Strongly Disagree to item SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society."

Jane viewed race and ethnicity as playing a role in teaching. She explained, "I think you have to be familiar with where you stand, um, and what history you are bringing into the classroom, and what baggage you have." Furthermore, Jane said:

> If you're not willing to admit that you have insecurities, or worries, or fears, then I don't think—I think you are disempowering your students and causing an opportunity for student disengagement. You need to also understand where your students are coming from? You might be coming from a house of heat, and a good dinner, and good breakfast. And, your students could be coming in at a different financial prospect where they have no idea where breakfast or lunch is coming from. Or, you know, they lived in a neighborhood where they couldn't go outside where it wasn't safe. So, I think you have to look at all those aspects, and be familiar, if not welcoming, of all the different cultures in your classroom.

In addition to being familiar, Jane said teachers have to be self-aware, honest, and willing to reach out to other stakeholders:

> I think you have to be aware, and also aware of what you, or at least being able to admit what you don't know about that culture. And, you know, if you can bring culture into the classroom, and invite community leaders or even parents to help educate, then you're creating an environment where children feel emotionally and physically safe.

In the survey, she strongly agreed that, "An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation" (SJ1).

Jane did state that social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools. She also shared her experience with inequitable distribution of resources between schools in her community growing up when she offered:

> Where I grew up, you had multiple middle schools and so there were those schools that we would—um would turn the ditto paper over and use that for our art paper. And, when the crayons got too small to hold onto, we would melt them down and make a big crayon that was a big old blob, and then you had the kids down the streets that had computers and, um, you know, all sorts of different technology advancements, as well as all the supplies they could ever manage or need. And so, to even have that disparity within, like, 10 miles of each other is just kind of amazing.

She also agreed with teaching the causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality with the condition that instruction needs to be age appropriate so that children can emotionally handle and be prepared to process. Jane said, "I am a very open person, and I think children need more information and crave information. However, I feel like there are probably parameters that your school district is going to put upon you." However, she reiterated, "And, again also that developmental piece. Is it going to—can the children emotionally handle the information? Or, is it something that they aren't emotionally prepared to process?" In the survey, Jane responded Strongly Agree to item SJ2, "Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom."

Regarding sensitive topics, Jane supported including them in the curriculum. “I think you can definitely do that in a sensitive and kind way, where you are presenting all sides of the story, and allowing students to make up their own mind.” She reiterated her stance against indoctrination and for student agency: “I don't think you should be preaching or, ha-ha, or pushing your own beliefs, but providing an environment for a learning opportunity where students have the information they need to make up their own minds,” as well as “share in a healthy manner.”

When teaching about gender, Jane said she agreed, “as long as it is not gender stereotyping. You know, I am not just going to give girls pink toys and boys trucks.” She spoke about the need for students to have an awareness of, and go beyond, norms, “I think to–, I think that they need to be aware of, I guess, just norms, but not just that it has to apply to them. And, I think it needs the relationships and environment that you set up in the beginning needs to be respectful and engaging of all.” She said it was important that the classroom environment be one that fostered respect for all and engaged everyone, “so, if you have a boy who is wearing a dress, or girl who is, you know, doing her thing that they think is more like a boy, creating an environment where—where kids are free to make those decisions.” I followed up with her comment about district parameters here and whether teachers should stay within them, she identified another role of the teacher:

> I think, definitely, the teacher should always be willing to advocate for her students’ or his students’ needs. And, if there is something going on in the classroom that is not—the district is saying that you can't, you need to have meeting with parents, with school guidance counselors, or psychologists, and the

> principal, and you know, maybe work on broadening your scope of acceptance in your school.

About the use of multicultural literature and censorship, Jane said the only form of censorship that she supported was making sure material is developmentally appropriate and ensuring students can handle the content. She said:

> Okay, um, I guess the only censorship I feel like there should be is if it developmentally appropriate. If children are able to handle the content of that, of what is being shared, I think would be more of my concern. And, censorship, like, I think you should be able to wear this T-shirt, ha-ha, and that's a learning opportunity, and all that kind of stuff.

The impact of family values depended on certain factors for Jane. She stated, "I think that definitely values can impact a classroom." In explaining, Jane spoke of influencing variables:

> I think that it is more important for this teenager to have their job at Wendy's that they are intervening for the family's financial wellbeing, versus, you know, do they finish that English essay? So, I think, you know, where families put value on things, or what's their [*sic*] instant needs, definitely can influence.

Therefore, Jane perceived that family circumstances could influence the family's and the student's priorities, thus affecting the student's outcomes.

Culturally responsive education. Regarding a culturally responsive education, I asked Jane about incorporating all students' cultures. Jane said, "I think it should be honored as much as you can." In the LTSJ-B survey, she selected Strongly Agree for

“Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions” (SJ4). During the interview, Jane suggested the following: “I think you can choose book sets that have more multicultural backgrounds, or do ‘show-and-shares’ where kids can share parts of their culture.” She reasoned, “I think allowing them to show pride in their heritage is important for them.” Her response to SJ3R, “For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature,” and SJ5R, “The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society,” were also Strongly Disagree.

When I asked her whether a teacher’s culture influences his or her teaching, Jane replied, “I think they’d be lying if they said they didn't. I think that would be like cultural blindness if you didn’t think that you’re influenced in some way because of your culture.” Prompted to explain in what ways culture influenced her, Jane said, “I think expectations. I think communication, verbal and nonverbal. Things that are normal for a White person are not for Hispanics.” She provided the following example, “Like, I expect eye contact and a response, but where a Hispanic family that I worked with, um, the eyes were always, you know, averted to a person, an authority, out of respect.” She described her changed understanding, “And so, and I was like why won't they look at me? But really, to them, that is disrespectful for them, for eye contact.”

I also asked Jane about whether culturally diverse students and teachers respond differently to each other. She said, “I think you need—I think they can. I think that you need to be mindful of all those things we’ve already talked about that could influence a

student's response," giving the reason, "I think that um, you know, how they interact can be a positive learning environment for everybody."

Social justice education. Jane defined teaching for social justice: "I think you are choosing materials and manners in teaching that shows openness and thoughtful process." She also said:

> Um, I think you are teaching a variety of topics. I think you are engaging your students in what it is that they want to learn, too. And, allowing them to have a voice in that, and exploring together. Um, and exploring options within your comm…your school…not only your classroom, but your school community as well. Also, bringing in people from your community to help, um, educate and raise awareness because as a teacher you can't know it all, and you have to be humble in what you need help learning.

Jane saw teaching for social justice as cross-curricular and had ideas about how to incorporate different topics into the curriculum:

> You want to, of course, bring the history of the issues into it, you want to bring in how that impacts those issues, or those challenges have impacted people financially, or monetarily, or how they damaged communities and what that has cost. You can bring that math into it. And English, you can, you know, incorporate writing journals or all sorts of things to employ their thought process.

Jane was unfamiliar with the phrase "a socially just classroom," but offered that it was "one that is aware of their values and beliefs, and willing to learn and engage in that process, and that maintains respect regardless of opinions, or cultures, or identity."

Jane did not believe primary students were too young to understand concepts of social justice. She said they are already exposed to concepts related to social justice. “They are hearing it at home. If there is racism or things going on, they are playing in the room where their parents are watching television, they hear things.” Therefore, Jane said, “They have questions; they need information to feel safe.”

Jane conveyed that all students should be treated the same regarding the same expectations to succeed. Although, teachers should still provide modifications to meet the different needs of students. She said:

> I think it is important to have the same expectations out of your student. I don't know if you can treat them exactly the same. I think you have kids with different needs, different modifications that you are going to have to apply. So, you can't treat them the same across the board, um, but, I think that expectations can exceed, you can expect out of everybody.

Jane strongly disagreed with items SJ6R, “It’s reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don’t speak English as their first language,” and SJ9R, “Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom.”

Jane did perceive a teacher's social class, economic class, and gender differences influence what and how they teach. She said, “I do, whether they are ready to admit that or not,” and she went on to explain:

> I know that there are certain expectations that I have from my own cultural identity that I think that you need to work hard and that school is your job and you

> need to commit everything to it. Well, it might not be a possibility if you don't have a home, or you don't have, um, you know, supplies at home to do the homework that I am assigning. Or parents at home, because both parents are working. All of that, you need to be aware of.

Jane also described the importance of being aware of cultural norms that may be different from your own:

> Um, I guess with gender, I guess, you assume that women are more nurturing, but that is not always the case, And, so just, being aware of how gender can impact, or um, different races feel more comfortable with women than men, or vice versa. So, even being aware of those cultural norms is important.

As we began to close our interview, I asked Jane if she had any concerns over teaching for social justice, her thoughts on barriers, and supports she felt would help her. Jane expressed having the following concern, "Um, I guess my only concern is having exposure to some of the issues that might be important to my students." She elaborated:

> I won't have knowledge, or I might not have been exposed to something that they are concerned about, and so, how do you get that experience, that exposure, so that you can be worldly in your thought process and lesson planning?

I asked if she was worried about the district parameters she had mentioned earlier during the interview, and Jane said,

> Um, you know, where I went to high school, being gay was not okay. And, and so, there was a lot of bullying by teachers and staff for our students that were gay. And so, I know what I don't want to do, and I know what I don't want to happen.

> Um, and, I think I just need to learn how to navigate what that role of advocacy might be.

About learning to advocate she said, "I am an emotional talker, and so it is probably not good to come out with a, 'Screw you, we are doing this anyway!'" Jane added, "But sometimes, that's what comes to my mind, like, 'You are wrong, and we are going to do it,' but…" Challenges to teaching for social justice included attitudes of staff members:

> Um, I think attitude and positivity—I do feel there would be times where you would go into predominately Hispanic school districts, and be like… and you would see teachers who were of different race, saying, "Oh, here is another undocumented kid coming in to suck our resources." And it is just like, "Oh my god, you need to be done with teaching."

To help alleviate these challenges, Jane said, "I think I would need to have that opportunity to have that information that I needed as well as opportunities to explore within our community and what's available." Jane also said the opportunity to have robust conversations with different stakeholders would be helpful:

> Um, I think also being able to have healthy conversations with your building administration, to hear where they are coming from and how they are standing, um, looking to mentor teachers, or coworkers, about how we have supported students in the past. And, in terms of, for supporting students, asking them what they need. Kids will tell you, you just have to be ready to listen.

Jane also stated that learning how to speak with administration on behalf of her students supported her ability to teach for social justice:

> Yes, I think that there are times where I would go to schools with kids and the administration would be like, "They are a distraction, they look like Frankenstein; I don't want them in my classroom." So, learning how to say, "Well you know, it is a free and public education. Thanks so much." And, being able to do that respectfully, but firmly, I think I feel a little bit more confident in that I know I can advocate and fight the good fight, if needed to, um, and I am willing to do that.

If a co-worker is opposed to teaching for social justice, she said that conversations with other educators might help, as well as having open and honest dialogue with the co-worker who was not on board:

> Um, I think you would have to follow your heart. I definitely think you always need a place to vent that is safe and secure, and so utilizing some of those resources, maybe the NDTR program will be providing me, as well as, you know, I have a lot of teachers in my family, so even being able to channel things in the past, might be helpful. And, you know, working through—I am a believer that you need to at least give the person to explain or say, you know, "This really hurt my heart when you said this," and, "Can you explain where you are coming from and your beliefs, so I can really try to understand your point of view, as well." And then, trying to help them understand that, regardless of race, religion,

poverty, immigration status, that these are kids that are here to learn. And, our job is to learn not to judge, er—to teach, not to judge.

Of all the interviewees, Ella and Jane represented the highest levels of endorsement to teach for social justice. Using Dover's (2013) category of democratic education, both participants talked about going beyond teaching academics (e.g., supporting students' socio-emotional growth, vocational aspirations, etc.). On survey item SJ12R, Ella selected Disagree and Jane selected Strongly Disagree. Both spoke about citizenship in terms of serving others and your community. They agreed with one another that student citizenship was engaging learners in their learning and putting forth effort. Each of them was unfamiliar with the term civic education, and each of them spoke in terms of involvement and activity—Ella in terms of community involvement, and Jane in terms of activity in the government or civic duty. During the interview, each said civic education was necessary and strongly agreed to item SJ8 that teachers should teach students to think critically about the government. Under the category of critical pedagogy, each described a good teacher as one who is teaching and reaching students (e.g., through learning styles and engaging students), gets to know their students' needs (e.g., home life and situations they face), and is building relationships. Neither mentioned a social justice agenda for their teaching. Looking at Dover's third category of a multicultural education, each said that it was a teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity is valued and respected. They both described the need to allow for discussion (e.g., about differences), and to correct behavior that is insensitive or excludes others. Ella also spoke of raising cultural awareness and open-mindedness, and Jane described

building a positive and inclusive classroom environment. On survey item SJ3R, they both strongly disagreed that covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subjects. Like the other participants, they did not specifically discuss systemic reform efforts, thus aligning with Dover's (2013) assertion that multicultural education was usually focused more on additive content than systemic reform. During their interviews, Ella and Jane said they did feel that their own identities play a role in their teaching and understanding what differences may exist between themselves and their students. In the survey, they both answered Strongly Agree to SJ1—that an important part of learning to be at teacher is examining your own attitudes and beliefs (e.g., about sexual orientation or disabilities). Additionally, they both said they do believe social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools. Each described personal experiences they had with the inequitable distribution of wealth between schools. Both supported discussing causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, faith, and sexuality, as well as including sensitive topics in the curriculum. All of these were also observed in their Strongly Agree responses to item SJ2, which stated that issues related to racism and inequity should be openly discussed. They said instruction on those topics provided the opportunities for students to engage in conversations where they can support their thoughts as well as have the chance to correct misconceptions. Ella and Jane both mentioned being careful to have a balanced view when talking about potentially sensitive topics. Jane also talked about a teacher's responsibility to advocate for students. In addition, they both indicated positive levels of agreement to SJ7 (Ella selected Agree, and Jane selected Strongly Agree) and

negative levels of agree to SJ10R (Ella selected Disagree, and Jane selected Strongly Disagree).

Under Dover's fourth category, culturally responsive education, they both saw culture as having an impact on how they view students. Ella and Jane described potential differences in communication, mannerism, and norms. They supported incorporating the cultures of all students by allowing students to share their culture, and they both responded Strongly Agree to SJ4. Lastly, regarding social justice education, they focused on students. They focused on their voice, valuing others, engagement, etc. They were unfamiliar with the phrase "socially just classroom," but both talked about "values," Ella in terms of everyone valuing each other equally, and Jane in terms of respect for, and awareness of, each other's values and beliefs. Similar to their peers, Ella spoke of same opportunities and Jane spoke of same expectations, while still providing accommodations based on differences in needs. On survey item SJ6R, whether it is reasonable to lower expectations for students whose first language is not English, Ella chose Disagree and Jane selected Strongly Disagree; also, on item SJ9R, whether economically disadvantaged students have more to gain because they bring less, they both selected Strongly Disagree.

Summary of all NDTR Interviews

When looking across the responses that fall under Dover's (2013) five categories of social justice, themes begin to emerge across all six NDTR interviewees, as well as differences among participants at different levels of endorsement to teach for social justice.

Democratic education. At all three levels of endorsement generated for this study, participants did not speak to the role of a teacher as "encouraging all students to develop a sense of agency and equity" (Dover, 2013, p. 4). Theresa and Ella talked about the role of a teacher as encouraging students to include, respect, and correct insensitive language towards others. Regarding citizenship, participants focused primarily on being a productive and involved member of society, as well as community service, in and outside of the school. Civic education revolved around learning about the government and civic participation. No participant at any level of endorsement to teach for social justice spoke about promoting societal change.

Critical pedagogy. Responding to the question about the characteristics of a good teacher, which fell under Dover's second category, participants spoke about general teaching pedagogy, knowledge of the existing curriculum, etc. They did not speak about characteristics specific to critical pedagogy, like challenging political neutrality or developing a student's sociopolitical consciousness. Further, they did not touch on Dover's description of the main component of critical pedagogy, which she described as, "Central to critical pedagogy is an analysis of the relationship among sociopolitical power, social processes, and the construction of knowledge" (p. 5). Although, Joseph and Ella touched on the latter saying that students would back up what they think and why.

Multicultural education. In multicultural education, Dover's (2013) third category, all participants said that inequities exist and that it is the teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity of cultures is respected and valued. Joseph, Ethan, Ella and Jane spoke about prejudice reduction; Ella spoke about needing an awareness of traditions.

Participants and middle and high levels of endorsement explained how multicultural literature allowed for the representation of different cultures and opportunities for students to broaden their cultural understanding. When it came to teaching about gender, religion, and politics, the common response was to support providing knowledge while avoiding indoctrination—actual and perceived. An openness to, and emphasis on the importance of, discussing topics like gender norms, SES divisions, different faiths, and sensitive topics became more apparent in the middle and higher levels of endorsement to teach for social justice. The explanation for their support often included the need to dispel harmful myths (e.g., poor people are lazy) and allow students a space to openly discuss their thoughts and learn to support their views. Joseph spoke about the possibility of students connecting history with what is happening now (e.g., the Civil Rights Movement and same sex marriage or the gay rights movement). He also spoke about an examination of the knowledge building process and having students "think about their decision and have a reason for wanting to believe the way they do." Discussing politically sensitive topics continued to be an area where participants displayed more reticence. The need for the content and depth of instruction to be age and developmentally appropriate persisted across participants at different levels of endorsement, although they did not explain how they would make this determination. Additionally, participants did not mention equity pedagogy by describing how they would support academic achievement across different student groups (e.g., race, culture, SES). Responses about restructuring towards the goal of equity were also not found among participant responses. When asked about the role of their own race/ethnicity in teaching, at the lowest level of endorsement, Melissa did not

think there was an influence for her personally and Theresa said she thought so, but was not sure what it might be. Participants at middle levels of endorsement had stronger affirmative responses, with Joseph saying, “I think it would ignorant to say no,” and Ethan saying, “Oh yeah.” Although Ethan also said he might not be fully aware of the impact, he referred to the potential inability to see past his lens as opposed to Theresa’s explanation that she was “still exploring that part of my teacher identity.”

Culturally responsive pedagogy. Analysis of the responses to interview questions regarding Dover’s fourth category, also revealed similarities and differences across levels of endorsement. Regarding Dover’s description of culturally responsive educators who “centralize teacher identity and students’ academic outcomes” (2013, p. 5), participants touched on the former to varying degrees but did not mention the latter at all. NDTR participants ranged from thinking their culture did not influence their teaching personally (Melissa at the lowest level of endorsement), to stating that it does, but were unable to explain how (Ethan at a middle-level of endorsement), to responding affirmatively with an answer as to how (Joseph at a middle-level of endorsement, as well as Ella and Jane at the highest-level of endorsement). The latter participants provided the example of the influence of their culture on how they communicate and interpret how others communicate. All participants said that responses were different between students and teachers of culturally diverse backgrounds. They spoke of differences in mannerisms and cultural norms that might lead to, at least an initial, disconnect between teachers and students, as well as misperceptions and miscommunication. All participants did state that teachers should incorporate the cultures of all students into the curriculum. Participants at

the lower levels of endorsement described a more isolated curricular approach, while the middle and higher levels of endorsement began to describe a more cross-curricular approach. These NDTR participants did not talk about engaging students in critical reflection or explicitly naming and critiquing power structures. Although there was some who touched on the former, Jane shared the need to wonder about history of certain groups of people and Ethan spoke about the existence of various reasons behind why certain structural inequalities exist.

Social justice education. Towards social justice education, like Dover (2013) found, participants spoke of curriculum, pedagogy, and social action. At the lower levels of endorsement, the focus was on curriculum. For example, Melissa said the intent of social justice education was to help students of different races, cultures, SES, and academic abilities to "reach equality" through the curriculum, and Theresa said it was about teaching "universal truths" and "citizenship of the world." At middle levels of endorsement, the focus was on pedagogy and social action. Joseph spoke about teaching with knowledge about students' differences and creating a supportive classroom environment, and Ethan spoke of advocating for the underrepresented or unrepresented. At the highest levels of endorsement, Ella and Jane focused on all three. Ella also spoke of the pedagogical strategies needed to create a supportive environment and teaching students to "view each other as equal." Jane spoke of choosing curriculum materials carefully and embedding them across subjects, teamed with a pedagogy that fostered critical thinking, promoted civic growth, and encouraged social actions, such as raising students' awareness of inequity (e.g., "challenges have impacted people financially, or

monetarily, or how they damaged communities and what that has cost"). Jane also described the need for teachers to take on a role of advocacy on behalf of students. All six NDTR participants focused on treating students the same in terms of inputs, like making accommodations to provide students with equal opportunities and with equal access to learning, as well as expectations for learning. Some of the participants focused on outputs. Theresa said, "Simply because not everyone can deliver the same deliverable, and that's okay," and Joseph spoke about making accommodations to help level the playing field to raise opportunities for those that need support but not disrupt positive outcomes for those that may be excelling. Ella spoke of accommodations to help students "get the same benefits out of those opportunities."

With this analysis of the NDTR participants, the study now turns to the quantitative and qualitative data from Harper State University. HSU is a university-based teacher education program.

Harper State University Survey Results

All 21 participants answered each LTSJ-B survey items. Some of the respondents chose not to answer the background questions, which I indicated, where applicable, below. The following sections describe the findings for this second performance site.

HSU participant demographic information. Table 6 shows participants' responses to "Were the schools you grew up in diverse?" and "Was the community you grew up in diverse?" Thirty-nine percent of these participants grew up in schools they self-reported as diverse, and 34% characterized their communities as diverse.

Table 6

HSU Participants' Personal Experience in Diverse Schools and Communities

	Response Choice				
	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree
School	43%	19%	0	10%	29%
Community	43%	24%	0	5%	29%

Reporting on their undergraduate program, 52% attended universities outside of the state (*n* = 11), 43% in the same state as the residency program (*n* = 9), and 5% did not respond (*n* = 1). During their undergraduate work, participants earned bachelor's degrees in a variety of academic fields, including psychology, theater, history, and communications. No participants received a degree in education.

In terms of their previous teaching experiences, Table 7 displays the experiences reported by the survey participants, although three participants chose not to answer.

Table 7

HSU Participants' Prior Teaching Experiences

Teaching Experience	Percentage of Participants
Tutored	38%
Classroom aides	29%
Field experience	24%

Some of these participants have had other experiences in schools or with teaching in some form, like school volunteer (*n* = 1), coach (*n* = 1), Bible study teacher (*n* = 1),

and university lecturer (not in the field of education) (n = 1). When asked about their future intentions for teaching, 71% responded that they planned on teaching in an urban setting (n = 15), and 29% in a suburban setting (n = 6). No participants indicated that they planned on teaching in a rural setting (n = 0).

HSU LTSJ-B survey data. The total scores for HSU participants on the LTSJ-B survey items ranged from a score of 37 to 53 (out of a highest possible score of 60). The average total score was 45.71 (s = 5.01).

HSU interview data. I assigned pseudonyms to each of the HSU interviewees. Although HSU participants at each level of endorsement volunteered at the end of the survey to be interviewed, only participants at the middle and high level of endorsement responded to requests for a follow-up interview (see **Error! Reference source not found.**).

Table 8

HSU Interviewee Responses to the 12 LTSJ-B Survey Items

Participant	SJ1	SJ2	SJ3R	SJ4	SJ5R	SJ6R	SJ7	SJ8	SJ9R	SJ10R	SJ11R	SJ12R	Total
Elaina	3	3	4	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	4	1	46
Tobias	4	5	4	5	5	2	4	4	5	3	3	3	47
Charlotte	5	5	5	5	3	4	3	4	5	5	4	4	52

Elaina participated in the survey by web; Tobias and Charlotte submitted a paper survey. All three opted for an interview over the phone. Similar to NDTR's interviewees,

none of the HSU interviewees reported to me that the program changed their preexisting beliefs; they did express the feeling that their beliefs were reaffirmed.

HSU Middle Levels of Endorsement

Two interviewees, Elaina and Tobias, represented middle-endorsement to teach for social justice among HSU survey participants. **Error! Reference source not found.** displays the individual responses to each LTSJ-B scale item for all HSU participants.

Elaina. Elaina is a White female in her 20s. She plans on teaching in the suburbs after graduating from HSU. She chose the HSU program because of its accreditation and reputation, it was recommended by friends, its affordability, and its location. The community she grew up in was diverse in race, language, and SES, but not as diverse in religion. She indicated that there was some segregation in the community (e.g., Hispanic neighborhood, low income side of town, higher income side of town), but that the schools she grew up in were "a mixture of both sides of town." Elaina had a middle level of endorsement among HSU interviewees; she had a total score of 46 out of a possible score of 60.

Democratic education. When I asked Elaina what she thought the role of a teacher was, she said, "Um, I really feel like it is to be a role model for your students." She continued, "Going into this program, I thought, 'I want to be the person that students think about 10 years down the line.'" Elaina described the role of the teacher as providing individualized instruction; she said a teacher needed to "learn about the ways students learn, obviously, um, and just evaluating each student as an individual and, um, teaching to their needs, um, whether that be, like, visual learning or, um, or hands on." She also

said, “But, yeah, in general, I am just, I—I think I will be there to be their mentor and the person they look up to in order to learn throughout the day.” Elaina selected Strongly Agree on item SJ12R, “Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead.”

Elaina described good citizenship as “really being involved within your community.” She said, “I don't think that the world revolves around one single person. Um, just being a part of community outreach.” She elaborated, “Just getting them involved with those things as well, because in turn they can relate it to their own community, whether it be their family or friends,” as well as wider community. “I think it allows them to create—it allows them to, um, just not be submerged in their community that they are used to, but also reach out to others, new people, um, but… yeah.” Elaina said that a “diverse community” positively influenced a student’s broader sense of community:

> I also think just you know coming to school, and that they are in diverse settings. It would make them a good citizen in the fact that they, um, just have an understanding of other cultures and other races as well.

On item SJ11R, Elaina answered Disagree for “Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work.”

Elaina was unfamiliar with the term civic education. Asked what she thought it might mean, she said, “Um, well I am going to guess that it is about... commun *(sic)*—possibility communities learning together,” and “I guess working together in order to learn something in the end, is what I will say.” Asked if she felt this type of education she

described was necessary, she said, “Um, I do. I mean, I think that coming from an educational standpoint, um, that groups can benefit by working together to learn something.” Elaina further described civic education: “So it's just, uh, it looks like—to me it would look like a collaborative, uh, effort of utilizing individuals within the group to get a certain result.” She was uncertain on item SJ8, “Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions.”

Critical pedagogy. Elaina provided several characteristics of a good teacher. She began with, “Um, understanding,” as well as “a great listener. I truly believe that a teacher should give as much as feedback as she is getting from her students in order to be a great teacher.” Elaina also responded:

> So, listening, communicator, um, someone who is there. Someone who is supportive, and, um, really somebody who is willing to spend more time than what the school requires. Um, my intention is to really, to be a great teacher. Just take those extra 10 minutes to half hour every school day to get the next day prepared, or make notes. Um, and even sending frequent reminders home with parents, um, to really see what the students are also doing at home? Because, I really think that they are interchangeable. There needs to be that student-teacher-parent relationship in order to really benefit the child.

Multicultural education. Elaina said that the responsibility to ensure diversity of cultures is valued and respected is a shared responsibility: “Yes, but I equally think that it is the parents’?” She gave the explanation, “So, I really believe it would be either a partnership or I mean, whatever your values are at home. I'm essentially more than likely

bringing them into the classroom." Therefore, of that responsibility, Elaina said, "So, I think it would be important for the teacher to foster those values within the classroom," as well as "talking to the students initially about the different—the diversity within the classroom." Elaina selected Agree for the item SJ7, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," and Strongly Disagree to item SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it is not their job to change society."

In response to my interview question about whether a teacher's own racial/ethnic identity influences her teaching, Elaina answered that it did: "Um, I do, And, I think this will go back to how I grew up? I feel like I truly look at everyone as being equal." However, when trying to think about why and how it might influence teaching, she described her own position as a paraprofessional:

> Um, a lot of my students, just in my classroom, and again my school is primarily White, but a lot of my students are Hispanic. And, I wouldn't say that I treat them any differently than I do the White students that are in my class.

Although she initially said yes, her response began to shift as she continued to ponder on the role of race and ethnicity in teaching:

> Um... I... I guess I just, I think race is important. However, I don't know if it really should be... I am trying to think how to word this.... Um.... I guess it—it might be important if you are going into a school that is primarily Black. They might be more receptive to, you know, a Black teacher. But… for whatever reason I can't think of it being incredibly relevant right now.

When I asked if she wanted to amend her answer to no, she did not think that her own race or ethnic identity plays a role in teaching, Elaina said, “Um... yeah I, I really don't, ha-ha.” At the time of the survey, she selected Uncertain to item SJ1, “An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one’s own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation.”

Asked if she believed social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools, Elaina answered, “I do, yes, absolutely.” In her experience, she had seen that the allocation of resources differed by the affluence and race of an area:

> Um, I have a lot of friends that work in [Redacted] Public Schools. Um, most of their students' population is African American, um, and they don't get the correct funding. I know that they don't get a lot of the curriculums [*sic*] that they need. Um, and I work at a school that is in the suburbs, and we do get all those things that we need. Um, so, I guess I am not sure if that falls under race, or just the money aspect of being in a big city.

However, as she said that the suburban areas received more and urban areas received less, she said that this was not so across the board, “And, I mean I can also say, now that I am thinking about it, that there are also schools with primarily, uh, White students in the city, on the [Redacted], so like [Redacted] in [Redacted]. [Redacted], which is a little bit further north, but, they seem to have all the resources that they need.”

Elaina supported teaching causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality; although, she had some reservations about teaching about religion. She said:

> Um, I do. I think… it's important. However, considering that, um, like just you know what our world is going through with religion right now? Sometimes, I also feel like it is better for them not to know because it is so much—there's a lot of drama behind it all.

Elaina explained, "Um, I think it would be something that would also be difficult to teach?" She shared the struggle she faced:

> I feel like the right teacher would have to teach it because they would have that understanding and, um, be able to communicate it well to the students. But, I think it is important to know, but sometimes I think that ignorance is bliss? So, kind of back and forth on that one.

Specific to teaching about causes of social/economic class divisions, Elaina said, "Yeah, again I would say yes. And, I think that it would be a very sensitive topic for some?" She explained:

> It might be beneficial for somebody who, unfortunately, lives in poverty, for them to understand why, um, because then, in turn, it may allow them to understand, you know, uh, the economic standings of the student who's not in poverty, um, and maybe want to work their way out of the economic standing that they are in.

Her survey response to item SJ2, "Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom," was Uncertain. Regarding the inclusion of politically, socially, and religiously sensitive topics into curriculum, Elaina said, "Um, gosh, I—I don't think that I would agree with political. Um, I think it creates so many… arguments?" She added:

> And it is kind of like a "to each their own," um, it is just not something that I personally talk about with my family. For example, who I am voting for, for president, because I really try to not stir the pot when it comes to that.

Elaina further stated that some sensitive topics were okay:

> Yeah, you know I have to say a time and a place? I think it depends on the group of people that you are talking to? Because, I personally am always up for a good debate. However, you can get somebody who is incredibly opinionated that would get really upset.

She explained, "Yeah so, it would have to be with a receptive classroom. How you would go about finding out if they were receptive? Maybe it is getting—asking questions at the beginning of the topics that they are interested in." She said that sensitive topics was another area for which she did not have a set answer, "But, I ooph—it is another one of those yes and noes depending on the situation."

I asked Elaina about teaching about gender. She said, "Oh, that's a hard one. Um, I mean, again, I am all for gender equality." However, she also said:

> Let's say if a person realizes that they are, um, oh, I am going a little bit into the sexuality part of it, but, I was thinking that if somebody thinks that they are transgender, I feel like that is something that is so personal to them and they can live it out the way that they feel, but just that nobody else should have a say in it.

When I followed up by asking if providing knowledge about gender should be included, she said, "Um, I do. And I think that it might have to be at a certain age group?" Elaina also said, "I don't know what—what the appropriate group may be? Um,

but I am thinking gosh if I had a kid, would I tell them? And, I absolutely would." She reasoned, "I just think it would be important especially if you are trying to create an understanding and um, yeah. I do think that it is important, ha-ha." Elaina was a bit wary, when thinking about how gender might be included:

> You know, I don't know if our—I feel like our society would not be ready for it to be taught as part of everyday curriculum? Um, I—I think it would have to be in sex ed because—but again, I am thinking about the standpoint of other people. I somehow would try to incorporate it into every day curriculum. I just—I just don't feel that everybody else would be ready for that. And, how would I do that? I am not sure.

She did say, "I would be open to it;" however, she also said, "I just don't know how talking about, like, the mountains in Nepal, ha-ha, would relate to gender. But, I am going to think about that a little bit more, ha-ha."

When asked about the use of multicultural literature or censorship, Elaina responded, "Yeah, I definitely—I never really thought about it, to be honest. I would definitely agree with it." She explained:

> I have a lot of Spanish-speaking students and so we use flashcards that are in Spanish and ones that are English. Um, so I think that students can definitely come home at the end of the day benefitting that they've learned more than just one language.

Later in the interview, she shared her experiences with the use of multicultural literature to expose students to new concepts that they would not otherwise have had an opportunity to learn and experience:

> Today, we read, um, on the projector, two books about Jackie Robinson and the book called *Amazing Grace,* which is about a student who is African American and she is told that she cannot play Peter Pan in the school play because she is a girl and she is Black.

She also described how the use of multicultural literature influenced her own growth and development:

> When I was younger, just reading those books with my mom helped me. So, maybe it's through, uh, different, um, what do I want to say? Um, multimedia? Um, ha-ha, like books? But, books that kids easily relate to, um, or you know, whatever computer programs. Um, and maybe not like an academic book that might be harder to understand.

She was not quite sure about censorship, "Um... I would say yes, but... I can't think of exactly why yet."

Elaina said that family values have an impact on student learning. As shared earlier when Elaina described her perception that parents and teachers share the responsibility of ensuring diverse cultures are valued and respected, she said, "whatever your values are at home, I'm essentially more than likely bringing them into the classroom. So, I think it would be important for the teacher to foster those values within the classroom." When I asked her specifically if family values impact learning, she said:

> Okay, yeah, absolutely. And I am, I just feel like if there is this role of family values, whether that be religion, um, or, like, just in general spending time with your family, I feel like it makes the student just feel, uh, like they are worthy. Um, and in turn it will just reflect and be classroom [*sic*]—like if you have a strong relationship with your family, you will have a strong relationship, um, strong passion for learning.

Elaina shared how she held this stance because of "witnessing my good friends that are devoted Catholics. I just feel like there is a correlation between their, um, their family values and their, um, the way they excel in school." She described the ties she saw to family values, a strong parent-child relationship, expectations, and academic outcomes through a story about her friend. She shared, "After school she came home, they—she would do her homework, and she couldn't go out with her friends at the end of the night," and said her friend's family was "committed to going to church every Wednesday and Sunday." Elaina explained, "She was just very much on track. And, like I said, her parents were strict, but they were very loving," and that "it was very apparent within—every time you walked into their home, it was just a strong sense of family." Similar to her previous responses, she said, "Again, in thinking of the opposite end of the spectrum, so maybe my answer again is going to be it depends," and shared how her personal experience was different and similar to her friend:

> Because, I personally, uh, my mom and I fought a lot growing up, and she was my sole guardian. And, she was great in—she was always there to take care of me and raise me, but we just butted heads so much. We weren't a very religious

> family; we didn't do a lot of stuff together. And, I would say that I still worked my butt off, but I think that's because I see the way she struggled with being a single parent. That, I don't want that for myself.

Culturally responsive education. According to Elaina, the curriculum should include the culture of all students. She stated, "I think that kind of goes into little bit more out of the, um, just the basic curriculum every day. I think you would definitely need to get to know your students?" and, "Um, and kind of what their traditions might be at home." Elaina explained:

> Oh, I think that incorporating it would be better, um, because then I feel like then you are not treating it as 'okay, this is something separate that we are going to learn now.' If you—instead—if you embed it into, you know, math, social studies, what have you, I feel like the student would just benefit from that better.

Speaking about using a separate curriculum for incorporating students' cultures, she explained, "Then, it is something that they have to memorize again. Whereas if you implement it into every day studies, it's just more natural. I feel like there would be a better flow of information." On the survey item, "Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons," (SJ4), Elaina selected Strongly Agree. Additionally, she disagreed that, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature" (SJ3R). Elaina also chose Disagree for item SJ5R, "The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society."

Elaina believes that culture influences how one views students and teaching. Elaina shared how growing up in a single-parent household influenced her views and led to her desire to be a support for her future students. She said, “So, I personally grew up with, uh, no dad in the picture,” and, “I want to be someone that is dependable and a role model.” She explained how this gives her an understanding of what her students might be going through: “I feel like I will be an influential teacher is, uh, because I have been in their shoes. And, I kind of understand a little bit of what they are going through, I guess.” She did not think her experiences ensured anything with her future students, “And, uh, I realize that I may not be able to, um, fit that empty space for them?” However, she shared, “I had people in my life, teachers in general, that have kind of helped me through those hard times and really believed in me.” She shared that, “I truly believe that every student I work with now is capable of anything that they want, and I am there to push them to reach their goals and their dreams.” In addition, she felt her previous experiences with diversity played a role in her perspective, “I just didn't see somebody with a different color—somebody with a different colored skin, or, uh, a different economic background as being different from me.” Moreover, she described the influence she perceived about her experiences with racial diversity in her family and the effort her mother made:

> And, besides my own experiences—my personal experiences within [*sic*]going to school and being in my own neighborhood, my extended family as well has just always fought for equality. I should probably mention this, I have two aunts that are Black, ha-ha, so it is just what I am used to.

Elaina also shared a personal story that occurred right before she first started school in a community into which they just moved:

> My mom even had a conversation with me because she knew I was going into a more diverse environment. Uh, and just always made the message clear to me that we are all equal. And, just because somebody has a different color skin or may not have as much money as the person who was next door, it doesn't make them any different from you.

In terms of the impact of a student and a teacher coming from different cultural backgrounds, Elaina said she did not personally experience this. "Yeah, I mean, I wouldn't say it was something I experienced personally, because I had Black teachers, and I feel like I am [*sic*] receptive to them as much as I was to my White teachers?" However, she went on to say:

> But, I can see that if somebody doesn't grow up in a diverse environment like I have, that they may not be as receptive to a teacher of a different race than themselves, or social, that social standing.

Thinking of why they might respond differently, she said, "Um, I would say that maybe it is just the life challenges that—that were not similar, for the bulk of them." Elaina also said:

> I just feel like there would be a possible lack of understanding? Let's say someone grew up in a poor neighborhood. It was hard on them and they have behavior issues because of it? But, someone grows up in an affluent neighborhood? I just feel like that they would lack that understanding of why that child may be acting

up because they just don't know and how they grew up and what their community looks like. I hope that answers the question.

Social justice education. Elaina defined teaching for social justice as "for the overall outcome of s—everybody feeling equal in the end," and "teaching an already diverse group of students, or individuals, about, um, the culture, religion, race of one another, or the, uh, those standings within just our world and our environment." If the school was not "fortunate enough" to have diverse students, then Elaina said, "I think that it is important to learn what is out there." Elaina was unfamiliar with this term, but defined a socially just classroom as, "Um, I would imagine that it would be, again a diverse group of students, um, where everybody is given the same opportunities, resources, and... um, again, equal, ha-ha."

When I asked whether primary-aged students are too young to understand issues of social justice, Elaina expressed that she thought so and that she felt they were unaware of things like racism. She said, "Um… I... I do. Because, in certain studies that I have looked at, I have seen videos of, let's say a White student and a Black student, and I feel like they know nothing about racism because they are blatantly just playing in the middle of a room together," and "So for, so for a parent, or a teacher, to describe what that means? I don't know if they would be able to grasp that concept just yet." However, I asked this question before she began to think about the use of multicultural literature and her own experiences (e.g., using *Amazing Grace*). When I asked if she wanted to go back to her response about primary-aged students being able to grasp concepts of social justice, she said, "Ha-ha, going back on what I said, um, yes. I guess, I think that they can

get the initial idea of what it is? But, I mean they aren't yet exposed to all the, unfortunately, negative things that do happen between races?"

Immediately after I asked Elaina if she believed all students should be treated the same, she said, "Yes, absolutely." Elaina explained, "I think they should be given the same opportunities? Um, the same—whether that be classes, uh, extracurricular activities, counseling within schools, um, therapies such as speech therapy or occupational therapy." Additionally, Elaina said that equal treatment extended to how teachers communicate and attend to all students. Elaina shared, "I—I just feel like, in my experience growing up and going to high school, um, just the way—I know I already said communication, but just in the way that teachers communicated with students? It wasn't always equal." She went on to explain:

> Like, regardless of somebody, like a White student that doesn't get in trouble, and a Hispanic student that gets into trouble a lot, I still think that they should communicated to the same. Like, you shouldn't see the Hispanic student as a nuisance because they are always getting into trouble. Um, if they are not communicated to the same, then it just builds on top of that student—like, he is already getting in trouble, he doesn't need to, uh, disrespected because then you don't show hope in that student.

Her survey response to SJ6R, "It's reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don't speak English as their first language," was Strongly Disagree. She also strongly disagreed that, "Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom" (SJ9R).

Similar to her response about culture and race/ethnic identity, Elaina said a teacher's SES may or may not influence what and how they teach. At first, Elaina said:

> Um, I do. But, the only reason being that it is that, if a teacher grew up economically sound? You know, unfortunately, they may have had a better education to begin with. Therefore, just being able to communicate with the students, maybe better than a teacher that did not have that economic standing?

She did not see gender influencing how a teacher teaches, saying, "I don't think so, ha-ha. Again, not that I can think of." I asked if she saw a teacher's SES background or gender affecting what one teaches, Elaina said, "I do, and I may not know exactly what would be taught. But...I guess just thinking about the opinion that you… that you inherit as you grow up may influence what you want to teach to the class." Then, without prompting, she asked to amend her previous statement:

> You know, I kind of want to go back a little bit on what I said, um, about just growing up in good, um, economical standing. I personally came from a single-parent, um, and we did not have a ton of money growing up. But, I feel like I am very capable of eventually being able teach someday. I am kind of going back on my answer there. Because, I did not grow up with a lot of money, and I think that my capabilities of becoming a teacher may be just as great as those that had a lot of money growing up.

She explained, "I mean, I think that it depends on your drive and your dedication to your work," and shared, "So I am kind of surprising myself on going back here."

Asked about her concerns about teaching for social justice, Elaina could not identify a specific one. She said, “Um, I wouldn't say personally?” and explained:

> I don't, I mean, if the—if the issue portrays itself, I hopefully will know how to go about it in that moment, but just going from the beginning of this conversation, I truly think that I will treat my students all the same, fairly, equally. And, I hope that I don't live up to—I hope that I don't not live up to that.

Elaina identified two barriers to teaching for social justice. Of the first, Elaina said, “I definitely think that something that could get in the way is maybe schools that are very curriculum based and don't allow you the flexibility of creating maybe your own lesson plans throughout the day?” She said the following about the second barrier: “Otherwise, what might affect that is just the interactions even between the students. I mean, if you have students arguing and fighting with each other and disagreeing, then that can also impact the environment of the classroom.” To support teaching for social justice, Elaina said that the same commitment from other faculty members would help:

> I would need, uh, the commitment of the other teachers because they are not just working—the students are not just working with me all day? Um, the commitment of the principal to have a trickle-down effect of creating that environment for the teachers and the students.

Tobias. Tobias is a White male in his 30s who plans on teaching in an urban area. Tobias chose HSU because he was looking for different avenues into teaching, its reputation, its affordability, and its location. The community Tobias grew up in was not racially diverse, but was religiously diverse. The school that he was part of was in an

affluent community with many resources. He did describe other schools in less affluent areas as having fewer resources. Tobias also represented a middle level of endorsement to teach for social justice among HSU participants with a total score of 47 out of a possible score of 60.

Democratic education. He responded to the first question under the category of democratic education, "What do you think is the role of a teacher?" with many different roles:

> Um, I think, uh, a teacher should certainly be a person who helps students not only learn content, but learn how to learn. Um, I think that they are something of a guardian in that they should help, uh, children grow developmentally and emotionally. Um, so they obviously need subject matter knowledge, but they also need to teach those non-cognitive skills, like patience and consideration for others. Kind of a, uh, uh, steward of what we want our future students to be.

On the survey, Tobias selected Uncertain for item 12R, "Realistically, it is a teacher's job to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead."

Tobias described good citizenship at the student level first. He said, "I think what makes a student a good citizen is a willingness to learn and, and, um, a willingness to work hard, regardless of what intelligence they come in at." Tobias answered Uncertain on item SJ11R, "Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work." In addition, he said, "What makes them a good citizen is how they interact with others." Tobias explained how this might be different according to age:

> I am thinking of younger students, um, it would—it would—I think my answer might change a little bit as the as the ages of student changes? But, um, starting with the younger kids, certainly people who are engaged with other students, concerned about other students, and concerned more about their environment, and society at-large, um, to the extent that they can, and want, to help make a positive difference. And, not be, you know, someone who is only thinking about themselves, but, um, is thinking about making a difference and everyone in their community, the global community.

Of good citizenship in general, Tobias referred to a reading in class to describe different classifications of citizens:

> But, in this class, we read an article, I forget who the authors of the study were, but it was pondering the question of what was the ideal citizen. And, it kind of classified citizens in three different groups. And, the basics are the participatory citizen, um, a, uh… personally responsible citizen, and then the socially mind—socially justice minded–citizen who everyone in the class kind of thought was the ideal. So, um, so thinking of people who really kind of tried to, um, be agents of change, and not only—not only help, but also try to solve problems, um, it's hard to see students in—in that role, to tell you the truth.

Thinking back on his own experience, he wondered at the ability of younger students to be able to reach a socially justice minded citizen:

> At least where I went to school, you see more of—of—of what I call the sort of the basics, or foundation, of that. Um, people helping or people volunteering, um,

> donating, recycling. Um, until college, I am not sure you get that level of—of inquiry to ask the questions that the study talked about being criteria, or characteristics, of the socially minded category.

Tobias did not immediately recognize the term civic education, but he said that he could infer based on his understanding of civics. He said:

> Civics, I think, would be the study of—study of government relations and how, uh, um, how our government works, and what the individual's role is in a participatory government, or democracy, is [*sic*]. So, civic education would probably be the exploration of those ideas. What are your responsibilities versus what are your preferences? How can you, uh, help keep the democracy strong? Um, stuff like that.

His response to SJ8, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions," was Agree.

Critical pedagogy. When questioned, Tobias immediately began listing his characteristics of what it means to be a good teacher. He said a good teacher is someone who has, "Um, intelligence, patience." Tobias also said, "um, determined, um, open-minded, um, accepting."

Multicultural education. Tobias also agreed that it was a teacher's responsibility to ensure that his students value and respect diversity of culture. He said, "Um, I think you have to look for opportunities wherever they are," and he said you look at "these components of culture, uh, its language, its music, its, uh, um, dress, its—its, uh, you know, a lot of different things. So, I think you try to look for those opportunities to

connect the curriculum, uh, to culture." Tobias also said, "Um, and I think you probably look for ways, ways to keep culture relevant—sort of relevant in current events, you know?" He explained:

> That might be the—a really good way to do that. When I was in school, it was a little bit more rote. Um, you know, you started math class with daily maintenance and then you had a daily check in on what is going on in the world. And, if you are looking at what is going on in the world, I think you have an opportunity to at least touch upon diversity. And, diversity can be a very broad concept. It can be what is going on, you know, in a certain part of the world, not necessarily what is going on with Black or, uh, Middle Eastern students.

In the survey, Tobias selected Agree for item SJ7, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities." He selected Uncertain for item SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it is not their job to change society."

Tobias said that a teacher's race or ethnicity would play a role in teaching. He had found himself in moments where he approached tutoring a student with his own background knowledge and realized that his own cultural understanding was very different from the students with who he was working:

> Um, yes, yes. I think it would, I am not teaching yet. I am not sure, but I definitely caught moments as a, uh, tutor where I approached it with my background knowledge and realized that, you know, my, uh, cultural understanding is, uh, very different than the student's I was working with.

He also said:

> I have been struck with this idea that we expect that students of all colors, all classes, to have the same goals, and, uh, think like we do. You know, because going to a school like I did, I hold that as the ideal and think, 'well obviously everybody wants that.' And that can remove some of that positive cultural differences that make people different and make society pluralistic, which I think is a positive—that's all going to come up for the greater good.

He shared that "I think you have to know who you are, and where you came from, and kind of shelf [*sic*] that and approach all students with an open mind." Tobias said, "And, it's not, um, you know, it's not looking at people for the differences, but keep in mind that the differences are there, and should be explored, and should be celebrated, really." He agreed with item SJ1, "An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation."

When asked if he believed social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools, Tobias answered, "Exist in the U.S.A.? Yes, definitely," and, "unintentional, hopefully, but still exists is the segregation of the allocation of moneys, and resources, and those with and without." He spoke about his personal experience saying:

> *Savage Inequalities* was the name of his book, um certainly exist, and exist in every major city. So, you know, specific examples might be those "back to basics" programs in high school that my friend did. You know, where we were in

> a good school and could volunteer to go to school that, uh, needed help. I'd say unfortunately those examples are all around us.

Tobias supported teaching about the causes of social and economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality. He said, “Um, causes? Uh… well that factors very much into each individual teacher's beliefs systems. I suppose that mine is that it has always been a battle between the haves and have-nots.” Speaking through an anthropological lens, he further explained, “I am sort of a believer of Jared Diamond's arguments, and guns, germs, and steel. And, it easily comes all down to technology and which group is sort of wielding it at that moment.” Tobias explained Jared Diamond’s view of agriculture:

> They talk about agriculture and those aggregation societies that were able to shift from hunter-gatherers to diversify, not in terms of culture, but in terms of sort of professions and different roles that different members of a group would play. Um, that is kind of what started our marginalized socialization and, uh, since then it has kind of been about who has the power. In terms of teaching causality, I think I would probably, uh, not shy away from the fact that there are always winners and losers, um, and much of what we hear is from the winner’s perspective.

He concluded:

> I think I would be pretty candid. And, it is easy for me to say now as a preservice teacher. But, uh, um, I would be objective and, uh, honest about these differences that exist. But on those criteria that you need, certainly, um, you know, diverse

> ones, I am not sure how I would address causality for gender or sexual orientation except that I would encourage that students be accepting of everybody.

He strongly agreed with survey item SJ2, “Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom.” When Tobias was asked, “How do you feel about including subjects that are politically, socially, or religiously sensitive into teaching,” he responded, “I think it starts with respect for differing opinions.” Tobias reasoned, “It is an extension of just how—how we are all different. And, that is part of the fun of this human experience.” He also said, “If we were all the same, it would be a lot less interesting.” To be able to teach about these topics, he shared, “I would probably have to do some work to—to, uh, make sure that I wasn't being biased.” He said:

> And, I would have to do a lot of digging about that, because, you know, the basics of protecting the environment is not only important, but it's, um, I think—if I were to write standards you know, protecting the environment would probably be a whole chapter of it. Some people might consider that as a political viewpoint, I kind of see it as a scientific reality. And, that might be one example of an area that I would need to, um, maybe walk back a little bit, or step down off a soapbox, or at least teach students to think critically about why these differences in opinions exist.

Describing what he thought this type of instruction might look like, he said, “If the question is should be include them, or, or, invite students to consider them in sort of open discourse in class? I think yes you would.” Tobias said that instruction should be, “age appropriate and probably for the right place and time,” as well as, “I think I see a lot

of this stuff playing out in social studies or English, um, classrooms. Uh, and I see it more for high school students?" Regarding teaching about gender differences, Tobias said, "Yeah, yeah, uh, I think so. Um, I would probably try to—I would probably try to steer away from gender norms and ideas about, you know, we should or should not be geared towards on the basis of gender?" He also explained, "Um, and in terms of the physiology of it, I would probably leave that up for the sex ed or science classrooms and not get into that stuff." Asked if he supported providing information about gender as opposed to endorsing gender norms, etc., he said:

> Yeah, certainly a sociohistorical context, I think I would try to encourage students to look at the trajectory of it, you know, and probably ask some questions about where they think we are now, and kind of take a look back in time, uh, and ask them how and why things changed.

Tobias's response to whether he agreed with the use of multicultural literature and censorship were in contrast to one another, both in the content of the replies and their length. He affirmed that he did believe in the use of multicultural literature, simply responding, "Yes." However, his response to censorship was, "So that is a really good question, and one that I often struggle with." He continued, saying, "You don't want to censor. I would say you should not set out with the goal of sheltering or censoring. But, at the same time you want to choose texts and subject matter that is [*sic*] appropriate, you know?" He gave the following example:

> You know, so—on the issue of guns I would struggle with—I don't know sort of frontier literature that had a high emphasis on, um, conflict between American

> settlers and Native Americans, and warfare, and weapons, and stuff like that. But, that's it.

He also juggled the idea of censorship and age appropriateness:

> But, um censorship, I–I—I don't—I don't believe in censorship, but at the same time we are teaching students. And the younger they are, you know, the more careful you need to be about, sort of, what you expose them to. So, I think I would probably lean heavily on the research and, um, guidelines of a particular school district to decide what was—what was best.

Along with following district guidelines, he said, "And hopefully, I don't know, safeguard against censorship just by being proactive and preemptive in terms of my lesson planning."

Tobias also said family values affected student learning. He said family values could manifest into different actions. For example, he explained:

> Um, I mean family values could probably mean a lot of things. I mean, it might be discipline in the home and saying, you know, "You can have an hour of TV for every hour of homework you do," something like that. Um, or, is everybody sitting down to dinner? Um, I think it probably results in greater parental involvement, and I think that that's definitely a positive for children's' learning experience.

Tobias also said, "I would define family values pretty broadly, not necessarily in terms of religion as it might be in a political sense in our country." He concluded, "But

um, yeah, family values matter because I think, uh, because it involves family matters and really helps students."

Culturally responsive education. Tobias agreed with incorporating the culture of all students and answered Strongly Agree to SJ4, "Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons." During the interview, he said:

> I think that is a great question, and I hope to learn more about it. I certainly have some ideas. If I were to try to plan a cultural diverse curriculum now, um, I would say, um, units just sort of celebrating or, um, uh, investigating where people are from. You know, asking students to share, if they are comfortable on some of those stories, and details, family trees, genealogy, stuff like that.

Tobias also imagined that teachers could incorporate cultures into other subjects. He explained, "In terms of academic fields, I think it would be easy to do in, um, English, just because you could choose literature selections that represented some, uh, the whole pie." Tobias added:

> And, um, social studies, uh, math and science, I think that you would have to think more about how you could do that, but I am sure that you could, I am sure that you could. Genealogy and certainly anthropology, you know, are certainly scientific fields.

He added that, although not easy, it was something that should be done:

> You would have to do it all carefully, you know, I am not supposing any of it is easy to do. Um, there are probably challenges around every corner for any kind of

> curriculum and lesson planning. But, uh, definitely don't want to, uh, shy away from what makes us special.

On SJ3R, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature," he disagreed. Tobias strongly disagreed with item SJ5R, "The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society."

When I asked Tobias about the impact of a teacher's culture on teaching, he had already responded to the question about the impact of a teacher's race or ethnicity, as noted earlier. He said, "I definitely caught moments as a, uh, tutor where I approached it with my background knowledge and realized that, you know, my, uh, cultural understanding is, uh, very different than the student's I was working with." He also touched on the impact of culture when he spoke about how teachers can hold an ideal of what they think people want:

> I have been struck with this idea that we expect that students of all colors, all classes, to have the same goals, and, uh, think like we do. You know, because going to a school like I did, I hold that as the ideal and think, 'well obviously everybody wants that.' And that can remove some of that positive cultural differences that make people different and make society pluralistic, which I think is a positive—that's all going to come up for the greater good.

Therefore, when I reiterated his perspective that culture can affect how you view a student and therefore teach them, he said, "Yes, yes that's true."

When I asked, “Do culturally diverse students and teachers respond differently to one another than teachers and students who share the same culture or ethnicity?” Tobias said, “Uh, I would suspect yes.” When I asked him in what ways, Tobias responded:

> Um I think probably, um, I—I –I—I mean in this class I am taking we have seen some examples of students who respond more favorably when they have a teacher who is more like them, or are coming from a set of circumstances that are more like theirs, whether that is in terms of socioeconomic status or ethnicity. Um, I forget the name of the movie we watched, but it was centered around a culturally diverse curriculum, uh, in Phoenix, I want to say? Uh, where a lot of students who had dropped out of sort of more traditional education paths and classes, uh, responded better when they got culturally considerate curriculums.

Social justice education. Speaking on the definition of social justice, Tobias replied, “I would say, um, it involves a critique of current events and dynamics. It asks what root causes are; it asks what we can do to address those causes, and work for fairness and equity.” Tobias was also unfamiliar with the term “a socially just classroom”, but said, “I think that that would be a classroom where students feel free to discuss and disagree, but do so respectfully,” and “I think it would be a classroom where people feel like decision making is fair.”

When I asked Tobias if he believed children in the primary grades are too young to understand issues of social justice, he said was a bit unsure. He said, “I am not really sure what the lesson looks like and what the conversation looks like.” Tobias went on to explain:

> And, I would certainly look to the experts for this, but, uh, I mean they see it. They see different—they can see—I mean I am sure you saw with your kids when they were very young there was that moment they saw someone who didn't look like them and they, they started being inquisitive. Or, uh, you know, whether it was something that made you say that's a positive reaction or a negative one, they—they are reacting at a very early age at the differences around them.

He concluded, "So, I don't think the primary would be too early to explore differences, and that is probably where I would probably start, is exploring differences."

Tobias said he did feel students should be treated the same, "Um, yes, from a, uh, design standpoint in—in—in planning, uh, yes. But, not at the expense, I think, at losing sight of those opportunities for celebrating cultural differences and, uh, you know choosing pluralism over assimilation." Furthermore, he described treating students the same as:

> Treated the same would be just trying to rule out any bias or assumption that you have about how a certain class or race of students should be able to perform. You know, so, you would want to guard against having lower expectations for a certain group—that would be one way.

Like Elaina, Tobias did not equate "treated the same" with "approaching everything the same way." Reiterating his stance on supporting students' individual goals and desires, Tobias explained:

> I don't want to say we are going to approach everything the same and go in with another set of assumptions about, um, you know, what they are going to want to

> learn about, are their goals going to be the same as your goals growing up. Um, you know, uh, and lose that sort of contextual and cultural, um, aspect of—of what their education could and should be just in terms of celebrating diversity.

His agreed to survey item SJ6R, "It's reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don't speak English as their first language," and strongly disagreed with item SJ9R, "Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom."

Tobias' initial response to the question of whether he had any concerns for teaching for social justice with his future students was, "Um, I have a lot of concerns about teaching, teaching in general. I think it is a very hard job, and it is getting harder. I think being a student is hard, and it is getting harder." Specifically regarding teaching for social justice, Tobias said:

> But, focusing on the challenges and concerns to having a socially just classroom, um, you know it's, uh, it's just difficult. I think that dilemmas would surface on a daily basis, if you are trying to be fair. And, you might have a kid come in and express the beliefs based on what he heard around the dinner table, and, it might not be something that you, or your other students, agree with. It may not be something that seems just.

Tobias said, "If we want to have a socially just classroom, you know, you should probably be prepared to get called into the principal's office; and if you don't, you are probably not doing your job." However, this brought up another challenge:

> I am a preservice teacher. You know, I know that it is really different in reality when it comes time to execute a plan. Um, you go through all this training, and you are probably in some debt by the end of it. And, you don't want to lose your job on the first day on a matter of principle.

This brought him to his main concern: "I would say that my main concern that I would have is that how to make that discourse and that openness, um, in the school and in the environment that you are employed in." To support teaching for social justice he suggested, "well, you know, just getting right in front of it. I don't know if you can use the PTA. I don't know if you can use parent-teacher conferences to say here are some of the things we're talking about." He also said:

> You know, everyone has their own ideas of what kind of education they expect their kids to receive. Um, so on the one hand, I don't know if you want to, uh, tip your hand or—or create a problem before it exists, or fall on your own sword in—in—in a way. But, on the other hand, the more that you are up front, and invite dialogue, and maybe extend it to—and I am not trying to vilify parents at all—I mean, obviously, some parents are going to agree with you, and some parents are not. Um, but the more you try to get them involve, that might be one way to help.

Tobias also maintained, "As you started asking the question, the first thing I thought of was tenure." Lastly, he said, "It is hard to find people that don't believe in the Constitution. I think that you stress the Bill of Rights, the right to assembly, right to religion, right to free speech," and, he suggested, "Maybe, you know, even if it is a science classroom, you have the Bill of Rights up on the wall."

Among all HSU interviewees, Elaina and Tobias represented middle levels of endorsement to teach for social justice. Although their LTSJ-B scores were only one point apart, a closer examination of their responses to individual items align with what was shared in their interviews. The two had different perspectives on various topics. Towards Dover's (2013) category of democratic education, Elaina focused on the need to be a role model and to understand different learning styles. Tobias focused on helping students develop academic as well as non-cognitive skills. On survey item SJ12R, Elaina selected Strongly Agree and Tobias selected Uncertain that realistically a teacher's job is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead. They both spoke of citizenship in terms of community outreach. Tobias also spoke of a socially justice-minded person, but said it was hard to see students younger than college age to be ready for that level of inquiry. Their idea of student citizenship was also to be engaged in their community and other students. On item SJ11R about whether student success is primarily dependent on how hard they work, Elaina answered Disagree and Tobias was uncertain. Each of them were unfamiliar with the term civic education; Elaina offered it was learning together, and Tobias defined it as learning about the government. Both said civic education was necessary during the interview, and Elaina chose Uncertain and Tobias selected Agree to item SJ5, that teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions. Under the category of critical pedagogy, they listed characteristics of a good teacher as a good listener, supportive, patient, etc., but they did not mention a social justice agenda for their teaching. Looking at Dover's third category of a multicultural education, they said that it was a teacher's responsibility to make sure

diversity is valued and respected. They both described discussing diversity; Elaina suggested the use of multicultural books and partnering with families, and Tobias suggested talking about current events. On survey item SJ3R, they both disagreed that covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subjects. They did not specifically discuss systemic reform efforts, described by Dover (2013) as an element often less focused on than additive content. During their interviews, Elaina and Tobias said they did feel that their own identities play a role in their teaching. However, their comments and survey response to SJ1 about whether it was important for a teacher to examine their own attitudes and beliefs were a bit different. Elaina said she was having trouble figuring out how, and answered Uncertain in the survey. Tobias explained he had come to realize how a teacher might project their own views and goals onto their students and answered Agree in the survey. When I asked if they believed social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools, their answers were both immediate. Elaina used the word "absolutely" and Tobias said "definitely." Additionally, they both described personal experiences witnessing inequitable distribution of wealth among schools. Both supported discussing causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, faith, and sexuality, as well as including sensitive topics in the curriculum. Although Elaina was a little hesitant about religion and politics, both Elaina and Tobias had gender falling under specific instruction (e.g., sex education or science courses). These perspectives were also observed in their survey responses to item SJ2—that issues related to racism and inequity should be openly discussed. Elaina selected Uncertain and Tobias chose Strongly Agree. They said instruction on those topics provided opportunities for students to engage in conversations

where they can support their thoughts and have the chance to correct misconceptions. In addition, they both selected Agree for SJ7, that part of a teacher's responsibility is to challenge school arrangements maintaining societal inequities. On item SJ10R, that teachers have to appreciate diversity but it is not their job to change society, Elaina selected Strongly Disagree and Tobias selected Uncertain.

Under Dover's (2013) fourth category, culturally responsive education, they both said culture influences their views of students and teaching. Elaina and Tobias described potential differences in being able to understand a student's circumstance and have empathy, as well as how you interpret a student's behavior. They supported incorporating the cultures of all students into different subjects. They both strongly agreed with survey item SJ4, whether good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences. Further, they selected negative levels of agreement to SJ5R; Elaina disagreed and Tobias strongly disagreed that assimilating into American society was the most important goal when working with immigrant children and ELLs. Lastly, regarding social justice education, Elaina's definition of teaching for social justice focused on students "feeling that they are equal," whereas Tobias' definition focused on critiquing current events and finding root causes to "address those causes, and work for fairness and equity." They were unfamiliar with the phrase "socially just classroom." Elaina's definition aligned with her definition of teaching for social justice—that a socially just classroom was one in which students were given equal opportunities and resources. Elaina's explanation for treating students the same was similar. She agreed they should be and said this meant providing the same opportunities, resources, and level of attention. Tobias' also aligned with his definition

and centered on a classroom where students freely and respectfully discussed and disagreed. His explanation also supported treating students the same, and described an internal check done by the teacher to ensure they were not lowering expectations for certain groups of students, examining their own biases and assumptions about students' ability to perform as well as their goals for learning. On survey item SJ6R, Elaina chose Strongly Disagree and Tobias chose Agree (counter to what he shared in his interview) to whether it is reasonable to lower classroom expectations for students whose first language is not English. On item SJ9R, "Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom," they both selected Strongly Disagree.

HSU Highest Level of Endorsement

Charlotte. Charlotte is a female from a multiracial background who is in her 30s. She hopes to teach in an urban area after graduating from the program. Charlotte chose HSU because of the ability to earn her master's degree and teacher licensure without going to an online program. Growing up, she moved to many different communities, which she described as racially diverse but not diverse in SES. She shared that most of the communities were in impoverished neighborhoods until she went to high school where the community was more middle class. Charlotte had a total score of 52, which was the highest level of endorsement among interviewees at HSU.

Democratic education. Charlotte said that a teacher has many roles. She listed several, including someone who "exposes children to new ideas and concepts." She said, "And, hopefully inspiring them and instilling in them a passion for learning and, kind of,

discovery?" She responded to item 12R, "Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead," as Disagree.

Regarding what makes someone a good citizen, Charlotte said:

> Good citizenship. Um, I think a good citizen is somebody who, uh, participates as much as possible in their local community, whether that be in politics or organizations, giving back to that community. But, also one who questions and tries to better, kind of, injustices or things they don't agree with.

At the student level, she again mentioned involvement and questioning:

> I think that would be a student that is actively involved in learning and actively invested in their education, as well as somebody who is taking in information and maybe accepting, or making judgments around, the information that they are getting, um, yeah.

She described her own personal experience working with a local group of youth girls who show good student citizenship because they "go to school and they participate in the system and try to make the best out of their situation." Additionally, Charlotte shared:

> But they also tend to question, um, not only the things that they are learning, but also the ways that their teachers in their school behave or may be treating them differently. But they also question the system overall, they are very good question askers. They don't kind of clam up, or get angry about it. They ask probably some of the most critical questions I have ever seen, and they are between ages 13 and 17, maybe?

Charlotte selected Disagree for item SJ11R, "Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work."

She was not familiar with the phrase civic education before our interview. She defined civic education as, "Um, I would assume that that would be something [*sic*] teaching kids, er, teaching students how to be better citizens, or focused on good citizens?" Charlotte explained her thoughts on what this kind of education might look like and whether it was necessary:

> Um, I would think that that would be more focused on critical thinking and, um, observation of you know of things around them. And yes, I would most certainly think that that's necessary. I don't necessarily think that is necessarily what we are teaching students these days.

Charlotte agreed with survey item SJ8, "Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions."

Critical pedagogy. Charlotte defined a good teacher as one who "inspires kids to want to learn." She also said, a good teacher is one who "is flexible with the needs and capacities that each student has, as well as someone who understands the environment in which they are teaching." Lastly, Charlotte said, "I think balancing the students' needs with the needs of the administration. And, the local, kind of, political climate that influences teaching is really important."

Multicultural education. Charlotte said that it is a teacher's responsibility to make sure differences in cultures and values are respected. She explained that a teacher does this by "making sure that, uh, students are speaking in respectful ways about different

cultures and not putting things down, but also exposing them to those things is going to promote that." Charlotte said a teacher should also be "providing a diverse environment for them to be in. You know, so, not just this kind of sterilized classroom, it is all about our differences in the way that we are very culturally diverse kind of as a nation." Charlotte response to item SJ7, "Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities," was Uncertain, and she selected Strongly Disagree for item SJ10R, "Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it is not their job to change society."

When asked if she thought her own race and identity plays a role in teaching, Charlotte immediately responded, "Yes." Describing her own multiracial family, she said she "comes from a family that is extremely mixed," and shared, "Um, and I was always raised with the understanding that people are different and they look different, but, they are, you know—they don't need to be treated differently."

She also attributed her prior education for her perspective. She stated, "My previous background, or my previous history undergrad was in anthropology. So, that helped me develop a worldview even further than, you know, what I was raised with." In addition, Charlotte explained, "I specialized in Latin American Studies and, um, gender—gender classification; I think that my understanding of the world and my views on things will most certainly influence how I teach and how I view students." When asked what role she thought her background would have, she explained, "Well, in my circumstance, my particular background is going to make me a little bit more understanding of, um, different situations and circumstances?" Her survey response to

item SJ1, “An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one’s own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation,” was Strongly Agree.

Charlotte said social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools. She cited two personal experiences:

> Um, yes. I would say not only the difference between the local schools and the particularly affluent neighborhoods versus the, uh, lower-income, challenged neighborhoods. There is quite a large disparity there, but also, I have been witness to, um, kind of, changes in behaviors and attitudes from people, or teachers, pertaining to students.

She also experienced a difference in behavior and attitudes towards students of different backgrounds. “Assuming that just because a student looks a certain way, or maybe doesn't, um, speak great English or what have you, various things, uh, you know, there are automatic behavior changes.” Asked to explain the differences in allocation resources and opportunities between affluent and economically challenged neighborhoods, Charlotte said:

> Um, they are different in activities that they offer; they are different in the, um, supplies and things that they are able to give to their students, or provide. They are different in the intramural or after-school kind of activities, um, or the trips that they are able to provide. But, I think also, uh, I don't want to say overall, they have worst teachers, but they don't always tend to attract, um, the most qualified teachers.

Charlotte supported teaching causes of social and economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality. When speaking about whether students should be taught these concepts, she mentioned age: "Maybe not, uh, as complex but, you know introducing ideas even very young." Charlotte also explained, "I think it is important because kids need to understand where these differences come from and understand that they may run into these different types of people even if they are not within their classroom." She selected Strongly Agree for survey item SJ2, "Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom." Regarding subjects that are politically, socially, and religiously sensitive into teaching, Charlotte answered, "I think that depends on the age of students you are talking about?" She offered that young children are ready to have these conversations:

> Um, I think with even with kids as young as kindergarten and first grade, they are going to have questions about the things that they may or may not have seen, you know, on the news, or heard mom and dad talking about. And so, you know, be worrying about how you are saying, and what you are saying to your audience is important. But, I think that, as these things come up, it is important to talk about with the kids because they are going to need to unpack and register what it is that they are seeing. And, I think that if they are having questions, I think it is important to be able to answer that for them.

When I asked how she thought teachers should raise these conversations, she responded, "I think it depends on the situation and it depends on, um, some things. So, yes, I think it is important to um bring up to or introduce politics and different religions

and different, um, things to kids." However, she explained, "I think that some things should be tailored to age ranges. So, like, I would not necessarily bring up, or talk about, say ISIS with kindergarteners" because "it is dependent on their cognitive ability at that time. They are not going to understand, they are just going to get scared."

Gender (e.g., norms, identity, roles) were also concepts that Charlotte supported teaching students. Charlotte described a recent event:

> I actually had a conversation with my nurse because she was upset because there is a transgender child in her child's classroom, and she was mad because, you know, they explained what that meant. And I said well—she goes, "Well we didn't have that when we were growing up. No one explained that." And I said, "Well if you did, wouldn't you be more accepting to the idea now?"

Asked how the nurse responded, she said, "She said, you know, you bring up a great point." She also explained her view on teaching about gender:

> I think that it is something should be introduced early and is something that can be talked about in the classroom, or should be talked about in the classroom. Especially with regard to the fact that in this day and age and this kind of prevalence of transgender students coming about very young? Kids need to be exposed to this idea and, you know, if they are taught about it and it is openly spoken about, then it becomes less taboo.

Charlotte said that an influence on student learning was family values. She saw family values affecting student learning by how these values manifest as actions that do or do not support learning:

> Say learning is not—or school is not something that is important to the mother and father, um, not so much that parents don't want to learn, but that may not be their, um, primary focus. If they are not, you know, encouraging their kids to do homework, or to excel or do better, you know, that can most certainly affect, you know, their focus in school. Also, if they are trying to drive their children to go to college or get further education, or high education. You know, and that—that—and that is not always, um, that's not always the primary focus.

Charlotte also tied family values to culture: "Some cultures where women are still kind of meant to be home. They may not care that their daughter goes to college."

Culturally responsive education. When I asked whether the cultural backgrounds of all students should be included in instruction, Charlotte responded, "Yes… I think?" She wondered, "I guess I would ask for clarification, how do you mean incorporated into? Like the culture of each of the students within the classroom would be taught upon, or taken into consideration?" After sharing my follow up question, "If yes, how so?," Charlotte expressed the importance of starting young. "It is so fundamental to establish cultural tolerance and understanding when kids are young. Because I think the older that they get the harder it becomes for students before—they are less malleable, less accepting." In the survey, Charlotte had selected Strongly Agree to item SJ4, "Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussion." During the interview, when asked how, Charlotte answered, "So, I think that probably both, you know? Maybe it's, you know, celebrating the differences that we may have or maybe having the students highlight one of their cultural activities or religious

activities that other students may not be aware of." As mentioned earlier, she said reading books that highlight cultures, "or math problems, you know, that might reference different things." Her response to survey item SJ3R, "For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature," was Strongly Disagree. Lastly, she selected Uncertain for, "The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society" (SJ5R).

Charlotte said, "Um, yes. I would say most certainly culture, my culture and anybody's culture would shape the way you see things." She described the impact of culture as:

> Um, I think that… culture kind of shapes your world view and your understanding of how things should be or should not be, and so that's going to influence the way that you see kids and how they are behaving, or how they understand the world, and kind of what they should and should not be doing.

Charlotte explained, "You know, the way that I teach things is going to be totally different than the ways that somebody, say in Peru, is going to teach kids, or somebody in Russia is going to teach kids. That is a very different approach, I think."

When it came to the effect of teachers and students coming from different backgrounds, Charlotte said, "Um, I think it depends on the teacher, and it depends on the student." Charlotte continued:

> Because you know some kids that haven't been taught differences in students, er, or some teachers haven't been taught, or haven't been exposed to different cultures

> and different ideologies, so it is very possible that, you know, um, some kids are going to say, uh, see an African American teacher or, um, if, you know, White students or what have you—or African American teacher as something different. And they are going to automatically interact differently with them, so.

Charlotte said, "I would say that the more experience, the more understanding you have for different cultures and different ethnicities, makes you a more tolerant, open teacher, assuming that, you know, you haven't formed negative opinions during this experience."

Social justice education. Charlotte equated teaching for social justice as "teaching against social injustice." She said:

> I think that teaching [*sic*] social justice, or teaching against social injustice, would be, um, teaching children about different cultures and different, um... mmmm different cultures, different kinds of economic backgrounds, different life situations. But then, teaching them to look for, um, equality? And to look for those things that should be, kind of, um, inherent or apparent, and then you know maybe teaching them some of the steps, or some of the beginning ways to, uh, start to change or make a difference or how they can, you know, address these things. So, say a student sees a way that, um, I don't know, some schools are different, so they could host a fundraiser, or contact organizations to help, or write letters for their senators. Because exposing them to ideas that there are changes that they can make is the only way they are going to find out, typically.

She had not heard of the phrase “a socially just classroom,” but provided the following definition: “Um I would think a socially just classroom would be one that treats students equitably and, uh, and kind of strives for I guess that equality, mmm... yeah.”

Charlotte did not view primary-aged children as too young to understand concepts of social justice. She explained, “I think that they are—dependent upon the ways that they are brought up or spoken about? I absolutely believe that kids, even as young as kindergarten, can understand, uh, race and, uh, homophobia, and things like that.” She also shared her own experience: “I have proof of it with my partner’s godchild who talks to me all the time about that stuff, and she is 5.”

When I inquired whether she thought all students should be treated equally, Charlotte replied, “No”. She clarified, “You shouldn't treat people differently because they are of a different culture or they are a different race. You treat them according to how they want to be treated, need to be treated." Charlotte said this should be based on the individual child, sharing, “and every student is not the same, and so your actions and behaviors cannot be the same for every student,” and adding, “You have to adjust.” Charlotte explained that she believed in treating students the same in some regard, but not others:

> I would say when I say treated the same, I think I mean, you know, I am going to be as positive, as enthusiastic, as energetic with one student versus another regardless of their race or ethnicity or income or background, what have you. But, I am going to adjust the way that I teach, or speak to, or interact with different students based on their individual needs.

She concluded, “Granted this all in, kind of, an ideal world, right? It depends on my classroom and what kinds of things happen there.” Charlotte disagreed that “It’s reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don’t speak English as their first language” (SJ6R), and strongly disagreed that “Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom” (SJ9R).

She did express that a teacher’s SES and gender can affect teaching. Charlotte shared her own personal experiences in a single-parent home with a mom who “worked her way up,” and explained, “So, her income has changed drastically. And so, you know, I saw kind of this range of situations, and this range of the way that the amount of money that I have affects the way that I learn?” She explained the impact on learning she experienced, “Um, you know because if I am not fed well, you know, and I've got issues at home, and my dad was not at home? That affected whether or not I was really invested in my education,” as well as her hopes for how her experiences will impact her teaching. “So, those types of things will hopefully make me a more tolerant and understanding teacher for my students.” The potential influence of gender was harder for Charlotte to answer:

> I want to say no. Um, but that is kind of hard for me to judge. Because, you know, I only have one gender, mine. Uh, and I think (sigh) a person as a whole identifies and that affects teaching—I don't know if I want to say that's specific to gender only.

She saw gender as a part of a whole person:

> I think, um, so gender is only one piece of the puzzle. So, if a person identifies as male, female, they go somewhere in between, or, you know, male to female, female to male, any of those sorts of things, I think that that's only one piece of the puzzle. So, I don't know if that specifically would influence the way that somebody would teach.

Thus, about the impact of gender, she concluded, "I think it's that combined with experiences and background and beliefs and ideologies, so it's a combination of things."

Charlotte shared a few concerns, barriers, and supports to teaching for social justice. Of any concerns, she said, "Um, I think aside from the typical concerns about time restrictions, and money restrictions, and things like that, no," because, "You know, as careful as I have been with my words in regard to say the interview and answering your question, I am still pretty typically careful with my words with kids, too, so." However, she did say, "Um, I think that some of the barriers are going to be probably some parents." She explained, "You know because some parents have ideas of how their children should be treated, or the things that their children should be taught." Additionally, Charlotte said, "Other barriers are going to be other teachers because you know not all teachers are open-minded or focused on celebrating their differences." The last challenge she anticipated was time. "I think the time is going to be a challenge, maybe not a barrier, because it's just going to be difficult because it takes time and energy to focus in on being this open." To support teaching for social justice, she suggested the following:

> I think that, um, you have to have some sort of… kind of administration-wide approach. Because even if you are teaching in a certain way, if you get into the next classroom and they are not taught in that same kind of a way, the focus is not on being equitable or just, then it is not going to make that much of a difference.

In summary, Charlotte represented the highest level of endorsement to teach for social justice. Regarding Dover's (2013) category of democratic education, Charlotte focused on what a teacher should do for a student: expose them to new ideas, inspire, and instill a passion for learning. On all survey items falling under this category she selected the answer choice with the same weighted score, disagreeing to items SJ11R (student success depends on effort) and SJ12R (a teacher's job is preparing students for lives they are likely to lead), as well as agreeing to item SJ8 (teachers should teach students to think critically about the government). Her responses to interview questions about citizenship revolved around participation, critical thinking, and questioning what you do not agree with. Under the category of critical pedagogy, she said a good teacher supports students' different needs and inspires them. She also spoke of factors influencing students, like the surrounding political climate that influences teaching, and balancing administration and student needs. Regarding Dover's third category of a multicultural education, she said that it was a teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity is valued and respected. Regarding item SJ10R—that teachers have to appreciate diversity, but it is not their job to change society—Charlotte selected Strongly Disagree. She described correcting insensitive behavior and supported teaching about gender, sensitive topics, and causes of socio-economic class division, etc., provided it was done in an age-appropriate way. Her

survey response to item SJ2, that issues related to racism and inequity should be openly discussed, was also Strongly Agree, and she responded Uncertain to SJ7, that part of a teacher's responsibility is to challenge school arrangements maintaining societal inequities. On survey item SJ3R, Charlotte selected Strongly Disagree to whether covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subjects. Like her peers, she did not specifically discuss systemic reform efforts. Charlotte did say that her own identity as a multiracial person plays a role in her teaching, and strongly agreed with item SJ1 about whether it was important for a teacher to examine their own attitudes and beliefs. When I asked if she believed social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools, she said, "Yes," and, just like her peers, she described her personal experience with seeing inequitable allocation of wealth between schools. Under Dover's (2013) fourth category, culturally responsive education, she said her culture "most certainly" influences her view of students and teaching because it shapes her worldview and what "should be or should not be." She said it influences how she perceives students and their behavior, as well as how she teaches. She supported incorporating the cultures of all students into different subjects and her survey response to SJ4, whether good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences, was Strongly Agree. To item SJ5R, Charlotte was uncertain whether assimilating into American society was the most important goal when working with immigrant children and ELLs. For interview and survey items falling under Dover's last category of social justice education, Charlotte defined teaching for social justice as "teaching against social injustice," and a socially just classroom as one that "treats students equitably" and strives for equality. Charlotte's believes you should not treat all

students the same way because students are not the same, nor are their cultures or their wants. On survey item SJ6R, Charlotte chose Disagree when asked whether it is reasonable to lower classroom expectations for students whose first language is not English, and on item SJ9R, "Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in school because they bring less into the classroom," she selected Strongly Disagree.

Summary of all HSU Interviewees

Themes also began to emerge across the data for all three HSU participants regarding Dover's (2013) five categories of social justice and between the different levels of endorsement to teach for social justice.

Democratic education. None of the three participants mentioned that the role of a teacher was encouraging student development of a sense of agency and equity (Dover, 2013). Instead, the role of teaching was described as helping students learn the curriculum and develop socioemotionally, being a role model and instilling a passion for learning, and understanding learning styles. Regarding citizenship, all three spoke about engaging with the community; however, Charlotte also spoke about critical thinking and questioning with the intention of improvement, thus, beginning to get at Dover's description of promoting societal change. Their responses to the definition of civic education, with which all three were unfamiliar, varied. Elaina focused on learning together, Tobias on learning about the government, and Charlotte focused again on critical thinking, as well as observation and being a good citizen.

Critical pedagogy. Responding to the interview question, "In your opinion, what are the characteristics of a 'good teacher'?" HSU interviewees listed general

characteristics. Elaina said a good listener, Tobias said patient, and Charlotte said flexible. Tobias did add open-minded and accepting, and Charlotte included that a good teacher was aware of the surrounding political climate. However, they did not speak about an explicit social justice agenda like learning to perceive and act against oppression or the key components described by Dover and shared earlier (e.g., analysis of the relationship among sociopolitical power).

Multicultural education. Under Dover's (2013) third category, like the participants at NDTR, all HSU participants said that inequities exist and that it is the teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity of cultures is respected and valued. Their responses reflected the multicultural education approach of integrating multicultural curricular content. They talked about utilizing multicultural literature and allowing class discussions. Additionally, Elaina spoke of incorporating family values; Tobias suggested looking for opportunities to connect culture, like language and music; and Charlotte spoke of providing a diverse environment for students and fostering respect for different cultures. Regarding teaching about social justice topics, their interview responses varied. Elaina supported providing knowledge, but also spoke of adhering to an "ignorance is bliss" stance when it came to some topics, like religion and politics. Tobias and Charlotte were open to candid discussions. Although, Tobias said he would leave gender and gender norms up to sex education, whereas Charlotte supported starting conversations early. The reason for their support of teaching these topics was to raise student awareness of differences. Tobias also spoke of exploring how gender norms came to be and if students see any changes in these norms. When discussing politically sensitive topics,

they said it depended on factors like being the right time and place, receptiveness of the classroom, subject area, and student age. Two participants spoke of examining knowledge construction; Tobias through thinking critically about why differences exist, and Charlotte by allowing students to "unpack and register" what they are seeing and hearing. Like participants at NDTR, HSU participants did not describe efforts towards equity pedagogy or restructuring in the name of equity and empowerment. When asked about the role of their own race/ethnicity in teaching, Elaina and Tobias showed hesitation, although Elaina decided she did not think so, and Tobias explained how it can impact ideas of student goals and expectations. Charlotte was sure of her answer, noting how her multiracial background and academic past influenced what understanding she has and how understanding she is of others.

Culturally responsive pedagogy. HSU participants had differing responses to questions about cultural responsive pedagogy. Both participants at middle level of endorsements did not speak at length about the impact of culture, whereas Charlotte said culture impacts the way a person sees things, their world view, and how behaviors are perceived. All participants did say that cultural diverse students and teachers do respond differently to one another. Elaina and Tobias described a positive influence when more similarities are perceived, but Charlotte described differences as being positively influenced by more experience with different cultures and ethnicities. Lastly, all participants agreed with incorporating the culture of all students. Elaina did not describe much detail beyond saying they should be incorporated into subjects, but Tobias described the opportunities for cultural references across different subjects, and Charlotte

said it was “fundamental to establish cultural tolerance and understanding when kids are young.” Across the board, HSU participants also did not speak about critiquing critical reflection or explicitly naming and critiquing power structures. Charlotte did see civic education as engaging in critical reflecting on “why” and Tobias defined social justice saying, “It involves a critique of current events and dynamics. It asks what root causes are; it asks what we can do to address those causes, and work for fairness and equity.”

Social justice education. Similar to Dover’s (2013) findings, responses also revealed a focus on curriculum, pedagogy, and social action. Although they are both at a middle level of endorsement, Elaina defined teaching for social justice as “everybody feeling equal,” whereas Tobias said, “it involves a critique of current events and dynamics. It asks what root causes are; it asks what we can do to address those causes, and work for fairness and equity.” His response was more in line with Charlotte, who equated a social justice education as “teaching against social injustice.” When I asked if students should be treated the same, Elaina and Tobias both said they should. However, Elaina focused on equal opportunities and resources, while Tobias focused on celebrating differences and a teacher’s need to shed biases, assumptions, and lower expectations. Charlotte was the only interviewee from either participation sites to answer no. Although, she explained that she supported providing accommodations, which other participants saw as a method of treating students the same because they afforded students same opportunities and access. Charlotte did add that she would treat students with the same level of positivity and enthusiasm.

The next chapter of this study provides a discussion of these findings, implications, as well as limitations.

Chapter Five

Conclusions, Discussion, and Implications

The purpose of this study is to explore preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions concerning teaching for social justice in two pathways to teacher licensure. The research questions explored in this study were:

1. What are preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions of teaching for social justice upon entry into Harper State University (HSU), a traditional teacher education program, and New Dimensions Teacher Residency (NDTR), an urban teacher residency program?
2. Do these beliefs and preconceptions differ between preservice teachers enrolled in the two programs? And, if so, why and how?

This chapter includes the conclusions drawn from this study, the implications for teacher education programs as well as future research, and the limitations of this study.

Conclusions

As presented in Chapter Four, the survey and interview data revealed these preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions of teaching for social justice as they entered a traditional or an urban teacher residency program. In the following three sections, I address the two research questions in order.

Beliefs and Preconceptions of the NDTR Participants

NDTR participants endorsed general ideas of teaching for social justice. None of the NDTR participants described the role of a teacher as one who provides a democratic education to her or his students, which Dover (2013) characterized as including participatory pedagogy, experiential education, and civic participation. Further, none of them mentioned developing their students' sense of agency and equity as a role for teachers. Instead, these six participants offered general descriptions of pedagogy, such as building relationships, supporting students' academic growth, and helping students' socioemotional development. They described civic education, a dimension of democratic education, as service and participation. For example, Theresa described a good citizen as someone who questions whether one's actions are necessary or needed to check whether one's personal actions would negatively affect someone else. She did not discuss civic education as an external check on others, nor did she discuss steps people could take to correct actions that might infringe on the rights of another person.

These NDTR participants also did not reveal themselves to be critical aspiring teachers who "challenge the political neutrality of curriculum, pedagogy, and education system and seek to develop students' sociopolitical consciousness through co-investigation, problem-posing, and dialogue" (Dover, 2013, p. 5). Towards Dover's (2013) multicultural education dimension of teaching for social justice, which emphasizes multicultural content and transformative reform, these NDTR participants did speak of prejudice reduction and examining knowledge construction, but they did not speak of equity pedagogy or empowerment through restructuring despite each stating that

inequities do exist in the United States. They supported discussions and opportunities to address students' beliefs about stereotypes and raise awareness of other people. However, they did not describe efforts to highlight systemic reform or redress oppression. These NDTR participants' responses to interview questions about culturally responsive pedagogy did not include evidence of directly discussing the relationship between their own cultural backgrounds and the academic outcomes of the students they will eventually teach. Rather, they made connections between their cultural backgrounds as teachers and building relationships with their students, understanding one another, etc. They agreed that they would incorporate students' diverse cultures in their classrooms, using both isolated curricular approaches and more cross-curricular approaches. Although, including critical reflection or critiquing power structures were not mentioned, their responses to questions concerning social justice education specifically varied across endorsement levels, touching on curriculum, pedagogy, and social action that included questioning and raising awareness of inequity. For example, two participants, Ethan (a middle level of endorsement to teach for social justice with a score of 51) and Jane (highest level of endorsement with a score of 58), mentioned the need for advocacy. Ethan stated, "I guess teaching for social justice would advocate for the underrepresented, or, you know, represent the underrepresented, or the unrepresented." Jane said, "I think definitely the teacher should always be willing to advocate for her students' or his students' needs." Jane also was the only participant who spoke of questioning district parameters and meeting with other stakeholders, like parents and principals, to broaden the "scope of acceptance in your school." In sum, as a group, none of these NDTR participants

embraced themes of teaching for social justice at this point in their preparation to become teachers.

Beliefs and Preconceptions of the HSU Participants

Most prevalent among the HSU participants' descriptions of teachers' primary roles were curriculum instruction, being a role model, and instilling a passion for learning. It should be noted that none of these roles were specific to a democratic education, like developing a sense of agency in the pupils. At the highest level of endorsement to teach for social justice, Charlotte (score of 52 on the scale) did speak of the need for critical thinking and questioning as she defined what it meant to her to teach for good citizenship.

The responses of the HSU participants to my interview questions about critical pedagogy also did not include evidence of their yet being critical aspiring pedagogues. Rather, they listed general characteristics like the importance of the teacher being a good listener and being patient with the students. Among these three interviewees, the only indication of critical pedagogy was Charlotte's mention of needing to be aware of the surrounding political climate, but she did not describe actions in her teaching against oppression or analysis of power, etc., nor did her two peers.

All three HSU participants acknowledged that inequities exist in schools in the United States. However, their answers to my interview questions designed to reveal their preconceptions of multicultural education did not include plans of incorporating aspects of equity pedagogy or the need to restructure school cultures and organizations to facilitate students' empowerment, as described by Banks (1995) and endorsed by Dover

(2013). Each interviewee did support the use of multicultural literature and class discussions of diverse cultures. Tobias and Charlotte also supported candid conversations with students about social justice topics. Among their responses were examining knowledge construction and thinking critically about why differences exist. In examining the role that their race/ethnicity plays in teaching, only Tobias and Charlotte perceived it as an influence. Tobias described his race/ethnicity as influencing the goals he perceived his students will have, and Charlotte described how being multiracial influenced her understanding that "people are different and they look different, but, they are, you know—they don't need to be treated differently." These three HSU participants did not describe efforts towards systemic reform or redressing oppression. When I inquired about culturally responsive pedagogy, none of these interviewees directly tied her or his teacher identity to students' academic outcomes when answering questions about culturally responsive pedagogy. Only Charlotte spoke in some detail, when she said:

> Um, I think that… culture kind of shapes your world view and your understanding of how things should be or should not be, and so that's going to influence the way that you see kids and how they are behaving, or how they understand the world, and kind of what they should and should not be doing.

When I asked about occasions when the teacher's and the students' cultural or ethnic backgrounds differ from one another, all three said they would respond differently towards one another than they thought teachers and students who shared the same background would. For example, Charlotte said, "I would say that the more experience, the more understanding you have for different cultures and different ethnicities, makes

you a more tolerant, open teacher, assuming that, you know, you haven't formed negative opinions during this experience."

All three participants also agreed that teachers should incorporate the diverse cultures of the students in their classes into instruction, but they did not include critical reflection or critiquing power structures as part of the curriculum. Lastly, for social justice education, their definitions of teaching for social justice included the words "equal," by Elaina, and "equitable," by Tobias and Charlotte. Their approach to treating students the same included making accommodations and resources to allow for equal opportunities. Tobias emphasized celebrating differences and the need for teachers to shed their assumptions and avoid having lower expectations. These HSU participants did not discuss actions that interrupt social injustice, oppression, or systemic change. In sum, these preservice teachers held general beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice as they entered HSU's teacher education program.

Differences in Beliefs and Preconceptions

The second research question was, "Do these beliefs and preconceptions differ between preservice teachers enrolled in these two programs? And if so, why and how?" The mean difference between the two programs on the overall score on the LTSJ-B survey items was 2.04 points; the NDTR participants' scores ranged from 40 to 58 (out of a highest possible score of 60) with an average score of 47.75 (s = 5.73), and the scores for the HSU participants ranged from 37 to 53 (out of a highest possible score of 60) with an average score of 45.71 (s = 5.01). It is not the purpose of this study to compare the sites on this LTSJ-B, nor on the interview data. Rather, the purpose is to explore who

chooses to attend two distinct tracks in teacher education that are designed to prepare teachers. In conclusion, I found that each program attracted students who held general but positive beliefs about teaching for social justice.

As shared above, as well as in Chapter Four, there were common responses among the participants at both sites. However, I also found seeming inconsistencies between some participants' survey responses and their interview responses. This observation was also true for those participants in the same level of endorsement to teach for social justice on the LTSJ-B scale, even for participants who attend the same program. For instance, Elaina and Tobias, who were separated by one point on the scale, had different responses to my interview questions. These beliefs and preconceptions ranged from unformed and uncertain to firm declarations.

Towards a democratic education, none of the participants knew the definition of civic education. Their attempts at defining the term demonstrated a concentration on civics and included speculations that teaching for the perpetuation of democracy is similar to teaching how the government works. Their descriptions of citizenship focused on participatory involvement rather than the identification and reformation of inequities, oppression, or injustice, although Charlotte is the one exception. She did encourage observation, critical thinking, and questioning. She said a good citizen is "one who questions and tries to better, kind of, injustices or things they don't agree with," and a good student citizen "is actively involved in learning and actively invested in their education, as well as somebody who is taking in information and maybe accepting, or making judgments around, the information that they are getting."

As a group across the two sites, their ideas of a good teacher did not include the attributes and actions consistent with Dover's (2013) conception of critical pedagogy. At times, these participants focused on a more student-centered approach, mentioning the need to be "knowledgeable in their subject content area," a "positive role model for the student," who can "understand that students learn differently." Although none of the participants spoke specifically of a social justice agenda, Theresa said, "They need to be listening to the political climate of their area." She further elaborated on the difference between executing current standards with the "career and profession of being a teacher that is going to last longer than the cyclical change that is going to happen with a new administration change or education act." Joseph said a good teacher "understands that students come from different backgrounds, different circumstances, but doesn't let those differences change the expectation" and "if we lower the bar, um, that is—that's just hurting them."

Looking at their beliefs and preconceptions of multicultural education, every participant said that inequities exist in U.S. schools, and each one described a personal experience during which he or she witnessed the inequitable allocation of resources. However, no one spoke about the need for actions to address such inequities. Furthermore, although most participants at all levels of social justice endorsement were open to discussing various related topics, they also advised that discussions with their students be age appropriate and balanced to represent as many perspectives as possible. The social justice topics they emphasized most frequently were SES, gender (especially transgender issues), the election, and religion.

Turning to the influence of their own race/ethnic identity, participants revealed preconceptions of powerlessness beyond being aware of their own limited self-knowledge. For instance, when explaining the role her Whiteness plays, Theresa said, “It’s going to be very difficult for me to imagine where the hardship is,” and mentioned the role of privilege as “unfortunate privilege, that, um, that you have to live with.” Ethan, who described himself as “just a White guy,” and followed up his response that race/ethnicity does play a role in teaching with an explanation that he had difficulty identifying his own culture. When I asked about race/ethnicity, he responded about culture, the influence of which he had trouble describing until he equated his faith as his culture. Regarding his race specifically, he described a need to be careful of making sure he did not only represent his own, and how “I could come up with a whole year's worth of like reading materials for students to read and they would all be about White guys.” Like Ethan, Ella responded about her culture when I asked about the role her own race/ethnicity would play in her teaching: “I feel like it is something I have to be aware of. And, be aware of like, essentially, what are my cultural differences between my culture and the culture of my students?” In general, these respondents recognized the role of culture, but could not specifically how it would affect their teaching in a diverse classroom.

Participants in both programs did not have well-developed ideas of culturally responsive pedagogy. They described incorporating the culture of all students through an awareness of differences in traditions, like not celebrating Christmas, and had general notions about including cultural references and diversity across subject areas. During the

interviews, these participants did say students' interests, beliefs about schooling, and prior experiences matter to "real world applicability" and ensuring students can relate to the curriculum. Again, looking at the participants' self-reflections, Dover (2013) wrote, "Culturally responsive teachers are attuned to hegemonic classroom practices and willing to examine and reflect upon their own social, educational, and political identities" (p. 5). In the interviews, the responses across all participants touched on considering their student's lives outside of school and more inclusive practices (e.g., modifying and making accommodations for students with different learning styles and different needs for support), but they did not reveal intentions to "interrupt social and educational inequity" (Dover, 2013, p. 5). One exception is Theresa, who did address the need to be aware of the surrounding political climate, as shared in the quote about her idea of a good teacher.

Overall, their responses to social justice education revealed that these participants were unfamiliar with the definition of teaching for social justice and a socially just classroom, regardless of the site. Their responses did not include specific calls for reform at the classroom, school, or district levels, although two participants from NDTR, Ethan and Jane, specifically noted the need for advocacy. Ethan said there was a need to advocate for the underrepresented in his definition of teaching for social justice. Jane, sharing how sensitive topics should be discussed, said that teachers should advocate for students' needs as they come up in the classroom, regardless of whether the district sets parameters saying that you cannot. Jane and Charlotte, both representing the highest levels of teaching for social justice at their respective sites as measured by the LTSJ-B

scale, were the two participants who mentioned questioning leadership during their interviews. Jane further encouraged reaching out to stakeholders when she said, “You need to have meetings with parents, with school guidance counselors, or psychologists, and the principal, and you know, maybe work on broadening your scope of acceptance in your school.” These participants’ agreement with looking at the influence of their own SES, gender, race, and ethnicity seemed to indicate they believed that their backgrounds and intentions would influence their mannerisms as teachers, the effectiveness of their communication, the ability to build relationships with their students, and their ability to empathize with them. In the end, these preservice teachers, seemingly irrespective of their prior experiences with issues of diversity and social justice, offered naïve roles schools play as society’s equalizers, what achieving equity would require, and their own role in negotiating how to actualize it as teachers.

Discussion

In Chapter Two, I presented the body of literature in which this study is situated. In this section, I discuss how the findings of this study fit into the existing research.

The findings from the participants at NDTR and HSU resonate with the findings of Osguthorpe and Sanger (2013). Like the preservice teachers in their study, the preservice teachers at NDTR and HSU shared how their past experiences (e.g., with their teachers, families, coursework, and volunteering) influenced their desire to teach. As Osguthorpe and Sanger (2013) found, decisions to teach shared by participants at both sites could be categorized as “moral altruism" and “regard for others” (e.g., making a positive difference, being a role model) (p. 183). Similar to the findings of Calderhead

and Robson (1991), these participants' past experiences also influenced their images of teaching. The researchers stated, "Images of teaching appeared to be ways of representing knowledge that could readily be translated into action, sometimes synthesizing quite large amounts of knowledge about teachers, children, teaching methods, and so on" (p. 7). NDTR and HSU participants also cited their own experiences, such as differing expectations for students held by teachers, as determinants for why, how, and what they planned on teaching.

What these preservice teachers believed specifically about social justice leads us to Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow, and Mitescu (2008), who created the measurement instrument I used. Survey results from the LTSJ-B scale aligned with what Enterline et al. found. Preservice teachers at NDTR and HSU mildly endorsed items that were predetermined as "easy to endorse," such as concepts of social justice at the individual level. Additionally, they were less certain of items that were predetermined as harder to endorse, like concepts of social justice at the institutional level. My analysis of follow-up interview responses by preservice teachers at both sites revealed that their preconceptions of specific dimensions of teaching for social justice were in the beginning stages. Enterline et al. (2008) found that graduating teachers and teachers of record were still developing their sense of teaching for social justice. Therefore, from this perspective, these preservice teachers' endorsements to teach for social justice appear appropriate to where they are in their journey to becoming a teacher, with some even holding more complex ideas (e.g. advocacy), which may not be enough on the job.

Evidence from my study also persuaded me that beliefs about teaching for social justice may not take a linear growth pattern. Like Boylan and Woolsey (2015) and Sonu, Oppenheim, Epstein, and Agarwal (2012), I found that a positioning theory where a preservice teacher's identity formation is an individual process of ongoing movement in relation to their personal histories that either support or impede teaching for social justice is needed, rather than Enterline et al.'s (2008) linear model. With smooth identity spaces, or "the psychosocial arena in which multiple identities are shaped and interrelate" (Boylan & Woolsey, 2015, p. 63), preservice teachers can hold "unpredictable juxtapositions that can appear to be contradictory" (p. 69). Further, as Boylan and Woolsey (2005) describe as possible in a smooth space, their identities as teachers for social justice and their commitment to teaching for social justice are related, but not bound to a trajectory or pattern. Although this is not a longitudinal study, like those researchers, I found that these preservice teachers took stances on social justice that might seem contradictory to other positions that they expressed. This was true when comparing their survey responses to their interview responses. For example, Elaina first said she did not think primary-aged students could grasp concepts of racism, but then she began thinking aloud as she answered what a teacher's responsibility might include. She said, still with some uncertainty, "I was going to say maybe it was about talking to the students initially about the different— the diversity within the classroom. However, I already said that I didn't think that they would grasp what that concept maybe means. Um..." In the same interview, she decided that primary-aged students can grasp these concepts as she recalls her own experience with multicultural literature. This being said, I

found that, although these participants made some contradictory statements and showed a range in their responses, their general beliefs about teaching for social justice tended to fall into Dover's (2009) six principles of teaching for social justice.

According to Dover (2009), there are six principles of teaching for social justice in K–12 schools. Of these six, three were included among the participants' responses: (a) Assume all students are participants in knowledge construction, have high expectations for students and themselves, and foster learning communities; (b) Acknowledge, value, and build upon students' existing knowledge, interests, cultural and linguistic resources; and (c) Work in reciprocal partnerships with students' families and communities (Dover, 2009, p. 509). The three principles not included were: (a) Teach specific academic skills and bridge gaps in students' learning; (b) Critique and employ multiple forms of assessments; and (c) Explicitly teach about activism, power, and inequity in schools and society (Dover, 2009, p. 509). This is consistent with Castro's (2010) findings in a study of millennial college students, which concluded there were positive changes in their propensities to appreciate and accept diversity because of their historical location, where, unlike the previous generation, they are influenced by historical and cultural factors, such as the rise of the Internet and greater interconnectivity. This was also found in the present study; preservice teachers at both sites demonstrated an acceptance of cultural diversity, civic participation, and some advocacy for social justice. They also believed that the cultures of all students should be incorporated into the curriculum and were open to discussing such topics with students (although the degree and topic varied by participant). Participants at both sites identified current issues (e.g., Black Lives Matter as a civil

rights issue, policies affecting transgender students, inequitable allocation of resources). However, their beliefs and preconceptions of teaching for social justice did not go beyond awareness of institutionalized racism, power structures, cultural diversity, and other topics specific to teaching for social justice to mentioning of actions that would combat and rectify injustices at the classroom, district, state, or federal levels.

Alignment with Dover's (2013) conceptual framework. I turn to Dover's (2013) conceptual framework to discuss where NDTR and HSU participants' beliefs and preconceptions about teaching for social justice align in each of her five categories. As described in Chapter Three, the interview question matrix (see Appendix J) displays how interview questions were sorted under Dover's categories. Beginning with the concept of democratic education, Westheimer and Kahne (2004) identified three types of citizens: personally responsible, participatory citizen, and justice-oriented citizen. The majority of interviewees in this study promoted a personally responsible and participatory citizen, not a justice-oriented citizen. Tobias, who referenced the work of these researchers, shared that he found it hard to see students in a justice-oriented role. Preconceptions of critical pedagogy did not extend to include the teacher as a political activist in her or his classroom (Liston & Zeichner, 1987) or students as "critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher" (Freire, 2000, p. 62). Participants also did not discuss an emancipatory approach, as encouraged by Liston and Zeichner (1987). Cochran-Smith et al. (2009) conducted a longitudinal study that included interviews at several touchpoints as preservice teachers progressed through their programs and into their first year of teaching. Like these researchers, I found that NDTR and HSU participants discussed

pupil learning, relationships and respect, and recognizing inequities, although, I did not find much evidence of these preservice teachers as activists. The idea of teaching civic engagement and democracy, as well as criticism towards larger structures and school practices that can contribute to inequitable practice, was largely absent from my data, as it was for Cochran-Smith et al. Furthermore, I did not find evidence of indoctrination or an anti-White, anti-Western, or an anti-American stance, which was similar to Cochran-Smith et al.'s findings. Evidence of critical pedagogy was also mostly absent from my data. My findings and the findings of those cited suggest that preservice teachers, regardless of their beliefs and preconceptions of social justice are not ready to focus on the larger issues of inequity and the activism that some scholars have advocated as a goal for teacher education.

Towards critical pedagogy, I found that the preservice teachers in this study described similar characteristics as the preservice teachers in Mills' (2013) study. Mills did not provide specific responses from both participants to the question, "What are the characteristics of a good teacher?" She did say that one participant described good teachers as needing to be flexible in their approaches to students with different needs and circumstances instead of simply "sticking to their guns," but this was said after some coursework in their teacher education program. Only Charlotte and Theresa both said this in the present study.

Continuing with Dover's (2013) framework, concepts of multicultural education seemed to be more developed among the participants in my study. They acknowledged the importance of drawing on examples and content from diverse cultures and prejudice

reduction, as suggested by Banks (1995), as well as taking steps to link students' cultures to the school (Gay, 2010a). Ethan did take a more integrative approach when he said:

> I guess it depends on the subject. Like math, on the surface, it might not seem like there is a lot of multiculturalism going on, but if we talked more about where ideas and theorems come from, then that opens the door for a lot of multiculturalism discussions.

However, as noted, none of my participants focused on equity pedagogy. Moreover, although these participants did show evidence of reflecting on unequal distribution of privilege and their own teaching beliefs, they did not show evidence of sociocultural consciousness or a focus on the connection between schools and society. Lastly, these participants addressed racism, homophobia, classism, and sexism as behaviors they would correct in the name of inclusion and tolerance in the classroom, but not necessarily as forms of systemic prejudice they would help students dismantle for societal transformation, as promoted by Hansen (2008). I also found some evidence that may point to what Silverman (2010) described as greater sense of responsibility for certain student groups than others. Silverman had found that preservice teachers demonstrated feeling a strong sense of responsibility for visible groups (e.g., race, sex, gender) and less association of responsibility with student groups that are largely invisible (e.g., sexual orientation, disability, faith). From the interview items drawn from that study, I found that NDTR and HSU participants addressed students by race, sex, gender, and disability groups more than sexual orientation and faith. Also, mention of

gender was noteworthy for its focus on transgender students, often with only brief mention of gender as male and female, perhaps reflecting a sign of the times.

Gay (2010a, 2010b) has studied at culturally responsive education for many years. She explained how preservice teachers, “do not think deeply about their attitudes and beliefs toward ethnic, cultural, and racial diversity” (Gay, 2010b, p. 145). Her observation can be applied to the findings of my study. NDTR and HSU participants’ responses about how their culture impacts their view of students and teaching ranged from those that said it did not to Jane who said, “I think they’d be lying if they said they didn't. I think that would be like cultural blindness if you didn’t think that you’re influenced in some way because of your culture.” The content of most of the responses revolved around cultural differences in mannerisms, relatability between students and teachers of different backgrounds, and how past experiences influence their perceptions of one another. Then there was Melissa, who did not think her culture had an effect.

However, I did find Gay’s (2010a) assertions about meaningful bridges, or links between “academic abstractions and their experiential realities,” (p. 147) in some of the responses. Specifically, it was in the responses about whether and how the cultures of all students can be incorporated into the curriculum, which entailed relating the curriculum to the lives of students and making it more authentic. More than using culturally diverse examples during instruction, as suggested by Gay (2010), my participants mostly suggested allowing students to talk about their cultures and allowing them to explore their culture in isolated or embedded assignments. For example, Melissa who said she has seen an example of students being offered the “opportunity to research different countries

for English papers and stuff." In another example, Joseph said, "I think it goes with real-world applicability," and "so you make the materials relevant to your students. And, sometimes that is looking at their culture and relating why [*sic*] you are learning in class to what their culture is." However, he also said, "But, I think that is also dependent on what the subject is? That doesn't make sense in math, that doesn't make sense in math, in science, necessarily." Additionally, Ethan said, "I would hope that I would be able to incorporate it just across the board," but also immediately followed with, "Um, I wouldn't want to like make somebody uncomfortable by singling them out."

Shifting to Dover's (2013) dimension of social justice education, I first turn to the work of Mills (2013), who identified three conceptions of social justice: social justice as redistribution, retribution, and recognition. Like the preservice teacher in Mills' (2013) study, the participants at NDTR and HSU revealed that some were entering with a more liberal democratic view of redistribution that focused on equality, which Mills explained is also referred to as a deficit model of social justice. I also found evidence of a social democratic model of redistribution that focused on equity, which Mills found with her participants at the middle and end of their first year of teaching. However, like Mills, I did not find much evidence of social justice as retribution—"protection of people, their resources, and opportunities, considered the just rewards for their skill and hard work, and penalties for those who seek to unfairly/unlawfully acquire these resources/opportunities by other means" (p. 45). Theresa said, "I mean, there are accommodations and modifications all over the place for all kinds of deficiencies. But, at the same time, I am wondering what are we stamping on that diploma and saying that

they learned?" She also said, "Not everyone can deliver the same deliverable, and that's okay. Not everyone earns a master's degree, do we give them one? No." Theresa concluded, "I start to think we may be compromising the curriculum in order to accommodate everyone to be equitable." Of the last type of social justice identified by Mills, I also did not find evidence of social justice as recognition—"provision of the means for all people to exercise their capabilities and determine their actions, and to be recognized in these relations for who they are, as they name themselves" (p. 46). The evidence from my study continues to suggest that these participants have not given these concepts much thought, even though they have opinions about how they can be enacted, or not, in a classroom.

Kelly and Brooks (2009) explored preservice teachers' beliefs about children's cognitive and emotional capacity to learn about equity and make political judgments. The researchers found that age was not seen as a barrier to teaching for social justice, although what teaching for social justice entailed varied from a liberal human relations approach to a critical anti-oppression approach. The researchers looked into assumptions about "children's cognitive, emotional, and political-evaluative capacities" (p. 207). They found their preservice teachers often spoke of the need for content to be developmentally and age appropriate, and some gave childhood innocence as the reason. Similar evidence was found among the responses by participants in my study. All participants, except Melissa, felt that primary-aged students were not too young, but they ranged in how specifically topics of social justice should be brought up and taught. They also ranged in their adherence to the idea of childhood innocence. Melissa said, "They can see that

students are of different color, but a lot of times at that age they just want to be kids, and play with all the other kids," and Theresa said:

> They don't realize that what they are talking about is homophobia, and they don't realize that what they are talking about is Trump. But, they are talking about topics that are bigger than them because they hear grown-ups talk about it and they are curious.

In contrast, Joseph said, "I think it is also dependent on the child—the child, uh, the individual child and their experiences," and Ella who said, "No, I don't–I don't think they are too young to understand those." Kelly and Brooks (2009) also found that participants spoke of acceptance and kind behavior towards others and did not make the connection between institutional inequity and negative relationships among diverse groups. This was true for most participants in my study; however, participants like Tobias and Theresa did allude to the idea of the presence of privilege that comes with money and race. Regarding primary-aged students' emotional capacity, preservice teachers at NDTR and HSU also used more general language (e.g., addressing racist remarks as inappropriate) to conversations that directly connect to social justice issues (e.g., understanding how their words impact a classmate of a particular background). An example of the latter, Ella explained that she supported addressing causes of racism and inequities because it allows students "the understanding of, like, some of the kids in your class could very well be in that category that you are making generalizations and assumptions about." Lastly, looking at preconceptions of young students' capacities to make political judgments, preservice teachers in both Kelly and Brooks, and the present

study largely shared they were concerned that their actions would be misconstrued as indoctrination by parents and other staff, but they expressed more willingness to include conversations of a political nature as children got older.

Mirroring national teacher demographics, a majority of the preservice teachers at either site were mostly white, females. On average, they were in their late twenties to early thirties and, as Zimpher and Ashburn (1992) found, did not come from schools or communities that were diverse before entering their respective programs. Whether it is by a traditional or alternative pathway into teaching, preservice teachers are coming from schools and communities across the nation that remain largely culturally insular. These aspiring teachers mostly do believe that social, racial and economic inequalities exist today, that their personal background affects their relationships with students, that students should be treated the same (with accommodations), and believe in incorporating and respecting all students cultures; however, they were also unsure of how to teach students of diverse backgrounds (Bleicher, 2011; Garmon, 2004). They were mostly unaware of, or disagreed with, how their backgrounds affected teaching and showed rudimentary knowledge of how to integrate diverse cultures and provide equity pedagogy. Additionally, they spoke more of issues existing at the individual level and how to address them rather than of larger societal barriers and how to disrupt systemic inequity. All teacher education programs must provide a space for preservice teachers to confront their entering beliefs and preconceptions about who they are and who others are (including students and their families) to willing and able to confront their biases and begin to teach for social justice. The need to address oppression, inequity, prejudice, and

embrace diversity is not unique to urban or hard-to-staff areas of the nation as some alternative routes to teaching advertise is their focus. All teachers charged with teaching all students must be equitably prepared to teach for social justice.

Thus, we look to what can be done to help prepare preservice teachers to teach for social justice by looking at where they are at the time they enter their respective programs. Given that beliefs and preconceptions did not appear to differ for participants at each site, from this point forward the implications will pertain to both traditional and alternative routes into teaching, namely urban teacher residencies. These preservice teachers demonstrated that they have beliefs and preconceptions of teaching for social justice and concepts of diversity, inequity, and power. However, they did not perceive schools as a vehicle for disrupting the social order. Therefore, teacher education programs need to meet students where they are.

Implications

The following section includes suggestions for future research, as well as implications for practice in teacher education programs, based on the evidence found in this study and in the work of other researchers.

Implications for future research. There is an obligation on the part of teacher educators to find out whether their program makes a difference in their candidates. Researchers like Enterline et al. (2008) and Dover (2013) have explored preservice and practicing teacher beliefs about teaching for social justice. The present study looked at preservice teachers as they enter two different pathways into teaching, a traditional and teacher residency program, and found them equally naïve when it comes to concepts

regarding equity and social justice. The results of the present study raise new questions for future research. If a purpose of teacher education is to prepare practitioners who will teach for equity and social justice, then the programs that prepare them are implicated. There is a need to identify the content that will be taught. There is a need to study how the teacher candidates interact with the material. There is a need for understanding how to confront parochial views. And finally, there is a need to measure program effects to determine whether more inclusive orientations can be taught and learned in the various preservice settings. To risk otherwise is to underprepare teachers who will, by demographic reality, find themselves teaching in more diverse schools than those they attended. They will need the skills and dispositions to provide an inclusive education for all learners. The four areas of recommendation seek to provide some next steps in the study of teacher education for teaching for social justice.

All the suggested studies would help us better understand the ways in which teacher educators and teacher education programs can cause shifts in beliefs towards higher endorsements to teach for social justice. Through these proposed studies, I am arguing that future research should measure growth of individual teachers and explore how preparation programs, traditional or alternative, ought to prepare preservice teachers in ways that translate into actual practice as they enter classrooms and face challenges of teaching in general, and teaching for social justice, specifically. We now turn to what teacher education can do presently based on what research has revealed thus far.

Studying preservice teacher development. As Cochran-Smith et al. (2015) suggested, knowing how preparation to teach for social justice translates into teaching for

social justice is imperative. Further study of the challenges, barriers, and supports before and after becoming a teacher of record, may help inform teacher preparation programs. They may give guidance on how programs might alleviate, address, and bring to light difficulties and solutions during preservice preparation. The preservice teachers in this study were endorsing teaching for social justice as they entered into their preservice programs. Only Jane and Ethan spoke of advocacy and challenging the status quo. Longitudinal data focused on the candidate's development would allow teacher educators to learn what difficulties preservice teachers face when attempting to reconcile what they know to be important aspects of teaching that help students grow with the realities of teaching (e.g. time constraints), as suggested by Fox and Diaz-Greenberg (2006).

As described by Castro (2010), the historical location of when these preservice teachers engage in teacher education may have an influence on their propensity to teach for social justice. Additionally, Boylan and Woolsey's (2015) and Sonu et al.'s (2012) assertions, as explained above, that preservice teachers' identities shift in relationship to their past experiences with social injustice. Preconceptions and experiences of injustices mentioned by the preservice teachers in the current study included inequitable allocation of resources, civil rights issues (e.g., transgender students, Black Lives Matter), and lower expectations for some students. Matters of public policy such as immigration laws and gender equity laws, and laws governing student achievement could potentially affect preservice teachers' levels of endorsement to teach for social justice. New research that includes data on preservice teachers' awareness, preconceptions, and beliefs about various policies affecting their future students and their families on issues that might

reach the classroom, such as deportation laws, protection for students that fall under the aegis of the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (Dreamers), and health care likely shape their preconceptions, but to what extent remains largely unknown. Gage's (2009) conceptual model for the study of teaching posits that presage variables, which include preexisting beliefs and preconceptions, influence one's teaching and her/his students' achievement, but in this arena of teaching for social justice, there are no studies that look at, say, presage-process, or presage-context-process, studies of classroom interactions. Therefore, this study provides both teacher preparation programs with some information to help determine curricula and program direction, and helps identify specific beliefs that should be targeted to bring about change, a possibility that was noted by Joram and Gabriele (1998). Thus, research on how these events affect preservice teachers' perspectives are necessary.

Implications for teacher education programs. If the goal is to prepare teachers for the country's increasingly diverse schools, then teacher educators, regardless of the pathway, need to adopt a conceptual framework that includes clearly defined social justice language and enact a social justice agenda (Cochran-Smith et al., 2009; Grant & Agosto, 2008; Kapustka et al., 2009; Zeichner, 2006), as both programs in the present study claimed they did. Without intention, the evidence across the research cited throughout this study suggests that the preservice teachers adopt such a stance due to their own prior experiences. Part of this enactment is the teacher educators' responsibility is to look at who they are serving—primarily white, middle class preservice teachers, and then to consider where they will likely gain employment. One dimension worthy of study

is teacher educators identifying their own commitments and the ways in which they perpetuate the status quo, as well as looking deeply into the teacher education program they provide and to assess how "disruptive" it is when it comes to teaching for social justice.

For some teacher education programs this may entail coming together to redefine the common mission and conceptual framework for the program. Whether they have a social justice agenda, as explicitly stated by HSU, or implicitly, as embedded in the guidelines for all NCTR residency programs, teacher educators should engage in dialogue and determine where they stand on concepts of social justice. Even those who are wary of including the term social justice explicitly, especially considering one definition has not yet gained consensus, can support preparing teachers to teach for Dover's (2013) five dimensions of democratic education, critical pedagogy, multicultural education, culturally responsive education, and social justice. "At a very simple, general level, we can understand social justice by thinking about its opposite—injustice," moreover, "few in this debate would argue in support of an unjust society," (Chubbuck, 2010, p. 198). She wrote that "the source of disagreement, then, lies in deciding the *cause* (italics original) of this inequitable experience of schooling and, based on how that cause is understood, the *solution* (italics original) that will best create greater educational justice" (Chubbuck, 2010, p. 198).

Therefore, teacher educators need to engage in conversations to determine where their program's focus will be. According to Chubbuck (2010), the least controversial focuses on curricula, pedagogies, teacher expectations, and instructional styles that

improve learning opportunities for students who have typically been underserved in education. Focusing on the transformation of educational structures or policies that lower learning opportunities for students was categorized as slightly more controversial. The most controversial stance, lauded by Chubbuck as the most beneficial for students and which aligns with the definition of teaching for social justice I adhered to in this study, also included transforming structures at the societal level. The preservice teachers in this study revealed their wariness of disrupting school structures by addressing topics that might be sensitive (e.g., politically, religiously), not wanting to upset parents or do something that "society is not ready for." In support of Chubbuck, Villegas (2007) asserted, "Whether we like it or not, schools **do** (bold original) perform a sorting function. And teachers, whether consciously or not, play a critical role in the sorting process," and she said:

> In the United States, the ethics of the education-based stratification system is contingent on one critical assumption—that school practices are equitable and fair. After all, the sorting process could have profound consequences for the future lives of students. (p. 371).

So, what can teacher educators do to prepare their preservice teachers to take on an individual and structural stance?

Cochran-Smith (2000) proposed the responsibility of teacher educators to:

> Interrogate the racist assumptions that may be deeply embedded in our own courses and curricula, to own our own complicity in maintaining existing systems

> of privilege and oppression, and to grapple with our own failures to produce the kinds of changes we advocate. (p. 158)

Cochran-Smith (2000) explained reading teacher education as racial text, where teaching and teacher education are text that are explicit (e.g., public documents and requirements) and implicit (e.g., perspectives shared in materials and program arrangements) in a racialized society. Cochran-Smith asserted that this text can be revisited, researched, compared to other text, and examined by "subtext, hidden text, and intertext" (p. 167). Teacher educators can look for the presence of an absence and "the missing, obscured, or subverted texts—what is left out, implied, veiled, or subtly signaled as the norm by virtue of being unmarked or marked with modifying language" (Cochran-Smith, 2000, p. 168). The suggestion is made to use stories about race and racism in the curriculum, paying attention to whom the stories are about and who they are for. Also, Cochran-Smith suggested reading between the lines of the curriculum, such as examining how much time is spent on one topic versus others during the program. This also means analyzing for the following:

> 1) Understanding teaching as intellectual and political activity and the teacher as active constructor (not simply receiver) of meaning, knowledge, and curriculum; and 2) developing critical perspective about the relationships of race, class, culture, and schooling. (p. 176)

To do so, she explains that self-critical reflection and analysis are necessary.

In short, teacher educators need to model this integration and representation in their own curricula so that preservice teachers experience and can practice before they graduate. Toward that end, Zimpher and Ashburn (1992) posed the following questions:

> What are we teaching by how we *do* teacher education, beyond the content itself? If our teacher education programs are not caring and collaborative learning communities that foster continuous discourse about the pedagogical implications of diversity, how can we expect our white middle-class students to believe or act differently from the ways in which they were taught? (pp. 58–59)

As these scholars suggest, the first step in teaching for social justice is a coherent curriculum that teaches teachers how to teach for social justice by examining their own racial and ethnic identities, culture identities, SES, gender, personal and family histories, etc. (Brown, 2004; Chubbuck, 2010; Milner, 2010; Sonu et al., 2012; Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

Beyond those questions focused on the preservice teachers are researchable questions for teacher educators. The evidence in the present study suggested that these participants' preconceptions of social justice failed to reach what scholars have discussed in the literature, e.g. Banks and Banks (1995); Dover (2013); Gay (2010a). To be prepared for diverse schools and classrooms, it is also incumbent upon teacher educators to clarify their own views. Along those lines research questions could be posed, such as:

- How do teacher educators continue to combat their own cultural insularity?

- How well are they addressing their preservice teachers' knowledge on how to act in diverse settings?
- How should they scaffold preservice teacher preparation to teach for social justice, and specifically, when should they introduce increasingly complex concepts of teaching for social justice, such as addressing structural inequities, redressing injustice and oppression, and taking actions to promote equity at the school and societal levels?

As the data in the present study suggest, most of the preservice teachers were not familiar with concepts related to teaching for social justice, posing a challenge to teacher educators. The purpose of exploring these suggested questions is to measure the effects throughout a preservice teacher's progression through a teacher education program, from entry to exit, and to gain a sense of the program's outcomes. Without such data, whether a preservice teacher's proclivity to teach for social justice, as measured by their changing beliefs, perception, and endorsement to do so, is affected by the carefully tailored teacher curriculum, practicum, and field experiences created by teacher educators will continue to remain inconclusive.

In sum, preparing teachers for the classrooms of the future and then teaching for social justice is a process in which teacher educators must also engage as part of the responsibility to prepare beginning teachers. From there, they may be able to address the larger issue of confronting students' preconceptions and beliefs.

Confronting preconceptions and existing beliefs. At this point in their teacher education, participants at HSU and NDTR spoke about pedagogy in general terms, and

showed evidence of teaching students to embrace differences and incorporate diversity into the curriculum. At the same time, the majority of participants were not yet looking critically at how schools are unjust for some students nor were they yet ready to analyze policies and practices that might perpetuate such injustices. Thus, there is a need to prepare preservice teachers to challenge themselves and others to take a systemic approach to making social justice an integral part of education. They need to learn about school culture and social structures (like tracking and power relationships) as well as address the hidden curriculum by looking at messages given in physical arrangements of space, different levels of support that are provided, and how to navigate peer relationships and student group work (Banks & Banks, 1995). When preparing them for democratic education, there is a need to distinguish between civic education and civics. There is room for learning how to specifically prepare students for civic participation and service, which were touched on during interviews for this study, as well as promoting students' sense of agency and analysis of systemic equity. As Banks and Banks (1995) suggested, preservice teachers need to understand equity pedagogy, or "teaching strategies and classroom environments that help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups attain the knowledge, skills, and attitudes needed to function effectively within, and help create and perpetuate, a just, humane, and democratic society" (p. 152). This means "it requires more than good will and good intentions" (Banks & Banks, 1995, p. 156), and it entails preparing preservice teachers to implement cooperative learning strategies and culturally relevant instruction where "students can acquire, interrogate, and produce knowledge and envision new possibilities for the use of that knowledge for societal change" (p. 153). This

is instead of simple transmission of knowledge from teacher to student or instruction "within the context of existing assumptions and structures" (p. 153) or "pedagogies that merely prepare students to fit into society and to experience social class mobility within existing structures" (p. 152). Therefore, I suggest that preservice preparation programs prepare teachers to understand the dimensions of recognition, representation, and redistribution. This approach allows for structural and systemic injustice of wealth, power, means, and self-actualization to be recognized culturally, socially, and economically consistent with the work of many others. (Fraser, 2005, 2007; Grant & Gibson, 2008; Maslow, 1943; North, 2006; Young, 1990).

As Gorski (2012) stated, there is a continuous need to help preservice teachers work through deficit ideology to make sure that the blame for academic challenges is not placed on the students or their families, and that we are promoting an awareness of, and action against, inequities that impede individual opportunities. The goal is also to prepare students to become adults who can "participate equitably in the economic and political life of the country" (Villegas, 2007, p. 372). Teacher preparation programs may want to consider providing additional resources for preservice teachers to know where and how to learn more about other cultures, backgrounds, and cultural history, especially as they enter classrooms and learn the specific backgrounds in their classes, schools, surrounding communities, etc.

As stated by Ludlow et al. (2008), preservice teachers need to know that teaching for social justice, "in K–12 schools has as its primary consideration promoting pupils' learning (academic, social, emotional, and civic) and enhancing pupils' life chances,

including challenging the structures, curriculum, labels, and school arrangements that limit or inhibit life chances" (p. 194). Preservice teachers enter with preformed beliefs whose range, contradictions, and strengths affect their engagement in preparation to teach for social justice. Therefore, regardless of whether they are ready, they are on their way to endorse or not endorse teaching for social justice. They are on their way to disrupt or perpetuate the status quo. Teacher educators need to address these beliefs and preconceptions—and get preservice teachers to do so as well. If we are to do the work of preparing teachers to teach for social justice, we cannot afford to do otherwise. We must keep a pulse on what beliefs and preconceptions preservice teachers hold upon entry, as well how their identities continue to move in relation to their past experiences with injustice and unfolding events in and outside the program. There is a need to understand where they are in their development as future teachers for social justice so we can continually gauge their propensity to teach for social justice and scaffold reflexive experiences at strategic crossroads that allow them to confront their beliefs and preconceptions about the role of social justice in their teaching and their pupils' learning. We need to decide how we, as teacher educators, can help facilitate an ever-growing endorsement to teach for social justice. These first three recommendations can culminate in a fourth research implication, namely, teacher education programs as sites for systematic programmatic inquiry.

Measuring program effects. As noted earlier, both Levine (2006) and Walsh (2002) have criticized teacher education programs for their lack of accountability. They focused their critiques on the need for education schools to develop their own data

systems for tracking their programs' effects on their preservice teachers. Their calls for accountability are also evident in the CAEP standards, which require educator preparation programs to collect pre- and post-program data on specific goals valued by the faculty and their leadership (see Education Deans for Justice and Equality, 2017). While many education schools subscribe to social justice as a program goal, this researcher located only a handful of studies cited in Chapter Two that measured program effects. The need for better data is based in the findings of previous researchers who were concerned with the dispositions, rather than the skills and abilities, of entering preservice teachers.

If entering preservice teachers are not particularly versed in cultural diversity and issues of social justice, that poses a challenging problem for teacher educators, one that ought to be included in any programmatic research agenda. In this instance, the views they bring into their program would be a focus for any program that seeks to prepare teachers for a more inclusive world. This is especially important for a candidate's development as a teaching professional. As Elbow (1973) and Kagan (1992a) each found, preservice teachers tend to express doubt when faced with new text and ideas that are inconsistent with their preconceptions and beliefs. This could lead to the discomfort with teaching in an urban setting Bleicher (2011) found in her study. Further, if their preconceptions remain unchallenged, Johnson's (2012) suggests that they will seek to consume information which reinforces what they already believe, rather than willingly be disturbed (Wheatley, 2002) when encountering conflicting views. Jervis (2006) asserted that people find it difficult to take beliefs with which they disagree, and to adhere to

attitudes and opinions that have an evaluative component regardless of whether they remain unsubstantiated. Such pre-post longitudinal program studies can inform how well teacher educators and mentor teachers are supporting their preservice teachers during coursework and specific preservice experiences. There already exists a variety of professional experiences that can be employed to affect change in preservice teachers' beliefs and preconceptions about diversity, and teaching for social justice. For example, some researchers have called for equal-status community-based experiences (Dilworth & Brown, 2008; Seidle & Friend, 2002; Sleeter, 2008) and reciprocal service learning (Marullo & Edwards, 2000; Tinkler, Hannah, Tinkler, & Miller, 2014), which could be used to "widen the lens" of preservice teachers.

Aggregating these data across all preservice teachers, as in the research studies suggested above, would serve the double purpose of studying teacher development, monitoring programmatic efforts, and holding programs accountable for outcomes.

Researchers could be asking questions such as:

- In what contexts (suburban, rural, and urban) do our students change their views more readily?
- How often and for what duration should our preservice teachers engage in these experiences?
- Are these experiences beneficial for preservice teachers of certain backgrounds more than others?

- Should experiences only be with backgrounds in which the preservice teachers are unfamiliar, or is it beneficial to also experience seemingly familiar contexts through a new lens?
- Using scales like the LTSJ-B, to what extent do preservice teachers' scores change over time?

Any one of these studies, focused on data from individual teacher candidates would be valuable in understanding the effects of teacher education on their perspectives.

Limitations

Every study is bounded by limitations, and this study is no different. This section describes the limitations common to the chosen data collection methods and those unique to this study because of external constraints. Also, my attempts to offset them throughout the design, collection, and analysis process are described.

Participation. To combat traditionally low participation rates, I employed a mixed-method, mixed-mode approach because it has been found that augmenting a web survey with a paper version follow up increases response rates (Miller & Dillman, 2011). Following Dillman, Smyth, and Christian's (2014) design method, a pre-survey notification was sent to participants detailing the purpose, brevity, as well as the confidentiality of the survey. The offered incentive was also described (the chance to win one of two $50 e-gift cards). Recruitment letters were sent two days later and the survey was open for three weeks, with thank you/reminder emails sent at two touchpoints during the survey window. Despite my efforts to create a well-rounded dataset, response to survey was low for both participation sites as is common among research with college

students (Porter & Whitcomb, 2005; Tschepikow, 2012). At HSU, additional paper-only surveys were disseminated and collected by faculty during the first or second meeting of an introductory course. There was potential for participants who took the web survey to also take the paper survey; however, instructions explicitly asked students not to do so and provided emails were cross-checked. No duplicates were found. A response rate could not be calculated because information on the exact number of paper surveys that were handed out to students was not available from those assisting me at HSU. The resulting participation numbers were similar (20 participated at NDTR; 21 participated at HSU). As research on the beliefs and preconceptions of preservice teachers, starting data collection after students are in a less transitional stage as they begin a new program is difficult. However, it is imperative that for future studies researchers go on site to visit with points of contact during the planning process to gain their commitment and more consistent support before and during data collection. The researchers need to entrench themselves in the program by establishing multiple points of contact as soon as possible to start building relationships with those involved with setting up the study. Additionally, an on-site visit by researchers during class or orientation when students are a captive audience will allow for the study to be introduced and the survey disseminated in person.

Sites: Preservice teachers serving two different districts were chosen for this study. The intention was to gain permission at two sites serving the same community. However, because of access limitations, I was unable to do so. This made for some incomparability between the two groups. However, the results between the two sites,

namely the lack of distinct differences found between them, appears to indicate that, at least for this study, the differences in districts did not pose a limiting variable.

Interviewing. Limitations did stem from the interviews. As shared in Chapter Three, despite agreeing to be contacted for a follow-up interview, there was a large number of participants who gave no response or declined invitations. Therefore, participants representing middle-levels of endorsement were not as close to the average as I would have preferred. However, the resultant data showed that between the two sites, at all levels of endorsement to teach for social justice, there were aspects of teaching for social justice that were largely absent, such as actions against structural inequities. A validity threat to this study was the potential for reflexivity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 18), or reactivity (Maxwell, 2013, p. 124-125), caused by researcher influence on the participants. Although an unavoidable aspect of qualitative work, careful creation of questions that did not lead participants or reveal my own personal beliefs about the importance of teaching for social justice were some steps I took to alleviate the impact. The process of creating interview questions included basing them on research conducted in the past, piloting the interview questions, and allowing an outside researcher review them for clarity. It was important to understanding whether, and in what ways, I may have influenced the participants' responses (Maxwell, 2013). An audit trail was kept throughout the process, increasing the dependability of this study (Merriam, 2009, p. 223). Peer examination also increased dependability by serving as a check for how reliably my interview questions were developed and captured what they were intended to capture (Merriam, 2009). During the interviews, I restated and paraphrased participants'

responses and asked clarifying questions to double check that I had correctly understood their thoughts. A mixed-methods approach also allowed for triangulation of the data. Triangulation of survey data, interview data, interview feedback, and memos allowed each data source to serve as a check against the others (Maxwell, 2013). These rich sources of data and the respondents' validations allowed me to member check and strengthen the validity of the findings. A summary of interpretations was provided back to the interviewed participants to confirm the credibility of the findings, provide an opportunity for clarification (Merriam, 2009), and potentially provide negative cases. Another researcher also checked for inter-coder reliability and provided multiple perspectives. Lastly, a matrix of verbatim quotations was inserted to allow their words to serve as evidence (Wolcott, 1994).

Timing of data collection. Another limitation was that I had to contact the preservice teachers for interviews at different points during the first semester of their respective programs because of time constraints. All data were collected before the participants completed two months of coursework. Influences from other sources, like the participants' experiences outside of the program, may have affected the participants involved in this study, and are potential variables for future studies. To minimize the impact of the program on the participants' views of teaching for social justice, data collection at NDTR occurred before coursework began, and data collection at HSU began as soon as possible once the coursework had commenced. An initial review of the timeline for coursework at HSU showed that topics were more about general teaching during the first semester. Additionally, during the interviews at both sites, participants

were asked whether they thought their program had any impact on their beliefs. No participants reported that their coursework had altered their attitudes, knowledge, and skills related to the social justice topics in this study.

Final Observations

Education for all demands equitable representation, access, and allocation of resources for all students. With the ever-present shifts in demography, we must prepare teachers to teach with an eye for social justice. Given the potential influence of both beliefs and preconceptions on the process of cognitive change, teacher educators must understand the beliefs of those entering a traditional or alternative program. Armed with this knowledge, we can then structure content and curriculum, and strategically position experiences that include opportunities for continuous, deliberate critical reflection and field experiences. With a focused and tailored design, teacher educators can better support preservice teachers as they go through the process of ongoing movement towards fully embracing and acting out teaching for social justice. If we do not equip preservice teachers, then teaching and improving the life chances of all students will continue to be an aspiration rather than a realization.

Appendix A

Approval Letter

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Office of Research Integrity and Assurance

Research Hall, 4400 University Drive, MS 6D5, Fairfax, Virginia 22030
Phone: 703-993-5445; Fax: 703-993-9590

DATE:	November 10, 2015
TO:	Gary Galluzzo, Ph.D
FROM:	George Mason University IRB
Project Title:	[822543-1] Dissertation Study
SUBMISSION TYPE:	New Project
ACTION:	DETERMINATION OF EXEMPT STATUS
DECISION DATE:	November 10, 2015
REVIEW CATEGORY:	Exemption category #2

Thank you for your submission of New Project materials for this project. The Office of Research Integrity & Assurance (ORIA) has determined this project is EXEMPT FROM IRB REVIEW according to federal regulations.

Please remember that all research must be conducted as described in the submitted materials.

Please note that any revision to previously approved materials must be submitted to the ORIA prior to initiation. Please use the appropriate revision forms for this procedure.

If you have any questions, please contact Karen Motsinger at 703-993-4208 or kmotsing@gmu.edu. Please include your project title and reference number in all correspondence with this committee.

This letter has been electronically signed in accordance with all applicable regulations, and a copy is retained within George Mason University IRB's records.

Appendix B

Learning to Teach for Social Justice- Belief Scale (LTSJ-B) (Enterline et al., 2008)

Respond to the following statements regarding your beliefs about teaching.[ab]	
1	An important part of learning to be a teacher is examining one's own attitudes and beliefs about race, class, gender, disabilities, and sexual orientation. ("examine one's own beliefs")[c]
2	Issues related to racism and inequity should be openly discussed in the classroom. ("discuss inequity openly")
3R	For the most part, covering multicultural topics is only relevant to certain subject areas, such as social studies and literature. ("multicultural topics are limited")
4	Good teaching incorporates diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions. ("good teaching incorporates diversity")
5R	The most important goal in working with immigrant children and English language learners is that they assimilate into American society. ("assimilate ELL into society")
6R	It's reasonable for teachers to have lower classroom expectations for students who don't speak English as their first language. ("lower expectations for ELL")
7	Part of the responsibilities of the teacher is to challenge school arrangements that maintain societal inequities. ("challenge inequities")
8	Teachers should teach students to think critically about government positions and actions. ("teach to critically examine government")
9R	Economically disadvantaged students have more to gain in schools because they bring less into the classroom. ("economically disadvantaged bring less")
10R	Although teachers have to appreciate diversity, it's not their job to change society. ("teacher's job is not to change society")
11R	Whether students succeed in school depends primarily on how hard they work. ("success primarily due to student effort")
12R	Realistically, the job of a teacher is to prepare students for the lives they are likely to lead. ("prepare students for likely lives")

[a]Likert response categories: Strongly Disagree = 1, Disagree = 2, Uncertain = 3, Agree = 4, Strongly Agree = 5.
[b]R: denotes the categories were reverse scored.
[c]these abbreviated phrases are used throughout the article.

Appendix C

Background Questions Included with the LTSJ-B Scale

Background Questions	Response Choice
1. Are you currently enrolled in a graduate, initial licensure program and are taking your first course for the program?	Yes/No
2. Gender	Manual reply
3. Race	Drop down list (Choices: White; Black; Hispanic; Asian; Pacific Islander; More than one) or Other (with Manual reply)
4. Age	Manual reply
5. Was the community you grew up in diverse?	5 point Likert Scale Response
6. Were the schools you grew up in diverse?	5 point Likert Scale Response
7. Prior teaching experience	Drop down list (Choices: Tutor; classroom aid; field experience) or Other (with Manual reply)
8. Where did you complete your undergraduate program?	Manual reply
9. What degree(s) have you earned and in what field?	Manual reply
10. What is your current area of concentration in the program? (subject/grade level)	Manual reply
11. Where are you planning on teaching upon graduation	Drop down list (Choices: urban, suburban, rural

Appendix D

Drawing and Consent to Participate in a Semi-structured Interview Web Survey Page

DRAWING
If you would like to enter into the drawing for one of **two $50 e-gift cards to a major retailer, please enter your email into the box.**

CONSENT
I have read this form and agree to be contacted about participating in an audio-recorded, follow up interview by clicking "YES," entering in my contact information (email) in the box, and then by clicking "NEXT."

Only those chosen for the follow up interview will be contacted. Participation in a follow up interview will be given the opportunity to enter into a second drawing for a $100 e-gift card to a major retailer. Your information will only used for the purpose of the interview or drawing. You may choose to decline if contacted.
If you would like a copy of this consent form, please print a copy from your browser, or you can email XXX@masonlive.gmu.edu and she will send you an electronic copy.

If you do not consent, please close this page on your browser at this time. Thank you for your interest.

IRB: For Official Use Only

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Project Number: 822543-2
Date Approved: 11/10/15
Approval Expiration date: 11/9/16

Office of Research Integrity & Assurance

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Appendix E

Survey Data

NDTR Interviewee Responses to the 12 LTSJ-B Survey Items

Participant	LTSJ-B SURVEY ITEM												
	SJ 1	SJ2	SJ3 R	SJ4	SJ5 R	SJ6 R	SJ7	SJ8	SJ9 R	SJ1 0R	SJ1 1R	SJ1 2R	Total
P1*	3	2	4	5	3	5	3	4	3	4	2	2	40
P2	4	3	3	4	3	3	4	5	4	3	3	1	40
P3*	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	4	4	3	4	2	42
P4	3	4	3	5	4	2	4	5	3	4	1	4	42
P5	5	4	4	5	4	4	3	4	4	2	3	1	43
P6 *	5	5	3	4	1	4	4	5	3	4	3	2	43
P7	1	4	4	5	1	5	5	5	5	1	4	4	44
P8	5	5	3	5	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	2	45
P9	4	5	4	5	4	2	4	5	5	4	1	2	45
P10	4	4	5	5	5	4	4	3	4	4	1	4	47
P11	3	4	4	5	4	5	2	5	5	3	4	4	48
P12	4	4	4	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	4	2	48
P13	4	5	4	5	5	5	4	5	5	1	2	4	49
P14	5	5	4	5	5	3	4	5	4	4	2	3	49
P15*	5	4	5	5	5	4	4	5	3	4	3	4	51
P16	5	5	4	5	4	4	5	5	4	5	4	2	52
P17	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	4	4	3	55
P18*	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	5	5	4	5	4	56
P19*	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	3	5	58
P20	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5	4	5	58
TOTAL													47.75
												s =	*5.73*

Note: Interviewees are denoted by an asterisk (P1*= Melissa, P3*=Theresa, P6*=Joseph, P15*=Ethan, P1*8=Ella, and P19*=Jane).

HSU Interviewee Responses to the 12 LTSJ-B Survey Items

Participant	LTSJ-B SURVEY ITEM												
	SJ1	**SJ2**	**SJ3 R**	**SJ4**	**SJ5 R**	**SJ6 R**	**SJ7**	**SJ8**	**SJ9 R**	**SJ10R**	**SJ11R**	**SJ12R**	**Total**
P1	5	4	1	4	4	5	2	4	5	1	1	1	37
P2	5	5	2	4	3	3	4	4	2	2	2	2	38
P3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	40
P4	5	5	2	4	5	2	4	4	1	4	2	2	40
P5	5	4	2	4	1	5	4	4	4	4	1	2	40
P6	5	3	4	4	3	4	3	3	4	3	2	2	40
P7	5	5	3	4	2	3	4	4	3	4	4	3	44
P8	2	4	4	5	5	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	44
P9	5	5	5	5	3	5	4	3	4	3	2	1	45
P10*	3	3	4	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	4	1	46
P11	4	4	4	5	5	3	4	5	4	5	2	1	46
P12	5	5	1	5	4	5	4	3	5	2	4	3	46
P13*	4	5	4	5	5	2	4	4	5	3	3	3	47
P14	4	4	4	4	5	4	5	4	3	4	3	5	49
P15	5	5	4	5	4	4	4	5	3	4	4	2	49
P16	5	4	5	4	2	4	4	5	5	5	5	2	50
P17	4	4	5	5	4	5	4	3	5	5	4	3	51
P18	5	5	5	5	5	4	4	4	5	5	2	2	51
P19	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5	5	5	2	1	52
P20*	5	5	5	5	3	4	3	4	5	5	4	4	52
P21	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	2	1	53
TOTAL													45.71
												s =	5.01

Note: Interviewees are denoted by an asterisk (P10*=Elaina, P13*=Tobias, and P20*=Charlotte).

Appendix F

Pre-notification Email Letter

Subject: Newly Enrolled Preservice Teachers

Dear <<Program Name>> Graduate Student,

First, I would like to congratulate you on starting your path towards a career as a teacher! As a teacher myself, I can tell you that you have chosen an exciting, wonderful, and incredibly rewarding career.

My name is Sophia Ra and I am a doctoral student at George Mason University in Fairfax, Virginia. This email is to inform you of an upcoming web survey opportunity. The purpose of the 10-15 minute survey is to better understand preservice teachers' beliefs at entry into their programs. A response from every graduate student contacted is important. No one else's answers can replace yours.

Participation in the research is voluntary, and you may decline to participate or withdraw at any point without any penalty. If you choose not to participate in this study, it will not affect your relationship with <<Program Name>>.

Your participation will be completely confidential. The only contact information that will tie you to your survey response will be if you choose to enter your email address into a drawing for a chance to win one of two $50 e-gift cards to a major retailer after the completion of the web survey in order to confirm completion. At the end of the survey, you will also be given a chance to potentially participate in a follow up interview via phone, Skype, or Google Hangout. Those that do will have the chance to enter into a second drawing for a $100 e-gift card also to a major retailer.

The deadline for completing the survey will be 3 weeks from survey invitation that is coming in a few days!

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at XXX@masonlive.gmu.edu.

Thank you in advance,

Sophia Ra

Doctoral Candidate

George Mason University

Appendix G

Advance Email Letter with Web Survey link

Dear <<Program Name>> Graduate Student,

I am a doctoral candidate in Education at the George Mason University, and I am seeking your participation in a study of beginning teachers' beliefs about teaching. The study entails completing a web based survey and the opportunity to also participate in a follow up phone/Skype/Google Hangout interview.

Results from the web survey and interviews will be used to better understand what today's preservice teachers believe about teaching when they enter the classroom. The findings are intended to advance the field of teacher education.

You have been chosen to participate in this study because you are enrolled in the post-bachelor's program and are seeking initial licensure (if you have already earned your license and are coming back for another degree, were employed as a substitute teacher, or as a private school teacher, please disregard this email). In order for the results to be representative, a response from every graduate student contacted is important. No one else's answers can replace yours.

Your participation is voluntary and you can decline to participate or stop during any point without any penalty. If you choose not to participate in this study, it will not affect your relationship with <<Program Name>>. Your answers are completely confidential and will be reported only in aggregated form. This means no individual's response can be identified. Your contact information will be destroyed before the close of the study via final report. Only permanently de-identified data will be stored for 6-8 years. No one other than I will have access to the surveys, interviews, or drawing contact information.

The survey takes about 10-15 minutes online and can be started and resumed at another time. The follow up interviews take about 45 minutes. You can participate in the survey and decline to participate in the interviews.

At the end of the survey you will have the opportunity to enter into a drawing to win one of two $50 egift cards to a major retailer and/or consent to potentially participate in a follow up interview. Participants in the follow up interview will have the opportunity to enter into a second drawing for a $100 e-gift card to a major retailer.

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at XXX@masonlive.gmu.edu.

Completing the survey implies you understand your rights and consent to participate. To begin, click or insert, the web address provided below.

<<web address here>>

Sincerely,
Sophia Ra
Doctoral Candidate, George Mason University

Appendix H

Follow-up Emails

Dear <<Program Name>> Graduate Student,

If you've already completed the survey, thank you for your participation. I truly appreciate your input and look forward to learning more about what preservice teachers today believe about teaching.

For those who have not, the deadline for the web survey and to enter into the drawing to win one of two e-gift cards of $50 each is in two weeks, <<Date>>.

Please click on the hyperlink below, or copy and paste it into your URL to begin. Thank you!

<<web address>>

Sincerely,
Sophia Ra

Dear <<Program Name>> Graduate Student,

If you've already completed the survey, thank you for your participation. I am grateful for all the responses I have received thus far.

For those who have not the deadline is one week away! Please complete the survey by the deadline to be counted and to enter into the $50 e-gift card drawing.

You can either use the web survey link: <<web address>>

Or, you can find a paper copy in _____. A sealed package contains the informed consent, survey, drawing entry, follow up interview opportunity, and prestamped return envelope so that you can return the survey via mail. As long as the survey is mailed out by the deadline, you can enter into the drawing for one of the two $50 e-gift cards.

Sincerely,
Sophia Ra

Appendix I

Selection Criteria Clarification Email

Subject: Preservice Teacher Beliefs Survey

Dear Participant,

Hello, thank you for participating in the survey about your Preservice Teacher Beliefs. I noticed that you answered "No" to the question about whether or not you were enrolled in your first course, after which you should have been met with a "Thank You" page. If you answered no because you have yet to enroll, but are planning on signing up for your first course of the program during this upcoming session, or have since enrolled, then there is an opportunity for you to continue your participation in this survey. Should you choose to do so, you can simply reopen the link that was previously emailed to you, change the answer to indicate "Yes" to question 1, and proceed through to completion. If this is not the case, then you can disregard this email.

Sincerely,

Sophia Ra

Doctoral Candidate

George Mason University

Appendix J

Paper Survey: Instructor's Script

Dear Instructors,

My name is Sophia Ra, and I am a doctoral student at George Mason University in Virginia. Thank you for your help in disseminating this survey on teacher beliefs during the first or second class meeting. Please read the following script before disseminating the paper surveys:

A doctoral student at George Mason University is conducting her study on preservice teacher beliefs. I am going to pass out the paper survey, which is estimated to take 10-15 minutes to complete. The cover sheet describes the survey and provides instructions on what to do if you would or would not like to participate. Participation is voluntary and your answers will be kept confidential. If you choose not to participate, or do choose to, please place the survey into the provided individual envelope and seal it. Until you have individually sealed the survey, please refrain from any other activities. When you are ready, there is a manila envelope (show envelope to students) here (indicate location) for you to drop the sealed survey into. I will be sending the manila envelope of sealed surveys directly to the researcher following this class.

Gratefully,

Sophia Ra

Appendix K

Semi-structured Teaching for Social Justice Interview Questions Matrix

Democratic education	Critical Pedagogy	Multicultural Education	Culturally Responsive Education	Social Justice Education
What do you think is the role of a teacher? (adapted from Mills, 2013)	What do think the characteristics of a "good teacher" are? (adapted from Mills, 2013)	How do you view social, racial, and economic inequalities in U.S. schools? (Frederick et al., 2010)	Do culturally diverse students and teachers respond differently to one another and to learning experiences? (based on Gay, 2010)	How do you define teaching for social justice? (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Kelly & Brooks, 2009; Lee, 2011; Mills, 2013)
What do you think good citizenship is? (adapted from Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)		What are your thoughts about the use of multicultural literature and censorship? (Frederick et al., 2010)	Do you think your culture impacts how you view students and teaching? (based on Gay, 2010)	What is the meaning of socially just classroom practice? (Mills, 2013)
What do you think makes a student a good citizen? (adapted from Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)		Do you think your own racial/ethnic identity plays a role in teaching? How so? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)	What role does students' individual culture need to be incorporated into the curriculum? How? (based on Gay, 2010)	Do you agree or disagree that primary children (their grade level) are too young to understand issues of social justice, such as racism or homophobia, and why? (Kelly & Brooks, 2009)

What is civic education? Do we need it? What does it look like? (based on Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)		What do you think about teaching about causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality? Why? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)		What, if any, concerns do you have about teaching for social justice with ____ children? (Kelly & Brooks, 2009)
		Do you think there is a difference between how boys and girls learn? What do you think about teaching about gender? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)		In what ways do your social locations and aspect of your own identity (i.e., race, social class, gender, etc.) influence what and how you plan to teach? (Kelly & Brooks, 2009)
		How do you feel about including subjects that are politically, socially, or religiously sensitive? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)		What do you think supports or acts as a barrier to teaching for social justice? (Kelly & Brooks, 2009)
		How do you feel family values impact student learning? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)		Should all pupils be treated the same? (Boylan & Woolsey, 2015)
		Is it a teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity of cultures is valued and respected in the classroom? What does that responsibility entail doing? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)		

Appendix L

Semi-structured Interview Questions Sequence

Hello, my name is Sophia Ra. Thank you for participating in the survey portion of this study as well as taking part in the follow up interviews. Congratulations on recently getting accepted to <Program Name>! At this time, I would like to ask if you consent to the audio-recording to begin. As described previously, during this interview I will be asking you about your beliefs about teaching; the interview is expected to last approximately 45 minutes. Do you give verbal consent to participate in this audio-recorded interview?

Background Questions

1. What made you decide to choose this particular program?

2. Can you tell me a little bit about what your community growing up was like? Was it diverse in areas like race, affluence, language, and religion?

Social Justice in Education Questions

1. What do you think is the role of a teacher? (adapted from Mills, 2013)
2. In your opinion, what are the characteristics of a "good teacher"? (adapted from Mills, 2013)
3. How would you define good citizenship? (adapted from Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)
4. What do you think makes a student a good citizen? (adapted from Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)
    a. Can you describe a time when you witnessed good student citizenship?
5. Are you familiar with the phrase, "civic education"?
    a. If yes, what is it? What does it look like? Do we need it?
    b. If not, how would you define civic education? What does it look like? Do we need it?
6. Do you believe social, racial, and economic inequalities exist in U.S. schools? (adapted from Frederick et al., 2010)
    a. Can you cite specific examples that you witnessed or are familiar with?
7. Do you think your own racial/ethnic identity plays a role in teaching? How so? (adapted from Silverman, 2010)
    a. If they do not identify their race: What would you identify your own race background as?
8. Do you think a teacher's social and economic class or gender influences what and how they teach? (adapted from Kelly & Brooks, 2009)
    a. How and why?
9. Do you think your culture impacts how you view students and teaching? (based on Gay, 2010)

a. How so?

10. Do culturally diverse students and teachers respond differently to one another than teachers and students who share the same culture or ethnicity? (based on Gay, 2010)
    a. If yes, in what way? If not, why not?
11. Do you feel family values impact student learning? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)?
    a. If so, how?
    b. If not, why not?
12. In your opinion, should all pupils be treated the same regardless of their background (i.e., race, SES, culture, etc.)? (adapted from Boylan & Woolsey, 2015)
    a. If yes ask: Can you explain what you mean by "treated the same"?
13. Do you believe the culture of all students should be incorporated into classroom instruction? (based on Gay, 2010)
    a. If so, how can a teacher achieve this?
14. What are your thoughts about the use of multicultural literature and censorship? (Frederick et al., 2010)
15. What do you think about teaching about causes of social/economic class divisions, gender, different faiths, and sexuality? Why? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)
16. What do you think about teaching about gender (i.e., norms, identity, roles, etc.)? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)
    a. If yes ask: To what extent?
17. How do you feel about including subjects that are politically, socially, or religiously sensitive into teaching? (Adapted from Silverman, 2010)
18. Do you believe that primary school aged children are too young to understand issues of social justice, such as racism or homophobia? (adapted from Kelly & Brooks, 2009)
    a. If so, why?
    b. If not, why not?
19. Is it a teacher's responsibility to make sure diversity of cultures is valued and respected in the classroom? What does that responsibility entail doing? (adapted from Silverman, 2010)
20. How do you define teaching for social justice? (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Kelly & Brooks, 2009; Lee, 2011; Mills, 2013)
21. Are you familiar with the phrase "socially just classroom?" If so, what does it mean to you? If not, what do you think it might mean? (adapted from Mills, 2013)
22. Do you have any concerns about teaching for social justice with your future students? (adapted from Kelly & Brooks, 2009)
    a. Please explain.
23. What supports teaching for social justice? What barriers do you believe exist? (adapted from Kelly & Brooks, 2009)

Please describe any ways that your participation in <Program Name> courses, activities, etc. might have altered your attitudes, knowledge, or skills in relation to those issues.

Thank you so much for participating in this interview. You will be sent a copy of a brief summary of the major themes found in this interview within three to four weeks of today's date. Are there any questions or additional comments you would like to add?

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Biography

Sophia Ra graduated from Fairfax High School, Fairfax, Virginia, in 2002. She received her Bachelor of Arts and Masters in Teaching from the University of Virginia in 2007. She was employed as a teacher in Loudoun County for seven years.